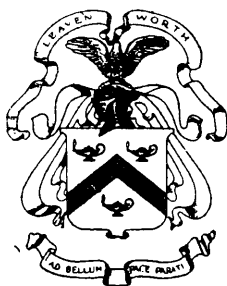


THE GENERAL SERVICE SCHOOLS

LIBRARY



CLASS NUMBER ~~1076.7~~

ACCESSION NUMBER 33723

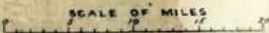
M-9137-J:62-C9

SHENANDOAH VALLEY

and
ADJACENT COUNTRY

1862.

SCALE OF MILES



Confederate.

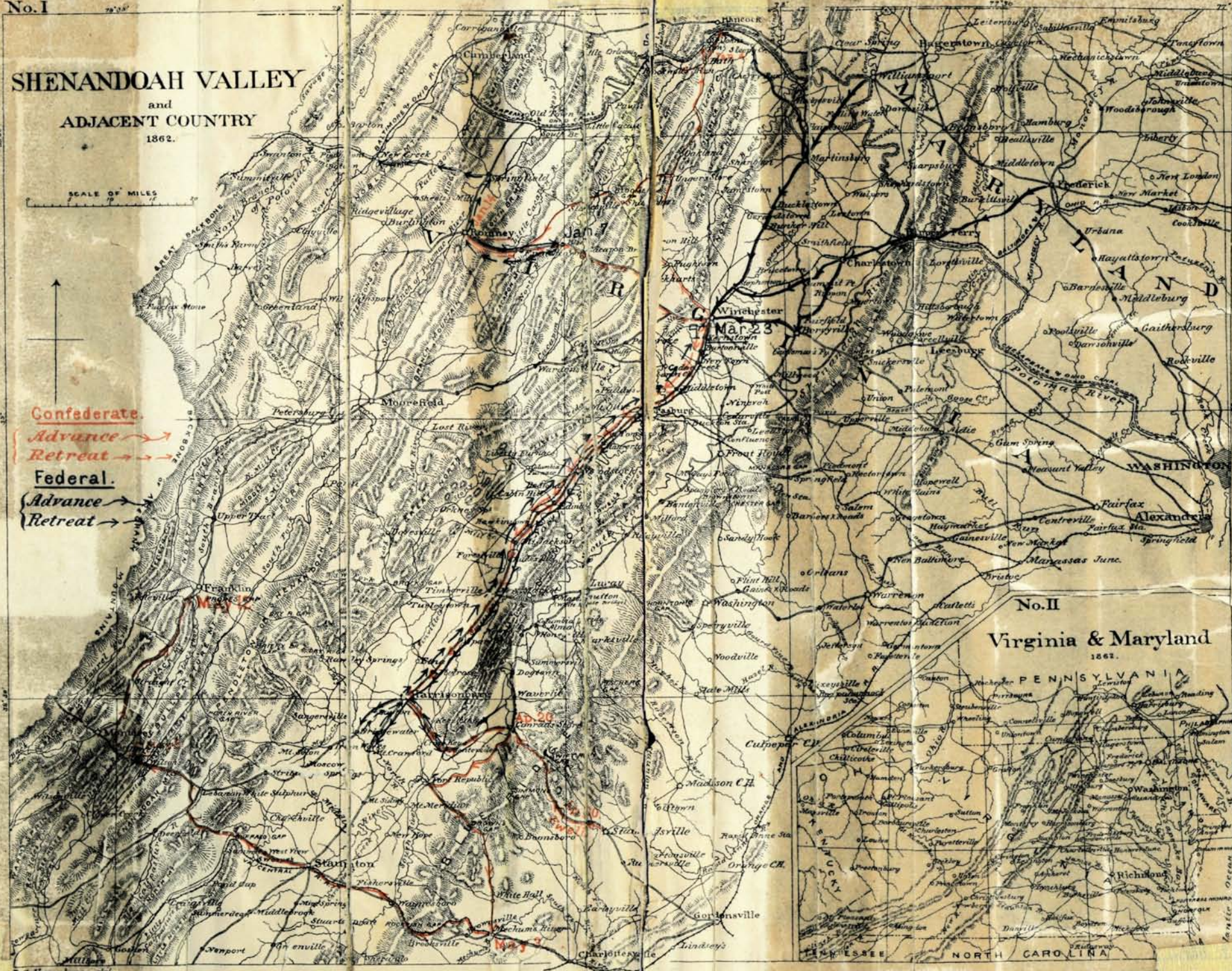
Advance →

Retreat →

Federal.

Advance →

Retreat →



No. II

Virginia & Maryland

1862.

Region About WINCHESTER.

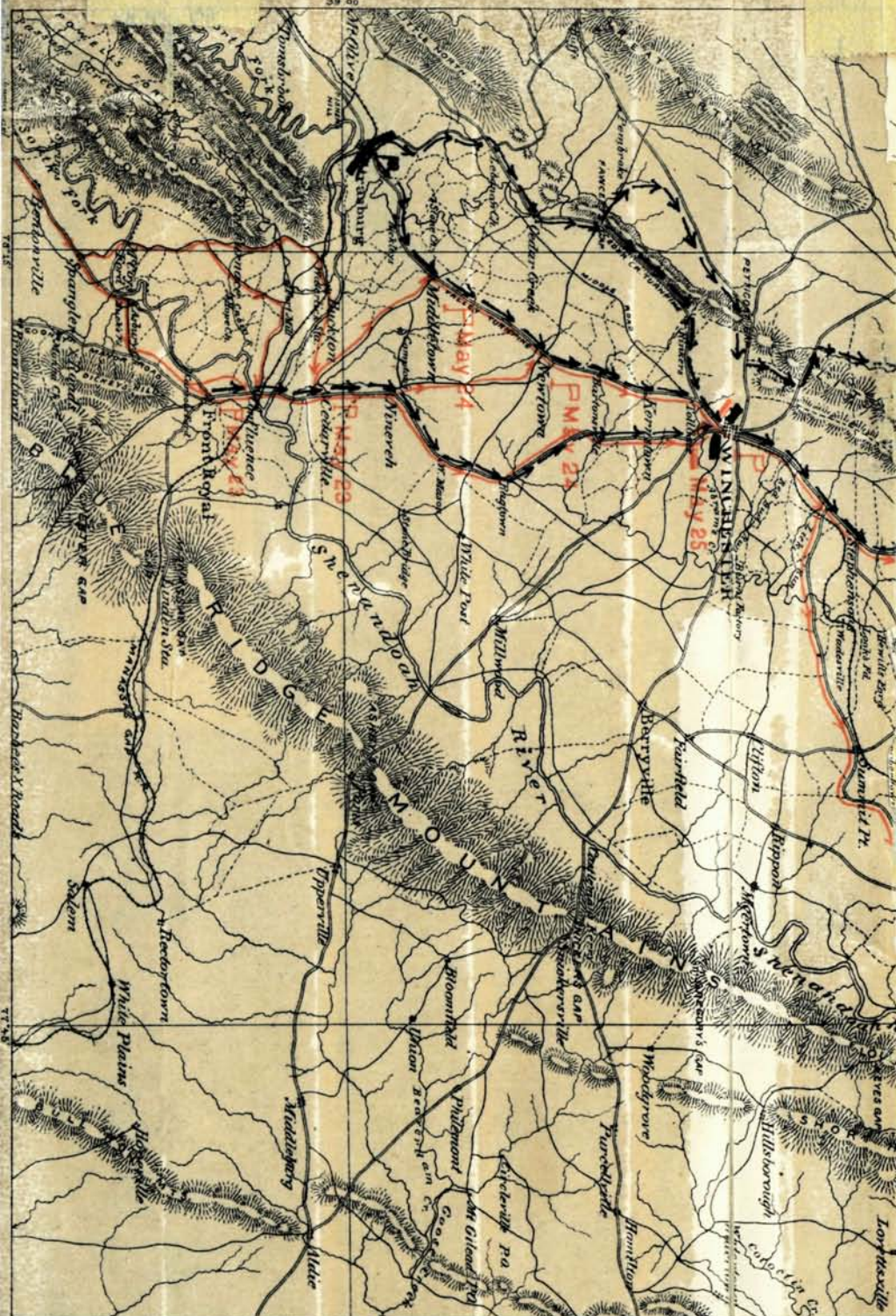
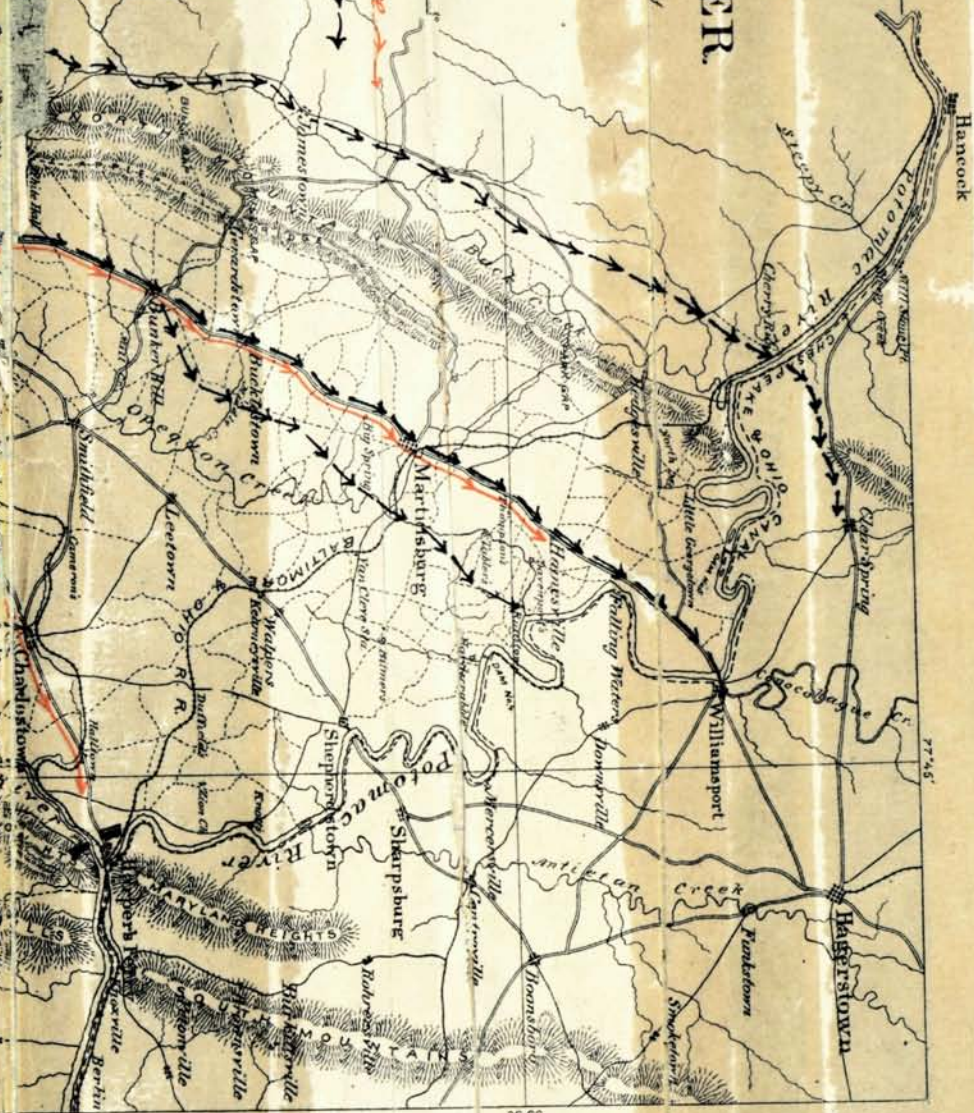
Showing Operations Against

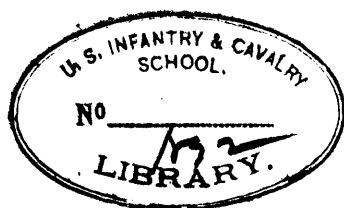
Gen. Banks.

May, 1862.

SCALE OF MILES

Confederate Advance → → →
Federal Retreat → → →





LIBRARY

THE GENERAL SERVICE SCHOOLS
FORT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS

HISTORY OF THE CAMPAIGN
OF
GEN. T. J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON
IN THE
SHENANDOAH VALLEY OF VIRGINIA.

FROM NOVEMBER 4, 1861, TO JUNE 17, 1862.

BY
WILLIAM ALLAN,
FORMERLY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL AND CHIEF, ORDNANCE OFFICER, SECOND CORPS, A.N.V.

WITH
FULL MAPS OF THE REGION AND OF THE BATTLE-FIELDS

BY
JED. HOTCHKISS,
FORMERLY CAPTAIN AND TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEER, SECOND CORPS, A.N.V.

7675

PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.
1880.

Copyright, 1880, by WILLIAM ALLAN.

DEDICATION.

TO

THE PEOPLE OF LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA,

IN WHOSE MIDST

JACKSON MADE HIS HOME IN LIFE,

AND CHOSE HIS RESTING-PLACE IN DEATH.

PREFACE.

THE operations of General T. J. Jackson in the Valley of Virginia, during the first half of the year 1862, constitute one of the most brilliant and interesting episodes of the great Civil War. The theatre on which they took place afforded a quick and easy approach to the Federal capital and to the northern States. The mountains and rivers of the Valley gave to an active and skilful commander many opportunities of neutralizing great disparity of force. The celerity, energy, and skill which Jackson manifested on this field excited the admiration of his countrymen and produced a feeling nearly akin to consternation among his foes. His campaign had a most important bearing upon all the military operations in Virginia in the spring and summer of 1862, for he caused to be detained, for the defence of Washington and Maryland, forces in the aggregate four or five times as numerous as his own, and thus in a fatal degree hampered and paralyzed McClellan. The story of this campaign will always be interesting to the actors in it on both sides, and not merely to them; to the student of military art it affords an admirable example of an aggressive-defensive campaign, and one of the best instances in modern times of the degree to which skill and daring may neutralize superiority of numbers and resources.

Our aim has been to give an accurate history of this campaign from official sources. Dr. Dabney's "Life of Jackson" was written during the war, and without access to the Federal sources of information. Much has been written since, but generally in the shape of personal narratives, or of statements based upon the newspaper correspondence of the time. Such accounts are of course imperfect, and some of them are so partisan in character as to be of no value. Until recently the

official reports were in a large degree inaccessible, but this is no longer the case. As will be seen by the foot-notes, we have been at pains to verify all important statements about numbers,—in a great many instances from the original MS. returns themselves.

Our thanks are due to Adj.-Gen. Townsend and to Gen. M. W. Wright for facilities extended to us in the examination of papers in their offices, to Dr. Jones, secretary of the Southern Historical Society, for many favors, and to A. P. Tasker, Esq., of the Confederate archive office, and J. W. Kirkly, Esq., of the adjutant-general's office (the well-known historian of the First Federal Maryland regiment), for frequent and valued courtesies.

In addition to the official reports, we have been indebted to the various lives of Jackson by Maj. J. Esten Cooke, Miss Randolph, and an "Ex-Cadet," and especially to the earliest and very valuable biography of Jackson by his former chief of staff, Dr. R. L. Dabney. We have also drawn from the Historical Papers of Gen. G. H. Gordon, of Massachusetts, and the reminiscences of Gen. Strother, and from many others, to whom our obligations are acknowledged in the text or notes.

A full diary kept by Maj. Hotchkiss during the greater part of this campaign has been of great value. We are also indebted to a diary kept by J. A. Waddell, Esq., of Staunton, Virginia.

The maps have been prepared by D. C. Humphreys, C. E. of the United States river surveys, under the direction of, and from the material furnished by, Maj. Jed. Hotchkiss, of Staunton, Virginia. Maj. Hotchkiss was topographical engineer for Gen. Jackson during this and his subsequent campaigns, and possesses by far the most valuable mass of topographical data now in existence relating to these campaigns. Maj. Hotchkiss has also furnished much valuable information besides that directly credited in the narrative.

W. A.

McDONOGH, MD.,
May 1, 1880.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
ROMNEY	9

CHAPTER II.

KERNSTOWN	33
---------------------	----

CHAPTER III.

MCDOWELL	65
--------------------	----

CHAPTER IV.

WINCHESTER	83
----------------------	----

CHAPTER V.

CROSS KEYS AND PORT REPUBLIC	130
--	-----

HISTORY OF THE CAMPAIGN
OF
GEN. T. J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON
IN THE
SHENANDOAH VALLEY OF VIRGINIA.
1861-62.

CHAPTER I.

ROMNEY.

THE long struggle between the two great sections of the United States came to an issue of arms in the spring of 1861. For years the course of events had tended to this result. The North, great and growing, filled with the most advanced ideas as to popular government, human rights, universal equality and fraternity, and tending, because of the immense expansion of commerce and manufactures, to a centralized government, chafed and fretted against the barriers interposed by a strict construction of the Constitution to an extension of its civilization over the entire country. The foundations on which the Union had been reared seemed narrow and antiquated to a people whose growth had been unprecedented, and who, by an immense infusion of un-English immigration, had lost much of their reverence for the traditions and principles of the Fathers of the Republic. The South, more conservative in principle and practice; less changed by immigration; believing slavery the best relation for the negro, and a necessary condition of permanence in a purely democratic state; saw no safety for its institutions, except in strict adherence to constitutional guarantees, and watched with the utmost jealousy any encroachments attempted upon the defences which the Constitution had thrown around the weaker party. When the long political struggle culminated in the election of Mr. Lincoln to the presidency in 1860, some of the southern States thought it time to

dissolve the Union, and seek safety in a separate government from the anti-slavery deluge which seemed to them about to spread over the land. The border slave States held back for a time, and Virginia especially, which had contributed so largely to the formation of the Union originally, exerted all her influence to bring about a peace between the conflicting sections, but in vain. Meantime, Mr. Lincoln entered upon office March 4, 1861. In a few weeks his conciliatory sentiments yielded to the pressure of the public opinion of his political associates in the North. Early in April a decided stand was taken against further concession to the seceding States. It was determined to reinforce Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor. On the 13th of April the fort was attacked by the Confederates and taken. On April 15, President Lincoln issued his call for seventy-five thousand troops to suppress "insurrectionary combinations." On April 17, Governor Letcher, of Virginia, refused to obey the President's call for troops, and on the same day the Virginia convention, all its efforts for peace having failed, and the issue being now war on the one side or the other, repealed the ordinance by which the State had originally adopted the Federal constitution, and seceded from the Union.

The authorities of Virginia at once took steps to organize such military force as she possessed. Volunteers were called for, and such as were not ready for immediate service were ordered to Richmond, where a camp of instruction was established. In a few days it was determined to bring down the senior cadets from the Virginia Military Institute, at Lexington, to be used in drilling the recruits. On Sunday morning, April 21, the order reached Lexington, Virginia, requiring those cadets to report at Richmond, under command of Maj. T. J. Jackson, then Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy in the Virginia Military Institute.

Maj. Jackson was born at Clarksburg, Western Virginia, January, 1824, entered West Point in 1842, graduated in 1846, distinguished himself in the march on the city of Mexico in 1847 as a lieutenant in Magruder's battery, was brevetted captain for gallant and meritorious conduct at Churubusco, August 20, and major at Chapultepec, September 13, 1847. He accompanied his command after the close of the Mexican war to Fort Hamilton, whence he was sent to Fort Meade, near Tampa bay, Florida. While here he was elected, in 1851, to the above-named professorship in the Virginia Military Institute, and resigning from the army he removed to Lexington. Here he resided for the next ten years.

At one o'clock on Sunday, the 21st of April, 1861, the cadets, under Maj. Jackson, took up their line of march for Staunton, *en route* to Richmond. He then left his home for the last time. A little more than two years afterwards all that was mortal of "Stonewall" Jackson was borne, amid the tears and lamentations of his countrymen, to the simple village churchyard of Lexington. Maj. Jackson was first assigned to duty at the camp of instruction, near Richmond, but at the end of a week he was commissioned as colonel by the State of Virginia, and ordered to take command at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. He arrived there on the 29th of April, and held command until superseded by Gen. Joseph E. Johnston,¹ who, upon the adhesion of Virginia to the Confederate States, was sent by the authorities of the latter to take charge of this important post. Col. Jackson was then placed in command of one of the brigades of the army gradually collecting under Gen. Johnston. He was made brigadier-general on July 3, and marched to Manassas on the 18th and 19th, when Gen. Johnston moved to the assistance of Beauregard. At Manassas, July 21, Jackson contributed materially to the victory won by the Confederates, his brigade checking the tide of Federal success, and rendering conspicuous service. It was on this occasion that he received the sobriquet of "Stonewall," from an expression used by Gen. Bee in reference to Jackson's brigade.²

¹ Gen. Johnston assumed command on the 23d of May.

² The first battle of Manassas was fought on Sunday, July 21, 1861, between the Federal army, under Gen. Irwin McDowell, and the Confederate forces, under Gens. J. E. Johnston and Beauregard. The latter commanded the army which had gradually gathered at Manassas to resist the Federal advance from Washington, while Gen. Johnston, with the "Army of the Shenandoah," confronted Gen. Patterson, who was advancing from the Potomac, at Williamsport, towards Winchester, in the "Valley of Virginia." A forward movement by McDowell being imminent, Gen. Johnston was ordered to unite "if practicable" with Beauregard to resist it. Slipping away from Patterson's front on the 18th of July, he arrived with a part of his command, including Jackson's brigade, at Manassas on the 20th, and, after consultation with Beauregard, determined to attack McDowell the next day, in order to fight him before Patterson could join him. McDowell, however, who was moving without reference to Patterson, had determined upon an advance on the same day. Johnston's plan was to throw forward his right across Bull Run and advance directly upon Centreville, the heart of the Federal position. For this purpose the mass of the Confederates were placed in the vicinity of the lower fords of Bull Run, near the direct road from Manassas to Centreville, while the upper fords, opposite the Confederate left, were guarded by small bodies. McDowell, on the other hand, determined, by a wide circuit, to cross the stream entirely beyond the Confederate left and thus turn and overwhelm that flank. A miscarriage of orders

On the 7th of October he was made major-general, in recognition of his services at the battle of Manassas, and soon after was assigned, under Gen. Johnston, to the command of the Valley district, with headquarters at Winchester, Virginia. (Map No. I.) On November 4 he left Manassas for the latter place. He held this command, in a considerable degree an independent one, until the middle of the following June. This period in his career is in many respects the most interesting. It embraces the difficulties and struggles through which he rose to fame, and covers that wonderful campaign in the Valley of Virginia which filled the South with unbounded admiration of his genius, and has placed his name, in the estimation of the world, high on the roll of captains. It is a sketch of Jackson's career during this period that we propose now to give.

