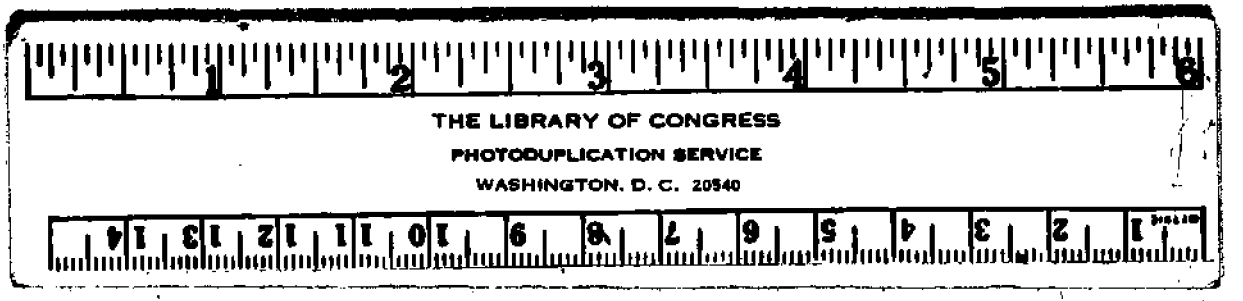
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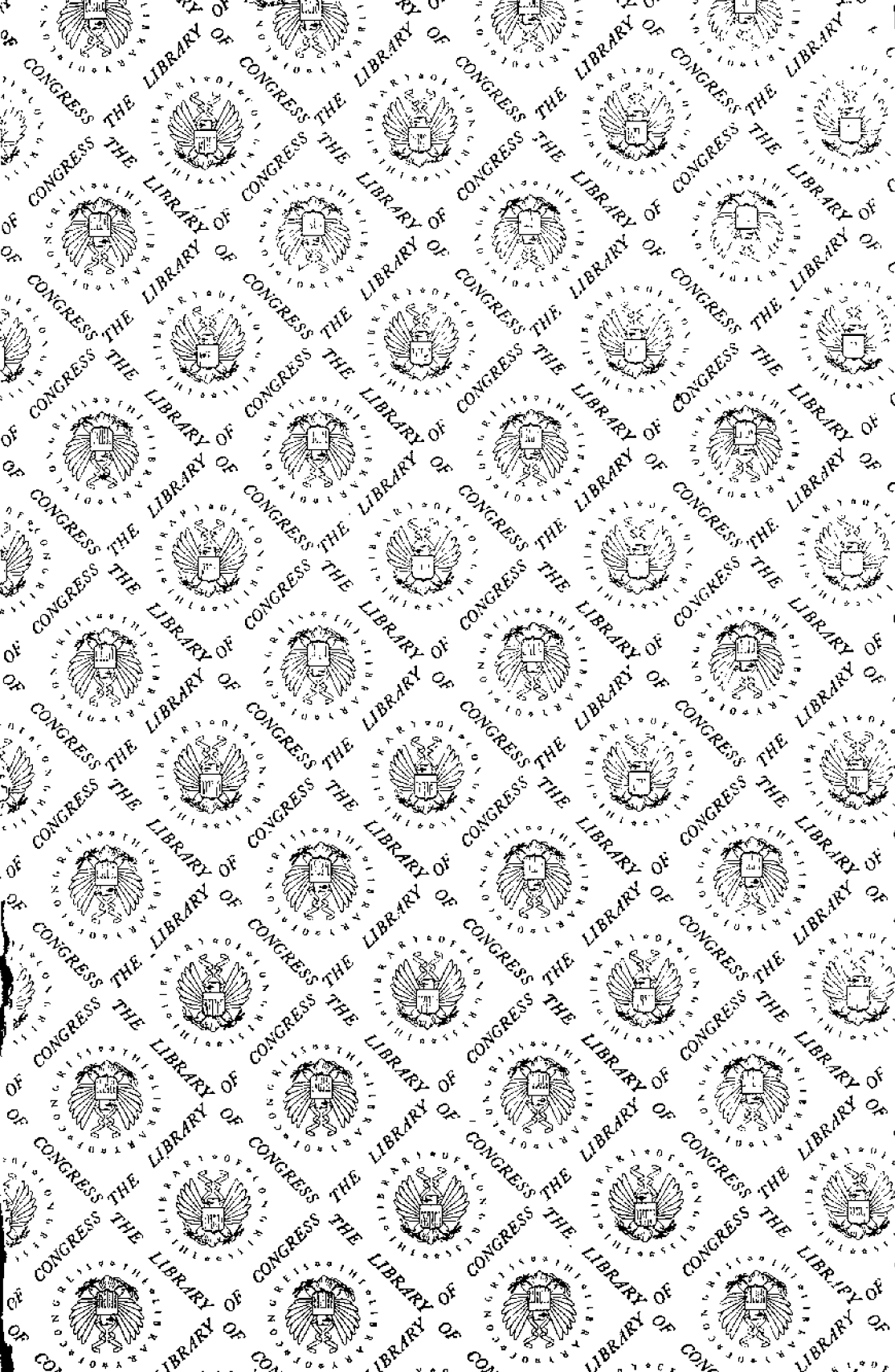
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SANBORN FAMILY

IN THE

UNITED STATES

AND

BRIEF SKETCH OF LIFE

— OF —

JOHN B. SANBORN,

WITH

SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES.

ST. PAUL:
H. M. SMYTH PRINTING CO.
1887.

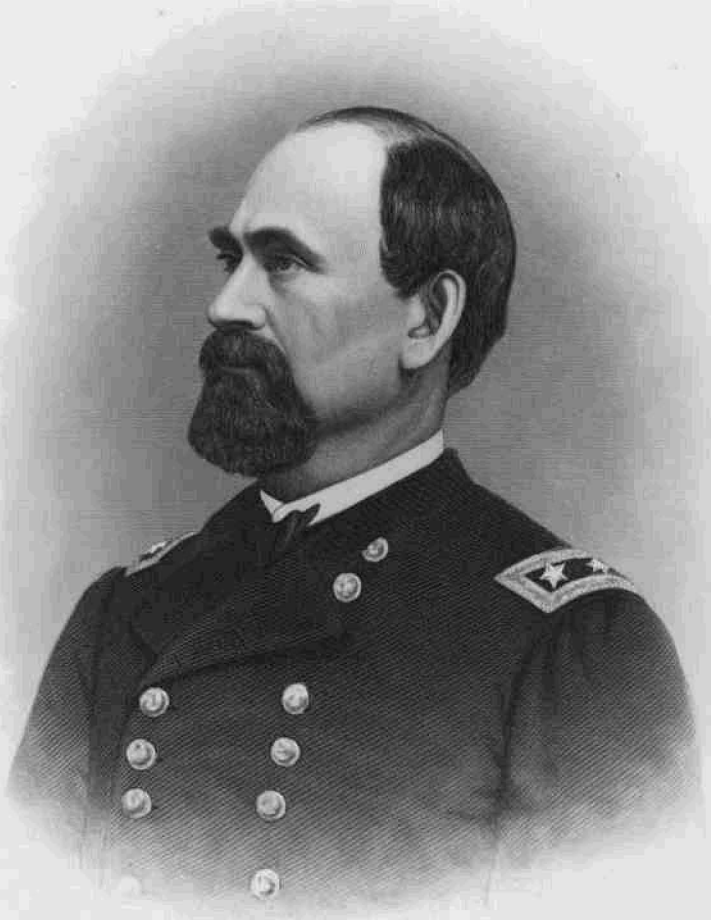
Genealogy of the Samborns or Sanborn Family. By V. C. Sanborn, of La Grange, Ill. 1899. Printed for the author, pp. xvi.+650. Cloth, $10, half morocco, $12.50.

In the Register for 1856 appeared the first printed record of the American Sanborns, by Nathan Sanborn, M.D., of Henniker, N. H.—reprinted in a pamphlet of sixteen pages. And now we have this stately book of forty times as many pages, and a hundred times as much matter, concerning not only all the American generations, several of which are added since Dr. Sanborn wrote, but also the best account of the English Samborns that has yet appeared. No American family can show a fuller record than this, or more exact in date and incident; though confined, for the most part, to the male descendants of John and William Samborn, who settled in Hampton, N. H., about 1640, with their maternal grandfather, Rev. Stephen Bachiler, to whom a brief chapter is devoted, containing some facts about him discovered by Mr. V. C. Sanborn in England. Female descendants are carried no farther than the marriage entry; yet there are nearly 20,000 American Sanborns, tracing back to the two brothers who came over with their grandfather in 1632. To genealogists the English pedigrees will be of marked interest; for the author in his English visits and correspondence has made the record of the English family exhaustive, from A.D. 1300,—with scattered notes going back to 1194. In editing this material he had the generous aid of English experts, particularly of Mr. W. P. W. Phillimore.

The English Sambornes were of the southern counties, and their homes are shown on a good map engraved for the book by Stanford of London. Then comes a treatise on the family name, and a connected pedigree from Nicholas Samborne, a wealthy burgess and M. P. of Wilts in 1390, whose son married an heiress of the De Lusteshulls, ancestors of the Wriothesly and Dunstanville families. His descendants intermarried with the Drews of Wiltshire, the Crekelades of North Wilts, the Lisles, Brocases and Tichbornes of Hampshire, the Willoughbys of Dorset and the Throckmortons of Gloucestershire. The Sambornes had ancient residences at Lushill House in Wilts, Southcote in Berks and Timsbury House in Somerset, the last occupied by the present representative of the race, Samborne Stukely Palmer-Samborn, J. P. It is a fine old Tudor mansion, of which several views are here engraved from photographs made by the owner's daughter, Mrs. Alfred Dwight Foster of Boston. From this Somerset branch sprung a Hampshire family of the name, residing near Andover; and clear circumstantial evidence traces the American Sanborns to this Hampshire line, of which John, William and Stephen Samborne, sons of one whose Christian name is not yet found, and of Anne Bachiler, accompanied Rev. S. Bachiler to New England. Hampton, where they finally settled, and from which town Stephen returned to England, was founded by Mr. Bachiler, a Hampshire man, Oxford graduate, and rector of Wherwell near Clatford, Hants (where James Samborne was rector), for twenty years, until ejected for Puritanism.

Of the early Hampton Sambornes few records remain, though they were prominent in the affairs and troubles of the Colony for half a century. An autograph letter of John Samborn to Capt. William Trask of Salem (1648) is reproduced, and so is a more significant document,—the original Hampton petition of 1653, praying the Boston magistrates to pardon Robert Pike of Salisbury,—signed by the three brothers in autograph. The circumstances attending the petition make a special chapter, and this is followed by an unpublished tax rate of Hampton for the same year. As the generations proceed, many details are given from old deeds and other documents, with fac-simile autographs. Of the later generations there are many brief biographies, and extended sketches of distinguished members of the family, such as Gen. John B. Sanborn of St. Paul, Judge W. H. Sanborn of the U. S. Circuit court, Prof. E. D. Sanborn of Dartmouth College (a historian of New Hampshire) and his brother, John Sewell Sanborn, Canadian judge and senator, F. G. Sanborn of San Francisco, the Sanborns of Port Huron, Mich., J. S. Sanborn of Chase & Sanborn, and many others of the name. The author's father, F. B. Sanborn of Concord, the biographer of Thoreau, Alcott and John Brown, and more recently of Dr. Pliny Earle, contributes a chapter on New Hampshire life in the early 19th century.

The author attributes much of the completeness of his volume to the collections made by the late Dr. N. Sanborn, and Prof. Dyer H. Sanborn, who, between 1840 and 1865, were industrious in collecting material and reminiscences, but chiefly of names and dates. Mr. V. C. Sanborn has done much more,—not only adding new names and new lines, but a whole series of family biographies, illustrated with a hundred portraits and views, which clothe the skeleton of genealogy with the flesh and blood of human interest. The typography and engraving are the finest work of the Rumford Press of Concord, N. H., and do great credit to that excellent printing-house, whose head, Mr. [illegible] recently been chosen Secretary of State of New Hampshire.



John B. Sanborn

THE SAMBORNES OF ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

By V. C. SANBORN, of Concord, Mass.

The New Hampshire family of Sanborn furnishes an example in that State of the same sort as that furnished by the Massachusetts family of Greenleaf, lately mentioned in the REGISTER. It deserves better treatment genealogically than it has yet received, but in this respect it is no worse off than many other of the oldest families of New Hampshire, notably those of Blake, Dalton and Bachiler. True, the obscure origin of the last two families has been somewhat lighted up by Mr. Whitmore's article in the REGISTER, of 1873, but much still remains to be done.

The origin of the Sanborn family was not only shrouded in darkness, but the few attempts made to discover the first ancestor's home have been unsuccessful, and have only served to deepen the shade of obscurity. While other families have joined together to search for their common origin, the Sanborn family has not succeeded in keeping up a family association; although one was formed in 1853 at Manchester, N. H., which accomplished little. In the July and October numbers of the REGISTER for 1856 a methodical Sanborn genealogy was issued by Dr. Nathan Sanborn, which, however, was incomplete both in length and breadth. Admirable as far as it went, this genealogy was, perhaps, issued prematurely, and is now of but little importance as regards the earlier and later

generations. The generations after the third as far as the seventh, are almost all that could be desired, but the first, second and last few generations are very incomplete. There are defects, which may be owing to its not being published as a separate work, but as an article in a periodical, where limited space could be given it. No wills are copied, no extracts from court records or deeds made, which might be of value, and what information might have been found, even in 1853, the infancy of New England genealogy, was not extracted for the convenience of future investigators. If such material had been furnished to Dr. Sanborn, or if he could have found it for himself, his work would have been more valuable.

Two years after the publication of this Sanborn genealogy, a very short article was printed in the REGISTER by Dyer H. Sanborn, then president of the Sanborn Association and a brother of Prof. E. D. Sanborn of Dartmouth College, which was intended to throw additional light on the Sanborns, and especially those of England. This article gave descriptions of the several arms of Samborne quoted in different "Armories," and misquoted, or rather misinterpreted the tincture of the crest, the hand and arrows of which are (ppr.) proper, or in their natural colors, and not (purp.) purpura, or purple. Besides these arms, Mr. D. H. Sanborn gave the references to the name Samborne in the MSS. in the British Museum, and also supplemented Dr. Sanborn's account of the third generation in America.