The birthplace and early home of Gen. Jackson was Clarksburg, in Western Virginia, and from the opening of the war he had burned with a desire to be ordered to service in that region. He had frequently expressed his wish to aid in expelling the Federal troops from the home of his childhood, and when assigned to the Valley district his first thoughts were turned towards the execution of such a design.

delayed the Confederates until McDowell's march to their left was discovered, when new dispositions became necessary. On the Confederate left Evans, reinforced by Bee and Bartow, and still later by Hampton, threw his command in the path of the Federal army (which, having crossed Bull Run unopposed at Sudley's ford, was pouring down on the flank), and stubbornly contested the ground until forced to retreat before the mass of McDowell's troops. As the Confederates were being borne back Jackson's brigade reached the field, and, promptly forming, checked the Federal advance and gave the broken commands time to rally. Then succeeded an hour or two of severe fighting. A bold effort on the part of the Confederates was made to drive back the Federals and regain the lost ground. They succeeded in sweeping back McDowell's lines and capturing a number of guns, but the Federals soon made a countercharge and retook the position and artillery. Again, mustering all his strength, Beauregard, who commanded in person on this part of the field, hurled it against the Federal lines. Fresh troops were arriving, which he sent against the Federal right flank. Jackson firmly held the centre of the advance. The Federal lines were again broken, the guns again captured. The arrival of Kirby Smith's and of Early's troops enabled Beauregard to press his advantage, to drive back McDowell's right flank, and to throw it into confusion. The defeat quickly changed into a rout, and this rout into one of the most remarkable panics on record. It was in the last successful effort of the Confederates that Bee and Bartow were slain, and it was just before the former fell that, to animate his thinned and wavering lines, he pointed to Jackson's brigade, and said, "See, there is Jackson standing like a stone wall; let us determine to die here and we will conquer." Such was the origin of the sobriquet of "Stonewall." It is now immortal.

The campaign of the summer and fall in Western Virginia had not been favorable to the South. Gen. Robert S. Garnett, who had commanded the first considerable force in that region, had been outmanœuvred by Gen. McClellan, compelled to retreat from his positions at Leedsville and Rich mountain with loss, and when overtaken at Carrick's ford, on Cheat river, July 13, had been defeated and killed. This gave the Federals control of the greater part of the State of Virginia, west of the Alleghanies and north of the Great Kanawha river. In the valley of this river an effort was made a month later, by Gen. Floyd, with a Confederate brigade, to wrest a portion of this territory from them, but because of his small force, and the want of co-operation on the part of Gen. Wise (commanding a part of the Confederate troops in that region), he failed to effect any results of permanent value.

Gen. Lee, who had been sent to take command after the death of Garnett,¹ with a considerable reinforcement, either through the difficulties of the country, or the inexperience of his subordinates, or both, failed to regain the advantages lost by Garnett, and was reduced to merely preventing any further encroachments of the enemy. He directed an advance upon the Federal positions on Cheat mountain and at Elkwater on September 12, but it miscarried because the column under Col. Rust failed to attack. He then drew off a large part of Loring's force to unite with Floyd and Wise in opposing Rosecrans's movement up the Kanawha valley, but the Federal commander withdrew, and active operations ceased. About the 1st of November Gen. Lee was ordered elsewhere, and the approach of winter and the inaccessible character of the country rendered further operations almost impossible.

When, therefore, Gen. Jackson was assigned to the command of the Valley of Virginia, the enemy had possession of all the State north of the Great Kanawha and west of the Alleghanies, and had pushed their outposts into that mountain region itself, and, in some cases, eastward of the main range. Thus Gen. Kelly, under direction of Gen. Rosecrans who commanded all the Federal forces in Western Virginia, had captured Romney, the county-seat of Hampshire, forty miles west of Winchester, and now occupied it with a force of five

¹ Gen. Lee was sent to Western Virginia immediately after the first battle of Manassas, which occurred on July 21. (Taylor's "Four Years with General Lee," p. 16.) At that time Gen. Loring commanded the forces lately under Garnett, and Gens. Floyd and Wise each had a brigade in the Kanawha valley. The three were independent of each other.

thousand (5000) men. This movement gave the Federals control of the fertile valley of the South Branch of the Potomac. Another force occupied Bath, the county-seat of Morgan, almost due north of Winchester, while the north bank of the Potomac was everywhere guarded by Union troops. (Maps Nos. I and II.)

The Baltimore and Ohio railroad was open, and available for the supply of the Union troops from Baltimore to Harper's Ferry, and again from a point opposite Hancock westward. The section of about forty miles, from Harper's Ferry to Hancock, lying for the most part some distance within the Virginia border, had been interrupted and rendered useless by the Confederates, but this gap was supplied by the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, which was open all the way from Cumberland, Maryland, to Georgetown, in the District of Columbia.

Jackson recommended a bold plan of operations to dispossess the enemy and recover the territory that had been lost. He had seen how his predecessors had been hampered in trying to operate from Staunton westward, by the difficult and inaccessible nature of the country. On that route a wide belt of mountains, destitute of supplies and for the most part penetrated by nothing but indifferent wagon roads, intervened between the scene of operations and the Confederate base of supplies. This had proved a most serious hindrance. Jackson proposed now to move along the Baltimore and Ohio railroad and the turnpikes parallel to it, and thus enter Western Virginia from the northeast. In this way he could turn the left flank of the enemy's forces, place himself on their communications, and force them to evacuate, or fight under circumstances of his own selection. This mode of approach, it was true, was far more exposed to the enemy, but it was easier; it lay through a much more populous and cultivated region; it would afford, to some extent, the use of a railroad for supplies; and it would soon place him in the midst of some of the most fertile parts of West Virginia. To carry out this plan he asked that his old brigade, which had been left at Manassas, and all the forces operating along the line of the Alleghanies, southwest of Winchester, should be concentrated under his command. This would have given him fifteen or sixteen thousand (15,000 or 16,000) men, the least force with which he thought it possible to undertake so considerable an enterprise.

The Confederate authorities deemed it impossible to comply fully with his wishes. His own brigade was promptly sent to him, and one of the brigades of Loring's troops reached him early in De-

ember.¹ Subsequently two more brigades, under Gen. Loring himself, were added, but all these troops only increased the small force of two or three thousand State militia, which had been assembled in the district itself, to about eleven thousand (11,000) men.² The greater part of Gen. Loring's force did not arrive until Christmas, thus preventing any important movements during November and December.

But meantime Gen. Jackson was not idle. When he entered upon his new command there were but three fragmentary brigades of State militia and a few detached companies of cavalry in the Valley district. These troops were poorly armed, and the militia was almost entirely without discipline or experience. In order to increase this force he first caused the militia which had not yet been summoned, or which had been released, to be called out, and in a short time the brigades under Brig.-Gens. Carson, Meem, and Boggs were increased in the aggregate to about three thousand (3000) men. He consolidated the cavalry companies into a regiment, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Ashby. Prompt measures were taken to equip and discipline these troops. About the middle of November, the first brigade—his own—was sent up from Manassas, and by the 1st of December he had at hand some four thousand (4000) troops, and knew that a part of Loring's command was *en route* to join him.³

¹ Gen. Loring, after the withdrawal of Gen. Lee, had command of all the troops west of Staunton, except those under Floyd, in the Kanawha valley. Gen. Wise had been ordered to duty elsewhere about the 1st of October. When Loring was ordered to Winchester to join Jackson, Gen. Edward Johnson was left with a brigade and some artillery and cavalry at Camp Alleghany, where the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike crosses the Alleghany mountains.

² Gen. J. E. Johnston says (Johnston's Narrative, pp. 83, 84) the "effective total" of troops in the Valley district at the end of November was 3700. Add nine per cent. for officers, and Jackson's force at that time (consisting of the militia and the "Stonewall" brigade) may be placed at about 4000. At the end of December the "effective total" under Jackson, from the returns, was 10,241, or, adding officers, about 11,200.

³ Jackson's notions of discipline are illustrated by an incident of this time. Immediately after the arrival of the "Stonewall" brigade in the Valley, a stringent order was issued which prevented officers of even the highest grades from passing the pickets around the camps except upon passes from headquarters, and it was required that these passes should specify whether the officer was on public or private business. This order led to the following protest and reply :

While waiting for the reinforcements that would enable him to strike a blow, he determined to annoy the enemy by preventing any attempt to reconstruct the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and by doing such damage as was possible to the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, which runs along the north bank of the Potomac. For this purpose the cavalry was actively engaged in scouting the country along that river, and early in December a small force of infantry and a battery were sent down to break Dam No. 5, seven miles above Williamsport, which supplied a long level of the canal with water. This force appeared at Dam No. 5 on the afternoon of December 6, and during the next two days kept up an active skirmish with the Federal troops on the north side of the river. Under cover of this fire the Confederates attempted to break the dam on the night of the 7th, but effected

"CAMP NEAR WINCHESTER, VIRGINIA,

"November 16, 1861.

"MAJOR:—The undersigned, having read General Orders No. 8, transmitted from the headquarters of the Army of the Valley, so far as it includes and relates to officers of their rank, respectfully submit: That it is an unwarranted assumption of authority, and involves an improper inquiry into their private matters, of which, according to the official usage and courtesy of the army, the major-general commanding has no right to require information; it implies their abuse of the privileges accorded in every other department of the army to officers of their rank, which there has been nothing in their conduct to justify; it disparages the dignity of the offices which they have the honor to hold, and, in consequence, detracts from that respect of the force under their command which is necessary to maintain their authority and enforce obedience. Therefore they complain of the order, and ask that it may be modified.

"Respectfully submitted."

(Signed by all the regimental commanders of the brigade.)

"MAJ. A. H. JACKSON,

"A. A. Gen'l."

"HEADQUARTERS VALLEY DISTRICT,

"November 17, 1861.

"The major-general commanding desires me to say that the within-combined protest is in violation of the Army Regulations and subversive of military discipline. He claims the right to give his pickets such instructions as in his opinion the interests of the public service require.

"Colonels — —, on the day that their regiments arrived at their present encampment, either from incompetency to control their commands or from neglect of duty, so permitted their commands to become disorganized and their officers and men to enter Winchester without permission, as to render several arrests of officers necessary.

"If officers desire to have control over their commands, they must remain habitually with them, and industriously attend to their instruction and comfort, and in battle lead them well, and in such a manner as to command their admiration.

"Such officers need not apprehend loss of respect resulting from inserting in a written pass the words 'on duty,' or 'on private business,' should they have occasion to pass the pickets.

"By command of Maj.-Gen. Jackson.

"A. H. JACKSON,

"A. A. Gen'l."

little or no damage. The next evening they retired. Not satisfied with the result, Jackson made another effort a few days later to break Dam No. 5. Taking the cavalry, a part of the militia, and his old brigade ("Stonewall"), he left Winchester on the 16th. Next day, having disposed troops between Falling Waters and Dam No. 5, so as to provide against a flank movement, and having sent forces to make demonstrations at Dam No. 4 and at Williamsport, he collected the main body for an attack on Dam No. 5. Under cover of the infantry and artillery stationed on the hills on the south side of the river, parties were sent to break away this dam at the end nearest the Virginia side. Col. Leonard, with a part of the Thirteenth Massachusetts, the Fifth Connecticut, and a battery, was guarding this part of the Federal line. He kept up a vigorous and annoying fire on the working parties. Not much was accomplished by the Confederates until Capt. Holliday,¹ of the Thirty-third Virginia, and Capt. Robinson, of the Twenty-seventh Virginia, volunteered to go down by night with their companies and cut out the cribs. They made brave efforts to do this, standing waist-deep in the cold water, and under the constant fire of the enemy. A partial breach was effected, and the cribs so loosened that the next freshet made a wide gap in the dam, and rendered useless, for the time, a long stretch in the canal. While this attack was in progress several regiments were sent up from Frederick, Maryland, to reinforce Col. Leonard,² and the short time in which the whole of Banks's command, at the latter place, could reach Williamsport, rendered it inadvisable for Jackson to cross the river. Having done all the damage he could to the canal from the south side, he withdrew on the 21st, and returned to Winchester.

While engaged in this expedition, news had come of the decisive repulse by Gen. Edward Johnson of the attack made by the Federals upon his position at Camp Alleghany. This occurred on the 13th of December.³ Gen. Jackson advised that this force be now sent to

¹ Afterwards colonel of the Thirty-third Virginia regiment, and subsequently Governor of Virginia.

² The "Record of Events" on Banks's division return for this period says that on the 18th of December the Fifth Connecticut, Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania, and First Maryland regiments, Company F, of the Fourth United States artillery, and two companies of Maryland cavalry were ordered to Williamsport.

³ Gen. Edward Johnson, with from 1200 to 1500 men and two batteries, occupied Camp Alleghany, which is fifteen miles west of Monterey, on the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike. He was attacked by Gen. Milroy, with from 1700

reinforce him or be moved towards Moorefield, so as to co-operate with him in an advance on Romney.¹ This was not done, and later in the winter Johnson was forced to fall back to the Shenandoah mountain, to avoid the danger of a flank movement against him from Romney.

Jackson, soon after his return to Winchester, was gratified to meet Gen. Loring, the last two of whose brigades arrived there at Christmas.²

Gen. Loring, who was to retain command of his own troops and to be second to Jackson, had three infantry brigades, under Col. W. B. Taliaferro, Col. Wm. Gilham, and Brig.-Gen. S. R. Anderson respectively, and Mayre's and Shumaker's batteries. These troops numbered nearly six thousand (6000), and increased Jackson's entire force to about eleven thousand (11,000) men.³

Jackson had now all the troops that his superiors thought it judicious to spare him. He had been most anxious to make an effort to recover Western Virginia from the Federals, but the force at hand

to 1800 men, on December 13. After a fierce struggle, lasting the greater part of the day, the Federals were repulsed at every point, and retreated to their camp on Cheat mountain. ("Rebellion Record," vol. iii., Doc. 226.)

¹ Jackson's letter, dated December 23, and sent both to Gen. J. E. Johnston and Adj.-Gen. Cooper, is as follows: "I respectfully recommend that such of Brig.-Gen. Loring's forces as are on or near the Alleghany mountains be ordered to march forthwith to Moorefield, in Hardy county, with a view to forming a junction with the troops now at or near this point (Winchester). If it is the design of the government to commence offensive operations against Romney soon, the troops asked for should move to my aid at once. Recent intelligence from Romney gives reason to believe that the force of the enemy in Hampshire county is about 10,000, and that reinforcements are continuing to arrive. I regret to say that the occupation of Hampshire county by the enemy is exercising a demoralizing influence upon our people, who are gradually yielding to outward pressure and taking the oath of allegiance to the United States. There are noble spirits in and about Romney who have given up their earthly all, and are now, for our cause and institutions, exiles from their homes. I have endeavored to cheer them, and to deter those who remained behind from taking the oath of allegiance to the enemy, by holding out to them the prospect of a speedy deliverance; but this, I fear, will prove a delusion, unless the asked for forces, or their equivalent, come soon. I fear that the forces that were recently defeated on the Alleghany will be in Romney before Gen. Johnson leaves his position."

² Loring arrived December 26. The same day the Hon. C. J. Faulkner, but recently released from a northern prison, offered his services to Gen. Jackson, and was appointed aide-de-camp.

³ Jackson reports his strength on January 10 to Gen. J. E. Johnston as 10,178 infantry and 648 cavalry. He had also 26 pieces of artillery.

was felt to be inadequate to so large an undertaking. The season, too, was so far advanced that a mountain campaign would be attended with very great difficulties. He, nevertheless, decided to persevere. An immediate movement was determined upon against the forces stationed within the limits of his military district. This district extended over the region bounded on the southeast by the Blue Ridge, on the north and northeast by the Potomac, from Harper's Ferry to its source, and on the northwest by the crest of the Alleghanies, until it joins the district recently commanded by Gen. Lee, and still held by the troops left there under Gen. Edward Johnson. He would first clear his own district of the foe, do all possible damage to the railroad and canal, and then be guided by circumstances. The preparations were hurried forward, and by the last day of the year all was in readiness to move. (Map No. I.)

The forces and positions of the enemy opposed to Jackson at the beginning of 1862 were as follows: Gen. Banks, commanding the Fifth corps of McClellan's army, with headquarters at Frederick, Maryland, had sixteen thousand (16,000) effective men,¹ the greater part of whom were in winter quarters near that city, while the remainder guarded the Potomac from Harper's Ferry to Williamsport. Gen. Rosecrans, still holding command of the Department of Western Virginia, had twenty-two thousand (22,000) men scattered over that region,² but was concentrating them on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. He says in his report:³ "On the 6th of December, satisfied that the condition of the roads over the Alleghanies into Western Virginia, as well as the scarcity of subsistence and horse-feed, would preclude any serious operations of the enemy against us until the opening of spring, I began quietly and secretly to assemble all the spare troops of the department in the neighborhood of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, under cover of about five thousand men I had posted at Romney, with the design of obtaining Gen. McClellan's permission to take nearly all these troops and suddenly seize, fortify, and hold Winchester, whereby I should at once more effectually cover the northeastern and central parts of Western Virginia, and at the same time threatening the left of the enemy's position at Manassas,

¹ See Federal Congressional Report on Conduct of the War, 1863, Part II. p. 414, Gen. Banks's testimony.

² See same Report, Part I. p. 202, Rosecrans's testimony, given December 31, 1861.

³ See Report on Conduct of the War, 1865, vol. iii. p. 14, of Rosecrans's campaigns.

compel him to lengthen his line of defence in front of the Army of the Potomac, and throw it farther south. That I might more fully lay my views before the general commanding, I requested his permission to visit him at Washington, whither I proceeded about the 28th of December, and found Gen. McClellan sick of typhoid fever. Before an interview could be had with him on the subject, Stonewall Jackson, with a column of ten thousand men, began an advance in the direction of Cumberland, which threatened such serious consequences that, although ordered to send all my troops to Gen. Lander and to remain personally idle, I was obliged to return to Wheeling for the purpose of seeing this order executed, and supplies and subsistence sent to Gen. Lander."

The same plan of Federal operations was urged by Gen. Lander, who, in his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, December 27, 1861, says: "I have also stated to gentlemen high in authority that if I could be furnished with three hundred pack-mules and with five thousand men, with liberty in the quartermaster's department to purchase beef cattle, and to employ some of my old mountaineers, so that I could move with celerity—such men now being in this city—I would engage to penetrate the Blue Ridge mountains, and endeavor to take the town of Winchester, and break the northern branch of the Manassas Gap railway. In all these matters I rely fully and completely on the co-operation of Gen. Kelly, now at Romney."¹ A few days after this Gen. Lander was ordered to duty on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and the troops at Hancock, Cumberland, and Romney, and the intermediate points, were placed under his command.

Such was the condition of affairs, and such the plans of his enemy, when, on January 1, 1862, Jackson set out from Winchester in the direction of Bath. With him were Garnett's (the "Stonewall") brigade,² the three brigades under Gen. Loring,³ a part of the militia, five batteries, and Ashby's regiment of cavalry, the whole numbering some eight or nine thousand (8000 or 9000) men. His movement disconcerted all plans for an aggressive campaign against Winchester, and threw his opponents on the defensive. By moving against Bath, and dispersing the force there and at Hancock, he hoped to destroy communications between Banks and Kelly, threaten the latter's rear, and

¹ Report on the Conduct of the War, 1863, Part I. p. 160.

² Brig.-Gen. Richard B. Garnett had been assigned to the command of Jackson's old brigade.

³ The troops brought by Loring were known as the "Army of the Northwest."

force him to evacuate Romney or fight single-handed. The weather during December had been fine, and the roads were in good condition. The morning of New Year's day was bright and pleasant, and the army set forth in fine spirits. But the fine weather was, unfortunately, of short duration. Before the evening of the first day a cold storm arrived from the northwest. This was the beginning of a violent and protracted spell of bad weather, which continued for the next three weeks, and interfered most seriously with the expedition. The second day was cold and stormy, and the wagons being delayed by difficult roads,—by-ways being selected to conceal the movement,—the troops passed the night without anything to eat,¹ and, in many cases, without covering. Next morning, when the wagons had caught up, a short time was allowed for cooking and eating, and the march was renewed. Snow and sleet during the latter part of the day added much to the discomfort of the soldiers, and rendered the roads so slippery that the wagons were again unable to keep up with the troops. The night of January 3 was passed in the midst of the storm, about four miles from Bath. A scouting party of the enemy had been dispersed and partly captured during the afternoon. Next morning, Saturday, January 4, as soon as it was possible, Gen. Jackson made his dispositions to surround the town. A detachment was sent over the mountain to the left, with orders to approach the place from the west. The main body pushed along the road, while a regiment was thrown forward on the right and another on the left of the village. But the troops moved slowly. They were exhausted by the cold and suffering of the preceding night, the ground was covered with ice, and a large part of the day was consumed before the Confederates, headed by Col. Baylor of the general's staff, dashed into the town. The enemy, after skirmishing for some hours, had retired hastily. The village had been held by a part of the Thirty-ninth Illinois regiment, with a squadron of cavalry and a section of artillery. These troops had been reinforced on the morning of the 4th by the Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania regiment from Hancock, and at mid-day the Thirteenth Indiana had arrived at Sir John's Run, on the cars, and had marched towards Bath. But in the presence of a large hostile force, Col. Murray, of the Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania, who was in command, decided not to wait for an attack. Under his orders the Thirteenth Indiana was turned back, and the Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania and the Illinois troops both retreated

¹ The first night the army camped near Pughtown, the second at Unger's.

to Hancock, leaving the stores and camp equipage of the force that had been stationed at Bath to be captured. From Bath two principal roads lead to the Potomac, one in the direction of Hancock, which is about six miles distant, on the Maryland side of the river; the other, farther west, to Sir John's Run, a station on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, which is only three miles away. A road, still farther to the west, leads to the Great Cacapon river, at the railroad bridge over that stream.

Finding the enemy gone, Jackson ordered an immediate pursuit. With the main body of his command he pushed on towards Hancock, driving the rear of the retreating enemy over the river. Gilham's brigade was sent towards Sir John's Run, but did not succeed in inflicting any damage on the forces retreating by that route. The road led along the narrow and precipitous defile of Sir John's Run, where a few men were easily able to check Gilham's advance until dark, and after nightfall the Federals retreated over the river. Col. Rust, with the Third Arkansas and the Thirty-seventh Virginia regiments, and two guns, was sent to destroy the railroad bridge over the Great Cacapon. The guard made a stout resistance, but the next morning were driven off, and the bridge, railroad station, and telegraph were destroyed.

The main Confederate force bivouacked on the night of the 4th opposite Hancock. Next morning Jackson sent Col. Ashby to demand the surrender of that town, and in the event of a refusal, to give notice that two hours would be allowed for the removal of non-combatants before the Confederate batteries would open upon it. Gen. Lander had just arrived and assumed command at Hancock, and he refused to surrender, and prepared to resist until reinforcements could reach him. Jackson placed several pieces of artillery in position, and kept up a brisk cannonade during the remainder of the day, which he renewed on the morrow. Meantime, an effort was made to construct a bridge at a point two miles above, with the view of crossing to the Maryland side. But it was found that this work would consume several days, in which time Gen. Lander might be reinforced to such an extent as to render the movement impracticable.¹

¹ Troops were indeed being hastened to Lander as Jackson foresaw. Gen. Williams (of Banks's corps) left Frederick, Maryland, with his brigade for Hancock at 5 A.M. on the morning of the 6th, and camped at Hagerstown the same night, and the remainder of Banks's forces were ready to march. Williams continued to Hancock, and on the 8th of January assumed command at that point, Gen. Lander having gone to Romney the day before. Rosecrans had also

Hence the Confederate leader, having freed this part of his district from the enemy, after destroying such of the captured stores as he could not carry off, left the vicinity of Hancock on the morning of the 7th and marched in the direction of Romney, the head of his column reaching Unger's Store the same evening.