I judge that there has been little interest taken, since 1858, in the Sanborn pedigree by any of the name; for nothing, to my knowledge, has appeared in print since then which would throw light on the English home of the first John Samborne. As is usually the case in American family histories, a coat of arms was printed in the Sanborn genealogy, which there is not, and never has been, the slightest authority for using in the American branch; but besides this, I am almost assured, by a careful examination of Burke's and Nicholas's "Armories," that such a

coat never existed in any Samborne family. This coat, without any reason for its use has been copied into Mr. Runnels's "Genealogies of Sanbornton." This assumption would easily have been detected if any effort had been made to discover the early English families of the name of Samborne. Although I have not myself been able to search in England for the Sambornes, I have found several extracts in the *Calendarii*, *Rotuli*, etc., before 1700, which bear upon the Sambornes of England.

But first let us speak of the derivation of the family name. There are two hamlets of England from which the family of Sambo(u)rne might have taken its name, or to which it might have given it. One is Sambourne in Warwickshire, mentioned in Dr. Sanborn's printed genealogy, but a few miles from Alcester, a great market-town; and the other (Sandbourne) is in Worcestershire in the parish of Kidderminster. Of the first, Dugdale, in his Antiquities of Warwickshire says "Of this place, having its original denomination from that little Sandy brook, nigh unto which it stands, I find very ancient mention, *viz.:* in *anno* DCCXIV. it being then (inter aliis) given to the Monks of Evesham by *Egwin*, Bishop of Worcester, upon the foundation thereof." It is also recorded that this hamlet possessed a "court-leet," or privilege of annual court-holding for the preservation of the public peace.

I can find no ancient record of the latter parish division in Worcestershire, and so I can relate nothing of its history.

From the name let us return to the family itself. The Sambo(u)rne family seems originally to have been divided into two branches, from each of which younger shoots have issued. One of these first branches was settled in Berkshire and Oxfordshire, first in Sunning, and afterwards in Moulsford, Berks; while the other possessed lands in Timsbury and Nunny, in Somersetshire, and Maiden Newton and Turner's Puddle, in Dorsetshire. A shoot from this latter branch settled in London, and

afterwards was merged in the Le Bas family of France, while the Timsbury branch, after inheriting the possessions of the Mawdleys of Nunny and Wells, at last became extinct themselves in the male line; and the marriage of the heiress of Samborne with a family of Flower, and the subsequent inheritance by still another family; reduced descent to a family of Palmer, who assumed the name of Samborne in the nineteenth century. The representative of the Timsbury Sambornes is Samborne Stukely Palmer-Samborne, Esq., of Timsbury House, near Bath, whose son, John S. P. Samborne, has kindly furnished me with the accompanying pedigree (A). Had he sent me the historical proof of the authenticity of the pedigree, I should be able to vouch for it; as it is, I desire to acknowledge his kindness both in sending me the pedigree and in making transcripts from the records of Timsbury Church, of which Swithin Samborne was rector in 1550. In his letter to me, Mr. John Samborne says:

"I am afraid I can help you but little in your researches. ..... I have looked through our pedigree and other old documents, and also the records of the births, deaths and marriages in Timsbury Church. I find Sir Barnaby Samborne married twice; 1st, he married Cicely, daughter of William Basset, of Co. Gloucester, by whom he had two children—John (born in 1588) and Barnabas (born in 1590); 2d, he married Margaret, daughter of Sir W. Throgmorton of Fortwich, Co. Gloucester, by whom he had five children:

i. Thomas, born 1601.
ii. William, bapt. in Timsbury Church, 20 May, 1604.
iii. Richard, bapt. in Timsbury Church, 30 September, 1605.
iv. Bridget, bapt. in Timsbury Church, 21 May, 1607; buried at Timsbury 7 August, 1607.
v. John, bapt. in Timsbury Church, 9 February, 1608; buried at Timsbury, 14 December, 1641.

Sir Barnaby had five brothers—Toby, bapt. 1563; Israel, bapt. 1564; Samuel, bapt. 1565; Peter, bapt. 1569; John, bapt. 1574. Of these nothing is known except that John was buried at Timsbury, 1576. ..... We have the signatures of Sir Barnaby Samborne and his uncle Swithin Samborne, and both spelt their name *Samborne*, as we have ever since spelt it. ..... We have lived in this house since the fifteenth century, when one of my ancestors married a daughter of De La Riviere, and so got this property."

I have only been able so far to verify one of the marriages in the pedigree, that of John Samborne with Dorothy Tichbourne. This marriage is given in Berry's Hants Pedigrees, and was quoted by Mr. D. H. Sanborn in his article in the REGISTER in 1858. With his usual incorrectness he has dated the marriage almost a century later than it really was, his date being 1600, whereas the real date was no later than 1520. By Berry this John Samborne is quoted as being of Berkshire, but that might easily be a mistake. As to the rest of the pedigree (A) I can only say that, if two or three generations between Sir John[1] Sambueren and John[2] Sambueren who married a daughter of Talboys of Kyme, were supposed to be omitted, the dates would tally correctly with the corresponding historical dates. I should not wonder if, with this emendation, the pedigree were correct as it stands. As to the other pedigrees of the name of Samborne, there is, in the Somersetshire Visitation of 1623, printed by the Harlein Society, a pedigree (B) of Samborne going back as far as a John Samborne who married a daughter of ———Willoughby, and in the Oxfordshire Visitation of 1574 and 1634, there is a pedigree (C) of Sambourne going back as far as William Sambourne, who married a daughter and heir of Sir William Lushell. In the 1531 Visitation of Berkshire, lately published by the Harleian Society, there is a pedigree (D) of the family descended from the Sunning branch, but neither of these families goes back any farther than the beginning of the fifteenth century, and I have not been able to find any conclusive connecting proof farther back than the Herald's Visitations.

I find, however, mention of Saudeburne (a misprint for Sandeburne), ancient for Samborne, as Sandebadge and Sandeways for Sambach and Samwaies, Sambourne and Sumburne (possibly allied, resident at Sombourne in Hampshire) in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The earliest record which I have been able to find is dated in Wiltshire, in 1211, when it is said:

"Assisa venit recognit. si Julianus de Saudeburne injuste et sine judico dissaisivit Haurisiam et Surram de libero tenemento suo in Saudeburne post primam coronationem Domini Regis ss. Et Haurisiam et Surram non venientes Julianus teneat in pace et Haurisiam et Surram in misericordia quia non prosequuntur et plegitur est in imperatore ....." *Placita*—Wilts. 12 Johis I.—1211.

The next extracts relative to the name as it now stands, are in the reign of Edward III. (1327–1377), and they show the home of one Robert de Sambourne to have been in Somersetshire, where, as I have said, a branch was settled in the fifteenth century. This Robert de Sambourne seems to have been a churchman, a prominent member of a church at Jevele or Yvele (*modern* Yeovil, a town of Somersetshire situated in the extreme south on the river Yeo, while Timsbury is in the extreme north of the county, or that part where Bath is situated.) I find five extracts relative to Robert in the *Rotuli Originalium*, or lists of grants, etc., made during the reign of Edward III., of which I will quote but one, as the rest are very similar.

"R. p. quadraginta solido Robto de Sambourne quod ipse unu messuagiu triginta acr. tre et duas acr. pte cum ptem in Yevele Kyngeston Mersh et Cherton Morr dare possit et assignare cuidam capellano hend." *Rotuli Originalium*, vol. ii, p. 213.

There are also, in the Calendarii Inquisitorum Post Mortem several extracts relative to this same Robert de Sambourne, of which I will quote two, as they describe the lands which he held, either in his own right or that of his church:

"Rob'tus de Sambourne pro quodam capellano

Yevele Kyngeston La Mershe juxt. Mudeford	30 acr. tenr. ut de honore als R. Castel.	Somerset.

"Joh'es de Merston ch'r feoffavit Rob'tus de Sambourne p ecclie de Meryet et al.

Lopene maner Stratton maner Meriet maner reman. eid Joh.	Somerset."

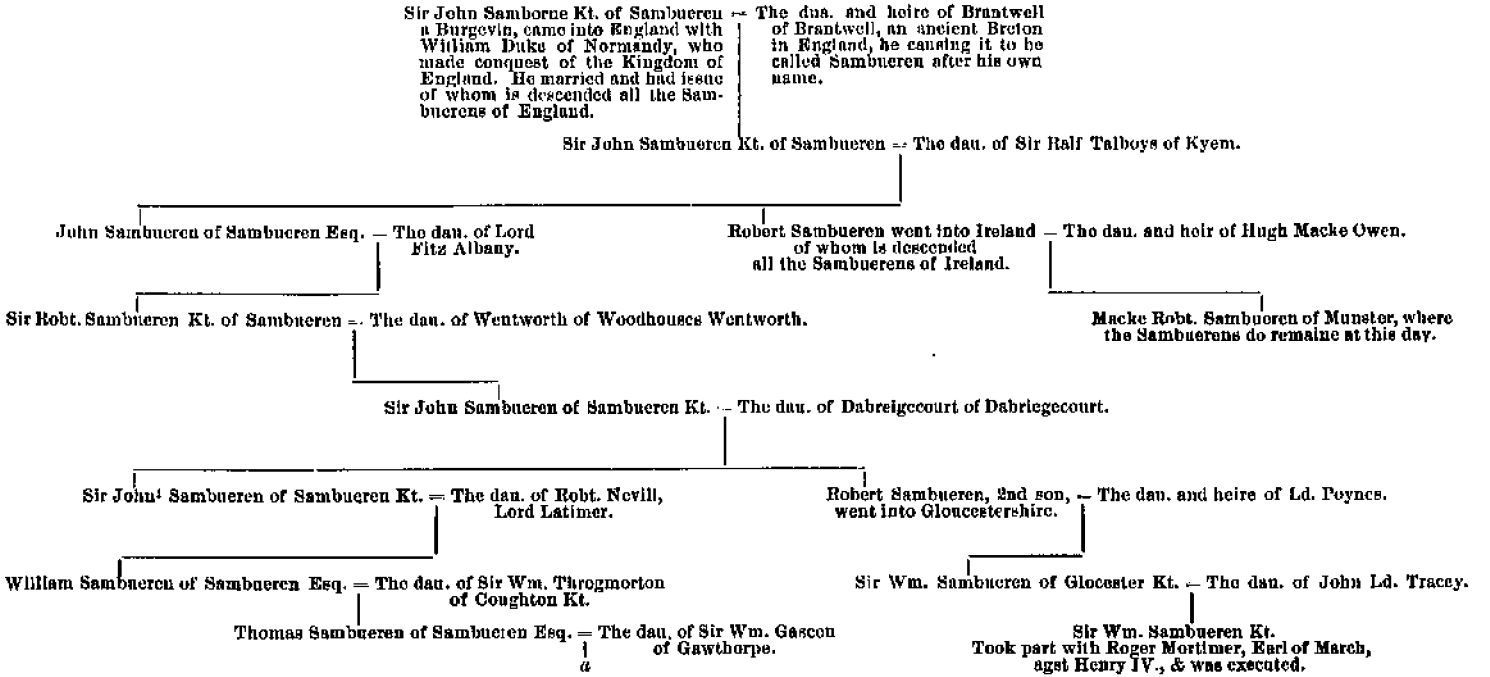
Inq. P. M. Vol. II. pp. 146 and 258.

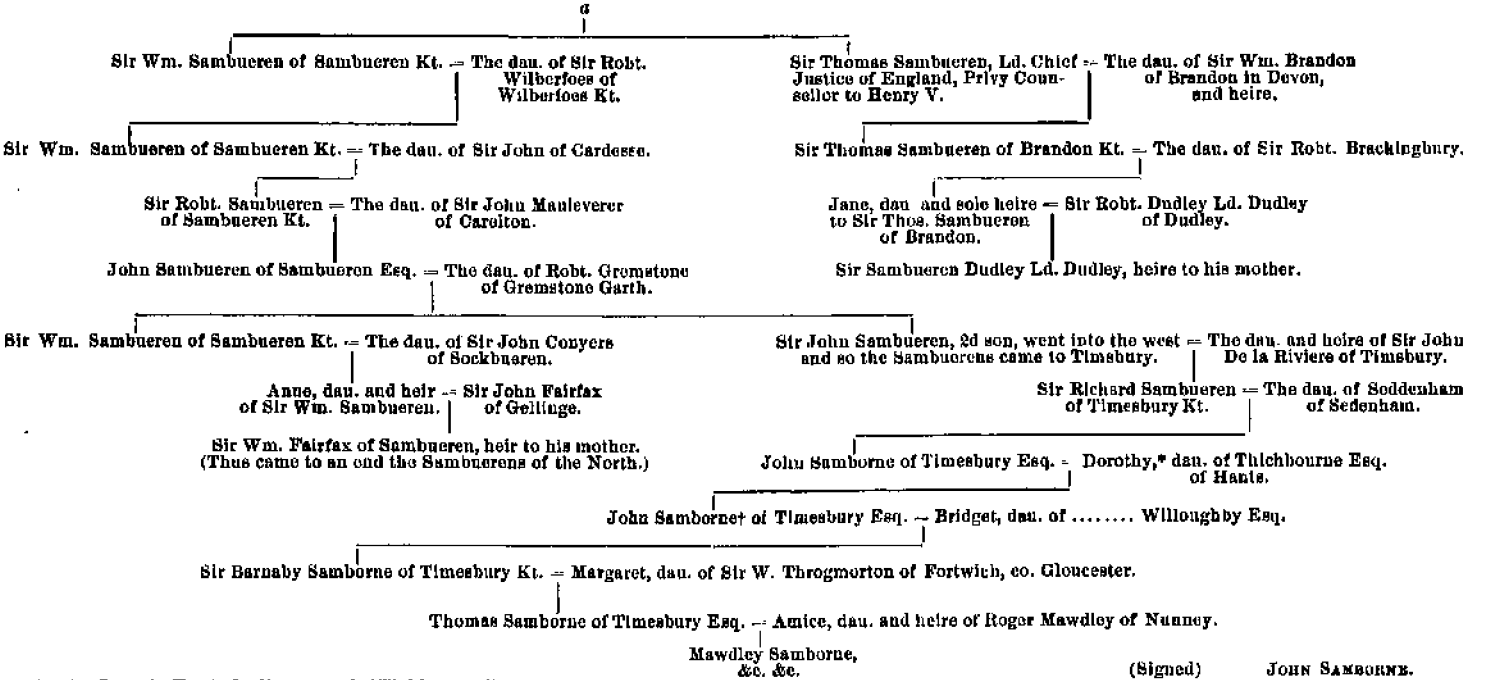
The next (in date) mention of Samborne is in more modern times. Collinson, in his Somersetshire, under head of Timsbury, says:

"On an old stone tomb in the chancel (of the church at Timsbury) is the effigies of a man in armour. Of the inscription on the tablet nothing more can be discovered than that the monument was erected to the memory of Sir Barnaby Sambourne, who, all his life, showed his affections to his king and country." Vol. II. p. 112.