This march was a trying one. The severity of the weather continued without abatement. The snow and sleet, under the tramp of the soldiers, soon became as smooth as glass, so that marching was painful and difficult, while the road was filled with the falling horses of the wagons and artillery, that were unable to stand on their smooth-shod feet. Numbers of horses were disabled and some killed by this day's march. The intense cold added to the suffering of the troops, and caused the bivouac on the night of the 7th of January, 1862, to be long remembered by many of them. The privations endured began to cause discontent and murmuring, especially among the troops which had recently joined Jackson. It was impossible to continue the march until the horses had been rough-shod, and Jackson, though reluctant, was obliged to remain some days at Unger's for this purpose.

On the day that the Confederates retired from Hancock, January 7, a portion of the Federal force at Romney made a successful reconnoissance on the Winchester road. Just east of the North river, a branch of the Great Cacapon, runs a high ridge, through which, at a narrow and precipitous gap called Hanging Rock, passes the main road from Winchester to Romney. This point, distant about fifteen miles from the latter place, was held by about seven hundred militia and a section of artillery, under Col. Munroe.¹ On the night of the 6th, Col. Dunning, of the Fifth Ohio, under orders from Gen. Kelly, set out from Romney with a portion of the Fourth, Fifth, Seventh, and Eighth Ohio, Fourteenth Indiana, and First Virginia regiments,

hurried troops to Hancock, and Williams found there when he arrived "the Eighty-fourth and One Hundred and Tenth Pennsylvania, Thirty-ninth Illinois, four companies of the Thirteenth Massachusetts, two companies of the First Virginia, a company of sharpshooters, a detachment of 261 cavalry, and 8 guns, with 92 men from Best's, Hampton's, Knapp's, and Mathews's batteries." There were also six companies of the First Maryland regiment of infantry at Milestone Point, five miles below Hancock. To these forces he added his brigade of four regiments. (See "Record of Events" on return of Williams's brigade, assistant adjutant-general's office.)

¹ The force consisted of 650 militia infantry, Capt. Sheets's company of cavalry of 56 men, and 2 pieces of artillery and 30 men under Lieut. Cutshaw. (Jackson's letter to Gen. J. E. Johnston, January 10.)

five companies of cavalry, and six pieces of artillery, in all about two thousand (2000) men.¹ They reached the vicinity of Hanging Rock about daylight, and, having captured the Confederate pickets, took the main body by surprise. Col. Munroe's main force was on the bluff to the north of the road. The hill on the south was deemed inaccessible, and so was left comparatively undefended. Munroe's artillery, under Lieut. Cutshaw, commanded the road, and the advance was instructed to burn the bridge over North river upon retiring. Col. Dunning, however, pressed forward so quickly and with such overwhelming force, that he drove the Confederates away from the bridge and seized it before it was materially injured. Having crossed the stream, he deployed his force, and while he sent one regiment over the hill south of the road by an unfrequented path, and another along the road itself, he led another to attack Munroe's force on the north hill. The Confederates were soon overpowered, and, seeing themselves flanked, fled, to escape capture.² The two guns fell into the enemy's hands, with a part of the baggage of the troops, and seven prisoners.³ The Federal troops set fire to the private houses, mills, etc., in the vicinity, and then returned to Romney, burning many

¹ Col. Dunning, in his report, says he had six companies each of the Fourth, Fifth, Seventh, and Eighth Ohio, First Virginia, and Fourteenth Indiana infantry; Daum's battery and one section of Baker's, three companies of the First Virginia cavalry, and the Ringgold and Washington cavalry, in all "not over 2000 men." He and Gen. Kelly report the movement as made on the night of the 7th, though all other authorities place it on the night of the 6th. (See also Doc. 8, vol. iv., "Rebellion Record.")

² Col. (then Lieut.) Cutshaw says, in a letter to the author: "On the 7th of January, 1862, a force from Romney surprised our camp at daylight, their advance coming in with part of our pickets. Instead of attempting a passage of the gap the enemy hurried immediately to the more accessible ridge on our right, and were there as soon as our militia, and with a volley scattered them." Cutshaw's guns were left without support, the gunners shot down or put to flight, and the pieces captured.

³ Jackson's report of this affair to Gen. J. E. Johnston, dated Unger's Store, January 11, 1862, says: "Though on the 4th instant Bath and all that part of Morgan county east of the Big Capon river was recovered from the enemy, . . . yet on the 7th the enemy surprised our militia at Hanging Rock pass, distant fifteen miles from Romney, drove back our troops from their fortifications, burnt their huts, captured two pieces of artillery (one a four-pounder rifle, the other a four-pounder smooth-bore) . . . As soon as they had accomplished this and burnt the buildings of Col. Charles Blue, near by, and killed his live-stock, leaving it on the ground, they returned to Romney."

Col. Dunning, in his report, says: "Seven prisoners were taken and seven dead were found."

houses and killing much cattle on the way. Of this conduct a northern correspondent, writing from Romney at the time, says: "The burning of dwellings along the road was a piece of vandalism which should be punished with the death, not only of the men who did it, but of the officers who countenanced and encouraged it."¹

Jackson got his troops all up and into camp at Unger's on Wednesday, the 8th. Here, while he rested, the teams were prepared for better service on the ice. He was not ready to move the main body until the morning of Monday, the 13th, when the march to Romney was resumed. While waiting, however, Gen. Meem, with part of his militia, was sent on the 10th towards Moorefield, and Gen. Carson towards Bath, for the purpose of distracting the enemy; while Ashby, with a small force of cavalry, watched the movements of the Federal forces in Romney.² Meantime, Gen. Lander, who had been placed

¹ Jackson says in his official report: "I do not feel at liberty to close this report without alluding to the conduct of the reprobate Federal commanders, who, in Hampshire county, have not only burned valuable mill-property, but also many private houses. Their track from Romney to Hanging Rock, a distance of fifteen miles, was one of desolation. The number of dead animals lying along the roadside, where they had been shot by the enemy, exemplified the spirit of that part of the northern army." (Dabney's Life, p. 271.)

Col. Dunning says in his report that he ordered the mill and hotel (Col. Blue's house) to be burned, and adds: "I am sorry to say that some straggling soldiers burnt other unoccupied houses on their return march." (Federal official reports, adjutant-general's office.)

² Jackson, on January 10, reported the distribution of his forces as follows:

183	infantry	.	.	.	.	at Winchester.
650	"	56	cavalry	.	.	at Hanging Rock.
		50	"	.	.	at North River Mills.
100	"	56	"	.	.	at Martinsburg.
		60	"	.	.	at Shepherdstown.
100	"	26	"	.	.	at Duffield's Depot (Baltimore and Ohio railroad).
400	"	.	.	.	.	at Moorefield.
8000	"	375	cavalry	.	.	at Unger's Store.

And adds that "Brig.-Gen. Meem left here this morning for Moorefield with 545 infantry, and Brig.-Gen. Carson for Bath, sixteen miles off, with 200 infantry and 25 mounted militia."

Jackson's artillery consisted at this time of

McLaughlin's (Rockbridge) battery	.	.	.	.	.	6 guns.
Waters's battery	.	.	.	.	.	4 "
Carpenter's battery	.	.	.	.	.	4 "
Shumaker's battery	.	.	.	.	.	4 "
Marye's battery	.	.	.	.	.	4 "
Cutshaw's section (lost January 7)	.	.	.	.	.	2 "

in command of all the Federal forces in this vicinity, evacuated Romney on the 10th, and fell back to the railroad at Patterson's creek. At this point he concentrated the troops from Hancock and Cumberland, as well as those from Romney and Springfield. The advance of the Confederates camped for the night of the 13th near Slanesville, headquarters being at Sherrard's, at Bloomery gap. Next day the march was continued through a cold and driving sleet. Jackson and the advance entered Romney in the evening. The retreating enemy had left some stores and equipage, which fell into his hands. (Map No. 1.)

On the 15th, the troops being all up, Jackson began to prepare for another forward movement. At Cumberland¹ the Potomac, which approaches that town from the southwest, makes a sharp bend, and, though tortuous, pursues, after leaving it, a direction but little east of south until it receives the waters of Patterson's creek. At the latter point the Baltimore and Ohio railroad crosses the creek going westward on an extensive bridge, and a short distance up the river crosses the Potomac itself to the north bank, on which side it continues past Cumberland to New creek, where it recrosses to the Virginia side. The bridges over the Potomac were important and valuable struc-

and a section of heavy guns (twenty-four-pounder Parrotts) sent out to Bath under Capt. Wood McDonald, but afterwards returned to Winchester because of the difficulty of transporting them over the bad roads.

The organization of the regular infantry under Jackson (which was all at Unger's Store) was as follows:

Loring's troops:

Garnett's brigade:	Taliaferro's brigade:	Gilham's brigade:	Anderson's brigade.
2d Virginia regt.	23d Virginia regt.	21st Virginia regt.	1st Tennessee regt.
4th " "	37th " "	42d " "	7th " "
5th " "	3d Arkansas "	48th " "	14th " "
27th " "		Irish battalion.	
33d " "			

¹ Gen. Jackson had written on the 14th to Secretary Benjamin as follows:

"BLOOMERY GAP, January 14, 1862.

"HON. J. P. BENJAMIN:

"SIR:—Through the blessing of God I regard this district as essentially in our possession.

"There is reason to believe that there are medical and other stores in Cumberland which would, if in our possession, be of great value to our government. If you desire them to be secured, in addition to the other advantages resulting from the occupation of Cumberland and the dispersion or capture of their army near there, please send me at once 4000 infantry and 350 cavalry. An engineer officer is much needed.

"T. J. JACKSON,
"Major-General."

tures, and the demolition of them would render the railroad useless from New creek (now called Keyser) eastward. This Jackson desired to accomplish, and at the same time to do such damage as he could to the forces guarding them. As a first step he determined to destroy the bridge at New creek, so as to break Lander's western communications and threaten his flank and rear. The "Stonewall" brigade and that of Col. Taliaferro were selected for this undertaking.

Now it was that a new difficulty confronted the Confederate leader, and forced him to relinquish for the time all further movements. The severe privations of the soldiers at Bath and Hancock had not been endured without murmuring; the painful march to Unger's Store had not allayed the dissatisfaction, and that to Romney, in still more severe weather, had caused the discontent, especially in Gen. Loring's command, to become open and outspoken. Many men were in hospital from the effects of the exposure. It was commonly declared that the cold was more fatal than the enemy. A campaign at such a season, among inhospitable mountains, was pronounced madness. This feeling was not confined to the men. Many of the officers, under Jackson for the first time, sympathized with it, or did nothing to repress it. Rain and a partial thaw were converting the ice-bound roads into slush and mire. The sufferings of the march, now proposed, promised to be greater than those already endured. The result was that when Jackson was ready to set out he found the troops, and especially Taliaferro's brigade, so discontented, and opposition to further movements with the present roads and weather so wide-spread, as to render his proposed undertaking inexpedient. "With deep mortification and reluctance,"¹ says his biographer, "he therefore relinquished further aggressive movements, and prepared to defend what he had already won."

In two weeks, and with trifling loss, he had placed the troops opposed to him, while preparing for an aggressive movement, upon the defensive; had expelled them virtually from his whole district; had liberated three counties from their rule, and secured the supplies in them for the subsistence of his own troops.

He now proceeded to place his army in winter quarters. Gen. Loring's three brigades, and thirteen pieces of artillery, were quartered around Romney; Boggs's brigade of militia was spread along the South Branch of the Potomac, as far as Moorefield, and his pickets joined those of Gen. Edward Johnson on the Alleghany, while three

¹ Dr. Dabney.

companies of cavalry were left with Loring for outpost duty. Carson's brigade of militia was stationed at Bath; Meem's brigade at and beyond Martinsburg; and Ashby with the greater part of his cavalry regiment on the line of the Potomac. Garnett's brigade was ordered to Winchester to watch and oppose Banks, and to this place Gen. Jackson removed his own headquarters on the 24th of January. He thus left the larger part of his force at Romney, where it could subsist from the rich valley of the South Branch, and where it would be in position to meet an advance of the enemy from the northwest, or be ready to take advantage of the return of good weather to resume the offensive. A line of telegraph from Winchester was to put Jackson in communication with Romney. Garnett's brigade was stationed at the former place that it might be at hand to resist any movement of Gen. Banks, who menaced his front from Harper's Ferry to Williamsport, or might go to the assistance of Loring, if circumstances required.¹

¹ Gen. Jackson's views are thus given in a letter to the Secretary of War, Hon. J. P. Benjamin, dated January 20, 1862: "Though the enemy have retreated to the Potomac, yet they continue in possession of the frontiers of this district from seven miles below Cumberland to the Alleghany. On the first of this month there was not a single loyal citizen of Morgan county who, in my opinion, could with safety remain at home, and the same may be said respecting the most valuable portion of Hampshire county. A kind Providence has restored to us the entire county of Morgan, and nearly the entire county of Hampshire, but so long as the enemy hold possession of the railroad bridge, five miles below Cumberland, and the two railroad bridges above Cumberland, they can make dangerous inroads upon us. On last Friday night I designed moving rapidly, with my old brigade and one of Loring's, for the purpose of destroying one of the railroad bridges across the North Branch of the Potomac west of Cumberland, and thus cutting off their supplies from the west, and consequently forcing them to reduce their army in front of me; but as Gen. Loring's leading brigade, commanded by Col. Taliaferro, was not in a condition to move, the enterprise had to be abandoned. Since leaving Winchester, the 1st instant, the troops have suffered greatly, and Gen. Loring has not a single brigade in a condition for active operations, though in a few days I expect they will be much improved, and will, if placed in winter quarters, be able to hold this important portion of the Valley; but these quarters should be well selected and the position strengthened, and hence the great importance of having an engineer officer. It will not do for me to remain here much longer, lest Gen. Banks should cross the Potomac; consequently, in a few days I expect to leave this place, taking with me Garnett's brigade. I have written to Gen. J. E. Johnston that, unless otherwise directed, Gen. Loring's command will go into winter quarters in the South Branch valley, Gen. Carson's at Bath, Gen. Meem's at Martinsburg, and Gen. Garnett's at Winchester. The cavalry will be distributed at various points along the northern frontier. Gen. Boggs's brigade, which principally belongs to

When Jackson returned to Winchester, on the 24th of January, everything betokened some weeks of quiet, undisturbed by any important military movements. He was not aware, however, of the extent of the discontent excited among Gen. Loring's troops, and did not imagine that by leaving them at Romney this feeling would be increased. Yet such was the case. They complained bitterly of the campaign which had been conducted at the expense of so much suffering; a campaign now suspended, they said, only to leave *them* in an exposed and dangerous position, in the midst of an inhospitable mountain region, out of reach of adequate supplies and of timely succor. They declared their position untenable in case of an attack, and even attributed the removal of the "Stonewall" (Garnett's) brigade to Winchester, to favoritism. Jackson, silent and reserved in manner, never taking counsel even with his next in command as to his plans, most rigid and exacting as a commander, had not yet acquired that wonderful control over his soldiers which a few months later would have rendered such murmuring impossible. Indeed, it is difficult to realize the feeling of distrust then manifested, when we consider the unbounded enthusiasm and devotion with which many of these same men afterwards followed Jackson to victory and death.

As soon as the troops had gone into winter quarters furloughs were freely given, and in the course of a few days the complaints and criticisms which had become so rife at Romney were carried to Richmond, and were pressed upon the attention of the War Department. The Secretary was beset with accounts of what was termed Jackson's rash and ill-advised campaign, and his interference was most earnestly invoked in behalf of a gallant body of troops now, it was said, in danger of being overwhelmed in Romney by Gen. Lander's largely superior forces, whenever the latter should choose to make a dash at them from the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. The Secretary, far from the scene of operations, with no information as to the real state of the case, except such as reached him in the above way, and with little knowledge of Jackson's character and capacity, unfortunately yielded to the pressure brought upon him.

On the 31st of January, just one week after his return to Winchester, Gen. Jackson received the following telegram from the Secretary of War: "Our news indicates that a movement is making to cut off

the South Branch valley, will be distributed over the section of country to which it belongs. It is very desirable that the troops should go into winter quarters as soon as possible, so I trust you will send me the best engineer officer you can, though it be for only ten days."

Gen. Loring's command; order him back to Winchester immediately." This order was sent without consultation with Gen. J. E. Johnston, then in chief command in Virginia, or with Gen. Jackson himself, and of course reflected upon the latter's judgment and capacity. Gen. Jackson at once complied with the order, at the same time ordering back Carson's militia from Bath to Bloomery gap, and directing the troops on the left of Loring, in the South Branch valley, to fall back if the enemy should advance. He then wrote to the Secretary as follows:

"HON. J. P. BENJAMIN, etc.

"SIR:—Your order, requiring me to direct Gen. Loring to return with his command to Winchester immediately, has been received and promptly complied with.

"With such interference in my command I cannot expect to be of much service in the field, and, accordingly, respectfully request to be ordered to report for duty to the superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, as has been done in the case of other professors. Should this application not be granted, I respectfully request that the President will accept my resignation from the army.

"Respectfully, etc., your obed't servant,

"T. J. JACKSON."

This letter was forwarded through Gen. Johnston, to whose adjutant he at the same time wrote: "The Secretary of War stated in the order requiring Gen. Loring's command to fall back to this place immediately that he had been informed the command was in danger of being cut off. Such danger, I am well satisfied, does not exist, nor did it, in my opinion, exist at the time the order was given, and I therefore respectfully recommend that the order be countermanded, and that Gen. Loring be required to return with his command to the neighborhood of Romney." But the commander-in-chief, though concurring in Jackson's opinion of the campaign, did not think it best to assume the responsibility of giving the order, and all of Loring's troops returned to the vicinity of Winchester.¹ In regard to the resignation, Gen. Johnston detained it for a time, and wrote urging Jackson to reconsider it.²

¹ Dabney's Life of Jackson.

² Gen. Johnston's letter is as follows:

"MY DEAR FRIEND:—I have just read, with profound regret, your letter to the Secretary of War, asking to be relieved from your present command, either by an order to the Virginia Military Institute or the acceptance of your resignation. Let me beg you to reconsider this matter. Under ordinary circumstances, a due sense of one's own dignity, as well as care for professional character and official rights, would demand such a course as yours. But the character of this war, the great energy exhibited by the government of the United States, the danger in which our very existence as an independent people lies, require sacrifices from us all who have been educated as soldiers. I receive my infor-

On the same day Jackson wrote to Governor Letcher as follows :

“ WINCHESTER, January 31, 1862.

“ GOVERNOR:—This morning I received an order from the Secretary of War to order Gen. Loring and his command to fall back from Romney to this place immediately. The order was promptly complied with; but as the order was given without consulting me, and is abandoning to the enemy what has cost much preparation, expense, and exposure to secure, and is in direct conflict with my military plans, and implies a want of confidence in my capacity to judge when Gen. Loring's troops should fall back, and is an attempt to control military operations in detail from the Secretary's desk at a distance, I have, for the reasons set forth in the accompanying paper, requested to be ordered back to the Institute, and if this is denied me, then to have my resignation accepted. I ask as a special favor that you will have me ordered back to the Institute.

“ As a single order like that of the Secretary may destroy the entire fruits of a campaign, I cannot reasonably expect, if my operations are thus to be interfered with, to be of much service in the field. A sense of duty brought me into the field, and has thus far kept me. It now appears to be my duty to return to the Institute, and I hope that you will leave no stone unturned to get me there. If I have ever acquired, through the blessing of Providence, any influence over troops, this undoing of my work by the Secretary may greatly diminish that influence.

“ I regard this recent expedition as a great success. Before our troops left here on the 1st instant, there was not, so far as I have been able to ascertain, a single loyal man in Morgan county who could remain at home in safety. In four days that county was entirely evacuated by the enemy. Romney and the most valuable portion of Hampshire county was recovered without firing a gun, and before we had even entered the county.

“ I desire to say nothing against the Secretary of War. I take it for granted that he has done what he believed to be best, but I regard such a policy as ruinous.

“ Very truly, your friend,

“ T. J. JACKSON.

“ HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN LETCHER, Gov. of Va.”

mation of the order of which you have such cause to complain from your letter. Is not that as great an official wrong to me as the order itself to you? Let us dispassionately reason with the government on this subject of command, and if we fail to influence its practice, then ask to be relieved from positions the authority of which is exercised by the War Department, while the responsibilities are left to us.

“ I have taken the liberty to detain your letter to make this appeal to your patriotism, not merely from warm feelings of personal regard, but from the official opinion, which makes me regard you as necessary to the service of your country in your present position.” (Johnston's Narrative, p. 88.)

Many soldiers and citizens added their efforts to those of Gen. Johnston and Governor Letcher.

The Governor says: "The Secretary of War received the general's resignation before the general's letter reached me, and having been informed of the fact by one of my aides, to whom Mr. Benjamin communicated it, I at once went to the War Department, and after some conversation between the Secretary and myself, it was agreed that no action should be taken until I should have an opportunity to write to Gen. Jackson and receive his reply. I accordingly went to my office and wrote him a long and earnest letter, informing him of what had taken place, and urging such reasons as I thought would induce him to remain in the field, and concluding with the request that he would sanction what I had done and permit me to withdraw his resignation. This letter was sent by my aide, Col. Boteler, and I was greatly gratified, on his return, to find that the general acceded to my wishes, and gave me his full consent to the withdrawal of his letter of resignation from the files of the War Department."¹

¹ From a communication of Governor Letcher to the "Richmond Whig." Jackson's reply referred to is in the Archive Office in Washington, and is as follows:

"February 6, 1862.

"GOVERNOR:—Your letter of the 4th inst. was received this morning. If my retiring from the army would produce the effect upon our country that you have named in your letter, I, of course, would not desire to leave the service. And if, upon the receipt of this note, your opinion remains unchanged, you are authorized to withdraw my resignation, unless the Secretary of War desires that it should be accepted. My reasons for resigning were set forth in my letter of the 31st ult., and my views remain unchanged; and if the Secretary persists in the ruinous policy complained of, I feel that no officer can serve his country better than by making his strongest possible protest against it, which, in my opinion, is done by tendering his resignation, rather than be a willing instrument in prosecuting the war upon a ruinous principle. I am much obliged to you for requesting that I should be ordered to the Institute.

"Yours, etc.,

"T. J. JACKSON."

CHAPTER II.

KERNSTOWN.

THE withdrawal of the Confederate troops from Romney was a surrender of whatever had been gained by the expedition, for it soon resulted in the reoccupation by the enemy of all the territory that had been recovered from him.

Various causes combined to prevent any further movement on the part of Gen. Jackson for some weeks. After the events narrated in the close of the last chapter it was deemed expedient to make some changes. Gen. Loring was ordered to a new command in the southwest, and all his troops that were not Virginians were gradually removed to the other wing of Gen. Johnston's army. This took away Anderson's brigade, composed of the First, Seventh, and Fourteenth Tennessee regiments, and the First Georgia and Third Arkansas from Taliaferro's, and left to Gen. Jackson, besides Garnett's brigade, Gilham's brigade (now commanded by Col. J. S. Burks),¹ composed of the Twenty-first, Forty-second, and Forty-eighth Virginia regiments, and the First battalion of regulars (commonly known as the Irish battalion), and the Twenty-third and Thirty-seventh Virginia regiments, under Col. Taliaferro. The militia commands had never been well organized, and they were now dwindling rapidly by details and enlistments in the volunteer forces.² In accordance with a law passed by the

¹ Col. Gilham and Maj. Ship had been ordered back to the Virginia Military Institute, where they held professorships, and Col. J. T. L. Preston, who had acted as adjutant-general and chief of staff for Jackson during the past few months, was ordered away for the same reason on February 1.

² The ideas of military efficiency in some of these commands were droll, and no doubt vexatious enough to the general. In the absence of Gen. Carson the command of his brigade devolved on Col. Sincindiver, a corpulent and good-humored Dutchman, whose military training had been gained entirely at the annual militia musters which before the war constituted a feature of Virginia life. We find Jackson writing to him on February 11: "I regret to hear from an officer that it is *impossible* to execute an order. If your cavalry will not obey your orders you must *make them* do it, and, if necessary, go out with them yourself. I desire you to go out and post your cavalry where you want them to

Confederate Congress to encourage re-enlistments, furloughs for thirty days were now given to those soldiers who re-enlisted, and a large number of men were permitted to be absent in this way. On the 7th of February orders were issued to authorize the giving of furloughs to re-enlisted men to the extent of one-third of the number present for duty. The diminution of his force from these causes would have kept Jackson inactive, even had not the condition of the roads, which broke up as soon as the weather moderated, put a stop to any important movements. The opening of an aggressive campaign by the Federal armies in Virginia, involving as it did an advance of the greatly superior force in his front, was soon to throw him on the defensive.

Gen. Lander, finding that the Confederates had withdrawn from Romney and the South Branch valley, reoccupied the former place without opposition on the 7th of February, and a few days later sent an expedition as far south as Moorefield. This party, under Col. Dunning, of the Fifth Ohio, met with no serious resistance, and brought off more than two hundred cattle. Work was busily resumed on the railroad, Gen. Carson having fallen back from Bath to Bloomery gap, and by the 14th the bridge over the Great Cacapon was rebuilt, and the railroad open once more from the west to Hancock. On this day Lander made a bold dash, with four hundred cavalry and several regiments of infantry, at the militia forces stationed at Bloomery. Leaving Paw-Paw on the evening of the 13th, he constructed, during the night, a temporary bridge of wagons over the Great Cacapon river, at a point about seven miles south of the railroad, and, crossing over, moved rapidly towards Bloomery, where he took Col. Sincindiver¹ by surprise. Leading the charge of his cavalry himself, Gen. Lander dashed in among the Confederates before they had fully formed, and captured some seventy-five prisoners, of whom seventeen were officers. The Confederates, rallying after their first panic, checked the Federals until the trains could be gotten away, when they retreated. The loss in killed and wounded was insignificant on both sides. On the same day a reconnoissance in force was made by Col. Carroll and two regiments of Federal infantry to Unger's Store. As soon as Jackson knew of this affair he ordered

stay, and arrest any man who leaves his post, and prefer charges and specifications against him, that he may be court-martialed. It will not do to say that your men cannot be induced to perform their duty. *They must be made to do it.* When you hear of marauding parties, send out and bring them in as prisoners of war." The affair of the 14th of February can hardly be wondered at.

¹ Commanding in the absence of Gen. Carson.

Ashby from Martinsburg, with what force he had at hand, to check the enemy. On the 16th, Col. Ashby drove out the detachment which Lander had left at Bloomery gap, but the territory beyond remained in Federal possession, and this rendered the railroad secure from Hancock westward. Jackson ceased to give furloughs for the time, and took steps, by sending a detachment with boats to Castleman's ferry, on the Shenandoah, to make good his communications with Gen. D. H. Hill, at Leesburg, on the eastern side of the Blue Ridge. (Map No. 1.) These precautions were taken against the advance of the enemy in force, but no further movements were made by Gen. Lander. That gallant officer was soon disabled by the effects of a wound received the preceding fall, which had been aggravated by active service. He sank rapidly, and died at his headquarters at Paw-Paw on the 2d of March.

The month of February wore on,—a month filled with disasters to the Confederate cause. On the 6th of that month Fort Henry, on the Tennessee river, was captured; on the 8th, Roanoke Island, North Carolina, fell; on the 12th, the Confederates evacuated Lexington, Missouri; and on the 15th, Bowling Green, Kentucky. Fort Donelson, Tennessee, fell on the 15th, Nashville on the 26th, and the evacuation of Columbus, Kentucky, was begun on the 27th. It was at this dark hour that Mr. Davis was inaugurated at Richmond, on the 22d of February, as first President of the Confederate States.

Meantime, the Federal administration was pushing forward its preparations for the campaign against Richmond, and Gen. Johnston was making his dispositions to meet them. President Lincoln was anxious to attack Johnston in his position at Manassas, and, as part of a general advance by all the Federal armies, which he ordered to take place on, or before, February 22, he directed McClellan to advance "with all the disposable force of the Army of the Potomac, after providing safely for the defence of Washington," and seize the Orange and Alexandria railroad in Johnston's rear. This plan he abandoned, on the urgent representations of McClellan, and reluctantly adopted that general's plan of operations, by way of the lower Chesapeake and the York and James rivers.¹ But before orders were issued to carry out this last purpose, it was determined to send Banks's and Lander's commands forward to cover the rebuilding of the Baltimore

¹ This plan embraced the transfer of the Federal army by water from the vicinity of Washington and Alexandria to Fort Monroe, and its advance thence up the peninsula formed by the York and James rivers against Richmond.

and Ohio railroad from Harper's Ferry to Hancock, and to take and hold Winchester and Strasburg. Measures were taken for this purpose about the 20th of February. On the 24th, the advance guard of Gen. Banks's column¹ occupied Harper's Ferry, and a bateau bridge was soon laid across the Potomac at that point. Canal boats were collected for a more permanent bridge, and on the 26th Gen. McClellan went himself to Harper's Ferry to hasten the forward movement. He had ordered up two of the brigades of Sedgwick's (late Stone's) division to reinforce Banks. The first two brigades that arrived at Harper's Ferry were thrown over on the 26th, and orders were issued for the others to follow, when an unforeseen difficulty caused the Federal commander-in-chief to delay for the time the contemplated movement. The canal boats were found to be too wide to pass through the lock of the branch canal, which at this point was the only outlet to the river. The permanent bridge could not, therefore, be built at once, and a violent gale threatened the safety of the temporary one, which formed the only means of communication. "It was evident," says Gen. McClellan, "that the troops under orders would only be in the way should they arrive, and that it would not be possible to subsist them for a rapid march on Winchester. It was, therefore, deemed necessary to countermand the order, content ourselves with covering the reopening of the railroad for the present, and in the mean time use every exertion to establish, as promptly as possible, depots of forage and subsistence on the Virginia side, to supply the troops and enable them to move on to Winchester, independently of the bridge. The next day (Friday, February 28) I sent a strong reconnoissance to Charlestown, and under its protection went there myself. I then determined to hold that place, and to move the troops composing Lander's and Williams's commands at once on Martinsburg and Bunker Hill, thus effectually covering the reconstruction of the railroad."

In accordance with these views Banks advanced slowly. Martinsburg was occupied on the 3d of March, but it was the 6th before all of Lander's division (now under Gen. Shields, who had been sent to it upon Lander's death) were up, and the Federals had occupied Bunker Hill and Smithfield.²

¹ Banks had wintered at Frederick, Maryland.

² Gen. G. H. Gordon, then of the Second Massachusetts regiment, of Abercrombie's brigade, says the Federal troops were at that time disposed as follows: "While our brigade moved on and to Charlestown from Harper's Ferry, Gen. Williams moved from Hancock through Martinsburg to Bunker Hill. . . ."

Jackson wrote to Gen. J. E. Johnston on the 24th of February as follows: "General:—First Lieut. James K. Boswell, of the Provisional Engineers, is directed to report to me for duty. I have plenty of work for him, but if you desire additional fortifications constructed for the defence of Winchester, please state what shall be their character, and I will put him at work immediately after his arrival. The subject of fortifying is of such importance as to induce me to consult you before moving in the matter. If you think that this place will be adequately reinforced if attacked, then it appears to me that it should be strongly fortified. I have reason to believe that the enemy design advancing on this place in large force. The Seventh and Fourteenth Tennessee regiments left, *via* Snicker's gap, for Manassas on the 22d. The remaining part of Gen. Loring's command can move at any time, but I deem it prudent to detain them until other troops arrive, or until something further is heard from you respecting their marching. The Third Arkansas regiment left here on the 22d, for the purpose of taking the cars at 7 A.M. this morning at Strasburg, *en route* for Fredericksburg. Gen. Holmes requested that the Seventh and Fourteenth Tennessee regiments should move to Manassas, where they should halt until they should receive orders to go to Evansport. I am making arrangements to construct, if possible, a raft bridge at Castleman's, so the troops at Leesburg and this place can co-operate with the least loss of time. If the two places were connected by telegraph several hours would be saved."¹

But the retreat of the main Confederate army from the positions it

Gen. Hamilton, passing through Charlestown, stopped at Smithfield, midway between Charlestown and Bunker Hill. Gen. Shields halted at Martinsburg, and Gen. Sedgwick at Charlestown." Abercrombie, Williams, and Hamilton then commanded the three brigades which constituted Banks's division. (History of Second Massachusetts Regiment, 3d Paper, p. 15.)

On March 2, Banks, at Charlestown, was informed by a negro scout sent out by Col. Strother (of his staff) of the preparations for the evacuation of Winchester, etc. Strother says Banks was held back from advancing rapidly by the fear of a concentration from Manassas at Winchester against him, thus reversing the Manassas campaign of July, 1861. ("Harper's Magazine," January, 1867.)

¹ Jackson's vigor in enforcing discipline is illustrated by an order on February 25 to prevent the introduction of liquors into his command, which had been done by means of boxes sent to the soldiers by their friends. He directed "that every wagon that came into camp should be searched, and if any liquor were found, it was to be spilled out, and the wagon and horses turned over to the quartermaster." (Hotchkiss's Diary.)

had held since July, 1861, was about to begin. Gen. Johnston, after conference with President Davis, had begun the removal of stores and baggage on February 22. With the limited railroad facilities possessed by the Confederates, two weeks were not sufficient for the transportation of all the supplies that had been accumulated at and about Manassas, but Gen. Johnston did not think it prudent to delay longer. There were signs of activity among the Federal troops opposite his right, which led him to expect a movement by McClellan in the direction of Fredericksburg. The latter, under urgent pressure from President Lincoln, was really preparing to attack the Confederate batteries which partially blockaded the Potomac on Gen. Johnston's right. Johnston deemed that the time had come to place his army behind the Rappahannock, where he would be in position to meet a direct advance, or to oppose McClellan at Fredericksburg, should the Federal army choose that route, or to reach Richmond quickly in case of an advance by the York or James rivers. The movement was begun on the morning of the 7th of March by the withdrawal of Whiting from the lower Occoquan to Fredericksburg, and of D. H. Hill from Leesburg, by way of Warrenton, to the Rappahannock. The centre fell back from Centreville and Bull Run on the evening of the 9th, and on the 11th all the infantry and artillery were on the south side of the Rappahannock.

Jackson, meanwhile, remained at Winchester, watching closely the advance of Banks, and doing what was possible to impede it. Gen. Johnston thus describes the duty assigned to him: "After it had become evident that the Valley was to be invaded by an army too strong to be encountered by Jackson's division, that officer was instructed to endeavor to employ the invaders in the Valley, but without exposing himself to the danger of defeat, by keeping so near the enemy as to prevent him from making any considerable detachment to reinforce McClellan, but not so near that he might be compelled to fight."

Jackson's command at this time consisted of Garnett's brigade ("Stonewall"), containing the Second, Fourth, Fifth, Twenty-seventh, and Thirty-third Virginia regiments; Burks's brigade, containing the Twenty-first, Forty-second, and Forty-eighth Virginia regiments, and First battalion of regulars (Irish); and Fulkerson's brigade, containing the Twenty-third and Thirty-seventh Virginia regiments. These brigades were now numbered in order,—First, Second, and Third brigades of the Army of the Valley. There were five batteries of artillery and Ashby's regiment of cavalry. Jackson's entire

force amounted to about four thousand six hundred (4600) effective men, exclusive of some remnants of the militia brigades, distributed at various points in his district.¹ Gen. Banks had his own division, under Williams, and Shields's (late Lander's) troops now incorporated in his corps, and also the three brigades of Sedgwick. On the 1st of April the strength of Banks's corps (Fifth), embracing Shields, is given by Gen. McClellan as twenty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine (23,339), including three thousand six hundred and fifty-two (3652) cavalry, and excluding two thousand one hundred (2100) railroad guards.² Sedgwick's division,³ which was with him in the

¹ In J. E. Johnston's field return of February 28, 1862, the force in the "Valley District" under Jackson is as follows (after correcting some mistakes in the addition):

Present for duty, officers and men: infantry, 4297; artillery, 369; cavalry, 601; total, 5267.

An examination of such regimental returns as are on file among the Confederate archives in Washington shows that the strength (present for duty, officers and men), on the 1st of March, of the Twenty-third and Thirty-seventh Virginia regiments (Fulkerson's brigade), and of the Twenty-first, Forty-second, and Forty-eighth Virginia regiments and the Irish battalion (Burks's brigade), was 1837. No returns of Garnett's brigade of that date are to be found there; but the returns of the Fourth, Fifth, Twenty-seventh, and Thirty-third Virginia regiments for February 1 give their strength as 1403. These regiments, with the Second Virginia, constituted Garnett's brigade. Estimating the Second at the average of the other four, the brigade numbered at that date 1754. Adding this to the sum given above for the other brigades on March 1, we have 3591—say 3600—as the infantry under Jackson on March 1. The difference (about 700) between this and the infantry strength as given by Gen. Johnston is to be accounted for either by supposing that some of the fragments of the militia commands were included in the return used by Johnston, or that some of the non-Virginian regiments ordered elsewhere had not gone at the date of the making of that return. The last of these regiments did not leave Jackson's district until the 22d or 23d of February. Taking the artillery and cavalry from Gen. Johnston's return, Jackson's effective strength (excluding some remnants of militia) was,—infantry, 3600; artillery, 369; cavalry, 601; total, 4570—say 4600—men.

² McClellan's report, in "Rebellion Record," p. 546, vol. i., Supplement.

³ McClellan says, "The whole of Banks's division and two brigades of Sedgwick's division were thrown across the river at Harper's Ferry, leaving one brigade of Sedgwick's division to observe and guard the Potomac from Great Falls to the mouth of the Monocacy." This last brigade of Sedgwick's (Gorman's) was subsequently sent forward, March 11, and joined those in advance at Berryville on the 14th. Jackson having retired and Winchester having been occupied, the whole of Sedgwick's division was sent back to Bolivar on March 15. Gen. McClellan's morning report, dated March 2, 1862, gives Banks's strength as follows:

advance on Winchester, must have increased his force to more than thirty thousand (30,000) men.

Jackson sent his stores, baggage, and sick to the rear, but continued to hold his position at Winchester to the last moment. This town lies in the midst of an open country, and is easily turned on every side. Nevertheless, the Confederate commander ordered the fortifications to be repaired as soon as the movements of the enemy indicated an advance in his direction. Banks, as stated, occupied Charlestown on the 26th of February, and made reconnoissances on the different roads leading to and around Winchester. But it was not until March 7 that his advance reached Stephenson's depot, four miles from Winchester. Jackson awaited him, drawn up in line of battle, on the plain in front of his fortifications, and between the Berryville and Martinsburg roads. The Federals did not attack, but withdrew to Charlestown. The activity of Ashby's cavalry, and the boldness with which Jackson maintained his position, impressed his adversary with the conviction that the Confederate force was much greater than it was in reality. No attack was made by the wary enemy, and no opportunity afforded of making a dash at some exposed position of his advance. The Federal left was pushed gradually forward, as if to envelop Jackson, and on the 11th occupied Berryville. Sedgwick's division was thrown forward to this point. (Map No. 1.)

Excellent roads lead from Berryville to Winchester, and to Newtown and other points in rear of Winchester. It was no longer safe for the Confederate leader to hold his position. The enemy at Berryville was already on his flank, only ten miles distant, and could easily reach his rear. He again drew up his little force, however, north of the town, to meet the advance of the main body of Banks's force from the direction of Smithfield and Charlestown, and remained under arms all day; but, though the enemy came on to within four miles of Winchester, they did not attack. Late in the afternoon Jackson reluctantly withdrew, and after night followed his trains, which had

Officers and men present for duty :

Banks's division	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	15,398
Lander's " (Shields's)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	11,869
Sedgwick's "	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	11,217
Total	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	38,484

This, no doubt, included railroad guards and other detachments in the rear, but his movable column could hardly have been less than 30,000 men, and was probably more, up to the 15th of March, when Sedgwick's division was ordered to the rear.

already been sent forward to Kernstown and Newtown.¹ The indefatigable Ashby covered the rear, and Banks occupied the town on the morning of the 12th. The same day the main body of the Confederates reached Strasburg, distant eighteen miles from Winchester, where they halted until the 15th. Banks sent forward Shields's division, which, on the 19th, entered Strasburg, and Jackson fell back before it to Woodstock and Mount Jackson, the former place being twelve and the latter twenty-four miles southwest of Strasburg. (Map No. I.)

The antagonism between Gen. McClellan and the Federal administration, that ultimately resulted in the removal of the former from command, assumed definite shape soon after the entrance of Mr. Stanton upon his duties as Secretary of War, in January, 1862. As a consequence, there was much vacillation about the movements of the Federal Army of the Potomac. McClellan strongly urged the plan of campaign by way of the Peninsula, with Fortress Monroe as a base. President Lincoln refused to approve, then gave his consent, then half withdrew it by loading down the proposed movement with conditions to be first fulfilled. Gen. Johnston's retirement from Manassas relieved the Federal administration, in some degree, of its apprehensions in regard to Washington, and induced an acquiescence for the time in McClellan's plans. The following extracts from McClellan's report show the Federal plans at this time:²

¹ Jackson had ordered his trains into camp immediately south of Winchester, but, by some mistake on the part of those in charge, they were taken between Kernstown and Newtown, some five miles or more from Winchester, and the troops had to march that distance to get supper. The general, who had remained behind and was ignorant of this, called a council, consisting of Gen. Garnett and the regimental commanders of the "Stonewall" brigade, to meet in Winchester after dark, and to them he proposed a night attack upon the portion of Banks's troops near Stephenson's. He proposed, after the troops had eaten supper and rested for some hours, that they should march to the neighborhood of the enemy and make the attack before daylight. The plan was not approved by the council, and Jackson learned from those present that the troops, instead of being in the suburbs of Winchester, were already five or six miles away. A march of ten miles would thus be needed to bring them into contact with the enemy. This last fact and the disapproval of the council caused him to abandon the plan. He followed the troops and bivouacked in a fence-corner. The foregoing is understood to have been Jackson's first and last council of war. (For the above account I am indebted to Gen. John Echols, of Staunton, Virginia, then colonel of the Twenty-seventh Virginia regiment, who was present at the conference.)

² McClellan's report, pp. 531, etc., "Rebellion Record," vol. i., Supplement.

“HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF POTOMAC.
“FAIRFAX COURT-HOUSE, March 13, 1862.

“A council of the generals commanding army corps, at the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, were of the opinion—

“I. That the enemy having retreated from Manassas to Gordonsville, behind the Rappahannock and Rapidan, it is the opinion of the generals commanding army corps that the operations to be carried on will be best undertaken from Old Point Comfort, between the York and James rivers. *Provided:*

“1st. That the enemy’s vessel Merrimac can be neutralized.

“2d. That the means of transportation sufficient for an immediate transfer of the force to its new base can be ready at Washington and Alexandria to move down the Potomac; and

“3d. That a naval auxiliary force can be had to silence, or aid in silencing, the enemy’s batteries on the York river.

“4th. That the force to be left to cover Washington shall be such as to give an entire feeling of security for its safety from menace. (Unanimous.)

“II. If the foregoing cannot be, the army should then be moved against the enemy behind the Rappahannock at the earliest possible moment, and the means for reconstructing bridges, repairing railroads, and stocking them with materials sufficient for supplying the army should at once be collected, for both the Orange and Alexandria and the Aquia and Richmond railroads. (Unanimous.)

“N.B.—That with the forts on the right bank of the Potomac fully garrisoned, and those on the left bank occupied, a covering force in front of the Virginia line of twenty-five thousand men would suffice. (Sumner.)

“This was assented to by myself, and immediately communicated to the War Department. The following reply was received the same day:

““WAR DEPARTMENT, March 13, 1862.

““The President having considered the plan of operations agreed upon by yourself and the commanders of army corps, makes no objection to the same, but gives the following directions as to its execution:

““1st. Leave such forces at Manassas Junction as shall make it entirely certain that the enemy shall not repossess himself of that position and line of communication.

““2d. Leave Washington entirely secure.

““3d. Move the remainder of the force down the Potomac, choosing a new base at Fortress Monroe, or anywhere between here and there; or, at all events, move such remainder of the army at once in pursuit of the enemy by some route.

““EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

““MAJ.-GEN. GEORGE B. McCLELLAN.””

For the purpose of leaving Washington secure, the defences of that

city were well manned, and the command of them given to Gen. Wadsworth, and the following instructions were sent to Gen. Banks :

“HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF POTOMAC,
March 16, 1862.

“SIR:—You will post your command in the vicinity of Manassas, intrench yourself strongly, and throw cavalry pickets out to the front.

“Your first care will be the rebuilding of the railway from Washington to Manassas and to Strasburg, in order to open your communications to the Valley of the Shenandoah. As soon as the Manassas Gap railway is in running order, intrench a brigade of infantry, say four regiments, with two batteries, at or near the point where the railway crosses the Shenandoah. Something like two regiments of cavalry should be left in that vicinity to occupy Winchester, and thoroughly scour the country south of the railway and up the Shenandoah valley, as well as through Chester gap, which might, perhaps, be advantageously occupied by a detachment of infantry; well-intrenched block-houses should be built at all the railway bridges. Occupy, by grand guards, Warrenton Junction and Warrenton itself, and also some little more advanced point on the Orange and Alexandria railroad, as soon as the railway bridge is repaired.

“Great activity should be observed by the cavalry. Besides the two regiments at Manassas, another regiment of cavalry will be at your disposal to scout towards the Occoquan, and probably a fourth towards Leesburg.

“To recapitulate: the most important points which should engage your attention are as follows :

“1st. A strong force, well intrenched, in the vicinity of Manassas, perhaps even Centreville, and another force (a brigade), also well intrenched, near Strasburg.

“2d. Block-houses at the railway bridges.

“3d. Constant employment of the cavalry well to the front.

“4th. Grand guards at Warrenton Junction, and in advance as far as the Rappahannock, if possible.

“5th. Great care to be exercised to obtain full and early information as to the enemy.

“6th. The general object is to cover the line of the Potomac and Washington.

“The above is communicated by command of Maj.-Gen. McClellan.

“S. WILLIAMS, A. A. G.

“MAJ.-GEN. N. P. BANKS, Com. Fifth Corps, Army of Potomac.”

In compliance with these instructions, Shields's division was recalled from Strasburg, and Williams's division began its movement towards Manassas on the 20th of March. The Confederate force in front was known to be so small that no difficulty was anticipated in carrying out McClellan's instructions, and no apprehensions were entertained

that the force designated by him would not be sufficient to hold the lower Valley and "cover the line of the Potomac."