This is the Sir Barnaby Samborne of pedigrees (A) and (B) and it is quite likely that John Samborne of Hampton (grandson of Rev. Stephen Bachiler) was the grandson of one of the brothers of Sir Barnaby. The names of John, Richard and William, which appear in the Timsbury pedigree and that of Sunning and Moulsford, are repeated as family names in the first three generations in America; and as the fashion of the time was to have scriptural proper names, it is not likely that these names would have been given, especially to descendants of a Puritan divine, had they not been family names. Concerning the first generation of Sambornes in America, it is not the purpose of this article to speak, but perhaps hereafter I may have something to say on that subject.

Samborne Pedigree. (A)





(Signed) JOHN SAMBORNE.

* *See Berry's Hants Pedigrees, sub "Tichbourne."*

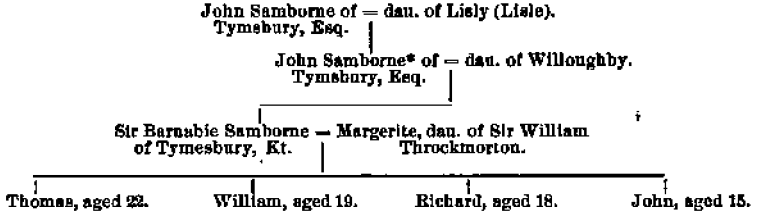
† *Between this and the preceding generation another marriage is given in Somerset Visitation of* 1623.

Pedigree B.

SAMBORNE OF TIMSBURY.

(Copied from Visitation of Somerset in 1623.)

Arms.—Ar. a chevron sa. between 3 mullets gu. pierced or.

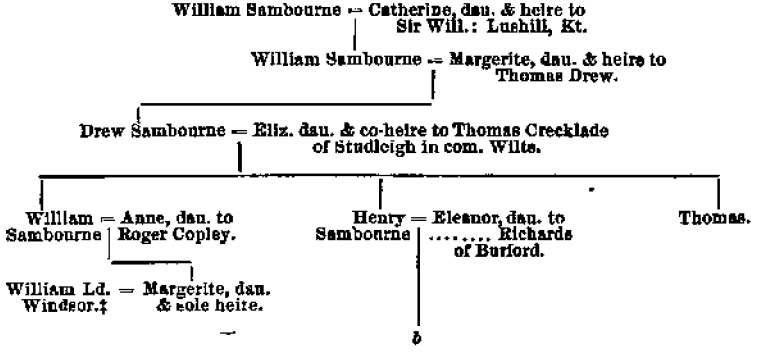


Pedigree C.

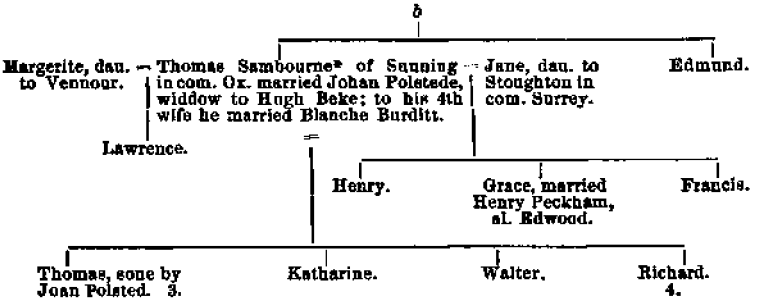
SAMBOURNE OF SUNNING.

(Copied from Visitation of Oxfordshire, 1634.)

Arms.—Ar. a chevron sa. between 3 mullets gu. pierced or, quartering:
1st. Ermine, a lion passant gu. for DREW:
2d. A bend fusilly within a bordure charged with roundles, LUSHILL, untinctured.†



* This John Samborne had a brother Swithin who was rector of Timsbury, and married Martha, dau. of Geo. Milborne and Jullan, dau. of Wm. Jerratt of Trent in com. Somerset.—*Visitation* 1623, p. 74.
† Ar. a pale fusily gu. within a bordure az. bezantee for Lushill of Wiltshire.
‡ William, 2d Lord Windsor, see Collins's Peerage, vol. iv. pp. 87-8.



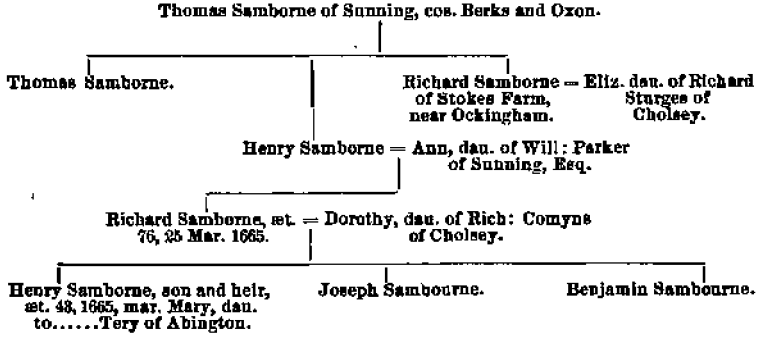
Pedigree D.

SAMBOURNE OF MOULSFORD.

(Copied from Visitation of Berkshire in 1631.)

Arms.—Ar. a chevron sa. between 3 mullets gu. pierced or.

Crest.—A bull's head, holding in the mouth 3 ears of wheat, ppr.



* Father of Thomas and Richard Sambourne (see Ped. D) of Moulsford.

Pedigree E.

Pedigree of SAMBORNE *of London. From Visitation of London*, 1687, (*copied from "Gynealogist,"* vol. i. pp. 218–9, *and reduced to genealogical form by V. C. Sanborn*).

1. JOHN[1] SAMBORNE* of Timsborough, in Com. Somerset, m. ——, dau. of —— Lisley, and had:

   i. *John*[2] *Samborne*, b. ——, m. ——, dau. of —— Willoughbie, and had *Sir Barnabie*[3] *Samborne*† of Timsborough in Com. Somerset, Knt.; m. Margaret Throgmorton and dyed A'o 1610.
   ii. *Nicholas*,[2] b. June 1st, 1529, 21 Henry 8.
   iii. *Anne*,[2] b. 25th October, 1533, 25 Henry 8.
   iv. *Jane*,[2] b. 15th October, 1540, 32 Henry 8.
2. v. *Francis*,[2] b. —— March, 1543, 35 Henry 8, married ——.
   vi. *Richard*,[2] b. 8th May, 1544, 36 Henry 8.
   vii. *Swithin*,[2] youngest son.‡

2. FRANCIS[2] (*John*[1]) SAMBORNE had by wife ——:

3. i. *Richard*,[3] merchant, of Caen in Normandy; he was also of Maiden Newton,§ in Com. Dorset, where he was baptized the 9th of January, 1575; m. Mary, dau. of —— Rignouf in France.
4. ii. *Francis*[3] *Samborne* of London, Goldsmith, second son; m. Margarite, dau. of —— Blincoe of Southwark.
   iii. *John*[3] *Samborne*, a merch't with his brother *Richard*, 3rd son.

3. RICHARD[3] (*Francis*[2] *John*[1]) SAMBORNE, had by his wife MARY:

5. i. *Anne*,[4] eldest dau. of *Richard*[3] *Samborne;* she dyed 11th March, 1634, æt. 32; m. *John*[2] *Le Bass* of *Caen* in *Normandy*, *Gent.* son of John[1] Le Bass of Caen in Normandy, Esq., 13° July 1607, and Mary, dau. of Rob't Paisan.
   ii. *Margaret*[4] 2d dau.; m. but died sine prole.
   iii. *Michael*,[4]
   iv. *Richard*,[4]
   v. *Thomas*,[4]
   vi. *John*,[4]
   } all died without issue.

* In a side note to this pedigree are these words: "The Times of the Births of the children of this first John Samborne is taken from an old Book (which old book is in the possession of William Samborne who hath subscribed this descent) in which the said John hath recorded them under this title: These are the Aggysse of My Chylderyn as hereafter followeth."

† Also five others, as we have seen.

‡ "Rector of Timsbury (Timsborough) in 1550." (?) See article.

§ There was a family of Lisleys (L'Isles) which held a manor in Maiden Newton, and it is possible that the mother of Francis[2] may have been of this branch, and may have transmitted lands in that place to him, he being the father of Richard,[3] and the lands having been his mother's dower.

4. FRANCIS[3] (*Francis*,[2] *John*,[1]) SAMBORNE, had by wife MARGARITE:

   i. *Nicholas*[4] *Samborne*, ob. cœlebs.
   6. ii. *Francis*[4] *Samborne*, b. ——; m. Mary, dau. of —— Goodfellow.
   7. iii. *William*[4] *Samborne*, a Norwich factor, living A'o 1687; m. Hesther, dau. of Rob't Haynes of Bristol, widow of —— Clark.
   iv. *Richard*,[4] died in London, unmarried.

5. JOHN[2] (*John*[1] *Le Bass*) LE BASS, had by wife ANNE,[4] dau. and heire of *Richard*[3] (*Francis*[2] *John*[1]) SAMBORNE:

   i. *John*[3 5] *Le Bass*, borne 10 March, 1625, obiit sans issue.
   ii. *James*[3 6] *Le Bas*, b. 26 June, 1627, obiit sine prole.
   8. iii. *Richard*[3 5] *Le Bas*, b. 30 December, 1629, now living A'o 1687, assis't to Sir Charles Cotterell, M[r] of the Ceremonies in England [or Marshall of Ceremonie*]; m. Kiffiana, dau. of Peter Gosfruight; her mother married to her 2[d] husband *Thomas*[4] *Samborne* before mentioned, but had no issue.
   iv. *Michael*[3 5] *le Bass*, borne A'o 1632, obiit sine prole.
   v. *Mary*[3 5] borne 28 December 1623, m. to —— Jeanblin.†

6. FRANCIS[4] (*Francis*,[3] *Francis*,[2] *John*[1]) SAMBORNE had by wife MARY:

   i. *Samuel*,[5] eldest son, b Tuesday, 6 October A'o 1640, ob.infans.
   ii. *Mary*,[5] now living unmarrid, A'o 1687; b. 24 November, 1641.
   9. iii. *William*[5] *Samborne*, 2[d] son, Clerk of the Chamber of London, æt. 42 A'o 1687; b. Tuesday, 4 February A'o 1644; m. Elizabeth, dau. of Richard Brooke of Derby, Gent.

7. WILLIAM[4] (*Francis*,[3] *Francis*,[2] *John*[1]) SAMBORNE had by wife HESTHER:

   i. *William*,[5] dyed young.
   ii. *Mary*[5] } both now living.
   iii. *Elizabeth*[5] }

* Words in brackets [ ] appear to have been added later to the MS. as they are in a different handwriting and in fresher ink. The MS. is in the possession of Mr. James Coleman. (See *Genealogist*, vol. 1. p 219, foot note.)

† In this and later generations, wishing to show the Le Bas and Samborne descents together, I have been obliged to indicate the generation by a compound exponent, thus $^{3.5}$, and further on $^{4\ 6}$, the former figure in each case standing for the paternal descent, and the latter for the maternal.

8. RICHARD [3-5] (*John*,[2] *John*[1] *Le Bass*) (*Anne*,[4] *Richard*,[3] *Francis*,[2] *John*[1] *Samborne*) LE BAS had by wife KIFFIANA:

   i. *Richard*.[4-6]
   ii. *John*[4-6] [dead].
   iii. *Charles*[4-6] *Samborne Le Bass*, æt. circ. 12 A'o 1687. [Was baptized the 13th June, 1675, in St. Margarites Westmr and married to Mary Moyer, second daughter to Sir Samuel Moyer, Bart., ye 24 July 1711.]
   iv. *Jaquelin Charlotta*,[4-6] eldest daughter.
   v. *Frances*,[4-6] 2d daughter.

9. WILLIAM[5] (*Francis*,[4] *Francis*,[3] *Francis*,[2] *John*[1]) SAMBORNE had by wife ELIZABETH:

   i. *Richard*[6] *Samborne*, b. Thursday 29 November, 1683; now living A'o 1687.

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THE SANBORN FAMILY.

[By Nathan Sanborn, M. D., Henniker, N. H.]

The first lineal ancestor of our family, of whom we possess any certain knowledge, was a Sanborn, (tradition says his name was John,) who married a daughter of Rev. Stephen Bachilor; had three sons and died in England, leaving the widow and sons to the care of her father. Mr. Bachilor was born in England about 1561; took episcopal orders, but was ejected for non-conformity and retired with others to Holland, and then to America. He came over in ship William and Francis, Capt. Thomas, and landed at Boston, June 5, 1632, and went directly to Lynn, where his daughter, Theodate, who married Christopher Hussey, had already settled. Here they remained four or five years, while the old gentleman, over 70 years of age, discharged the duties of pastor over a church he had constituted, without regular installation, composed of the company he brought with him, and such of the former inhabitants of the place as chose to associate with them. On account of difficulties in the church, owing in part, at least, to Mr. Bachilor's eccentric management, his residence here became unpleasant, and taking his company with him, now increased by the addition of Mr. Hussey's family, and perhaps some others, he removed to Ipswich, then to Newbury, and in 1638 settled in Hampton, where he was regularly installed first pastor of the congregational church in that place. Here John and William Sanborn lived and died. In Hampton, then including North-

ampton, Hampton Falls, Southampton, Seabrook and Kensington, and in Stratham, Exeter and Newmarket lived their descendants for near a century, contributing their full proportion to the bone and muscle as well as the intelligence and enterprise of the community.

At the close of the first century after their immigration, few of the race had passed the limits of Old Hampton as then bounded; and to the copious and well preserved records of that town and its church, we are indebted chiefly, for the reliable account we are able to give of four or five of the first generations.

In regard to the orthography of the name, there seems considerable discrepancy of opinion. A very large majority of our name in America write it Sanborn, but all reports I have obtained from the old world agree in spelling it Samborne or Sambourne. Dr. Thomas Sanborn, of Newport, N. H., who visited Europe in 1853, says, "The conclusion arrived at is that the name of Sanborn is not to be found in the British Isles, but the name of Samborne is to be found in Bristol and London. Their home seems to be in Montford [?] Co., Berks, Hampshire and Somersetshire." In Derbyshire, where our old family tradition locates them, there are none to be found. Our early American ancestors spelled their names variously according to fancy. Of a coat of arms, Dr. T. Sanborn found in England, in "Burke's General Armory," two distinct copies belonging to different individuals. We present one at the head of our article; the other is similar in shield and crest, but in place of the lion rampant with five mullets, we have a chevron and three mullets.

It appears to be true, as the writer states, that the name *Sanborn* does not exist in England, although those bearing it in New England are doubtless of English origin. The transition of *Samborn* to *Sanborn* is very easy, and the latter became substituted for the former, perhaps about the period of the emigration. It had been supposed that the name Sanborn was derived from *sand* and *bourne*, a *sandy-shore* residence; but *Sambourn* does not admit of so easy a solution. It is most likely derived from the parish or rather hamlet of Samborn, in Warwickshire, a place of very little importance now, nor does it appear ever to have been otherwise. Its existence is traceable beyond the days of monasteries. At the dissolution of these by Henry the VIII. that "mauler of monasteries" gave Samborn to Robert Throckmorton, one of his important supporters. It did not contain a monastery, but belonged to that of Evesham. Samborn (or as it is now written, Sambourn,) is more populous than formerly, and is steadily becoming of greater importance. It is 107 miles from London. In 1822, it had 563 inhabitants, and at the present time has about 700.

Reference to persons of the name of Samborn are rarely to be met with. The name of Sir John *Sambourne* appears in a recent English work on genealogies.—Editor.

FIRST GENERATION.

(1) John ? Sanborn, (2) b. (about) 1600, m. Ann dau. of Rev. Stephen Bachilor.

SECOND GENERATION. *Issue of John ? Sanborn, No.* (1).

(2) I. Lieut. John, (5) b. 1620? m. 1st, Mary Tucke, dau. of Robert, d. Dec. 30, 1668; 2d, Margaret Moulton, (widow,) dau. of Robert Page; she d. July 13, 1699. He d. Oct. 20, 1692. He was a prominent man, was many years a selectman, a representative to the general court, &c., a freeman Oct. 11, 1685.

(3) II. William, Esq., (16) b. ——, m. Mary Moulton, lived in Hampton, freeman 1678, d. Sept. 18, 1692, aged about 70. Selectman and representative.

(4) III. Stephen, b. ——, m.? Returned to England, (we suppose with his grandfather Bachilor.

THIRD GENERATION. *Issue of Lieut. John, No.* (2).

(5) I. John, jr., (22) b. 1649, m. Nov. 19, 1674, Judith Coffin; died Nov. 10, 1723, aged 74.

(6) II. Mary, b. April 12, 1651; —— d. 1654, ——.

(7) III. Abial, b. Feb. 23, 1653, m. Feb. 19, 1677, Ephraim Marston.

(8) IV. Richard, (32) b. Jan. 4, 1655, m. Dec. 5, 1678, Ruth Moulton; Dec. 20, 1693, widow Mary Boulter.

(9) V. Mary, b. March 19, 1657; d. March 4, 1660.

(10) VI. Joseph, (36) b. March 13, 1659, m. Dec. 28, 1682, Mary Gove, living 1722.

(11) VII. Stephen, b. Nov. 1661, d. young, Feb. 24, 1662.

(12) VIII. Anne, b. Dec. 20, 1662, m. Samuel Palmer, d. Oct. 4, 1745.

(13) IX. Nathaniel, (44) b. Jan. 27, 1666, m. 1st, Dec. 3, 1691, Rebecca Prescott, d. Nov. 9, 1723, (Falls); 2d, —— Sarah, she with 11 children living 1721.

(14) X. Benjamin, (55) b. Dec. 20, 1668, m. 1st, Sarah ——, d. June 29, 1720; 2d, wid. Meribah Tilton, d. Dec. 15, 1740, (Falls); 3d, wid. Abigail Dalton.

(15) Jonathan, (67) b. May 25, 1672, m. Elizabeth Sherburn, d. June 20, 1741. Lived in Kensington.

Issue of Esq. William, No. (3).

(16) I. William, jr. (79) b. 1650, m. Jan. 1, 1680, Mary Marston, d. Oct. 11, 1686. He d. Dec. 9, 1744, aged 94.

(17) II. Josiah, (82) b. ——, m. 1st, Aug. 25, 1681, Hannah Moulton, Probate, 1728; 2d, wid. Sarah Perkins.

(18) III. Mary, b. July 19, 1660, m. Dec. 7, 1681, Samuel Cass.

(19) IV. Mephibosheth, (92) b. Nov. 5, 1663, m. Lydia Leavitt, d. Feb. 5, 1749, aged 85.

(20) V. Sarah, b. Feb. 10, 1667, m. Samuel Marston, d. April 17, 1738.

(21) VI. Stephen, (99) b. Sept. 4, 1671, m. July 26, 1693, Hannah Philbrick, d. July 21, 1750.

FOURTH GENERATION. *Issue of John, jr.* (5.)

(22) I. Judith, b. Aug. 8, 1675, m. Dec. 20, 1692, Ebenezer Gove.

(23) II. Mary, b. July 2, 1677, m. Ebenezer Stephens, lived in Kingston.

(24) III. Sarah, b. May 8, 1679.

(25) IV. Deborah, b. 1681, m. Nov. 15, 1698, Samuel Fellows, (Falls,) d. 1725; Oct. 2, 1711, Benjamin Shaw.

(26) V. John, (110) b. ——, 1683, m. Jan. 1, 1707, Mehitable Fifield, Kingston.

(27) VI. Enoch, (115) b. ——, 1685, m. 1st, Elizabeth Dennet; 2d, wid. Mehitable Godfrey.

(28) VII. Lydia, b. Feb. 24, 1687.

(29) VIII. Peter, (124) b. ——, m. Nov. 29, 1716, Aphia Shaw, d. 1724. (Falls.)

(30) Tristram, (128) b. ——, m. April 25, 1711, Margaret Taylor, of Exeter.

(31) Abner, (137) b. April 27, 1694, m. Rachel Shaw, d. Jan. 17, 1780. (Falls.)

Issue of Richard, (8.)

(32) I. Mary, b. Sept. 30, 1679, living 1716.

(33) II. John, (150) b. Nov. 6, 1681, m. Aug. 8, 1701, Sarah Philbrick, b. 1683, d. May 30, 1761.

(34) III. Ruth, b. ——, living 1716.

(35) IV. Shubael, (164) b. 1694, m. June 7, 1716, Mary Drake, d. May 3, 1759.

Issue of Joseph, (10.)

(36) I. Abigail, b. April 1, 1686, m. Oct. 1703, Eben. Dearborn, of Chester.

(37) II. Huldah, b. May 3, 1688, m. Oct. 17, 1705, Jonathan Mason, d. Oct. 7, 1758. (Falls.)

(38) III. Reuben, (171) b. May 18, 1692, m. Dec. 28, 1714, Sarah Sanborn, dau. of Benjamin.

(39) IV. Edward, b. Apr. 7, 1694, m. Nov. 1, 1718, Dorothy Roby, d. 1727.

(40) V. Abraham, (185) b. March 10, 1696, m. Jan. 22, 1718, Dorothy Smith, d. Oct. 2, 1757.

(41) VI. Mary, b. July 28, 1697, m. Dec. 17, 1717, Samuel Prescott, d. May 28, 1757.

(42) VII. Joseph, (195) b. July 22, 1700, m. Jan. 18, 1722, Lucy Prescott; Jan. 23, 1724, Susan James, d. Jan. 26, 1773.

(43) VIII. David, (203) b. Jan. 16, 1702, m. March 2, 1727, Abigail Glidden.

Issue of Nathaniel, (13.)

(44) I. Richard, (214) b. Feb. 27, 1693, m. 1st, Elizabeth; 2d, July 13, 1753, wid. Judith Prescott, d. Sept. 14, 1773.

(45) II. James, (224) b. Aug. 6, 1696, m. Jan. 18, 1720, Elizabeth Leavett, d. Oct. 30, 1784.

(46) III. Rachel, b. Oct. 4, 1698, m. Dec. 4, 1718, Thomas Ward.

(47) IV. Jeremiah, b. Feb. 10, 1701.

(48) V. Abigail, b. Feb. 22, 1703, m. Aug. 1, 1723, Luther Morgan.

(49) VI. Nathan, (229) b. June 27, 1709, m. Elizabeth Pearson.

(50) VII. Jacob, (239) b. May 7, 1711, m. Dec. 29, 1731, Amy Sanborn, dau. of Stephen (106).

(51) VIII. Eliphaz, b. Dec. 10, 1712.

(52) IX. Nathaniel, b. Nov. 10, 1714.

(53) X. Judith, b. June 10, 1717.

(54) XI. Daniel, b. Dec. 31, 1719.

Issue of Benjamin, (14.)

(55) I. Mary, b. Oct. 27, 1690.

(56) II. Joanna, b. Dec. 1, 1692, m. Jan. 13, 1714, Cornelius Clough, d. 1717. Falls.

(57) III. Sarah, b. Sept. 30, 1694, m, Dec. 28, 1714, Reuben Sanborn, (38 s. of Jos.) d. April 26, 1756. Falls.

(58) IV. Theodate, b. 1696, m. Dec. 31, 1719, Jonathan Sanborn, ( ) d. Oct. 10, 1756. Kingston.

(59) V. Dorothy, b. Oct, 27, 1698, m. 1st, Jethero Bachilor, May 15, 1721; 2d, Abraham Moulton, Oct. 13, 1736, d. Sept. 11, 1757.

(60) VI. Abial, b. July 21, 1700, m. Dec. 16, 1725, Enoch Colby.

(61) VII. Jemima, b. May 17, 1702, m. 1st, —— Stacy; 2d, —— Lord, of Ipswich.

(62) VIII. Susanna, b. Sept. 20, 1704, m. July 19, 1750, Joshua Blake, d. July 21, 1776. Falls.

(63) IX. Benjamin, b. June 1, 1706, d. young.

(64) X. Judith, b. Oct. 26, 1708, m. Dec. 16, 1725, Robert Quimby.

(65) Benjamin, (242) b. Nov. 7, 1712, m. 1st, Dec. 23, 1733, Hannah Tilton; 2d, Oct. 25, 1736, wid. Dorothy Prescott.

(66) XII. Ebenezer, b. Oct. 10, 1723, unm. Probate, Mar. 26, 1746. Falls.

Issue of Capt. Jonathan, (15.)

(67) I. Elizabeth, b. Dec. 27, 1692, m. April 4, 1714, John Ladd, Kingston.

(68) II. Samuel, (246) b. Sept. 7, 1694, m. wid. Elizabeth Colcord, dau. of Peter Folsom.

(69) III. Achaicus, b. 1696.

(70) IV. Margaret, b. March 20, 1698, m. Jan. 9, 1714, Moses Sleeper, Kingston.

(71) V. Jonathan, (249) b. Apr. 28, 1700, m. Dec. 31, 1719, Theodate Sanborn, (58.)

(72) VI. Love, b. Aug. 1702, m. Jan. 8, 1720, John Graham.

(73) VII. Dorothy, b. Aug. 30, 1704, d. Nov. 1705.

(74) IX. Dorothy, b. Aug. 22, 1706, d. young.

(75) X. Sarah, b. April 18, 1708, m. —— Rollins (of Stratham.)

(76) XI. John, b. Dec. 19, 1710, d.

(77) XII. Benjamin, b. Jan. 22, 1712, d. April 7, 1718.

(78) XIII. Mary, b. Dec. 7, 1713, —— m. Peter Sanborn? (128.) Wife and 8 children living, 1741.

Fourth Generation, William's branch. *Issue of William, jr.* (16.)

(79) I. John, (251) b. Nov. 6, 1680, m. Dec. 10, 1701, Ruth Roby, d. April 19, 1753; he d. Oct. 30, 1767.

(80) II. Mary, b. ——, 1683, d. unm. Dec. 22, 1770.

(81) III. Daughter, b. Sept. 21, 1685, d. Nov. 3, 1686.

Issue of Josiah, (17.)

(82) I. William, (262) b. March 2, 1682, m. Dec. 20. 1704, Elizabeth Dearborn. Falls.

(83) II. Hannah, b. ——, 1684, m. April 28, 1708, Jacob Garland, d. before 1720. Exeter.

(84) III. Sarah, b. ——, 1686, m. Jan. 1, 1805, David Robinson.

(85) IV. Jabez, (268) b. March ——, 1691, m. 1st, unknown; 2d, Abiah Marston. Falls.

(86) V. Keziah, b. March 15, 1693, m. —— Hookley.

(87) VI. Rachel, b. March 13, 1695, m. Dec. 21, 1715, Joshua Brown, d. Feb. 17, 1742.

(88) VII. Jonathan, b. April 27, 1697, unm., d. March 2, 1757.

(89) VIII. Reuben, (279) b. April 10, 1699, m. Margaret ——.
(90) IX. Abner, b. Sept. 3, 1702.
(91) X. Richard, b. Aug. 9, 1705.

Issue of Mephibosheth, (19.)