On the evening of March 21, Col. Ashby, who for several days had been vigorously skirmishing with the enemy between Strasburg and Woodstock, reported that they had evacuated the former place, and Jackson, apprehensive that this indicated their withdrawal from his military district in the direction of Washington, determined at once to pursue with all his available force. Fulkerson's brigade, which was at Woodstock, marched at dawn on the 22d, and at the same time Garnett's ("Stonewall") and Burks's brigades left Mount Jackson. The whole camped at Strasburg on the evening of the 22d. Ashby had followed the retreating enemy on Friday night, 21st, and on Saturday, 22d, came up with the Federal pickets about one mile south of Winchester. He attacked about 5 P.M., and drove them in. Gen. Banks was still in Winchester, and, though the last of Williams's division had left early on the morning of the 22d on the way to Manassas, the Second division, under Shields, was still in the place. This command was ordered under arms, and an infantry brigade and two batteries of artillery and some cavalry were sent out on the Strasburg road to meet Ashby. The latter, who had from two hundred to three hundred cavalry and Chew's battery of three guns, after a brief skirmish, retired to Kernstown, three miles south of Winchester, where he took position for the night. The enemy, having repelled the Confederate cavalry, did not pursue. In the skirmish Gen. Shields was struck by a piece of shell, which fractured his arm and disabled him for a time for service on the field. Gen. Shields says that in this affair he concealed his troops as much as possible from the Confederates,¹ and the impression of the smallness of his force thus produced was confirmed by the information obtained within his lines by Col. Ashby. Report was brought to the latter not only that the mass of the northern troops had left, but that only four regiments of infantry remained, and that these were under orders to march to Harper's Ferry in the morning. This information, transmitted to Gen. Jackson, induced the latter to hurry forward the next day.

During the night Gen. Shields made his dispositions to resist any further attack, by sending forward Kimball's brigade and Daum's artillery on the Strasburg road, nearly to Kernstown. Sullivan's brigade was posted in rear of Kimball's, within supporting distance of it, covering all the approaches to Winchester by way of the Cedar

¹ Gen. Shields's report.

Creek, Front Royal, Berryville, and Romney roads. Tyler's brigade and Broadhead's cavalry were held in reserve. The effective strength of his whole force Gen. Shields puts at seven thousand (7000).¹

But though these precautions were taken, the Federal commanders did not expect an attack. The force under Jackson was known to be so greatly inferior to their own that they did not think he would risk a battle so far from support as was Winchester from the position occupied by Gen. Johnston, behind the Rappahannock and Rapidan. On the morning of the 23d a Federal reconnoissance was made, of which Gen. Shields says: "Not being able to reconnoitre the front in person, I despatched an experienced officer, Col. J. T. Mason, of the Fourth Ohio volunteers, about 9 o'clock A.M., to the front to perform that duty, and to report to me as promptly as possible every circumstance that might indicate the presence of the enemy. About an hour after, Col. Mason returned, and reported to me that he had carefully reconnoitred the country in front and on both flanks, and found no indications of any hostile force, except that of Ashby. I communicated this information to Maj.-Gen. Banks, who was then with me, and, after consulting together, we both concluded that Jackson could not be tempted to hazard himself so far away from his main support. Having both come to this conclusion, Gen. Banks took his departure for Washington, being already under orders to that effect. The officers of his staff, however, remained behind, intending to leave for Centreville in the afternoon."²

Jackson, on the other hand, knowing that a large body of Federal troops had left Winchester, and were marching in the direction of Manassas and Centreville, and believing, from the information received through Col. Ashby, that the force remaining in Winchester was much smaller than was actually the case, determined to lose no time in attacking the latter, that he might thereby produce a recall of the troops sent off. At daylight on Sunday morning (23d) he sent forward three companies of the Second Virginia regiment and one of the Twenty-seventh Virginia, under Capt. Nadenbousch, as an infantry support to Col. Ashby, and soon after moved forward with his whole force in the direction of Kernstown. The distance to be marched was fourteen miles, and it was ten o'clock in the forenoon

¹ McClellan says (p. 546 of his report, in "Rebellion Record"), in a letter dated April 1, 1862, to the adjutant-general U.S.A.: "If Shields's division, leaving out the cavalry, consisted of only 7000, the other division, under Williams, must have contained over 12,000 men."

² Gen. Shields's report, "Rebellion Record," vol. iv.

before the advance under Nadenbousch reached Ashby, and 1 P.M. when the main Confederate force reached the vicinity of Kernstown. Col. Mason's report to Gen. Shields of the condition of affairs at 9 A.M. was therefore perfectly correct, for at that time Jackson was still miles away.

When Jackson reached Kernstown his troops were very weary. Three-fourths of them had the day before marched from the neighborhood of Mount Jackson to Strasburg, a distance of twenty-two miles, to which had been added the march of fourteen miles from the latter place to Kernstown. He therefore gave directions for bivouacking, and says: "Though it was very desirable to prevent the enemy from leaving the Valley, yet I deemed it best not to attack until morning." He continues: "But subsequently, ascertaining that the Federals had a position from which our forces could be seen, I concluded that it would be dangerous to postpone the attack until the next day, as reinforcements might be brought up during the night."¹

Meantime, Ashby had been actively skirmishing with the enemy. He had opened on them near the Strasburg turnpike with Chew's battery, and when Nadenbousch arrived he pushed forward the infantry companies under the latter to drive back the Federal skirmishers and protect the guns. For a little time Ashby advanced, and Nadenbousch drove the enemy's skirmishers before him. But Col. Kimball, who commanded the First brigade of Shields's division, and as senior Federal officer commanded on the field in the absence of Gen. Shields, soon made his dispositions to counteract this movement of Ashby by sending forward the Eighth Ohio and two companies of the Sixty-seventh Ohio as skirmishers, on both sides of the turnpike. He supported them on the right by Jenks's battery, posted on a hill to the west of the village of Kernstown, and on the left by the whole of Sullivan's brigade (the Second of Shields's division), with several batteries so disposed as to protect that flank. Of course this force soon checked Ashby and compelled him to retire. When he had fallen back some four or five hundred yards, he was informed of the arrival of the main body of the Confederates, and received orders to prepare for an advance upon the Federal position, the special duty assigned him being to "threaten the front and right" (Federal left). At the same time a part of his cavalry regiment, under Maj. Funsten, was detached to operate on the other flank (left) of the Confederate army. This detachment was subsequently increased until it amounted to one

¹ Jackson's report.

hundred and forty men, which left with Ashby only one hundred and fifty cavalry. (Map No. III.)

Jackson's infantry force consisted of the First ("Stonewall") brigade, now under Gen. Garnett, comprising five regiments, and of the Second, now under Col. Burks, comprising three regiments and one battalion, and of the Third brigade, under Col. Fulkerson, comprising only two regiments. The Forty-eighth Virginia regiment, of Burks's brigade, was acting as train-guard, and was not on the field during the battle. All these regiments were much reduced by the absence of re-enlisted men still on furlough, and of those who had fallen out of ranks in the severe two days' march. The number present on the afternoon of the battle was: of infantry, three thousand and eighty-seven (3087), of which two thousand seven hundred and forty-two (2742) were engaged; of artillery, twenty-seven (27) pieces, of which eighteen (18) were engaged; and of cavalry, two hundred and ninety (290).¹ Gen. Shields, as above, states his force of all arms at seven thousand (7000).²

¹ The forces under Gen. Jackson at Kernstown were as follows (I have appended strength given in the regimental reports of the battle as far as it could be found):

First brigade, under Gen. Garnett:

Second Virginia regiment	320 rank and file.
Fourth Virginia regiment	203 " " "
Fifth Virginia regiment	not found.
Twenty-seventh Virginia regiment . . .	170 muskets.
Thirty-third Virginia regiment	275 rank and file.
McLaughlin's battery	not found, 8 guns.
Waters's battery	90 men, 4 "
Carpenter's battery	48 " 4 "

Second brigade, under Col. Burks:

Twenty-first Virginia regiment	270.
Forty-second Virginia regiment	293.
Forty-eighth Virginia regiment	not found.
First battalion of regulars (Irish battalion) .	187.
Marye's battery	4 guns.

Third brigade, under Col. Fulkerson:

Twenty-third Virginia regiment	177 officers and men.
Thirty-seventh Virginia regiment	397 " " "
Shumaker's battery	4 guns.
Ashby's regiment of cavalry	290.
Chew's battery	3 guns.

The Forty-eighth Virginia regiment and the batteries of Shumaker and Marye were not engaged.

² Gen. Shields says he "had 6000 infantry and a cavalry force of 750, and 24 pieces of artillery." His organization was as follows:

A high ridge lies just beyond the western limits of Winchester, and extends for some miles in both a northeast and a southwest direction from the town. After breaking one mile from the town to let through Abram's creek, it continues in the southwest direction without serious interruption for six miles, until it is again broken by the valley of the Opequon creek, at J. S. McGill's. The Strasburg or "Valley" turnpike runs not far from the eastern foot of this ridge to a toll-gate about two miles southwest of Winchester. At that point the Cedar Creek turnpike branches off to the right, and, pursuing a more westerly direction, soon crosses this ridge at a depression on J. N. Bell's farm. The main or Strasburg road, gradually separating from the ridge, continues nearly due south to Kernstown and some distance beyond, when it again bends to the southwest. To the west of the last-named village a considerable elevation, known as Pritchard's hill, intervenes between the turnpike and ridge, affording a good position for artillery. A short distance south of the toll-gate, where the Cedar Creek road leaves the Valley turnpike, a common dirt road also leaves it, on the same side but at a less angle. This road, known as the Middle, or old Cedar Creek road, runs along the eastern face of the ridge spoken of, crossing the little spurs that jut out from it, and passes between Pritchard's hill and the ridge, but does not cross the latter. It passes through the ridge at the gap

First (Kimball's) brigade:	Second (Sullivan's) brigade:	Third (Tyler's) brigade:
8th Ohio regiment.	13th Indiana regiment.	7th Ohio regiment.
67th " "	5th Ohio "	29th " "
14th Indiana "	62d " "	1st Virginia "
84th Pennsylvania reg't.	39th Illinois "	7th Indiana "
		110th Pennsylvania reg't.

Daum's artillery:		Broadhead's cavalry:
Jenks's battery ("A," First Virginia).	4 companies	First Michigan cavalry.
Clark's " ("E," Fourth artillery).	2 "	Ohio "
Davis's " ("B," First Virginia).	2 "	Maryland "
Robinson's " ("L," First Ohio).	6 "	First Virginia "
Huntington's battery ("H," First Ohio).	2 "	Ringgold and Washing- ton cavalry.

There were also a company of Massachusetts sharpshooters, and Company B, First Maryland infantry (Federal), present.

Gen. McClellan's return for March gives Shields's strength (officers and men present for duty) as 12,255, and enumerates 203 companies as composing his division. From the above it appears that about 152 or 153 of these companies were present at Kernstown. At the average Gen. Shields would have had over 9000 men present.

made by the Opequon valley. Several country roads or lanes connect the "Middle" road with the Valley turnpike on the one hand, and with the Cedar Creek turnpike on the other. The most important of them is one leading from Kernstown over the very crest of the ridge into the valley beyond, and thence to the Cedar Creek turnpike. The ridge we speak of commands the Strasburg road from Kernstown to Winchester. A level country extends eastward from this last-named road and gradually falls away towards the Opequon. (Map No. III.)

Jackson, upon his arrival, found the enemy in full force of artillery and infantry upon both sides of the Strasburg road, with guns posted also above Kernstown, on Pritchard's hill. The enemy's position in front was good, and Ashby's operations had induced him to guard so heavily his left flank, east of the turnpike, that no favorable opportunity was there offered for attack. Jackson therefore determined to seize the main ridge, turn the enemy's right flank resting on it, and thus render his whole line untenable. He left Col. Burks's brigade with Ashby on the turnpike, to support the latter and to act as reserve, while he led Fulkerson's brigade and part of Carpenter's battery towards the left. When near Opequon church,¹ Carpenter halted and fired a few rounds at the enemy on Pritchard's hill. He then followed the infantry farther to the left, under a heavy shelling from the Federal batteries,² until the high ground was reached. Garnett's brigade was made to follow. Having found a favorable position for artillery, Jackson sent for the remainder of Carpenter's, and also for McLaughlin's and Waters's batteries, supported by a portion of Col. Burks's brigade. Jackson directed Ashby to keep up a continuous demonstration on the turnpike, and now opened vigorously on the left with his batteries. These were located along the ridge, parallel to its general direction, and engaged the Federal batteries to the east and

¹ This church carries one back to the first settlement of the Valley of Virginia. The first regular settlement in this Valley was made in 1732 by a party of colonists, consisting of sixteen families, under Joist Hite, from Pennsylvania, who settled on the Opequon. They were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. In 1735, William Hoge joined them, and having settled on the land about Kernstown, gave the lot on which the church stands for the use of the first Presbyterian congregation ever organized in Virginia west of the Blue Ridge. Mr. Hoge was the ancestor of the family of that name distinguished in church and state in Virginia. (Foote's Sketches.)

² Col. Fulkerson speaks of this shelling as very heavy. The remaining infantry were ordered to the ridge by a route more to the rear and less exposed to the Federal guns. (Map No. III.)

northeast of them, forcing the enemy to withdraw. The Twenty-seventh Virginia (Col. John Echols) and the Twenty-first Virginia (Col. J. M. Patton) were thrown forward as skirmishers in advance of the artillery, and soon became hotly engaged. The Thirty-seventh and Twenty-third Virginia regiments, under Col. Fulkerson, then moved forward on the left of Echols, and, in the face of a heavy musketry fire, occupied a stone fence which ran down the west side of the ridge. This fence ran along the southern edge of a narrow, rocky field, on the northern side of which was a large body of woods. The position of Fulkerson, perpendicular to the direction of the ridge, was nearly at right angles to the line of batteries that constituted the Confederate right wing. Echols and Patton, who were quickly supported by the Thirty-third, Second, and Fourth Virginia regiments, of Garnett's brigade, and the Irish battalion, held the centre, which constituted an angle, since the line did not continue down the east side of the ridge, but having reached the crest was turned back along the top. The Confederate line was thus wedge-shaped: the artillery constituting the right arm, Fulkerson's brigade the left, and four of Garnett's with two of Burks's regiments occupying the centre, to the northwest of the crest of the ridge, and facing, for the most part, in the same direction as Fulkerson's. (Map No. III.)

The movements of the Confederates and the fire of their batteries had revealed to Col. Kimball the danger to which his right wing was exposed, and he had taken prompt steps to counteract the threatened onset. Tyler's brigade had reached the toll-gate at the junction of the Cedar Creek and Strasburg roads about 2 P.M., and was waiting there in reserve. This force (composed of the Seventh and Twenty-ninth Ohio, First Virginia, Seventh Indiana, and One Hundred and Tenth Pennsylvania) was ordered to reinforce the Federal right, and to throw itself upon the Confederate left flank. The movement was promptly executed. On its success depended the day, for it was justly feared by Col. Kimball that his right would not be able to sustain the attack of Jackson. Tyler moved out on the Cedar Creek road to the point where that road crosses the ridge, when he left the road and moved rapidly along the crown and both faces of the ridge itself until he reached the battle-field. This he did by 3.30 P.M., which was just when Jackson had sent forward his infantry to flank the Federal right. Tyler at once led his troops to the attack, his right opposite to Fulkerson. A vigorous onset was made against the Confederate line, but it was everywhere repulsed. Fulkerson had just occupied

the position behind the stone fence, already mentioned, when he was attacked by two Federal regiments attempting to seize the same cover. His fire at close quarters was so severe that the Federal regiments broke, and one of them, the One Hundred and Tenth Pennsylvania, did not recover during the day. The remainder of the Federal line, however, soon rallied and renewed the attack, and a fierce and sanguinary conflict raged, especially along the Confederate centre. A second attempt to turn Fulkerson's left flank was defeated, and the heat of the battle was concentrated on Garnett's part of the line. For two hours the roar of the musketry and artillery was incessant. "Here the struggle became desperate, and for a short time doubtful," says Gen. Shields. Reinforcements drawn from the Federal left, now that it had become evident that the main attack was against the other flank, were rapidly hurried forward to Tyler. The Fifth and Sixty-second Ohio and Thirteenth Indiana, of Sullivan's brigade, Fourteenth Indiana and Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania, and seven companies of the Sixty-seventh Ohio, and three companies of the Eighth Ohio, of Kimball's brigade, went to his assistance, and with these fresh troops a new and more vigorous attack was made on the Confederate position.

Meantime, Jackson was using every effort to make headway against this force, so much larger than he had believed within reach, and so much greater than his own. His thinned and tired regiments were incited to hold on stubbornly to the advantage gained. The places of the fallen were quickly taken by others, and when the ammunition of some was expended they borrowed from those who yet had it. The Fifth Virginia, which had been left in reserve, and the Forty-second Virginia were ordered up, and a messenger was sent back to the train to hurry forward the Forty-eighth, that the last man might be thrown into the wavering scale. But before these slight reserves arrived the onset of Tyler, strengthened as he was by six additional regiments, had staggered the Confederate line and caused it to waver. Gen. Garnett, who was bearing the brunt of the attack, felt that his thinned lines could not longer maintain their position without risk of being overwhelmed. He therefore gave the order to fall back. This order was not known to Jackson, who was at the time on a different part of the field, and he bitterly regretted it, always maintaining that his troops could have held their positions until the reserves had gotten up. The Confederate left wing was easily able from its position behind the stone fence to maintain itself, but the retirement of Garnett involved the retreat of Fulkerson, whose right and rear were thus

exposed. The withdrawal had to be effected in the face of a comparatively powerful enemy, and was an operation of difficulty and danger.¹ Gen. Garnett met the Fifth Virginia coming to his assistance, but ordered it back. Jackson, seeing the danger now impending, stopped this regiment as soon as he saw it filing to the rear, and placed it in position in a piece of woods behind his former position, and ordered the retreating infantry to form upon it. Soon Col. Burks, with the Forty-second regiment, came up on the right of Col. William H. Harman, of the Fifth. In the midst of the fight some guns had been advanced to assist the infantry; these were now placed near the right of the Forty-second regiment, and these two regiments, with the artillery, made for a time a vigorous resistance to the advancing enemy, and gave the retreating troops time to rally and the remainder of the artillery time to withdraw. Twice were the attacks on their position repulsed; but the advancing Federals, spreading out on both flanks, pressed back the

¹ Maj. R. M. Copeland, assistant adjutant-general to Gen. Banks, says, in his report: "The centre and right wing (Federal) were composed of three batteries and about five regiments of infantry, with a considerable force of cavalry. A high and commanding position on our right was occupied by the enemy at about 3 o'clock P.M., and a severe fire opened on our centre, which compelled the withdrawal of a portion of our force into a more secure position.

"At about 3.30 P.M. Col. Tyler was ordered to attack the enemy's new position on our right, and to take their battery. He moved immediately forward, with three or four regiments, a battery, and about 400 cavalry, through a dense wood, which covered the enemy's centre and left wing. In about half an hour after Col. Tyler's movement his skirmishers exchanged shots with the enemy, who were posted behind high stone walls, a rocky hill, and some woods, a quarter of a mile in front of his battery. The enemy reserved his fire until our line was very near. They then rose and poured a very heavy volley. The suddenness and strength of their fire caused our lines to falter, and the extreme left, composed mainly of the One Hundred and Tenth Pennsylvania volunteers, broke and ran. The rest of the line soon rallied and maintained a steady fight (falling back on the right and advancing on the left) for at least half an hour, when two regiments came to their assistance up the left flank and through a very severe fire. They advanced steadily, and soon gained a position from which they could flank the enemy delivering their fire. When they received this new fire the enemy fell back rapidly, but still fighting, to the woods nearest the hill, from which the battery had been in the mean time withdrawn.

"Having in vain attempted to rally the One Hundred and Tenth Pennsylvania volunteers (which, with such company officers as I could see, was in a shameful rout), I gained the advance on the first field which the enemy had held, where there were many dead and wounded." Maj. Copeland says that Tyler then moved slowly forward, supporting Kimball and Sullivan.

Fifth and Forty-second regiments, and finally forced them from the field.¹

It was now night, and the Federals had full possession of the field of battle. They picked up two or three hundred prisoners from the Confederates as the latter fell back, and also two guns, both of which had been disabled. The mass of the Confederates marched by way of Shady Elm factory to Bartonsville, on the turnpike. Maj. Funsten checked the Federal cavalry, and soon all pursuit was abandoned. Jackson, having reached the Valley turnpike, fell back five or six miles slowly and sullenly to his trains, which had been parked a short distance south of Newtown.

The loss of the Confederates in the battle of Kernstown was eighty killed, three hundred and forty-two wounded (of whom about seventy were left on the field), and two hundred and sixty-nine missing; total, six hundred and ninety-one (691).² Two pieces of artillery, disabled and left on the field, were captured. In regard to the Federal loss, Gen. Shields says in his report, dated six days after the battle: "The killed and wounded in this engagement cannot even yet be accurately ascertained. Indeed, my command has been so overworked that it has had but little time to ascertain anything. The killed, as reported, are one hundred and three, and among them we have to deplore the loss of the brave Col. Murray, of the Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania volunteers, who fell at the head of his regiment while gallantly leading it in the face of the enemy. The wounded are four hundred and forty-one, many of them slightly, and the missing are twenty-four."³ This gives a total of five hundred and sixty-eight (568).

¹ Maj. Copeland says of this second stand: "The enemy now opened on our line with a heavier fire than before. We maintained our position from the first, and soon drove them in utter confusion down the hill; but the near approach of night forbade further pursuit."

See reports of Cols. Harman and Burks.

² Jackson's report. The brigade and regimental reports of the losses at Kernstown make them a little greater. Thus:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Garnett reports for his brigade . . .	41	162	158	361
Burks's losses by regimental reports . .	24	114	39	177
Fulkerson's losses by regimental reports .	15	76	71	162
				700

Ashby's loss was not reported, but it was slight. The total Confederate loss may have reached 725.

³ Shields's report, "Rebellion Record," vol. iv. p. 330.

Next day the citizens of Winchester, headed by Philip Williams, Esq., asked and obtained permission to bury the Confederate dead. The troops from that town were mostly in Jackson's command, and its people began a long series of noble deeds, destined to glorify the great struggle, by tenderly laying to rest, where they fell, the soldiers who at Kernstown had died for their country.¹

Jackson firmly believed that his failure was needlessly brought about by the retirement of Gen. Garnett. The retreat of the latter he considered ill-timed, and a fatal mistake. So strong was his conviction on this point that, notwithstanding the fact that the regimental officers of Garnett's brigade supported their brigade commander, he soon after removed Garnett, and preferred charges against him.²

Weary and dispirited was the little army which had marched fourteen miles in the morning, had attacked a force more than double its own, and for three hours had wrestled for victory in a most vigorous fashion. Baffled and overpowered, it slowly retraced its path for six miles and sank to rest. In the fence-corners, under the trees, and around the wagons they threw themselves down, many too weary to eat, and forgot, in profound slumber, the trials, dangers, and disappointments of the day. Jackson shared the open-air bivouac with his men, and found the rest that nature demanded on some fence-rails near the road.³ Next morning he crossed to the south side of Cedar

¹ After the war, the ladies of Winchester, from the midst of saddened and desolate homes, continued their self-denying care for the ashes of the brave men to whose comfort and encouragement they had contributed so freely in life, and by whose suffering cots they had often watched in sorrow, danger, and death. Under the leadership of Mrs. Philip Williams, they gathered the thousands of Confederate dead from the surrounding battle-fields and placed them in the "Stonewall Cemetery,"—a monument not more to the patriotism of man than to the devotion of woman.

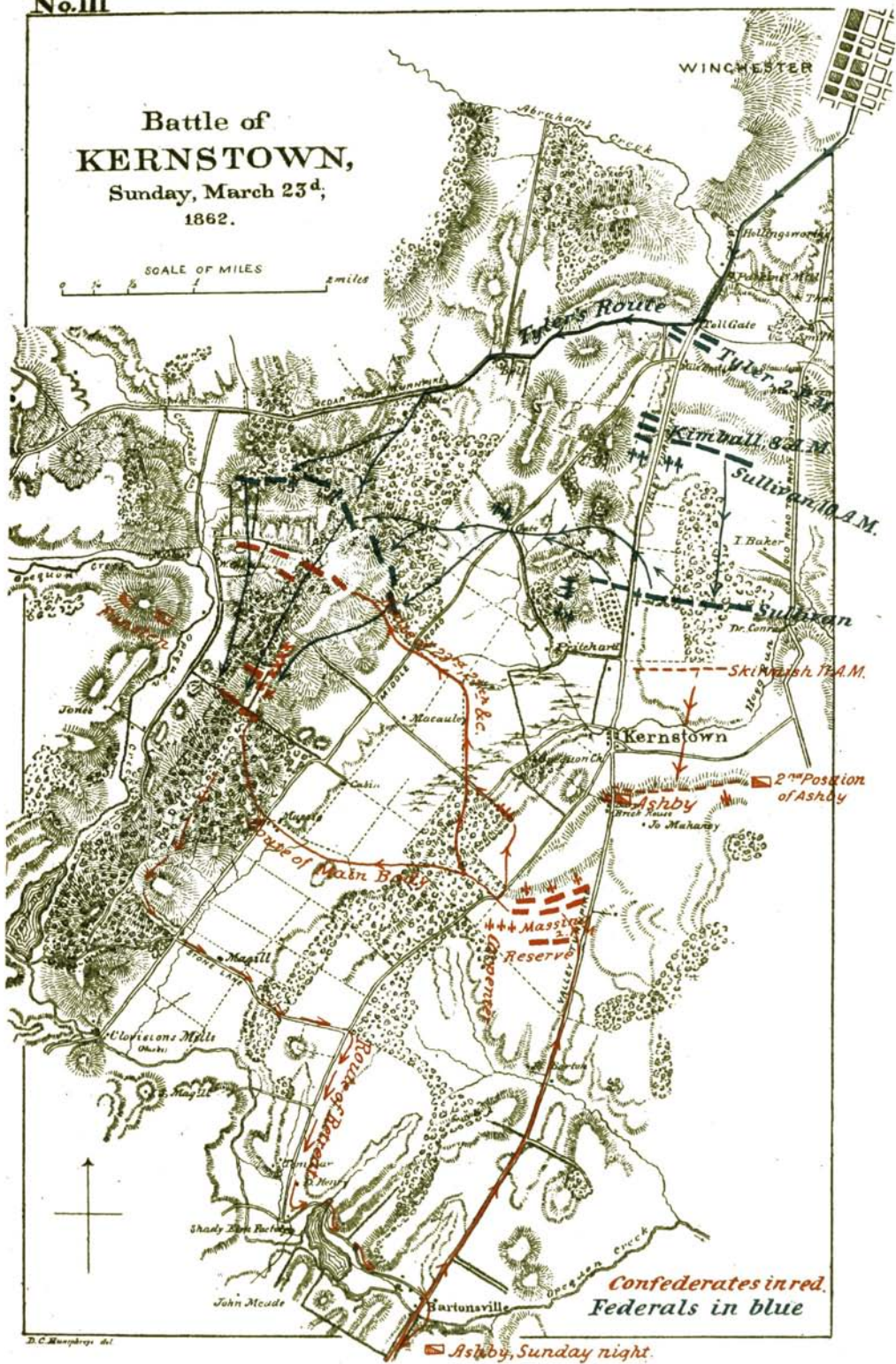
² Brig-Gen. Garnett was relieved on April 1, and Brig-Gen. C. S. Winder assigned to the command of the First brigade. Gen. Garnett was subsequently assigned to one of Pickett's brigades, and fell, gallantly leading it, in the famous charge of that division on the heights of Gettysburg, July 3, 1863.

Whether Garnett's judgment at Kernstown was correct will perhaps always remain a question; not so his splendid courage and unselfish patriotism.

³ Jackson followed his troops, and when near Newtown halted at a camp-fire and warmed himself for some time. He then remounted and rode back towards the Opequon, followed by several of his staff, who, overcome by weariness, dropped away one by one, until only Maj. W. J. Hawks (chief commissary) remained with the general. Then turning from the road into an orchard, he fastened his horse, and asked the major if he could make a fire, adding, "We shall have to burn rails to-night." The major soon had a roaring fire, and was

Battle of KERNSTOWN, Sunday, March 23^d, 1862.

SCALE OF MILES
0 1 2 miles



creek, and gradually retired before the advancing enemy, once more, to Mount Jackson.

The bold attack of Jackson at Kernstown, though unsuccessful, led to many important results. Its first effect was the accomplishment of one of the principal objects of the Confederates,—the recall of the Federal troops then marching from the Valley towards Manassas. Gen. Shields says: "Though the battle had been won, still I could not have believed that Jackson would have hazarded a decisive engagement, so far from the main body, without expecting reinforcements; so, to be prepared for such a contingency, I set to work during the night (after the battle) to bring together all the troops within my reach. I sent an express after Williams's division, requesting the rear brigade, about twenty miles distant, to march all night and join me in the morning. I swept the posts and routes in my rear of almost all their guards, hurrying them forward by forced marches, to be with me at daylight. . . . Gen. Banks, hearing of our engagement on his way to Washington, halted at Harper's Ferry, and, with remarkable promptitude and sagacity, ordered back Williams's whole division, so that my express found the rear brigade already *en route* to join us. The general himself returned here forthwith, and, after making me a hasty visit, assumed command of the forces in pursuit of the enemy.¹ This pursuit was kept up with vigor, energy, and activity until they reached Woodstock." Thus the design of McClellan to put Banks's corps at Centreville (see letter of March 16) became impracticable, and that body of twenty thousand troops² was thought necessary to guard against the further movements of Jackson's three thousand and the reinforcements, in large part imaginary, which they attributed to him. This battle, too, no doubt, decided the question of the detachment of Blenker's division of ten thousand men from McClellan, and its transfer to Fremont, recently placed in command of the Mountain Department.³ While *en route* from Alexandria

making a bed of rails, when the general wished to know what he was doing. "Fixing a place to sleep," was the reply. "You seem determined to make yourself and those around you comfortable," said Jackson. Knowing the general had fasted all day, the major soon obtained some bread and meat from the nearest squad of soldiers, and after they had satisfied their hunger, they slept soundly on the rail-bed in a fence-corner.

¹ Gen. Banks, on the 24th, requested Sedgwick, who was leaving the Valley, to remain at Harper's Ferry some hours longer with his troops.

² McClellan's report, p. 546.

³ The "Mountain Department" embraced the territory between Banks's districts and Halleck's. It had the Alleghanies for its eastern boundary, and

to Fremont, Blenker's division was to join Banks, and remain with him as long as he thought any attack from Jackson impending.¹ More important and more fraught with momentous consequences was the next step. For a few days later the sensitiveness of the Federal government to the danger of Washington, excited by Jackson, led to the detachment of McDowell's corps from McClellan, and its retention in front of the Federal capital, in place of that of Banks. When McClellan left, on April 1, for Fortress Monroe, to take command of his army on its advance up the Peninsula towards Richmond, he left for the defence of Washington and its approaches seventy-three thousand four hundred and fifty-six (73,456) men and

embraced the present State of West Virginia. A few days before the end of March, President Lincoln informed Gen. McClellan that he had resisted the pressure brought upon him to detach Blenker's division; yet, on March 31, the President writes: "This morning I felt constrained to order Blenker's division to Fremont, and I write this to assure you that I did it with great pain, understanding that you would wish it otherwise." (McClellan's report.)

¹ McClellan's orders to Banks on April 1 were as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

"ON BOARD THE COMMODORE, April 1, 1862.

"GENERAL:—The change in affairs in the Valley of the Shenandoah has rendered necessary a corresponding departure, temporarily at least, from the plan we some days since agreed upon.

"In my arrangements I assume that you have with you a force amply sufficient to drive Jackson before you, provided he is not reinforced largely. I also assume that you may find it impossible to detach anything towards Manassas for some days, probably not until the operations of the main army have drawn all the rebel force towards Richmond. . . . I will order Blenker to march on Strasburg, and to report to you for temporary duty, so that, should you find a large force in your front, you can avail yourself of his aid as soon as possible. Please direct him to Winchester, there to report to the adjutant-general of the army for orders; but keep him until you are sure what you have in front.

"In regard to your own movements, the most important thing at present is to throw Jackson well back, and then to assume such a position as to enable you to prevent his return. As soon as the railway communications are re-established, it will be probably important and advisable to move on Staunton; but this would require secure communications, and a force of from 25,000 to 30,000 for active operations. It should also be nearly coincident with my own move on Richmond; at all events, not so long before it as to enable the rebels to concentrate on you and then return on me. I fear that you cannot be ready in time, although it may come in very well with a force less than that I have mentioned after the main battle near Richmond. When Gen. Sumner leaves Warrenton Junction, Gen. Abercrombie will be placed in immediate command of Manassas and Warrenton Junction, under your general orders. Please inform me frequently, by telegraph and otherwise, as to the state of things in your front.

"I am very truly yours,

"GEO. B. McCLELLAN,

"Major-General Commanding.

"MAJ.-GEN. N. P. BANKS, Commanding Fifth Corps."

one hundred and nine (109) field guns.¹ These were distributed as follows:²

At Warrenton, Virginia	7,780
At Manassas	10,859
In the Shenandoah valley (including Blenker)	35,467
On the lower Potomac	1,350
In Washington and the forts around it	18,000

Yet the Federal President, after Kernstown, did not consider his capital secure, and on April 3 countermanded the order for the embarkation of McDowell's corps, and detained it in front of Washington. In a letter to Gen. McClellan of April 9, President Lincoln says: "Gen. Banks's corps, once designed for Manassas Junction, was divided and tied up on the line of Winchester and Strasburg, and could not leave it without again exposing the upper Potomac and the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. This presented (or would present, when McDowell and Sumner should be gone) a great temptation for the enemy to turn back from the Rappahannock and sack Washington. My explicit directions that Washington should, by the judgment of all the commanders of corps, be left entirely secure, had been entirely neglected. It was precisely this that drove me to detain McDowell. I do not forget that I was satisfied with your arrangement to leave Banks at Manassas Junction, but when that arrangement was broken up, and nothing was substituted for it, of course I was not satisfied; I was constrained to substitute something for it myself."³

While these changes were taking place in the dispositions of the

¹ To these McClellan adds 4000 new troops organizing in New York, and whom he recommends should be brought to Washington at once.

² McClellan's report, p. 546.

³ McClellan evidently thought that with Banks occupying Jackson, and with over 36,000 men distributed at Warrenton and Manassas, and around Washington itself, the Federal President and capital were reasonably safe! But Mr. Lincoln thought otherwise. On April 4, Gen. Banks was placed in chief command of that portion of Virginia and Maryland lying between the Mountain Department (Fremont's) and the Blue Ridge. This region, composed principally of the valley of the Shenandoah river, was to be styled the "Department of the Shenandoah." Gen. McDowell, on the same day, was put in chief command of the portion of Virginia east of the Blue Ridge and west of the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac railroad, including the District of Columbia and the country between the Potomac and Patuxent. His department was to be known as that of the Rappahannock. Henceforth these officers were to be independent of Gen. McClellan and of each other.

Federal forces, Jackson was resting and recruiting his little army. He had fallen back by degrees to Mount Jackson. A mile to the south of Mount Jackson the north fork of the Shenandoah river, which drains the western Valley from Harrisonburg to Strasburg, crosses over from the northwest side of the Valley, along which it at first runs, to the southeast side, where it continues to keep its course until it makes its way around the north end of the Massanutton mountains, opposite Strasburg, in order to unite with the main stream near Front Royal. At the point where it crosses the Valley, the meadows which border it are bounded on the south side by a plateau, the front of which, on the Valley turnpike, is known as Rude's hill. To this position Jackson finally (April 2) moved the main body of his forces, while Ashby and the cavalry were posted in front to observe the enemy. The latter advanced to Woodstock on April 1, driving Ashby's pickets, and finally forcing him back as far as Edenburg, five miles south of Woodstock.¹ Here, however, the line of Stony creek afforded Ashby a good defensive position, and Jackson having reinforced him with a brigade of infantry, he effectually checked the advance of the Federals. This support, with the addition of a section of artillery, was continued to Ashby for the next two weeks, while he held this line.² The Confederates destroyed the bridges on the Manassas railroad as they retired. During the next fortnight no further advances were made, though frequent skirmishes occurred along Ashby's line on Stony creek. For this period Jackson remained at Rude's hill. At this time his command greatly improved in numbers and spirits. The militia of the Valley had been called out, and the regiments from Augusta county, about five hundred men in all, had reached Mount Jackson before the Confederate advance to Kernstown.³ A considerable portion of the men

¹ Jackson made his headquarters at Woodstock on the 24th of March, at Narrow Passage on the 26th, at Hawkinstown on the 29th, and at Rev. Mr. Rude's on April 2.

² On the day that Ashby first took position along Stony creek (April 1), he was at one time riding along the edge of the woods held by his skirmishers, reconnoitring the enemy, followed by a little boy named "Dixie," a sort of pet of the camp. A bullet from a sharpshooter, aimed at Ashby, struck Dixie's horse in the head and killed it. The boy rolled off, and was jumping up to run, when Ashby called him back and told him to get his saddle and bridle, coolly waiting for him, though a mark for a continual fire.

³ They reached the vicinity of Mount Jackson on March 20. On March 21 we find Jackson writing to Col. S. Bassett French, aide-de-camp to Governor Letcher, as follows :

enlisted within a few days in the regular army, and the remainder were soon absorbed in the same way, under the operation of the orders of the Governor of Virginia and the stringent measures taken by the Confederate States Congress to fill up the southern armies. Militia organizations virtually ceased to exist after this time.

The evils growing out of the manner in which the Confederate troops had been everywhere organized, and the short terms for which the greater part had enlisted, had been severely felt. The Confederate regiments were all volunteer organizations which had rushed into service at the beginning of the war, in most cases for twelve months. As the end of this time approached, efforts had been made to induce re-enlistment by appeals to the men and by bounties, and furloughs of thirty or sixty days had been granted to those re-enlisting, the result of which was to deplete to an extreme point all the armies in the field. These efforts were only partially successful, and the uncertainty thus existing, with the fact that all officers were to be elected

"COLONEL :—Please request the Governor to order three thousand muskets to Staunton at his earliest convenience for the militia of this district. None of the militia beyond this county, except five hundred from Augusta, have yet arrived, but they are turning out encouragingly. There are three religious denominations in this military district who are opposed to war. Eighteen were recently arrested in endeavoring to make their escape through Pendleton county to the enemy. Those who do not desert will, to some extent, hire substitutes, others will turn out in obedience to the Governor's call, but I understand some of them say they will not 'shoot.' They can be made to fire, but can very easily take bad aim. So, for the purpose of giving to this command the highest degree of efficiency, and securing loyal feelings and co-operation, I have, as these non-combatants are said to be good teamsters and faithful to their promises, determined to organize them into companies of one hundred men each, rank and file, and after mustering them, with the legal number of company officers, into service, assign them to the various staff departments without issuing arms to them; but if at any time they have insufficient labor, to have them drilled, so that, in case circumstances should justify it, arms may be given them. If these men are, as represented to me, faithful laborers and careful of property, this arrangement will not only enable many volunteers to return to the ranks, but will also save many valuable horses and other public property in addition to arms. . . . All I have pledged myself is that, as far as practicable, I will employ them in other ways than fighting, but with the condition that they shall act in good faith with me, and not permit persons to use their names for the purpose of keeping out of service. . . ."

On March 29 the Governor ordered all the militia to be drafted into existing organizations until these were full. The execution of this order was begun on April 4. On April 14, Gen. Jackson writes to Gen. W. B. Richardson, adjutant-general of Virginia, that "the militia have not turned out as well as I was induced to believe, but those who are here are a fine body of men, and bid fair to render good service. . . . I fear there will not be enough militia to fill up the old companies. . . ." He advised stringent measures to bring them out, but the conscription bill, passed two days later, made all further action on the part of the State unnecessary.

upon the new organization, rendered discipline lax. The oldest regiments had entered the service in April, 1861, so that their term of service had nearly expired, and a partial disintegration of the army was threatened at the opening of the spring campaign. Fortunately, the Confederate Congress, seeing the impending danger, and stimulated, no doubt, by the misfortunes which had everywhere, in February and March, befallen the Confederate arms, solved the difficulty by passing, on the 16th of April, a general conscription bill, placing all the able-bodied men of the country, between eighteen and thirty-five years of age, in the military service. The discussion of this bill, and the prospect of its passage, had stimulated re-enlistment and volunteering, and the Confederate armies everywhere began to fill up. Jackson found his skeleton regiments much enlarged from these causes, as well as by the return of furloughed men. The cavalry grew rapidly, and Ashby soon found himself at the head of a large regiment. This gallant cavalryman, however, was more at home in leading a dashing charge, or in a hand-to-hand conflict, than in drilling and organizing a mass of raw recruits. As a consequence, while his career was filled with daring and brilliant exploits, the achievements of his cavalry, acting as a mass, did not do justice to the material of which it was composed, nor to his bold leadership.

On the 2d of April, Jackson was informed that a number of disloyal men belonging to the Rockingham militia, and residing in a remote part of the Blue Ridge, had banded together to resist the law calling them into military service. He immediately despatched Lieut.-Col. J. R. Jones, of the Thirty-third Virginia regiment, with four companies of infantry, part of Capt. Harry Gilmor's company of cavalry, and two guns under Capt. Cutshaw, to quell the disturbance. This was soon effected,¹ and without bloodshed.

Brig.-Gen. C. S. Winder having reported to Gen. Jackson, was assigned, April 1, to the command of the "Stonewall" brigade, and Col. W. B. Taliaferro, having been promoted to brigadier-general, was assigned to the command of the brigade consisting of the Thirty-seventh and Twenty-third Virginia regiments.²

¹ Col. (then Capt.) Cutshaw says this force marched into the mountain recesses, but the people fled or hid themselves. From high points the woods were shelled, and this greatly increased the panic among the simple mountaineers. Many came in and surrendered, and no further trouble was had.

² General Order No. 36, April 4, from Jackson's headquarters, announced the organization of the Army of the Valley. Brig.-Gen. C. S. Winder was assigned to the First brigade ("Stonewall"). The Second brigade remained under Col.

The first half of April was cold and raw, with much snow and rain, and the roads, except the turnpikes, were very deep. But by the middle of the month it had grown milder, and better weather was now to be expected. The Federal commander determined to move forward, and on the 17th his forces were put in motion. A company of Ashby's cavalry, on outpost duty between Mount Jackson and Columbia Furnace, was surprised by the advance and captured.¹ Shields's division soon pressed back the whole of Ashby's force through Mount Jackson, and the Federal army occupied that place. At the same time Carroll's brigade, of Shields's division, was sent forward on the back road which runs parallel to the main turnpike and west of it, thus turning the Confederate flank. Ashby destroyed the greater part of the railroad property and bridges as he retired, but failed in his attempt to burn the turnpike bridge over the north fork of the Shenandoah. Here the Federals pressed him closely, seized the bridge and extinguished the fire before it had made any headway. Ashby's horse was badly wounded, but bore him safely from the field before it fell dead. On the same day Jackson broke up his camp at Rude's hill and retreated before the advancing enemy in the direction of Harrisonburg. This town, which is twenty-five miles south of Mount Jackson, he reached during the morning of the 18th. Here, instead of continuing towards Staunton, he turned off to the left, at right angles, in the direction of the Blue Ridge, and on the night of the 18th camped at Peale's, six miles from Harrisonburg, at the northern end of the Massanutton mountains.² (Map No. I.) Next day, moving by the village of McGaheysville, he crossed the main Shenandoah river at Conrad's Store, and went into camp in Elk Run valley, between the Shenandoah and Swift Run gap, in the Blue Ridge.³

John Campbell, and the Third brigade under Col. Fulkerson (Gen. Taliaferro not having yet reported). McLaughlin's and Carpenter's batteries were assigned to the First brigade, Marye's and Waters's to the Second brigade, and Shumaker's to the Third. All the cavalry was placed under Ashby.

¹ This was Capt. Harper's company of cavalry. They were captured by four companies of infantry from Donnelly's brigade in conjunction with the Ringgold and Washington cavalry.

² Gen. Edward Johnson, whose force was on Shenandoah mountain, came to confer with Gen. Jackson while he was at Peale's. In his absence Gen. Johnson's troops fell back towards Staunton, in consequence of information having reached them of Jackson's movement towards Swift Run gap.

³ This "gap" is that by which Governor Spotswood and his Golden Horse-shoe Knights obtained, in 1716, the first view had by white men of the Valley of the Shenandoah.

Over this gap led a good road to Stanardsville and Gordonsville, by means of which he was placed in communication with Gen. Ewell, who then held the line of the Rapidan river.

On the day that Jackson crossed the river he sent some cavalry with Capt. Hotchkiss to burn the bridges on the south fork of the Shenandoah, between Conrad's Store and Luray. The southernmost one was burned, but the enemy had seized the Columbia and White-House bridges near Luray, and they drove off the Confederates, who attempted to retake them. The movements of Jackson led Banks to believe for a time that he had left the Valley.¹

Meantime, the transfer of McClellan's army to the Peninsula had caused the withdrawal of all the Confederate army, except Jackson's and Ewell's divisions, from Northern Virginia, and its concentration in front of the Federal forces. Gen. J. E. Johnston says: "When it was ascertained, about the 5th of April, that the Federal army was marching from Fort Monroe towards Yorktown, D. H. Hill's, D. R. Jones's, and Early's divisions were transferred from the Army of Northern Virginia to that of the Peninsula. The former was thus reduced to four divisions: Jackson's, at Mount Jackson; Ewell's, on the Rappahannock; Longstreet's, at Orange Court-House; and G. W. Smith's, at Fredericksburg.