(92) I. Mary, b. Feb. 24, 1695, m. Dec. 19, 1718, Tucker Cate?
(93) II. Lydia, b. June 11, 1697, m. Apr. 21, 1720, Robert Goss.
(94) III. Sarah, b. 1699, m. Feb. 11, 1725, John French.
(95) IV. Nathan, Aug. 8, 1701, m. Nov. 12, 1753, Ann Moulton.
(96) V. Abigail, b. Oct. 23, 1704, m. Nov. 11, 1736, Saml. Thorn, Salisbury.
(97) VI. James, b. ——, 1706.
(98) VII. Rachael, b. Feb. 15, 1708, d. July 16, 1736.

Issue of Stephen, (21.)

(99) I. Stephen, (285) b. May 1, 1694, m. Ruth Leavett.
(100) II. James, (289) b. June 20, 1697, m. 1st, Oct. 25, 1727, Sarah Towle; 2d, May 3, 1757, Esther Shaw; d. Aug. 4, 1767.
(101) III. Anne, b. Sept. 10, 1699, m. July 13, 1721, Moses Chandler. (Andover.)
(102) IV. Hannah, b. June 23, 1701, m. Wm. Hays? (Dover.)
(103) V. Phebe, June 20, 1703, m. Elisha Prescott.
(104) VI. Abiathar, b. Feb. 25, 1705.
(105) VII. Zadok, (290) b. June 1, 1707.
(106) VIII. Amy, b. Dec. 10, 1710, m, Dec. 29, 1731. Jacob Sanborn (50).
(107) IX. Abigail, b. June 15, 1712.
(108) X. Mary, b. July 17, 1715, m. Oct. 28, 1736, John Mason, d. Oct. 25, 1778.
(109) XI. Jonathan, (291) b. Mar. 16, 1718, m. Mary ——, d. Feb. 13, 1804. Nine children living, 1734.

FIFTH GENERATION. LIEUT. JOHN'S BRANCH.

Issue of John (26) son of John, jr.

(110) I. Tristram, (299) b. Oct. 1, 1710, m. Dec. 17, 1730, Abigail Blake.
(111) II. Abigail, b. May 6, 1713, m. Feb. 10, 1736, Elisha Swett, d. March 10, 1810. (Kingston.)
(112) III. Paul, (307) b. Feb, 21, 1715, m. 1st, Dec. 14, 1737, Mary Fifield; 2d, Dec. 9, 1746, Betsey Currier.
(113) IV. Mary, b. ——, 1717, m. June 2, 1737, Jonathan Blake.
(114) V. Sarah, b. Dec. 3, 1721, m. Aug. 29, 1741, John Dent.
All the children living, 1735.

Issue of Enoch, (27.)

(115) I. Elizabeth, b. March 2, 1712.

(116) II. Ebenezer, (314) b. July 25, 1712, m. June ——, 1740, Martha Salter. Falls.

(117) III. Judah, b. Jan. 8, 1715, m. June 28, 1737, Mary Rogers.

(118) IV. Moses, (321) bap. March 31, 1717, m. Jan. 7, 1742, Elizabeth Mitchel, b. June 8, 1702.

(119) V. John, bap. July 19, 1719.

(120) VI. Betsey, bap. June 18, 1721.

(121) VII. Enoch, bap. June 28, 1724, m. Dec. 31, 1747, Mary Morrell; Nov. 27, 1752, widow Sarah Sanborn.

(122) VIII. Sarah, bap. May 7, 1727.

(123) IX. Isaac, b. Nov. 12, 1737, d. July 31, 1756.

Issue of Peter, (29.)

(124) I. Lydia, b. March 18, 1718, d. 1735.

(125) II. Esther, b. March 29, 1720, m. Feb. 3, 1737, Joshua Gilman.

(126) III. Apphia, b. July 12, 1722, m. Jan. 10, 1739, John Sleeper. (Kingston.)

(127) IV. Peter, b. Sept. 30, 1724, d. Nov. 30, 1730.

Issue of Tristram, (30.)

(128) I. Peter, (326) b. May 25, 1713, m. Dec. 14, 1732, Mary Sanborn, (78)? d. Jan. 15, 1810.

(129) II. Jethro, b. Dec. 26, 1715, d. May 30, 1717.

(130) III. Abraham, (337) b. Apr. 2, 1717, m. Jan. 6, 1737, Abigail Clifford.

(131) IV. Tristram, (346) b. Feb. 2, 1719, m. Sept. 28, 1742, Hannah Stevens. Probt., Nov. 18, 1789. (Kingston.)

(132) V. Jethro, b. March 2, 1721, m. Sept. 19, 1745, Elizabeth Sanborn, d. Nov. 29, 1747.

(133) VI. William, (351) b. May 1, 1723, m. Nov. 6, 1750, Mary Sleeper, d. May 25, 1810. (Kingston.)

(134) VII. Child, d. Sept. 23, 1727.

(135) VIII. Judith, bap. Sept. 27, 1729, d. Oct. 8, 1730. (Kingston.)

(136) IX. Daughter, d. June 19, 1733.

Issue of Abner, (31.)

(137) I. Caleb, (359) b. July 25, 1716, m. Feb. 14, 1740, Mehitable Weare, d. July 4, 1794. (Falls.)

(138) II. Elizabeth, b. March 5, 1718, m. —— Smith.

(139) III. Rachel, b. Aug. 17, 1719, m. Bennett.

(140) IV. Daniel, b. May 19, 1721, m. Dec. 3, 1746, Jane Moulton.

(141) V. John, b. Jan. 9, 1723, m. Jan. 28, 1748, Lucy Sanborn, (195) dau. of Joseph.

(142) VI. Judith, b. Nov. 8, 1724.

(143) VII. Abner, b. Aug. 3, 1726, m. June 12, 1746, Lucy Lowell, d. April 18, 1811.

(144) VIII. Jethro, b. June 2, 1728, d. Oct. 17, 1728.

(145) IX. Deborah, b. Dec. 7, 1729, d. Dec. 7, 1730.

(146) X. Peter, b. Sept. 13, 1731.

(147) XI. Timothy, b. June 9, 1733, m. July 6, 1766, Elizabeth Leach.

(148) XII. Mary, b. July 5, 1735, m. Philbrick.

(149) XIII. Coffin, b. Dec. 17, 1737, m. March 1, 1759, Hannah Hilliard, d. about 1811.

Issue of Ens. John, (33.)

(150) I. Daniel, b. Feb. 17, 1702, m. Jan. 14, 1725, Catherine Rollins. Will proved June 20, 1787.

(151) II. Benjamin, b. Nov. 8, 1703, m. Elizabeth Gilman. Prob. Aug. 29, 1744. (Newmarket.)

(152) III. Phebe, b. Feb. 6, 1706, m. Nathaniel Pease. (Exeter.)

(153) IV. Richard, } b. May 29, 1708, { Eliz. Bachilor. (Blacks'h, Exeter.
(154) V. Nathan, } { Cath'e Sattalee. (Falls & Newm't.)

(155) VI. Elisha, b. April 1, 1710, m. Lydia.

(156) VII. Ebenezer, b. March 4, 1712, m. May 1, 1735, Ruth Sanborn, (261), d. April 9, 1794. (Exeter.)

(157) VIII. Sarah, b. May 21, 1714.

(158) IX. Abigail, b. Oct. 24, 1716.

(159) X. Ruth, b. March 18, 1719, m. Capt. Jonathan Gilman?

(160) XI. John, b. May 5, 1721.

(161) XII. Hannah, b. Feb. 3, 1723, m. Dea. Steph. Dudley. (Gilmanton.)

(162) XIII. James, b. April 5, 1724. (Moultonboro-Neck.)

(163) XIV. Mary, b. March 1, 1726.

Issue of Shubael, (35.)

(164) I. Shubael, b. June 2, 1717, m. Jane ——, d. in the army, in the Fr. war, 1756.

(165) II. Mary, b. June 19, 1720, m. Benjamin Page.

(166) III. Betsey, b. June 9, 1723, d. young.

(167) IV. Betsey, b. Dec. 27, 1724, m. June 1, 1746, Joshua Towle, d. Sept. 10, 1809.

(168) V. John, b. July 7, 1728, m. April 17, 1754, Sarah Parker.

(169) VI. Sarah, b. Sept. 3, 1732, m. Dec. 4, 1751, James Leavett.
(170) VII. Nathaniel, b. Feb. 18, 1739, d. May 10, 1756.

Issue of Reuben, (38.)

(171) I. Anne, b. Nov. 17, 1715, m. Oct. 25, 1733, John Lovering.
(172) II. Mary, b. March 24, 1719, d. young.
(173) III. Sarah, b. May 7, 1721, m. Nov. 24, 1743, Edw. Sargeant. (Falls.)
(174) IV. Reuben, b. Sept. 22, 1725, m. Nov. 22, 1744, Elizabeth Sleeper.
(175) V. Mary, b. Aug. 9, 1725, m. Aug. 12, 1746, Edmund Brown.
(176) VI. Abigail, b. Nov. 10, 1728, d. young.
(177) VII. Abigail, b. Dec. 6, 1729, d. young.
(178) VIII. Abigail, b. April 22, 1731, m. Dec. 13, 1750, John Cram.
(179) IX. Phebe, b. April 26, 1733, d. young.
(180) X. Phebe, b. Jan. 13, 1736, m. Jan. 3, 1758, Saml. Philbrick.
Five children living, 1756.

Issue of Edward, (39.)

(181) I. Huldah, b. 1719, d. young.
(182) II. Merebah, b. 1721, m. Feb. 28, 1738, Bradbury Green. (Falls.)
(183) III. Dorothy, b. 1723, d. young.
(184) IV. Mary, b. 1724.
Three children died with throat distemper in 3 weeks.

Issue of Abraham, (40.)

(185) I. Theophilus, b. 1719, d. young.
(186) II. Joseph, b. 1721, d. young.
(187) III. Abraham, b. 1723, d. young.
(188) IV. John, b. 1726, d. young.
(189) V. Daniel, b. March 31, 1728, m. 1st, July 27, 1748, Anna Tilton; 2d, July 9, 1760, Mary Collins.
(190) VI. Theophilus, b. July 12, 1730; shot, Sept. 30, 1749.
(191) VII. Dr. Joseph, b. Dec. 31, 1732, m. April 11, 1754, Sarah Towle.
(192) VIII. Lieut. Abra'm, b. Dec. 28, 1735, m. July 1, 1756, M'y C. Jewett.
(193) IX. John S., b. Feb. 1740, unm. d. Nov. 20, 1815, (Long John.)
(194) X. Dorothy, b. Aug. 7, 1743, d. Sept. 15, 1743.

Issue of Joseph, (42.)

(195) I. Lucy, b. Jan. 16, 1725, m. Jan. 28, 1748, John Sanborn (141.)
(196) II. Joseph, b. May 11, 1726, m. Dec. 6, 1750, Sarah Lane.
(197) III. Susan, b. April 18, 1728, m. Nov. 22, 1750, Wm. Prescott.

(198) IV. Benjamin, b. Feb. 2, 1730, m. Feb. 12, 1755, Anne Towle, d. May 15, 1808.

(199) V. Abraham, b. March 24, 1732, m. Oct. 24, 1754, Rachel Hilliard.

(200) VI. John, b. March 13, 1734.

(201) VII. Mary, b. May 23, 1736, m. Jan. 18, 1759, Jeremiah Lane, d. Aug. 17, 1818.

(202) VIII. John, b. Dec. 8, 1738, d. June 26, 1761.

Issue of David, (43.)

(203) I. Edward, bap. —— 21, 1728.

(204) II. Jeremiah, b. June 8, 1729.

(205) III. David, bap. April 18, 1731.

(206) IV. Eliz., bap. May 6, 1732.

(207) V. John, bap. April 6, 1735.

(208) VI. David, bap. Feb. 6, 1737.

(209) VII. Edw., bap. April 1, 1739.

(210) VIII. Abigail, bap. May 31, 1741.

(211) IX. John, bap. Aug. 24, 1745.

(212) X. Sarah, Aug. 2, 1747.

(213) XI. Joseph, bap. Jan. 10, 1749.

Issue of Richard, (44.)

(214) I. Jonathan, b. Feb. 18, 1714.

(215) II. Moses, b. July 12, 1716, m. Aug. 29, 1738, Priscilla James, d. June 8, 1802.

(216) III. Rebecca, b. Nov. 11, 1718, d. 1735.

(217) IV. David, b. June 9, 1721, m. and had children.

(218) V. Mary, b. Jan. 22, 1724, m. May 1, 1753, Benjamin Clough.

(219) VI. Abigail, b. Oct. 1, 1725, m. July 9, 1744, Richard Currier.

(220) VII. Jeremiah, b. Jan. 16, 1730, m. June 15, 1749, Abigail Tilton, d. May 12, 1772.

(221) VIII. Richard, b. Feb. 25, 1732, d. 1735. Throat distemper.

(222) IX. Betsey, b. Nov. 17, 1734, d. 1735. Throat distemper.

(223) X. Richard, b. Feb. 23, 1737, m. June 24, 1762, Elizabeth Prescott.

Issue of James, (45.)

(224) I. Henry, b. May 27, 1721, m. March 15, 1744, Mary Shaw.

(225) II. Elizabeth, b. May 7, 1726, unm. 1772.

(226) III. Ruth, b. May 31, 1730, d. March 11, 1731.

(227) IV. Joseph, b. June 11, 1732, d. young.

(228) V. James, b. April 1, 1735, d. young.

Henry and Elizabeth, only children living, 1772.

Issue of Nathan, (49.)

(229) I. Elizabeth, bap. Dec. 31, 1732, d. Nov. 13, 1736.
(230) II. Abigail, bap. June 23, 1734.
(231) III. Nathan, bap. Nov. 9, 1735.
(232) IV. Elizabeth, bap. Sept. 4, 1737, d. Nov. 4, 1737.
(233) V. Hannah, bap. Oct. 22, 1738.
(234) VI. Betsey, bap. March 1, 1741.
(235) VII. John.
(236) VIII. Joseph.
(237) IX. Benjamin.
(238) X. Thomas.

Issue of Jacob, (50.)

(239) I. Amy, bap. April 3, 1733.
(240) II. Abigail, bap. June 13, 1736.
(241) III. Jacob, July 30, 1738.

Issue of Benjamin, (65.)