"Before the 10th, the President was convinced by Maj.-Gen. Magruder's reports that the entire army just brought down the Potomac from Alexandria, by Gen. McClellan, was then on the Peninsula, to move upon Richmond by that route. He therefore directed me to make such defensive arrangements as might be necessary in the Department of Northern Virginia, and put my remaining troops in march for Richmond, and then to report to him for further instructions. In obedience to these orders, Maj.-Gen. Ewell was left with his division and a regiment of cavalry in observation on the upper Rappahannock, and Maj.-Gen. Longstreet was directed to march with his to Richmond. Maj.-Gen. Jackson was left in the Valley to

¹ Gen. Banks, in a despatch to the Federal War Department, April 19, says: "To-day I have been to the bridges on the south fork of the Shenandoah, in the Massanutton valley, with a force of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, to protect the two important bridges that cross the river. We were within sight of Luray at the south bridge. A sharp skirmish occurred with the rebels, in which they lost several men taken prisoners. Their object was the destruction of the bridges. . . . I believe Jackson left this Valley yesterday. He is reported to have left Harrisonburg yesterday for Gordonsville by the mountain road. He encamped last night at McGaheysville, eleven miles from Harrisonburg." ("Rebellion Record," vol. iv. p. 93.)

oppose greatly superior Federal forces, and authorized to call Ewell's division to his assistance in case of necessity, and Gen. Ewell was instructed to comply with such a call. Maj.-Gen. G. W. Smith was instructed to leave a mixed force, equal to a brigade, in front of Fredericksburg, and move towards Richmond with all his remaining troops."¹ Gen. Johnston was called to Richmond, and on April 17 was placed in command of all the forces opposing McClellan.

Jackson, conscious of his inability with five or six thousand men to resist in the open country the advance of Banks, had availed himself of the nature of the country to take a position where he could be attacked only at great disadvantage, and yet might threaten the flank and rear of the advancing column if it attempted to pass him. Such was his position in Elk Run valley, at the foot of the Blue Ridge. The main Shenandoah river covered his front,—a stream not easily fordable at any time, and now swollen by the spring rains. The spurs of the Blue Ridge, as they run out towards this river, afford almost impregnable positions for defence; his flanks could only be turned by toilsome and exposed marches, while good roads led from his rear over the mountains into the country about Gordonsville, and placed him within easy reach of the support he might call for from Gen. Ewell. Thus secure in his position, Jackson at the same time more effectually prevented the farther advance of the Federal column than if he had remained in its front; for he held the bridge nearest him over the Shenandoah, and was but a day's march from Harrisonburg, and should Banks venture to move forward towards Staunton, he was ready to hurl the Confederate forces against the enemy's flank and rear.² Gen. Banks, at Harrisonburg, was in the midst of a hostile

¹ Johnston's Narrative, p. 109.

² Jackson writes to Gen. Lee on April 23: "Banks's main force is still in the vicinity of New Market, extending from one mile below to three above the town. Yesterday he had near one hundred wagons twelve miles above New Market, and a part of his force even entered Harrisonburg, seventeen miles from New Market. My object has been to get in his rear at New Market or Harrisonburg if he gives me an opportunity, and this would be the case if he should advance on Staunton with his main body. It appears to me that if I remain quiet a few days more he will probably make a move in some direction, or send a larger force towards Harrisonburg, and thus enable me, with the blessing of Providence, to successfully attack his advance; and if I am unsuccessful in driving back his entire force, he may be induced to move forward his command from New Market and attempt to follow me through this gap, when our forces would have greatly the advantage.

"Without Gen. Ewell's division, Banks can march on to Staunton, though, if he attempts it, I design threatening his flank and rear, and this may prevent his

country, already one hundred miles from the Potomac at Harper's Ferry, with which a long line of wagon communication had to be maintained. To push on to Staunton, with Jackson on his flank and rear, was virtually to sacrifice his present line of communication with no practicable substitute in view; to attack the Confederates on the slopes of the mountains, with even a greatly superior force, was to risk defeat. He therefore determined to rest satisfied for the present with the advantages already gained. The greater part of the Shenandoah valley was now in his possession. Jackson had been "thrown well back," and had been forced to leave the main highway passing along that Valley, and to seek refuge in the fastnesses of the mountains. Staunton was but twenty-five miles away; another column from the west was threatening it. In a short time, by co-operation with this column, the place might be taken; or, to take a wider view, operations in front of Richmond might soon force Jackson from the Valley altogether.

Jackson rested a few days in Elk Run valley, at the foot of Swift Run gap, in the Blue Ridge mountains. Here the reorganization of his regiments was completed, and some further additions were made to his numbers by enlistments. His strength now approached six thousand (6000).¹

reaching Staunton; but without doing this he could advance so far as to threaten Gen. Edward Johnson's rear so seriously as to make him fall back, and thus let Staunton fall into the hands of the Federal force in his front. . . ."

Later on the same day Jackson writes that the news from Fredericksburg induces him to believe that Ewell's division may be more needed there than with him, and says he will "make arrangements so as not to be disappointed should he (Ewell) be ordered to Fredericksburg."

A few days later the news from Fredericksburg was more reassuring, and this led Jackson to apply for troops from that point. (See next chapter.)

The letters from which the above extracts are taken are in the Confederate archives in Washington.

¹ The Tenth Virginia regiment of infantry was transferred at this time from Ewell's division to Jackson's. It reached Swift Run gap on April 21, and was assigned to the Third (Taliaferro's) brigade.

CHAPTER III.

MCDOWELL.

ON the 28th of April Jackson applied to Gen. Lee, then acting as commander-in-chief under President Davis, for a reinforcement of five thousand men, which addition to his and Ewell's forces he deemed necessary to justify him in marching out and attacking Banks, and asked if the troops could not be spared from the force covering Fredericksburg. On the next day Gen. Lee replied as follows :

"HEADQUARTERS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, April 29, 1862.

"MAJ.-GEN. T. J. JACKSON, Commanding, etc., Swift Run Gap, Virginia.

"GENERAL:—I have had the honor to receive your letter of yesterday's date. From the reports that reach me, that are entitled to credit, the force of the enemy opposite Fredericksburg is represented as too large to admit of any diminution whatever of our army in that vicinity at present, as it might not only invite an attack on Richmond, but jeopard the safety of the army in the Peninsula. I regret, therefore, that your request to have five thousand men sent from that army to reinforce you cannot be complied with. Can you draw enough from the command of Gen. Edward Johnson to warrant you in attacking Banks? The last return received from that army shows a present force of upwards of three thousand five hundred, which, it is hoped, has been since increased by recruits and returned furloughs. As he does not appear to be pressed, it is suggested that a portion of his force might be temporarily removed from its present position and made available for the movement in question. A decisive and successful blow at Banks's column would be fraught with the happiest results, and I deeply regret my inability to send you the reinforcements you ask. If, however, you think the combined forces of Gens. Ewell and Johnson, with your own, inadequate for the move, Gen. Ewell might, with the assistance of Gen. Anderson's army, near Fredericksburg, strike at McDowell's army, between that city and Aquia, with much promise of success; provided you feel sufficiently strong alone to hold Banks in check.

"Very truly yours,
"R. E. LEE."¹

¹ Taylor's "Four Years with General Lee," p. 38.

At this time Gen. Ewell's division was in the vicinity of Stanardsville, and there was no Federal force south of the Rappahannock in his front, McDowell having drawn his forces to the neighborhood of Fredericksburg. Gen. Edward Johnson,¹ who had so successfully repulsed the attack made on his camp at Alleghany,² on December 13, had fallen back to the Shenandoah mountain, where it is crossed by the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike, to prevent a flank movement from the direction of Moorefield. The retreat of Jackson from Harrisonburg to Swift Run gap had uncovered the roads to the rear of this force, and on April 20 it had fallen back still farther, to West View, only seven miles west of Staunton. (Map No. I.) It consisted of six regiments of infantry, three batteries, and a small force of cavalry, and numbered, according to the inspector-general, Col. A. Smead, at McDowell, a week after this time, about three thousand (3000) effective men.³

The force opposing Johnson consisted of a brigade under Milroy, supported by another under Schenck, the two containing some six thousand (6000) men.⁴ This formed a part of the command of Gen. Fremont, who was preparing to move forward with other troops to strengthen it.⁵ Schenck was at Franklin, Pendleton county, while

¹ Now placed under Jackson's command.

² Camp Alleghany is fifteen miles west of Monterey, on the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike.

³ Gen. Edward Johnson, in a letter dated March 18, reports his strength as:

Aggregate present for duty	2425
----------------------------	------

Aggregate present	2784
-------------------	------

This is the latest report (giving his strength) I could find among the Confederate archives.

⁴ Fremont puts Schenck's force at "about 3000," and Milroy's at "3500 effective men." (Fremont's report.)

⁵ Gen. Fremont says that he relieved Rosecrans on March 29, 1862, that the total troops then turned over to him consisted of thirty-five and two-tenths regiments of infantry, thirty-six companies of cavalry, and nine batteries of artillery; total number of men, 34,271. A few days after, the troops in Southwest Virginia and Eastern Kentucky, amounting to 9195, were detached from his command. He adds to this 6269 as the usual percentage "for sick, etc., and not available for duty," and states 18,807—"say in round numbers 19,000 men"—as his effective force left. "A small but not appreciable increase of this was made by enlistments in the department, but the policy of the War Department did not foster this." He continues: "When sent to the department I was promised 17,000 men as reinforcements. On April 1 was despatched that Blenker's division was *en route* to join me; as it had not reached Harper's Ferry by the 12th of April, I asked what had become of it, and that it be sent to Moorefield by the shortest route." Rosecrans was tem-

Milroy was at McDowell, and had—after the retreat of Gen. Johnson—pushed his advance over the Shenandoah mountain to the neighborhood of the Harrisonburg and Warm Springs turnpike. This road would afford an easy and direct means of communication with Banks at Harrisonburg, and Jackson feared a union of the two armies and a movement on Staunton, which might result in separating him from Edward Johnson and in the capture of that town. Jackson says: “At this time Brig.-Gen. Edward Johnson, with his troops, was near West View, west of Staunton, so that if the enemy was allowed to effect a junction it would probably be followed not only by the seizure of a point so important as Staunton, but must compel Gen. Johnson to abandon his position, and they might succeed in getting between us. To avoid these results I determined, if practicable, after strengthening my own division by a union with Johnson’s, first to strike at Milroy, and then to concentrate the forces of Ewell,

porarily conducting it. It was dreadfully in want of horses and transportation. On April 21, Fremont was informed it could not move for want of shoes. It was thus greatly delayed, but finally joined him at Petersburg, Hardy county, May 11. Fremont’s plan of campaign, submitted to President Lincoln on April 21, was as follows: “The first base of operations being the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, the division of Gen. Blenker, which, from the best information I can obtain, numbers about 9000 men, will take position at Moorefield. At this point, or at Franklin, it will unite with the troops now under command of Gen. Schenck, numbering about 3000 men. With these, acting in conjunction with Gen. Banks, I propose to move up the Valley of Virginia by a course which you will see on the accompanying map, over roads which are as dry and as good at all seasons of the year as any in Virginia, and through a country where forage is easily obtained. At Monterey I shall be joined by the troops under Gen. Milroy, numbering 3500 effective men, and can then strike the railroad at or near Salem, while Gen. Cox (in command along the Kanawha), with his 7000 men, takes possession of Newburn; or can first effect a junction with Gen. Cox and seize the railroad with a force thus increased to about 22,000 men.

“The base of operations will then be changed to Gauley. To this place, by the Ohio and Kanawha rivers, abundant supplies for the army can be transported with the means now at hand and being prepared. Having thus destroyed the connection between Knoxville and the army in Eastern Virginia, and perhaps seized some rolling-stock, we can advance rapidly along the railroad towards Knoxville, turning the position at Cumberland gap. The forces now under Gen. Kelly, and the Virginia troops will be left, as we proceed, to guard the Baltimore and Ohio railroad and to protect the loyal inhabitants of the State from guerrillas.”

This plan was approved by President Lincoln, but with the “view of the ultimate closing in of my (Gen. Fremont’s) column towards Richmond rather than Knoxville.”

Johnson and my own against Banks. To carry out my design against Milroy, Gen. Ewell was directed to march his division to the position which I then occupied in Elk Run valley, with a view to holding Banks in check, whilst I pushed on with my division to Staunton."¹

Jackson's plans were matured, and the execution of them was begun at once upon the reception of the information that no other troops besides those of Ewell and Johnson could be placed at his disposal at present. This gave him about seventeen thousand (17,000) men, of which about six thousand (6000) were at Swift Run gap, eight thousand (8000), under Ewell, one day's march in his rear, east of the Blue Ridge, and three thousand (3000) with Edward Johnson at West View, seven miles west of Staunton, and over forty miles from Swift Run gap. On the other hand, Banks was at Harrisonburg, twelve or fifteen miles in Jackson's front, with nine-

¹ Jackson's report. On April 29, Jackson wrote to Gen. Lee as follows: "As I do not believe that Banks will advance on me in my present position, I am disposed, unless you send me large reinforcements, to adopt one of three plans, viz.: either to leave Gen. Ewell here to threaten Banks's rear in the event of his advancing on Staunton, and move with my command rapidly on the force in front of Gen. Edward Johnson; or else, co-operating with Gen. Ewell, to attack the enemy's detached force between New Market and the Shenandoah, and if successful in this, then to press forward and get in Banks's rear at Newmarket, and thus induce him to fall back. The third is, to pass down the Shenandoah to Sperryville, and thus threaten Winchester *via* Front Royal. I believe that this would cause the enemy to fall back. From Sperryville I could move either in the direction of Front Royal, or Warrenton, or, if my command should be opposed by too large a Federal force, it could turn off towards Culpeper Court-House.

"To get in Banks's rear with my present force would be rather a dangerous undertaking, as I would have to cross the river and immediately cross the Massanutten mountains, during which the enemy would have decidedly the advantage of position. Of the three plans I give the preference to attacking the force west of Staunton, for if successful I would afterwards only have Banks to contend with, and in doing this would be reinforced by Gen. Edward Johnson, and by that time you might be able to give me reinforcements, which, united with the troops now under my control, would enable me to defeat Banks; and if he should be routed and his command destroyed, nearly all our forces here could, if necessary, cross the Blue Ridge to Warrenton, Fredericksburg, or any other threatened point. I have written to Gen. Edward Johnson to know what force, in addition to his command, would be required for a successful blow in his vicinity. If I receive an answer justifying a move in that direction, I may leave here to-morrow *via* Port Republic." Gen. Lee replies, May 1: "I have carefully considered the three plans of operations proposed by you. I must leave the selection of the one to be adopted, to your judgment."

teen thousand (19,000) men.¹ Milroy and Schenck, commanding Fremont's advance of six thousand (6000) men, were in front of Edward Johnson, and Fremont was preparing to join them with a force sufficient to give him a movable column of fifteen thousand (15,000). McDowell having drawn away from the upper Rappahannock towards Fredericksburg, was out of the question. It was necessary to strike before Banks and Fremont could unite, and thus oppose Jackson with double numbers. Banks was nearest at hand, but his forces were concentrated, while Fremont's column was yet widely separated. A quick and well-concealed junction of his own division with Edward Johnson's forces might enable Jackson to fall upon Fremont's advance before the main body could join it.

The route for this movement was selected with reference to misleading the enemy, as well as with regard to security from attack. Gen. Jackson determined to march up the east side of the Shenandoah river to Port Republic, a distance of sixteen miles, and then to cross the Blue Ridge mountains, by way of Brown's gap, to Mechum's River station, on the Virginia Central railroad. (Map No. I.) He designed to reach Staunton from this point by railroad. The first part of his route would be protected by the Shenandoah river, and the crossing of the mountains would leave a doubt as to his destination, and suggest the notion that he was *en route* for Richmond. He was never in the habit of informing his subordinates, even those of the highest rank, of his plans, and his staff were more frequently ignorant of them than otherwise. On this occasion only one or two, whose duties made it necessary, knew the general's designs, so that friends as well as foes were mystified.

On the 29th of April, Ashby made demonstrations in force in the direction of Harrisonburg, and this was repeated on the 30th. On the latter day a scouting party was sent to the top of the Peaked mountain, the southwest end of the Massanutton mountains, to observe the enemy, who appeared to be quietly camped about Harrisonburg.² In the afternoon of the 30th, Jackson left his camp, which was occupied in a few hours by Ewell's division, and began his march. The route to Port Republic was over an unpaved country road, which runs along the narrow plain that intervenes between the eastern bank of the Shenandoah and the foot of the Blue Ridge.

¹ See Banks's return for May 1. There were about 8000 men for duty in Banks's own division (including cavalry), and 11,000 in Shields's.

² Capt. Hotchkiss, who had charge of this party, says that Ashby drove the enemy's pickets into Peale's, six miles from Harrisonburg.

The soil of this plain, formed by the washings from the sandstone foot-hills of the Blue Ridge, was in many places deep quicksands, and under the excessive rains of this season had become miry. The past ten days had been marked by very heavy rains, and the streams were everywhere swollen. The Confederates left their camp in the midst of a rain, and proceeded but a few miles.¹ Next day (May 1) was wet, and the miry earth soon became, under the movement of artillery and wagons, a perfect quagmire. Men and horses floundered on through the mud, which was hourly becoming worse. Those who tried to find more solid paths through the fields sank deeper into the mire, and were glad to get back into the road. The utmost exertions were able to carry the army forward but five miles more this day. The troops bivouacked in the woods along the road, while Gen. Jackson continued his headquarters at Gen. Lewis's.² The whole of this day was spent in helping the trains through the mud. Large details were made to mend the road and to keep it in a passable condition as train after train moved along. The general himself took part in the work. He urged on the laborers, encouraged the soldiers, and, having dismounted, assisted in carrying rails and stones. Next day (May 2) the same struggle with the mud continued, and by nightfall the army had passed Lewiston, and bivouacked, again in the rain, between that place and the foot of Brown's gap. The following day (May 3) the march was resumed by way of Brown's gap and Whitehall to Mechem's River station, on the Virginia Central railroad. On this morning the clouds broke away and the sun brought a glorious May day. The hard mountain road was an infinite relief after the toil of the past two days. With quick and cheerful step the army wound its way through the pass of the Blue Ridge, and poured down into the beautiful Piedmont country that rolls away from the eastern base of the mountains. Saturday night (May 3) found the advance of the Confederates pleasantly encamped on the hills and in the meadows about the railroad station. While struggling forward against the elements, Jackson had taken precaution to close his lines, so as to prevent the knowledge of his movements from reaching the enemy.

Next day, Sunday, May 4, the movement was continued, the artillery and trains taking the road to Staunton, and recrossing the moun-

¹ Gen. Jackson made his headquarters on the 30th at Lewiston (Gen. Lewis's home), thirteen miles from Conrad's Store, but the troops only made five miles, and bivouacked along the roadside.

² Afterwards the scene of the battle of Port Republic, June 9, 1862.

tains at Rockfish gap, while the troops were sent by railroad. Gen. Jackson reached Staunton on Sunday afternoon, and by the close of the next day all the troops and trains had arrived at the same point and were put into camp, the "Stonewall" brigade two miles east of the town, and the remainder of the division west of it, and between the town and Gen. Johnson's position at West View.¹ So secret had been kept his design that the people of Staunton were taken entirely by surprise, and when they had convinced themselves that Jackson was on the way to Richmond were astonished by his appearance in their midst. A day was spent in resting the troops, in making the arrangements for the march, and in getting information; and early on the morning of the 7th the army set out against the enemy. Gen. Edward Johnson's brigade, which had started the preceding afternoon,² led the column, followed by Jackson's three brigades in inverse order, Taliaferro's (the Third) being next to Johnson, the Second, under Col. Campbell, coming next, and the First, or "Stonewall" brigade, under Brig.-Gen. C. S. Winder, bringing up the rear. "The corps of cadets of the Virginia Military Institute (where Jackson had formerly been a professor), under their superintendent, Gen. F. H. Smith, was also attached to the expedition. The spruce equipments and exact drill of these youths, as they stepped out full of enthusiasm to take their first actual look upon the horrid visage of war, under their renowned professor, formed a strong contrast with the war-worn and nonchalant veterans who composed the army."³

The army moved on the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike. Eighteen miles west of Staunton this road crosses the Big Calf-Pasture river, and at the same point intersects the Warm Springs and Harrisonburg turnpike. Soon after passing this point the Confederate advance came up with the first outposts of Gen. Milroy. The Federal picket was dispersed and in part captured, and Gen. Johnson continued his march.

¹ West View is six or seven miles west of Staunton, on the Parkersburg turnpike, and four miles from Buffalo gap, a water-way in the Little North mountain, through which passes this turnpike, as well as the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad.

² Johnson, in the afternoon of Tuesday, May 6, marched through Buffalo gap and up the eastern slope of the Great North mountain, resting his advance in the notch known as Dry Branch gap, fifteen miles from Staunton. Here, between Crawford's mountain and Elliot's knob, he bivouacked part of his troops in line on the crest of the mountain. Milroy's advance was at the eastern base of the Shenandoah mountain, on the opposite side of the Big Calf-Pasture valley.

³ Dabney's *Life of Jackson*, p. 341.

Meantime, Milroy had on this day learned for the first time from his scouts and spies that a junction had been made between the forces of Jackson and Johnson, and that they were advancing to attack him at McDowell. He says: "Having the day previous (May 6) sent out a large portion of the Third Virginia, Seventy-fifth Ohio, and Thirty-second Ohio to¹ Shaw's ridge, upon the Shenandoah mountain, for the purpose of protecting my foraging and reconnoitring parties, I immediately ordered my whole force to concentrate at McDowell, and, expecting reinforcements, prepared for defence there. In the afternoon of the 7th a large force of the rebels was discovered descending the west side of the Shenandoah mountain, along the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike. I ordered a section of the Ninth Ohio battery (Capt. Hyman) on Shaw's ridge to shell them, and endeavor to retard their progress."² The reinforcements he expected consisted of Schenck's brigade, then on the way from Franklin, and which, by a forced march, reached McDowell before mid-day on the 8th.³

In consequence of the withdrawal of Milroy's advance on the 7th, Gen. Johnson found only the hastily-evacuated camps of the Federals in his ascent of Shenandoah mountain. The greater part of the transportation of this Federal force was not with it at the time, and hence the troops abandoned their stores and camp equipage to the Confederates. Nor was Johnson's descent on the western side obstructed by Capt. Hyman's battery. The latter fired a few shots without effect and then withdrew. Johnson bivouacked for the night on Shaw's Fork,⁴ and the other Confederate brigades at different points in the rear. The mountains of this region afford good camping-grounds only at considerable intervals, and, as the army moved upon a single road, it was eight or ten miles between the front and rear.⁵ (Map No. I.)

"On Thursday morning (May 8) the march was resumed early,

¹ This should be "beyond," as Shaw's ridge is west of the Shenandoah mountain.

² Milroy's report, "Rebellion Record," vol. v. p. 34.

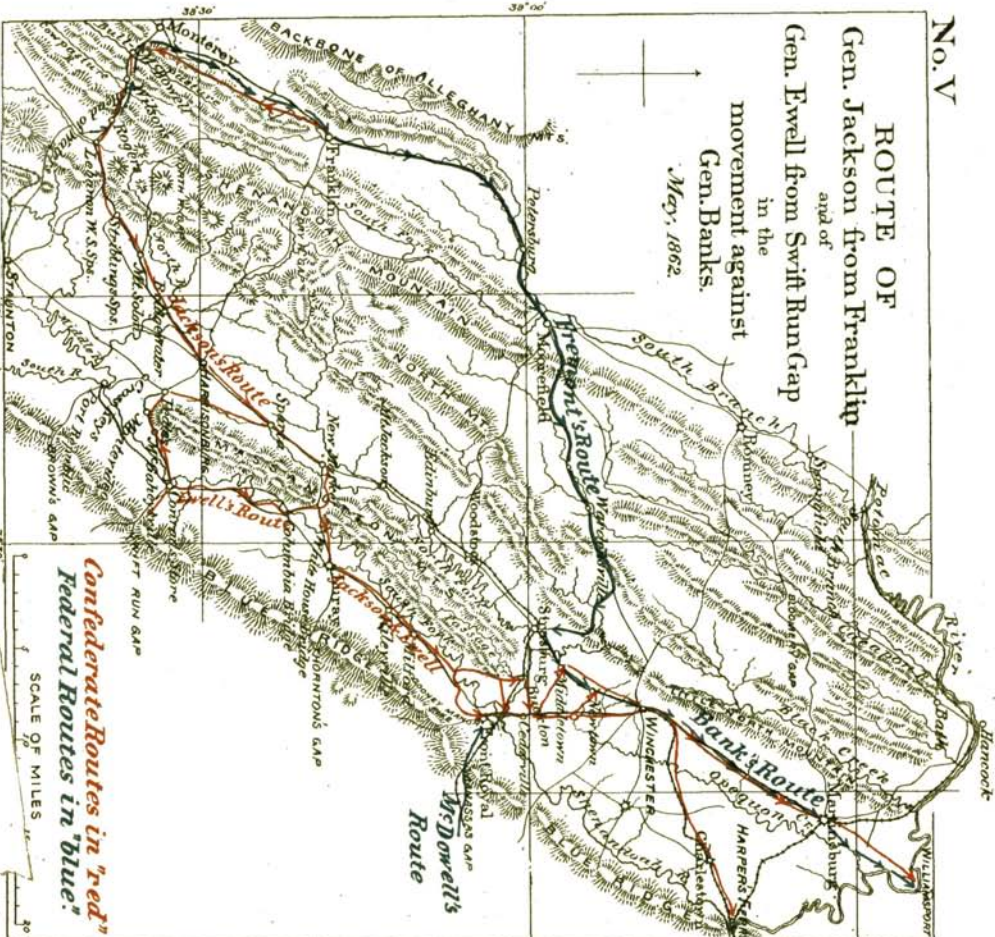
³ Gen. Schenck says: "By leaving my baggage-train under a guard in my last camp on the road, fourteen miles from McDowell, I was able to push forward so as to make the whole distance, thirty-four miles, in twenty-three hours." As he reached McDowell at 10 A.M. on May 8, he must have left Franklin at 11 A.M. on the preceding day. (Schenck's report, "Rebellion Record," vol. v. p. 35.)

⁴ Twenty-nine miles from Staunton.

⁵ Jackson's headquarters were at Rogers's toll-gate, at the eastern foot of the Shenandoah mountain, twenty-three miles from Staunton.

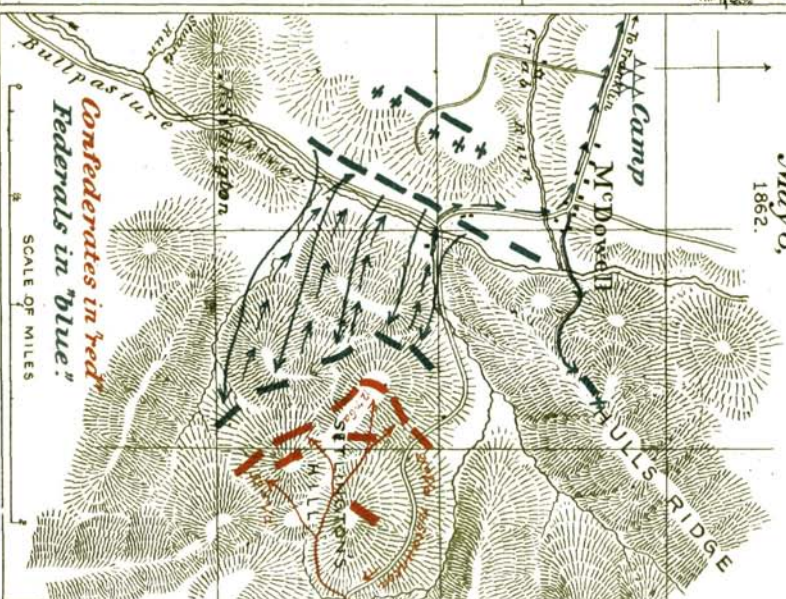
No. V

ROUTE OF Gen. Jackson from Franklins and of Gen. Ewell from Swift Run Gap in the movement against Gen. Banks. May, 1862.



No. IV

Battle of MCDOWELL. May 8, 1862.



with Gen. Johnson's regiments still in advance, and the ascent of the Bull-Pasture mountain was commenced. This ridge, unlike its neighbors, has a breadth of a couple of miles upon its top, which might be correctly termed a table-land, were it not occupied by clusters of precipitous hills which are themselves almost mountainous in their dimensions and ruggedness. The Parkersburg turnpike, proceeding westward, ascends to this table-land, passes across it, and descends to the Bull-Pasture river by a sinuous course along the ravines which seam the sides and top of the mountain alike, so that it is almost everywhere commanded, on one or both sides, by the steep and wooded banks of the valleys which it threads. On the right and left of the road the western portions of the rough plateau which has been described were occupied by pasture-lands, covered with the richest greensward, with here and there the prostrate trunk of a forest-tree long since girdled and killed. The chasm which separates the higher reaches of these lofty pastures is a mile in width, and far down in its bottom the turnpike descends toward the river, until it debouches, through a straight gorge of a few hundred yards in length, upon the bridge. Artillery planted upon a hillock beyond the river commanded this reach of the road with a murderous fire.

"Gens. Jackson and Johnson, having cautiously ascended the mountain, and driven away a picket of the enemy which quartered on its top, proceeded to the western ridge of the pasture-lands on the left of the road, and occupied the forenoon in examining the position of the enemy."¹

The open ground here is known as Sitlington's hill, and the high pasture-land on the opposite side of the turnpike, and in a northeasterly direction, is called Hull's hill. The open field on top of Sitlington's hill is a mile in length, while the foot of the hill is on all sides steep and heavily wooded. The Confederates reached the open top by way of a ravine which meets the turnpike about one and a half miles east of McDowell, at a point where the turnpike turns sharply to the north, to find its way around the base of the hill. This ravine is narrow and very steep, and, besides being wooded, is filled with boulders washed down from above. From the open field on top it was easy to look down upon the village of McDowell and the Federal camps in the valley of the Bull-Pasture. The open ground on the top of Hull's hill was a mile away. It was occupied by Federal riflemen, but their fire was harmless at that distance. (Map No. IV.)

¹ Dabney's *Life of Jackson*, p. 342.

The small escort accompanying the Confederate generals in their reconnoissance having attracted his notice, Gen. Milroy sent out parties of skirmishers through the forest which covered the western side and base of Sitlington's hill, and also opened with a section of artillery from the farther side of the McDowell valley. The elevation was too great, however, for the guns to effect anything, and the escort kept the skirmishers at bay. The hill would have afforded the Confederates a plunging fire upon the Federal camps, but Jackson declined to order up artillery. Two reasons prevented him. The mode of access to the hill was so rugged and difficult as to forbid the use of horses, and the guns could only have been gotten up by hand with great exertion. In case of a successful advance by the enemy, there would have been no possibility of withdrawing them. Another and a controlling motive was found in his determination not to attack the enemy at once from the commanding position of Sitlington's hill, but merely to occupy him until a flanking column could find its way, by a considerable detour, to a point beyond McDowell, seize the turnpike between that village and Monterey, and thus block Milroy's direct line of retreat. The Confederate engineers had discovered that a route practicable for artillery passed to the right of Hull's hill, and, making a circuit, re-entered the turnpike five miles west of McDowell. Jackson decided to move a considerable force of artillery, with adequate infantry supports, by this road during the night, with the hope of crushing his foe when hemmed in on the morrow. Gen. Johnson's brigade, though out of sight, was close at hand, in case the enemy should make any effort in force to occupy Sitlington's hill, and Taliaferro's and Campbell's were within supporting distance, while the "Stonewall" brigade was ordered to encamp some distance in the rear.

While the Confederates were thus employed, Milroy had been reinforced by the arrival of Schenck's brigade, which, omitting "several companies then on detached and other duty, brought into the field an aggregate of only about thirteen hundred (1300) infantry, besides De Beck's battery of the First Ohio artillery, and about two hundred and fifty (250) cavalry."¹ His skirmishers had reported that the Confederate force was increasing, and that there were indications of the planting of artillery on Sitlington's hill. In such an event the Federal position at McDowell was entirely untenable. Gen. Milroy, therefore, with the approval of Gen. Schenck, who, as senior, now com-

¹ Gen. Schenck's report.

manded, moved forward with portions of his own brigade and one regiment of Schenck's brigade to seize the hill. Milroy's brigade consisted of the Twenty-fifth, Seventy-fifth, and Thirty-second Ohio, and Third Virginia regiments. Numerous detachments of these regiments were absent on other duty, and several companies were already engaged as skirmishers, and Gen. Milroy reports that the force he carried forward to this main attack, including the Eighty-second Ohio, of Schenck's brigade, was between two thousand two hundred (2200) and two thousand three hundred (2300) men. It was now after three o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as Jackson perceived the advance of the Federals in force, he ordered up four regiments of Johnson's brigade. The Fifty-second Virginia came first, and was placed on the left. It was deployed as skirmishers, and sent forward to engage the enemy. The Twelfth Georgia was posted in the centre of the Confederate position, on the crest of the hill, and the Forty-fourth Virginia on the right, near a ravine. The Fifty-eighth Virginia was sent to the left to support the Fifty-second. The Confederate line was a curve, with the convexity towards the enemy, so that the right of it was in a direction nearly perpendicular to the left. The advance of the Federals was protected for some distance by the convexity of the hill, and in part by the wood that covered its base and lower sides. As the Federals emerged from the wood and attained the face of the hill, they became engaged with the skirmishers of the Fifty-second Virginia, Col. M. G. Harman. It was the Twenty-fifth and Seventy-fifth Ohio, under Col. McLean, of the Seventy-fifth, that led the attack on the Confederate left. Resolutely climbing the hill, they pushed back the skirmish line opposed to them, until they came upon the Confederate line of battle on the brow of the hill. Here the struggle became fierce and sanguinary. Meantime, Milroy had sent the Thirty-second and Eighty-second Ohio and Third Virginia (Federal) farther to his left, that they might attack the right of the Confederates, and, if possible, turn it. The two Ohio regiments pressed up the face of the hill, and vigorously attacked Johnson's right, while the Third Virginia (Federal) pushed along the turnpike and threatened to turn his flank. Anticipating the latter movement, Jackson had placed the Thirty-first Virginia to hold the turnpike in advance of the point at which the Confederates had diverged from it to ascend the hill. The attack which was made on Johnson's right, on the hill where only the Forty-fourth Virginia was posted, caused Jackson to withdraw the Thirty-first from the turnpike, and to send it and the Twenty-fifth Virginia to Gen. Johnson, who

placed them in support of the Forty-fourth. The guarding of the turnpike was then committed to the Twenty-first Virginia (Col. Cunningham), of Campbell's brigade, which was directed to hold it at all hazards. But the Federals did not press in this direction, and Col. Cunningham was not seriously attacked. Gen. Milroy states that he ordered two twelve-pounders to be placed on the turnpike, but did not get them into position "until after twilight." The attack upon the Confederate right was vigorous and well sustained, and now, by the junction of the two attacking Federal columns, the battle became general. Repeated efforts were made to carry the crest of the hill, but these were repulsed. The firing was incessant and at close quarters. The Confederates had the advantage of position, and in some parts the undulations of the ground gave them some cover; but, for the most part, their line showing plainly against the evening sky, afforded an excellent mark for the Federal soldiers. On the other hand, though the Federal troops had to push up the steep acclivity of the hill, they reaped the usual advantage in such cases, resulting from the high firing of the Confederates. The most advanced portion of the Confederate line was the centre, where, without any protection from the nature of the ground, the Twelfth Georgia regiment bore the brunt of numerous attacks and gallantly held its position. It was suffering heavily, but refused to yield, or even to take advantage of such cover as the place afforded.

Gen. Jackson says: "The engagement had now not only become general along the whole line, but so intense that I ordered Gen. Taliaferro to the support of Gen. Johnson.¹ Accordingly, the Twenty-third and Thirty-seventh Virginia regiments were advanced to the centre of the line, which was then held by the Twelfth Georgia with heroic gallantry. . . . At this time the Federals were pressing forward on our right, with a view of flanking that position. This movement of the enemy was speedily detected, and met by Gen. Taliaferro's brigade and the Twelfth Georgia with great promptitude. Further to check it, portions of the Twenty-fifth and Thirty-first Virginia regiments were sent to occupy an elevated piece of woodland on our right and rear, so situated as to fully command the position of the enemy. The brigade commanded by Col. Campbell coming up about this time, was, together with the Tenth Virginia (the rear regiment of Taliaferro's brigade), ordered down the ridge into the woods, to guard against movements against our right flank,

¹ To Gen. Johnson had been intrusted the command of the troops engaged.

which they, in connection with the other force, effectually prevented. The battle lasted four hours,—from half-past four in the afternoon until half-past eight. Every attempt, by front or flank movement, to attain the crest of the hill, where our line was formed, was signally and effectually repulsed. Finally, after dark, their force ceased firing, and the enemy retreated. The enemy's artillery, posted on a hill in our front, was active in throwing shot and shell up, to the period when the infantry fight commenced; but, in consequence of the great angle of elevation at which they fired and our sheltered position, inflicted no loss upon our troops."¹ This artillery consisted of a section which had been firing all the day from the western side of the McDowell valley. There was also a gun in action from the Twelfth Ohio battery, which, Gen. Milroy says, "was placed in position on the mountain on the left of the turnpike (Hull's hill) with the greatest difficulty," whilst his troops were advancing against the Confederate right.

The Confederate forces actually in the battle consisted of Johnson's brigade (six regiments) and of Taliaferro's brigade (three regiments); Col. Campbell's brigade arrived in time to be used in protecting the right flank, but was not engaged, and the "Stonewall" brigade was some miles in the rear. The nine regiments engaged numbered about four thousand five hundred (4500) men, and Col. Campbell's brigade contained about fifteen hundred (1500) more. The Federal strength, under Schenck and Milroy, was over six thousand (6000) men,² but, according to the reports of those officers, not more than two thousand five hundred (2500) of these were in the battle. The Confederate official report gives Jackson's loss as seventy-one killed and three hundred and ninety wounded,—total, four hundred and sixty-one (461). Among the Confederate killed was Col. Gibbons, of the Tenth Virginia, who fell while gallantly leading his regiment. Gen. Edward Johnson, who commanded the troops engaged, was seriously wounded in the foot, near the close of the fight. Col. M. G. Harman,

¹ Jackson's report of the battle of McDowell.

² Fremont, in his official report, already quoted, says that Milroy and Schenck had together 6500 men. His official return for May 10 gives as the present for duty, officers and men:

Under Milroy	3694
" Schenck	2335
Total	6029

On April 30 the return gives the strength of the two as 6422.

of the Fifty-second Virginia, Col. Smith and Maj. Higginbotham, of the Twenty-fifth Virginia, and Maj. Campbell, of the Forty-second Virginia, were also wounded. Gen. Schenck reports twenty-eight killed, and two hundred and twenty-five wounded, and three missing,—total, two hundred and fifty-six (256), as the Federal loss.¹

Though Gen. Milroy failed altogether to obtain possession of Sitlington's hill, or to effect any lodgment from which he might renew the attack on the morrow, he maintained the fight in the most spirited manner until dark, and in this way saved himself from disaster; for, under cover of the darkness and fog, he quietly with-

¹ The troops actually engaged at McDowell, with the losses in detail, so far as the regimental reports give them, are as follows:

CONFEDERATE.

Edward Johnson's brigade:	Strength.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total Loss.
Twenty-fifth Virginia . . .		1			
Thirty-first " . . .					
Twelfth Georgia . . .	540	40	140		180
Forty-fourth Virginia . . .					
Fifty-second " . . .		6	47		53
Fifty-eighth " . . .					

Taliaferro's brigade:					
Tenth Virginia . . .		1	20		21
Twenty-third Virginia . . .		6	35		41
Thirty-seventh " . . .		5	34		39

Campbell's brigade:					
Forty-second Virginia . . .			3		3
Forty-eighth " . . .			4		4
Twenty-first " . . .					
Irish battalion . . .			1		1

Total strength, about 6000. Total loss, 461.

FEDERAL.

Of Milroy's brigade, parts of the	Strength.
Twenty-fifth Ohio	469
Seventy-fifth "	444
Thirty-second "	416
Third Virginia	439

Of Schenck's brigade, part of the
 Eighty-second Ohio 500
 Also, some of Second Virginia, as skirmishers.
 Part of Hyman's battery, and part of Johnson's (Twelfth Ohio)
 battery.
 Strength, about 2500. Loss, 256.

drew from the field, unmolested by the Confederates, the country being too broken and difficult to admit of pursuit at night. McDowell was entirely untenable with the Confederates holding Sitlington's hill, and so Gen. Schenck, as soon as the Federal troops had been safely withdrawn from the battle-field, having lighted his camp-fires, evacuated the place, and fell back during the night in the direction of Franklin. He says: "The withdrawal was effected without the loss of a man, and without loss or destruction of any article of public property, except of some stores for which Gen. Milroy was entirely without the means of transportation."¹

Meanwhile, the Confederates, having collected the wounded and left a guard on the field, sought needed rest in their bivouac. This rest was short, for it was late in the night before all was quiet, and with the early morning the army was astir. At dawn Jackson was in the saddle, but when he had ascended again to the battle-field, it was only to look down on the deserted camps and smouldering camp-fires of the foe. He occupied McDowell without delay, and, having provided for the captured stores, prepared to follow the retreating army.

The following was Jackson's laconic despatch announcing his victory to the adjutant-general:

"VALLEY DISTRICT, May 9, 1862.

"TO GEN. S. COOPER:

"God blessed our arms with victory at McDowell yesterday.

"T. J. JACKSON, Major-General."

Gen. Schenck fell back by gradual stages to Franklin, taking advantage of the rugged country to hold the pursuers in check. On Friday (9th) he halted for some hours at the intersection of the Monterey and Franklin roads, but, before any considerable portion of Jackson's force was up, he moved on.² Next day the Confederates pursued closely, but were easily prevented in these mountains from doing any serious damage.

The plan of the Confederate leader was to beat the armies opposed to him in detail. The force under Gen. Schenck had been repulsed, but it was still formidable. If reinforced from Gen. Banks, the

¹ Schenck's report. A considerable quantity of camp equipage was left, and many tents, the latter standing.

² Jackson was compelled to spend some hours at McDowell, in order that his troops might be fed.

strengthened force might be able in this mountainous country to withstand him.¹ He therefore took steps to prevent reinforcements from being sent from Banks to Schenck, or a union of the two commands. For this purpose he sent a party of cavalry, under Capt. Hotchkiss, topographical engineer, to blockade the roads leading from the direction of McDowell and Franklin through North River and Dry River gaps. These roads lead to Harrisonburg, and at the points named pass through narrow defiles, where, by felling trees, they could be made impassable long enough to give time for the making of dispositions to defeat the movement. Another party was sent to do the same on the road leading through Brock's gap, directly west of Harrisonburg, and the citizens were requested to aid by obstructing every available point.² These detachments having been sent off, the army continued its march in the wake of the retreating Federals.

On the succeeding day (11th), as Jackson again closed up to the rear of the Federal army, the latter adopted the expedient of setting fire to the forests along the road. "Soon the sky was overcast with volumes of smoke which almost hid the scene, and wrapped every distant object in a veil impenetrable to the eyes and the telescopes of the officers alike. Through this sultry fog the pursuing army felt its way very cautiously along, cannonaded by the enemy from every advantageous position, while it was protected from ambuscades only by detachments of skirmishers who scoured the burning woods on each side of the highway. As fast as these could scramble over the precipitous hills and the blazing thickets, the great column crept along the main road like a lazy serpent, the general often far in advance of its head, in his eagerness to overtake the foe. He declared that this smoke was the most adroit expedient to which a retreating army could resort to embarrass pursuit, and that it entailed upon him all the disadvantages of a night attack. By slow approaches and constant skirmishing the enemy were driven to the village of Franklin, when the double darkness of the night and the fog again arrested his progress."³ Gen. Schenck says: "From McDowell I fell back by easy marches on the 9th, 10th, and 11th to this place (Franklin),

¹ He was not aware how large a portion of Banks's troops were about to go to reinforce Gen. McDowell at Fredericksburg.

² The blockading of these roads was one of the causes which subsequently prevented Fremont from marching on Harrisonburg when ordered to go to the relief of Banks, and induced him to go by a circuit to Strasburg.

³ Dabney's *Life of Jackson*, p. 351.

the enemy cautiously pursuing. . . . While awaiting the arrival of the general commanding (Fremont), with reinforcements at this point, on the 11th, 12th, and 13th, the rebel army having advanced within two miles of our position, we were kept constantly engaged in watchful preparations for an expected attack."¹

On Monday morning, May 12, Jackson, finding Schenck strongly posted, and knowing that affairs in the east would not admit of his protracted stay in the mountains, determined to withdraw from the Federal front without further battle. He had found it impossible to do any considerable injury to an army retreating in such a country. Now the Federals were within reach of Fremont's main body, and having taken a stand at Franklin in a strong position, might either hold him in check until the reinforcements arrived or continue their retreat until a junction with Fremont was effected. Such a junction once made, the Confederate general might be forced to fight a superior force² without the aid of Ewell's division, which had been left in Elk Run valley to watch Banks. Again, time was all-important. The enemy could make a campaign in the mountains tedious. An emergency at Fredericksburg or Richmond might cause the recall of Ewell's division, which had been ordered to co-operate with Jackson for making some movement against Banks which would relieve Fredericksburg and prevent troops from that point or the Valley going to reinforce McClellan. He decided to unite his whole force without more delay and strike at Banks, who in the open country of the Valley could be more readily assailed. Milroy and Schenck had been driven away from the position that enabled them to threaten Staunton; had been pushed away, too, from Banks, so that there was no longer any danger of a junction of the two commands. Jackson believed that by a prompt movement against the latter officer, he might defeat him before Fremont would sufficiently recover from the disarrangement of his plans, produced by the defeat and retreat of Schenck, to interfere actively with the operations of the Confederates.

Having so decided, Jackson sent a courier to Gen. Ewell to announce his coming, and prepared for the return. He granted the soldiers the half of Monday (12th) as a season of rest, in lieu of the Sabbath which had been devoted to warfare, and issued the following order to them :

¹ Schenck's report.

² Jackson had with him near 9000 men ; Fremont 15,000.

"SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE VALLEY AND NORTHWEST:

"I congratulate you on your recent victory at McDowell. I request you to unite with me this morning in thanksgiving to Almighty God for thus having crowned your arms with success, and in praying that he will continue to lead you on from victory to victory until our independence shall be established, and make us that people whose God is the Lord. The chaplains will hold Divine Service at 10 o'clock A.M. this day, in their respective regiments."¹

¹ Dabney's *Life of Jackson*, p. 353.