(242) I. Benjamin, bap. Nov. 18, 1735, d. young.
(243) II. Molly, bap. Feb. 23, 1738.
(244) III. Dudley, bap. May 22, 1742, m. June 9, 1763, Mary Green.
(245) IV. Theophilus, b. June, 1747, m. June 22, 1769, Anne Shaw.

Issue of Lieut. Samuel, (68.)

(246) I. Benj., b. May 20, 1719, m. April 3, 1746, Dorothy Ladd. (Kingston.)
(247) II. Dorothy, b. May 3, 1721, m. Sept. 1741, Thomas Dearborn.
(248) III. Elizabeth, b. April 7, 1723, m. April 11, 1748, John Muchett.

Issue of Jonathan, (71.)

(249) I. Timothy, b. Aug. 15, 1720, m. May 9, 1746, Alice Quimby, d. March 22, 1794.
(250) II. Sarah, b. Jan. 20, 1723.
(251) III. Love, b. June 10, 1726, m. Dec. 5, 1744, Reuben Clough.
(252) IV. Samuel, b. March 12, 1730, m. Feb. 7, 1751, Hannah Tucker.
(253) V. Jonathan, b. April 30, 1732, d. Aug. 1735.
(254) VI. Worcester, b. June 3, 1734, m. Oct. 26, 1756, Hannah Fowler.
(255) VII. Joanna, b. July 3, 1736, m. April 10, 1755, Robert Crawford.
(256) VIII. Jonathan, b. Jan. 14, 1739.

FIFTH GENERATION. WILLIAM'S BRANCH.

Issue of John, (79.)

(257) I. Jeremiah, b. Feb. 12, 1703, m. Jan. 29, 1730, Lydia Dearborn.
(258) II. Anna, b. May 27, 1705, m. Sept. 30, 1724, John Dearborn.
(259) III. Josiah, b. Aug. 19, 1707, m. Feb. 22, 1733, Theodate Drake.
(260) IV. John, b. June 14, 1711, d. Jan. 4, 1732.
(261) V. Ruth, b. Aug. 15, 1715, m. May 1, 1735, Ebenezer Sanborn, (156.)

Issue of William, (82.)

(262) I. Ezekiel, b. April 4, 1706, m. June 5, 1731, Eliz. Melcher. (Exe'r.)
(263) II. Daniel, b. Oct. 8, 1708, m. Sept. 2, 1731, Abigail Prescott.
(264) III. William, b. Oct. 31, 1710, m. Sept. 1731, Betsey Dearborn.
(265) IV. Hannah, b Jan. 4, 1713, m. June 14, 1731, John Folsom.
(266) V. Joshua, b. March 16, 1715.
(267) VI. Elizabeth, b. April 30, 1718, m. Mar. 27, 1748, Alex. Satter?

Issue of Jabez, (85.)

(268) I. Sarah, b. June 20, 1714, d. young.
(269) II. Mary, b. March 20, 1717, m. John Cram.
(270) III. Ephraim, b. April 20, 1719, m. June 26, 1740, Sarah Green, d. 1748. (Epping.)
(271) V. Abial, b. Sept. 11, 1721.
(272) VI. Josiah, b. March 21, 1723.
(273) VII. Phebe, b. Jan. 10, 1725.
(274) VIII. Marston, b. March 25, 1727.
(275) IX. Abraham, b. April 7, 1729.
(276) X. Hannah, b. April 6, 1734, m. Connor.
(277) XI. Sarah, b. April 11, 1736, d. young.
(278) XII. Tristram, b. Jan. 15, 1738.
Eight children living, 1760.

Issue of Reuben, (89.)

(279) I. Reuben. b. December 25, 1728, m. May 20, 1752, Eliz. Ward. (Epsom.)
(280) II. Eliphalet, b. July 8, 1730, m. Marg. Wallace. (Settled in Epsom.)
(281) III. Lydia, b. June 12, 1732, m. March 14, 1751, John Page. (Epping.)
(282) IV. Sarah, b. May 19, 1734, m. Dec. 20, 1753, John F. Nason.
(283) V. Abigail, b. Aug. 9, 1736, d. Nov. 10, 1749.
(284) VI. Margaret, b. Aug. 9, 1738, m. Dec. 28, 1758, Barzilia French.

Issue of Stephen, (99.)

(285) I. Hannah, b. Sept. 14, 1722.

(286) II. Amos, b. May 21, 1726.

(287) III. Joseph, b. Aug. 4, 1731, m. —— 11, 1754, Sarah Towle.

(288) IV. Ruth, b. May 12, 1735, m. Feb. 2, 1762, Ezekiel Moulton.

Issue of James, (100.)

(289) James, b. Sept. 1, 1760, m. Sarah Dearborn.

Issue of Zadok, (105.)

(290) Zadok, bap. May 2, 1736.

Issue of Jonathan, (109.)

(291) I. Jonathan, bap. May 14, 1738, m. Rachel Fifield.

(292) II. Anna, bap. March 23, 1740, m. Joshua Towle.

(293) III. David, b. May 23, 1742.

(294) IV. Priscilla, bap. July 29, 1744, m. Nov. 22, 1764, James Watson, of Durham.

(295) V. Josiah, bap. July 19, 1746, d. young,

(296) VI. Sarah, bap. Sept. 13, 1747.

(297) VII. Nathaniel, bap. Dec. 30, 1749, d. Nov. 1774.

(298) VIII. Phebe, bap. Oct. 15, 1752, d. March 30, 1754.

SIXTH GENERATION. LIEUT. JOHN'S BRANCH.

Issue of Tristram, (110.)

(299) I. John, b. Nov. 25, 1731, m. Nov. 24, 1754, Margaret Clifford.

(300) II. Deborah, b. Jan. 27, 1734, m. Nov. 8, 1753, John Tucker.

(301) III. Lydia, b. Aug. 15, 1736, d. Nov. 27, 1757.

(302) IV. Hannah, b. Aug. 12, 1740, d. Oct. 9, 1743.

(303) V. Moses, b. July 17, 1742.

(304) VI. Simon, b. Dec. 20, 1744, d. Jan. 4, 1750.

(305) VII. Elisha, b. Dec. 8, 1748, d. Dec. 31, 1749.

(306) VIII. Simon, b. Feb. 2, 1752.

Issue of Paul, (112.)

(307) I. Hannah, bap. Sept. 27, 1739, d. June, 1742.

(308) II. Child, bap. Feb. 4, 1741, d. young.

(309) III. John, bap. Dec. 28, 1743.

(310) IV. Paul, bap. Dec. 9, 1745.

(311) V. Benjamin, bap. Aug. 31, 1747.

(311) Mary, bap. Oct. 26, 1748.

(312) Paul, bap. Dec. 21, 1752.

(313) Tristram, bap. Nov. 4, 1756, d. Nov. 4, 1756.

Issue of Ebenezer, (116.)

(314) I. Elizabeth, bap. May 31, 1741.
(315) II. Amy, bap. June 9, 1743.
(316) III. Ebenezer, bap. Oct. 27, 1747.
(317) IV. John, bap. Jan. 31, 1748.
(318) V. Mark, bap. March 4, 1750.
(319) VI. Enoch, bap. April 12, 1752.
(320) VII. Richard, Feb. 2, 1755.

What became of Judah (117)?

Issue of Moses, (118.)

(321) I. Dorothy, b. Feb. 25, 1744, m. Nov. 23, 1763, Paine Blake.
(322) II. Henry, b. March, 1746.
(323) III. James, b. Dec. 6, 1748, m. Feb. 3, 1772, Abigail Weare, d. Jan. 23, 1824.
(324) IV. Moses, b. Oct. 25, 1758, d, July 17, 1777, (of dysentery.)
(325) V. Jesse, b. Dec. 18, 1764, m. Dec. 17, 1790, Abigail Choate.

Issue of Peter, (128.)

(326) I. Infant dau., d. April 9, 1733.
(327) II. John, b. March 10, 1734, d. Feb. 11, 1735.
(328) III. Peter, b. June 1, 1735, d. Dec. 21, 1735.
(329) IV. John, b. Sept. 20, 1736, d. May 6, 1737.
(330) V. Mary, b. March 10, 1738.
(331) VI. Enos, b. ——, m., settled in Deerfield.
(332) VII. Benjamin, b. Dec. 26, 1739, settled in Deerfield.
(333) VIII. Sarah, b. March 1, 1742.
(334) IX. Tristram, b. April 20, 1742.
(335) X. Peter, b. Jan. 27, 1748, m. Gave his farm in Kingston to son Peter, and removed to Deerfield.
(336) XI. John, b. March 22, 1750, joined Shakers, d. there.

Issue of Abraham, (130.)

(337) I. Joseph C., b. Nov. 30, 1737.
(338) II. Sarah, b. March 26, 1739.
(339) III. John, b. Feb. 19, 1741.
(340) IV. Deborah, b. Jan. 8, 1743.
(341) V. Sarah, b. July 2, 1745, d. July 26, 1746.
(342) VI. Sarah, b. Feb. 8, 1747.
(343) VII. Judith, b. Nov. 30, 1748.
(344) VIII. Shuah, b. Feb. 11, 1751.

(344) IX. Isaac, b. March 6, 1752, settled in Kingston, had six sons and three daughters.

(345) X. Abraham, settled and d. in Kingston—no children.

Issue of Tristram, (131.)

(346) I. Two sons, d. young.

(347) II. John, b. July 30, 1743, settled in Kingston; six sons and two daughters.

(348) III. Hannah, b. June 7, 1745, m. —— Fifield, d. before 1789.

(349) IV. Betsey, bap. April 16, 1749, m. Joseph Fifield.

(350) V. Mary, ——, m. Samuel Stevens.

Jethro (132) m. Elizabeth Sanborn, 1745, d. 1747.

Issue of William, (133).

(351) Seven daughters, all d. young from 1712.

(352) I. Jethro, lived in Sandwich.

(353) II. Tristram, E. Kingston, had three sons, Samuel, Levi, Jacob.

(354) III. Noah.

(355) IV. Joseph.

(356) V. Benj., d. in infancy.

(357) VI. Peter, Rev., b. at Kingston, Aug. 1767, pastor of a Congregational Church, in Reading, Mass.

(358) William, a physician at Falmouth, Me.

Issue of Caleb, (137.)

(359) I. Susanna, b. March 5, 1741, d. Oct. 5, 1751.

(360) II. Judith, b. Sept. 13, 1743, d. Nov. 20, 1825, unmarried.

(361) III. Elizabeth, b. Nov. 1745, d. April 16, 1748.

(362) IV. Rachel, b. Sept. 22, 1748, m. April 29, 1769, Joseph Lamson.

(363) V. Molly, b. Aug. 27, 1751, m. —— Stevens.

(364) VI. Mesheck, b. Sept. 18, 1768, d. Feb. 1797.

Issue of John, (141.)

(365) I. Lydia, b. March 14, 1749.

(366) II. Peter, b. July 9, 1751.

(367) III. Susan, b. Aug. 13, 1753.

(368) IV. Lucy, b. Oct. 19, 1755.

(369) V. John, b. Oct. 15, 1757.

(370) VI. Rufus, b. Feb. 5, 1760.

(371) VII. Rachel, b. July 19, 1762.

Issue of Abner, (143.)

(372) I. Sarah, b. May 1, 1747.
(373) II. Rhoda, b. May 27, 1749.
(374) III. Lowell, b. June 30, 1751, m. Rebecca Judkins.
(375) V. Levi, b. Dec. 15, 1757.
(376) VI. Theopals, b. Feb. 8, 1761.
(377) VII. David, b. May 11, 1763.
(378) VIII. Phebe, b. July 16, 1769.

Issue of Coffin, (149.)

(379) I. Hilliard.
(380) II. Abner, m. Susanna Tucke, no issue; Sanbornton; d. at Northampton.
(381) III. Levi.

Issue of Deac. Daniel, (150.)

(382) I. Phebe, b. Dec. 13, 1725, m. Reuben Gove Dearborn, d. 1797.
(383) II. Anne, b. Feb. 21, 1727, m. —— Thomas.
(384) III. Catherine, b. June 1, 1728, m. —— Foss.
(385) IV. Esq. Daniel, b. May 17, 1731, m. Lucy Hobbs, Sanbornton.
(386) V. Sarah, b. Nov. 2, 1733, d. Sept. 19, 1742.
(387) VI. Rachel, b. April 25, 1736, m. —— Piper.
(388) VII. Thomas, b. May 17, 1738, m. Anne Marston, d. Nov. 1807, on a visit at Sanbornton.
(389) VIII. Moses, b. June 8, 1740.
(390) IX. Capt. Aaron, b. Feb. 8, 1743, m., lived and d. in Sanbornton.
(391) X. Sarah, b. Feb. 24, 1745, m. —— Jewell.
(392) XI. Abijah, b. March 4, 1748, m. Aug. 17, 1768, Mary Sanborn.

Issue of Benjamin, (151.)

(393) I. Deac. John, b. July 17, 1730, m. Mary Glidden, Dec. 20, 1754, Gilmanton.
(394) II. Elisha, unm., d. 1756, Epping.
(395) III. Mary.
(396) IV. Benj., a celebrated teacher.
(397) V. Israel.
(398) VI. Joseph.

Issue of Nathan, (154.)

(399) I. Sarah, b. Feb. 15, 1734, d. young.
(400) II. Hannah, b. Dec. 12, 1735, m. Joseph Cass, b. 1734, father of Lewis Cass, Exeter.

(401) III. Nathaniel, b. Dec. 17, 1737.

(402) IV. Mary, b. Oct. 29, 1746, m. —— Dowe.

(403) V. Nathan, b. Feb. 22, 1751. Lived and died in Sanbornton.

Issue of Elisha, (155.)

(404) I. Sarah, b. Aug. 21, 1734.

(405) II. Elisha, b. July 26, 1744. Kingston.

(406) III. Edward, b. Sept. 1749. Kingston.

Issue of Ebenezer, (156.)

(407) I. Sergt. John, b. Jan. 28, 1736, m. Tabatha Page. Sanbornton.

(408) II. Anna, b. March 26, 1737, m. Simon Dearborn. Maine.

(409) III. Col. Josiah, b. Aug. 19, 1738, m. Anna Dalton, Prudence Haynes. (Sanbornton.)

(410) IV. Ruth, b. Sept. 24, 1740, m. Capt. Benj'n. Leavett. Northampton.

(411) V. Elizab., b. Feb. 22, 1745, m. Gen. Moses Leavett. Northampton.

(412) VI. Benjamin, b. July 16, 1746, m. Nov. 9, 1768, Anna Cate, d. Oct. 20, 1794.

(413) VII. Ebenez., d. young.

(414) VIII. William, b. Jan. 8, 1758, m. Abigail Hobbs, d. Sept. 8, 1822. Moved to Sanbornton about 1801.

(415) IX. Ebenezer, b. April 15, 1755, m. June 13, 1775, Huldah Philbrick, dau. of Benj'n, d. Sept. 27, 1820. (Sanbornton.)

Issue of Shubal, Jr., (164.)

(416) Benjamin, b. Aug. 1, 1738.

(417) Mary, b. April 12, 1741.

(418) Abraham, b. Sept. 7, 1743.

(419) Simon, b. April, 1746, d. April 11, 1746.

(420) Jeny, b. Dec. 10, 1749, d. Jan. 1, 1755.

(421) Sarah, b. March 6, 1754, d. March 8, 1754.

(422) Simon, b. Jan. 26, 1757.

Issue of John, (168.)

(423) Mary, b. 1760, m. Ebenr. Garland.

Issue of Reuben, Jr., (174.)

(424) Susanna, b. Nov. 3, 1745.

(425) Ebenezer, b. Feb. 1, 1747.

(426) Betsy, b. March 5, 1749.

(427) Ebenezer, b. April 15, 1750.

(428) Betsy, b. June 21, 1752.
(429) Sarah, b. June 9, 1754.
(430) Anna, b. Feb. 4, 1759, m. Feb. 26. 1781, Stephen Prescott.
(431) Benjamin, b. Aug. 24, 1760.

Issue of Daniel, (189.)

(432) Dorothy, b. Nov. 23, 1748.
(433) Anna, b. Feb. 20, 1750, m. Feb. 6, 1769, Jonathan Brown.
(434) Mary, b. Sept. 24, 1751.
(435) Theophalus, b. Oct. 24, 1753.
(436) Sherburne, b. June 10, 1756.
(437) Elijah, b. March 25, 1758.
(438) Elijah, b. Sept. 22, 1761.

Issue of Lieut. Abraham, (192.)

(439) I. Abraham, b. June 6, 1757, m. Nov. 25, 1779, Mary Prescott, Kensington.
(440) II. Jewett, b. Oct. 16, 1759, m. June 6, 1782, Susan Prescott, d. Aug. 1, 1837.
(441) III. Infant, d. young.
(442) IV. Theophilus, b. Feb. 5, 1771.

Issue of Benjamin, (198.)

(443) I. Edmund, m. Sarah French.
(444) II. James.
(445) III. Benjamin, b. 1759, m. Dorothy Blake.
(446) IV. Jeremy.
(447) V. John.
(448) VI. Molly, b. 1762.
(449) VII. Shubael, b. 1764.

Issue of Abraham, (199.)

(450) I. Hannah.
(451) II. Jonathan.
(452) III. Abraham.
(453) IV. Lucy.

Issue of Moses, (215.)

(454) I. Elizabeth, b. June, 1739.
(455) II. Priscilla, b. April 12, 1741.
(456) III. Sherburn, b. July 1, 1744.
(457) IV. Nathaniel, b. March 2, 1746.
(458) V. Abigail, b. Aug. 21, 1748.

Issue of Jeremiah, (220.)

(459) I. Theophilus, b. Jan. 13, 1750, m. Mehitable Kimball.
(460) II. Hannah, b. Nov. 30, 1751.
(461) III. Abigail, b. Aug. 8, 1754.
(462) IV. Jeremiah, b. Nov. 5, 1757, m. Lydia Tilton.
(463) V. Lydia, b. June 8, 1758.
(464) VI. Col. David, b. April 26, 1761, m. Elizabeth James.
(464) VII. Rebecca, b. April 9, 1763, m. July 26, 1787, Jethro Brown, d. 1846. Gilmanton.
(465) VIII. Jonathan, b. May 18, 1770, m. Lydia Page.

Issue of Henry, (224.)

(466) I. Joseph, b. June 17, 1746, d. Dec. 20, 1748.
(467) II. Mary, b. May 12, 1753.
(468) III. Jonathan, b. June 8, 1755.

Issue of Benjamin, (246.)

(469) I. Elizabeth, b. Nov. 15, 1746.
(470) II. Lucy, b. Nov. 20, 1748.
(471) III. Benjamin, d. young.
(472) IV. Dorothy, b. Jan. 29, 1756.
(473) V. Lydia, b. April 10, 1758.
(474) VI. Benj., b. Nov. 7, 1760.
(475) VII. Samuel, b. Dec. 25, 1762.

SIXTH GENERATION. ESQ. WILLIAM'S BRANCH.

Issue of Jeremiah, (257.)

(476) I. Anna, b. July 4, 1731, m. —— Cawley.
(477) II. Mary, b. Jan. 6, 1733, m. Abraham Perkins. (Sanbornton.)
(478) III. Abigail, b. March 25, 1735, m. Moses Leavett.
(479) IV. Lydia, b. Feb. 26, 1737, m. Leavett.
(480) V. Jeremiah, b. July 7, 1739, m. Nov. 8, 1764, Miriam Dearborn. (Sanbornton.)
(481) VI. John, b. Jan. 23, 1742.
(482) VII. Ruth, b. May 7, 1744, m. Bachelder.

Issue of William, (264.)

(483) I. Simon, b. Sept. 28, 1736, m. 1760, Mary Cram.
(484) II. Betsy, b. Aug. 25, 1738, m. Daniel Sanborn.
(485) III. William, b. Feb. 19, 1741, m. Feb. 4, 1768, Mary Moulton.
(486) IV. Henry D., b. Dec. 28, 1743, m. Jan. 17, 1769, Betsy Sanborn.
(487) V. Mary, b. May 19, 1745, m. —— Chace.

(488) VI. Josiah, b. June 19, 1747, m. April 8, 1770, Deborah Bowden.
(489) VII. Sarah, b. May 12, 1749, m. —— Cram.
(490) VIII. Anne, b. Aug. 15, 1751, m. John Sanborn.
(491) IX. Theodate, b. Aug. 30, 1753.
(492) X. Abigail, b. Oct. 3, 1755.
(493) XI. Hannah, b. ——, m. —— Chase.

Issue of Ephraim, (270.)

(494) I. Elizabeth, b. Jan. 1742, d. young.
(495) II. Jeremiah M., b. June, 1745.
(496) III. Mary, b. Sept. 1747, m. 1765, Benjamin Moulton.

Issue of Reuben, (279.)

(497) Deac. Ira. (498) Reuben. (499) Moses.

Issue of Eliphalet, (280.)

(500) I. Hon. Josiah, b. Oct. 4, 1763, m. 1787, Margaret Locke, d. June, 1842. (Epsom.)
(501) II. b. ——, no ch.
(502) III. William, 3 sons, 4 daus. (Norwich, Vt.)
(503) IV. Andrew, settled in Boston, one son, d. young.
(504) V. Caleb, d. in Texas.
(505) VI. Eliphalet, went west.
Four daughters m. Osgood, McGaffy, Sherman and Cass.

SEVENTH GENERATION. LIEUT. JOHN'S BRANCH.

Issue of Esq. Daniel, (385.)

(506) I. Doct. Benai, b. June 5, 1757, m. Huldah Smith, dau. of Deac. Christopher. (Sanbornton.)
(507) II. Jonathan, b. ——, m. Sarah Miles.
(508) III. Daniel, m. Hannah Miles.
(509) IV. James, m. —— Moor, d. in the army.
(510) V. John, first birth in Sanbornton, m. Delia Miles, d. in Vermont.
(511) VI. Elisha, m. Agnes Moor. (Whelock, Vt.)
(512) VII. Moses, m. Mary Sanborn, dau. of Coffin, (149.)
(513) VIII. Enoch, d. young.
(514) IX. Mary, m. Josiah Miles.
(515) X. Lucy, m. James Cate.
(516) XI. Sarah, m. Nathan Smith.

Issue of Thomas, (388.)

(517) I. Caleb M., m. 1st, Hannah Hobbs; 2d, Judith Ingals.
(518) II. John, m. Phebe Sanborn, (529) d. 1813.

(519) III. Daniel, m. —— Hobbs, d. young.
(520) IV. Lydia, m. Capt. Eben. Sanborn, (552.) (Newhampton.)

Issue of Moses, (389.)

(521) I. Daniel, m. Betsy Whitcomb, dau. of Jacob. (Warner.)
(522) II. Moses. (523) III. Benjamin. (524) IV. John Chace. V. Polly.

Issue of Capt. Aaron, (390.)

(525) I. Peter, m. Olive Thompson, lived in Sanbornton and Maine.
(526) II. Mary, m. Archipus Whelock. Moved to Vermont.
(527) III. Anna, m. Bradbury Morrison.
(528) IV. Betsy, m. Asa Currier. (Sanbornton.)
(529) V. Phebe, m. John Sanborn, (511.) (Sanbornton.)
(530) VI. Abigail, m. William Hays.
(531) VII. Deborah, m. 1st, Ebenezer Cate, 2d, Maj. John Dearborn.
(532) VIII. Hannah, m. Capt. John Lane. (Sanbornton.)
(533) IX. Triphenia, m. Samuel Lane.
(534) X. Washington, m. Mary Sanborn, dau. of Dr. Benai, (506.)

Issue of Abijah, (392.)

(535) I. Enoch, m. —— Boyington, went to Vermont.
(536) II. Thomas, m. Mahitable Gilman, went to New York.
(537) III. Mary, m. —— Elsworth.
(538) IV. Sarah, m. Josiah Critchett. Vermont.)

Issue of Deac. John, (393.)

(539) I. Betsy, b. Nov. 17, 1755, d. June, 1823.
(540) II. Mary, b. June 11, 1757.
(541) III. Eunice, b. June 3, 1760.
(542) IV. John, b. March 20, 1763, m. Hannah Bachelder, d. Oct. 20, 1825. (Parsonsfield, Me.)
(543) V. Sarah, b. Feb. 5, 1765.
(544) VI. Benjamin, b. Nov. 1, 1766, d. May 20, 1831.
(545) VII. Elisha, b. May 10, 1769.
(546) VIII. Susanna, b. March 12, 1771.
(547) IX. David E., b. June 14, 1773, m. Hannah Hook. (Gilmanton.)

Issue of Sergeant John, (407.)

(548) I. Daniel, b. June 20, 1760, d. young.
(549) II. Jeremiah, b. Nov. 12, 1764, m. 1st, Theodate Sanborn, dau. of John; 2d, Sarah Page.
(550) III. Ebenezer, b. April 18, 1767, m. 1st, Huldah Elkins; 2d, Patty Heath.

Issue of Col. Josiah, (409.)

(551) I. Deac. Josiah, b. ——, m. Dorothy Thompson, d. May, 1838.

(552) II. Capt. Ebenezer, b. Jan. 16, 1768, m. Lydia Sanborn, dau. of Thomas (388), d. Nov. 18, 1818. (Newhampton.)

(553) III. Samuel, m. Theodate Perkins, dau. of Abraham. (Sanbornton.)

(554) IV. Deac. Christopher, b. May 9, 1772, m. Susan Mason, d. May 27, 1840. (Sanbornton.)

(555) V. Joseph W., m. Nancy Burleigh, (Sanbornton.)

(556) VI. Deac. Chace T., m. Martha Haines. (Sanbornton and Campton.)

Issue of Benjamin, (412.)

(557) I. Ebenezer, b. Nov. 10, 1769, d. Jan. 6, 1795.

(558) II. Anna, b. April 24, 1771, m. Joseph Palmer. (Sanbornton.)

(559) III. James, b. Jan. 14, 1773, m. Jane Gibson, d. Sept. 30, 1841. (Sanbornton.)

(560) IV. Elizabeth, b. Jan. 4, 1775, m. Benjamin Smith. (Vermont.)

(561) V. Tabatha, b. May 17, 1776, m. Josiah Sanborn, (588.)

(562) VI. Lucy, b. Sept. 5, 1778, d. Jan. 23, 1795.

(563) VII. Molly, b. May 11, 1780, m. Deac. Joseph, s. of Wm. (414.)

(564) VIII. Huldah, b. Oct. 14, 1781, m. James Durgin. (Gilmanton.)

(565) IX. Ruth, b. April 4, 1783, m. Capt. John Lane, d. Oct. 10, 1824, (Sanbornton.)

(566) X. Benjamin, b. April 19, 1785, m. Abigail Sweasey, d. June 19, 1851. (Sanbornton.)

(565) XI. Abijah, b. Feb. 16, 1787, m. Sarah Philbrick, dau. of S. Page Philbrick.

(566) XII. Hugh March, b. May 2, 1789, d. Dec. 3, 1794.

(567) XIII. Jonathan, b. March 31, 1792, m. Lucy Philbrick, dau. of S. P. P.

(568) XIV. Sally, b. Dec. 13, 1793, m. Simeon Moulton, son of Deac. Simeon Campton.

Issue of William, (414).

(569) I. Anna, d. young.

(570) II. Ruth, m. Benjamin P., son of Ebenr. (415.) (Sanbornton.)

(571) III. Abigail, m. Phinehas Dearborn. (Sanbornton.)

(572) IV. Deac. Joseph, m. Molly Sanborn, dau. of Benjam. (412.)

(573) V. Deborah.

(574) VI. Josiah, m. Hannah Philbrick, dau. of Reuben.

(575) VII. John, d. in the army of 1812.

Issue of Ebenezer, (415.)

(576) I. Sarah, b. April 13, 1776, d. Feb. 23, 1790.
(577) II. Ruth, b. May 9, 1778, d. Aug. 29, 1819.
(578) III. Benjamin, b. Oct. 21, 1779, m. Ruth, dau. of William, (414)
(579) IV. Hannah, b. June 6, 1781, d. Oct. 17, 1798.
(580) V. Betsy, b. Aug. 5, 1784, m. James Cate, d. Dec. 8, 1828.
(581) VI. Nancy, b. May 5, 1786, d. Sept. 9, 1855.
(582) VII. Abigail, b. March 27, 1789, m. Joseph Philbrick, s. of Joseph.
(583) VIII. Nathan, b. March 7, 1791, m. Seus Lancaster. (Henniker.)
(584) IX. Simeon, b. Oct. 8, 1793, m. Lucy Palmer.

SEVENTH GENERATION. ESQ. WILLIAM'S BRANCH.

Issue of Jeremiah, (480.)

(585) I. John D., b. Sept. 14, 1765, m. Nov. 16, 1790, Lydia Perkins, dau. of Abraham, d. Oct. 28, 1820. She d. 1853.
(586) II. Jeremiah, b. Jan. 5, 1767, m. Judith Folsom, d. May 25, 1847. She d. 1847.
(587) III. Mary, b. Jan. 18, 1768, d. Oct. 1852.
(588) IV. Josiah, b. Jan. 31, 1770, m. Tabatha Sanborn, (561) d. July, 1855.
(589) V. Joseph, b. April 11, 1771, m. Betsy Dearborn, d. 1854. She d. 1853.
(590) VI. Anna, b. April 1, 1772, d. March 10, 1773.
(591) VII. Amariah, b. May 28, 1773, m. Rachel Huse, d. June 1, 1849. She d. Feb. 1, 1850.
(592) VIII. Levi, b. Dec. 31, 1774, m. 1st, Wid. Gault; 2d, Wid. Pool, d. March 11, 1836.
(593) IX. Anna, b. June 16, 1776, d. Feb. 12, 1799.
(594) X. David, b. Feb. 4, 1778, m. Mary Burbank, d. Aug. 3, 1854.
(595) XI. Dearborn, b. Oct. 23, 1779, m. Abigail Moody, b. July 17, 1775, d. Dec. 22, 1843. She d. 1849.
(596) XII. Jonathan, b. July 14, 1782, m. Betsy Herrick, d. July 10, 1827.
(597) XIII. Lydia, b. April 30, 1786, m. James Sanborn, s. of Josiah.
(598) XIV. Tristram, b. Sept. 5, 1783, m. Sally Herrick, d. July 10, 1827.

Issue of Simon, (483.)

(599) Jonathan, b. Dec. 30, 1763, m. —— East. (Sanbornton.)
(600) William. (601) Simon.
(602) Woodbridge. (603) Nehemiah.

EIGHTH GENERATION. LIEUT. JOHN'S BRANCH.

Issue of Dr. Benai, (506.)

(604) Col. Christopher, m. Rachel Taylor.
(605) Mary, m. Washington Sanborn.
(606) Comfort, m. Capt. John Perkins.
(607) Huldah, m. Thomas Eastman, Esq.
(608) Col. Daniel, m. Hariet Ladd.
(609) Capt. Benai, m. Hannah Perkins, dau. of Capt. Chace.
(610) Esther.

Issue of David E., (547.)

(611) I. Dyer H., b. July 19, 1799, m. 1st, Harriet W. Tucker; 2d, Abigail Glidden.
(612) II. Levi B., b. April 26, 1801, d. Feb. 14, 1803.
(613) III. Julia B., b. Sept. 1, 1803, m. Oliver Carpenter. He d. Sept. 25, 1831, m. David Lake.
(614) IV. Sarah, b. Dec. 8, 1805.
(615) V. Edwin D., b. May 14, 1808, m. dau. Ezekiel Webster.
(616) VI. Hannah A., b. Aug. 28, 1810, d. Nov. 9, 1811.
(617) VII. Hannah, b. Nov. 22, 1812, m. Dr. Richard P. J. Tenney.
(618) VIII. Rebecca S., b. Dec. 17, 1814, d. Nov. 9, 1835.
(619) IX. John S., b. Jan. 1, 1809.

Issue of Jeremiah, (549.)

(619) I. Doct. John, b. Feb. 26, 1789, m. Susan Hubbard, Meredith.
(620) II. Mathew P., b. May 25, 1792.
(621) III. Capt. Jesse, b. Feb. 19, 1794. (Sanbornton.)
(622) IV. Lydia, b. June 1, 1796, m. Wm. Hayes.
(623) V. Tabatha, b. May 26, 1798, m. Josiah Sanborn, son of Josiah, (551), 2d marriage.
(624) VI. Polly, b. Aug. 1, 1801, d. 1802.
(625) VII. Capt. Jonathan P., b. Aug. 4, 1803.
(626) VIII. Theodate, b. Aug. 7, 1805.

Issue of Capt. Ebenezer, (550.)

(627) I. Daniel T., b. Aug. 19, 1794.
(628) II. Peter E., b. March 28, 1796, m. Hannah Warren.
(629) III. Page, b. Jan. 30, 1798, m. Mary Emery. (Lowell.)
(630) IV. Eastman, Dr. of Dental Surgery, b. May 30, 1800, m. Mary C. L. Gregory, of Charlestown, Ms. Lives in Andover, Mass.
(631) V. Huldah E.
(632) VI. Martha, d. young.

Issue of Capt. Ebenezer (552.) *Newhampton.*

(633) I. Josiah, b. March 4, 1789, m. Elizabeth Drew. (Dover.)
(634) II. Nancy, b. Dec. 7, 1790.
(635) III. Abigail, b. Oct. 26, 1793, m. John Sanborn.
(636) IV. Caleb M., b. Nov. 22, 1795, m. Nancy Quimby.
(637) V. Lydia, b. Sept. 1798, m. Capt. Abraham Ward.
(638) VI. Joseph W., b. March 10, 1801, m. Sarah Pope of Quincy, Ms.
(639) VII. Thomas J., b. Aug. 24, 1803, m. Wid. Wallace. (Sanbornton.)

Issue of Dr. Nathan, (583.)

(640) I. Sarah, b. May 24, 1819, m. Dr. Jesse Appleton, (Campton,) son of Dr. John (619.)
(641) II. Paulina, b. May 28, 1821, m. James W. Sargent, son of Dea. James, of Warner. (Concord.)
(642) III. Alden W., b. July 11, 1823, m. Elizabeth H. Abbott, dau. of Aaron, of Concord. (Manchester.)
(643) IV. Nathan P., b. June 25, 1825, m. Mary Anne Saunders, of Sanbornton. (Marblehead.)
(644) V. George G., b. Jan. 5, 1828, m. Jane H. Abbott, dau. of Aaron, of Concord. (Concord.)
(645) VI. Henry M., b. Aug. 16, 1832.
(646) VII. Thomas L., b. Jan. 4, 1836.
(647) VIII. Matilda C., b. March 17, 1839, d. Aug. 21, 1854.
(648) IX. Emma W., b. Aug. 15, 1842.

EIGHTH GENERATION. ESQ. WILLIAM'S BRANCH.

Issue of David, (594.)

(649) I. Elvira, b. Aug. 20, 1803, m. William Goss.
(650) II. Hiram, b. Nov. 28, 1805, d. 1813.
(651) III. William, b. Sept. 15, 1808, m. Martha Livingston.
(652) IV. Mary, b. Dec. 19, 1810, m. John D. Burbank.
(653) V. Augustus, b. Feb. 20, 1813, m. Sarah Burbank.
(654) VI. Tristram, b. Feb. 22, 1815, m. Lucinda Clark.
(655) VII. Harvey, b. Aug. 17, 1817, m. Abby Willey.
(656) VIII. Martha, b. July 7, 1820, m. Wm. Colby.
(657) IX. John D., b. July 11, 1822, m. Martha Martin.
(658) X. Jane, b. Nov. 8, 1825, m. David Hariman.
(658) XI. David, b. Feb. 3, 1829, m. Kate Spear.

JOHN B. SANBORN,

UPON HIS BRANCH OF THE FAMILY, AND PERSONAL ACCOUNTS.

The foregoing genealogical records furnish all the knowledge that I have ever had of the Sanborn family, down to Reuben and Eliphalet, being numbers 279 and 280 of the foregoing record.

It is evident, from this record, that Reuben moved from Hampton to Epsom, New Hampshire, prior to 1752, but how long prior to that time I have never known, but it is certain that it was after 1730, for Eliphalet was born in Hampton, and inherited some property from one of his uncles, as appears by deeds and instruments in writing in my possession at this date.

Eliphalet married Margaret Wallace, at Epsom, on the 19th day of November, 1761. He was born on the 19th day of July, 1730, and his wife was born on the 13th day of March, 1744. They had ten children, as follows:

Josiah Sanborn, born October 4th, 1763.
Lydia, born December 24th, 1765.
Rachel, born April 3d, 1768.
William, born July 6th, 1770.
Andrew, born February 17th, 1773.
Margaret, born May 22d, 1775.
Jane, born February 24th, 1778.
Simon, born June 1st, 1780.
Caleb, born December 3d, 1782.
Eliphalet Sanborn, Jr., born March 4th, 1790.

Eliphalet Sanborn, Sen., died July 27th, 1794, and Margaret Sanborn his wife, died April 29th, 1836, ten years after I was born, and I remember her well.

Josiah Sanborn, the eldest son of Eliphalet, married Anna Locke in 1788 or 1789; the precise date of his marriage I am unable to give, and have no record of the same; but of this marriage my father was born, Frederick Sanborn, October 27th, 1789, and had two brothers that grew up, and three sisters, as follows:

James Sanborn, born in 1791.
Nancy Sanborn, born in 1793.
Rachel Sanborn, born in 1795.
Hannah Sanborn, born in 1798; and
Josiah Sanborn, born in 1801.

There were two other children, Eliphalet and Sally, who died in infancy. The others lived to old age, my father dying May 9th, 1881; James Sanborn in 1874; Nancy Sanborn in 1877; Rachel Sanborn in 1880, and Hannah Sanborn in 1878, and Josiah Sanborn in 1882; and my mother, Lucy Sargent Sanborn, died on the 17th day of June, 1863.

My father married Lucy L. Sargent March 20th, 1816, at Pittsfield, New Hampshire, and lived upon the old homestead selected by Reuben Sanborn when he came to Epsom between 1730 and 1752. Of that marriage, children were born as follows:

Catharine Gray Sanborn, December 6th, 1816.
Henry Frederick Sanborn, February 26th, 1819.
Martha Eunice Sanborn, June 19th, 1821.
Ann Sanborn, April 30th, 1825.
John Benjamin Sanborn, December 5th, 1826.

Henry F. Sanborn married Eunice Davis, at Princeton, Massachusetts, May 31st, 1843, and they had three children: Walter H. Sanborn, Edward P. Sanborn and Hattie Sanborn.

John B. Sanborn was married the first time on the 17th day of March, 1857, at Newton, New Jersey, to Catharine

Hall. He had two children by this marriage, one of which, a son, died in infancy, and the other, Hattie F. Sanborn, who was born on the 4th day of January, 1858, died at St. Paul, Minn., on the 5th day of December, 1880. Her mother, Catharine Hall Sanborn, died at St. Paul, Minnesota, November 16th, A. D. 1860, of consumption, and was buried in Oakland cemetery.

John B. Sanborn was married the secod time at Bridgeton, New Jersey, on the 27th day of November, 1865, to Anna Elmer Nixon. They had no children, and Anna Nixon Sanborn died June 25th, 1878, at Bridgeton, N. J., while visiting her brother William G. Nixon, and was buried in the family lot in the Presbyterian burying ground at that place.

John B. Sanborn was married again to Rachel Rice, a daughter of Edmund Rice of St. Paul, on the 15th day of April, 1880. Two children have been born of this marriage, and they are both living: Lucy Sargent Sanborn, born July 4th, 1881, and John B. Sanborn, Jr., born on the 9th day of November, 1883.

The family homestead in Epsom, New Hampshire, has descended by primogeniture, from generation to generation, since 1750, until it reached the children of Henry F. Sanborn, my only brother. At this time it is owned one-half by myself and the other half by my brother and his son Walter H. Sanborn, and still remains in the Sanborn family name. Rather a rare instance in this country of a homestead remaining in the same family from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty years.

Regarding the Sargents, my mother's family, there is much more difficulty in tracing our ancestry. She was a daughter of the Rev. Benjamin Sargent, who died while a minister of the gospel at Pittsfield, New Hampshire, on the 19th day of March, 1818. I received from her a printed copy of the sermon preached at his funeral, which on the last leaf of the bound pamphlet contains the following sketch of his life:

"*Sketches of the life of the Rev. Benjamin Sargent.*

"He was born in Bradford, Massachusetts, March 27th, 1760, where he lived until he was about ten years of age, when his parents removed to Hillsboro, New Hampshire. There by their death he was left without a guide to direct his way through this uncertain world, and at the age of fifteen he enlisted a private soldier in the Revolutionary war, where he continued six years and performed his part to gain that liberty which we enjoy. After the war was over, he returned to Hopkinton, New Hampshire, where he lived until about twenty-five years of age, at which time he was married and took his residence there with an expectation of spending his days in private life. But the ways of providence often counteract our designs. In about three years He who governs all things after the manifestation of his own will, awakened his attention to see his lost and ruined state, that he must be born again in order to see the kingdom of God. Entertaining the hope of renewing grace by the Holy Spirit, at the age of about 31 he was baptised by immersion, and united with the church in that place. Soon after this he was approbated as preacher of the gospel agreeably to that order, and preached in different places for six years and a half, where God and his providence called. October 11th, 1797, he was ordained an itinerant in Bow, where he organized a church, and preached three years and a half. March 10th, 1801, he removed to Pittsfield and preached to the Congregational church and society, and in a few months a revival of religion took place, when he collected a Baptist church. After this he was in fellowship with both churches, was successful in the ministry, and no special difficulties arose. He was Calvinistic in sentiment and in his religious doctrines; zealous in the cause of Christ, warning both saints and sinners to flee from the wrath to come, and make their calling and election sure. Within a few months before his death he appeared more than usually engaged, and with much fervor he tried to pursuade all of every age and class to serve the Lord. March 15th, 1818,

being Lord's day, he arose in the morning, and in as good health as was usual for him to enjoy, went to the house of worship and performed the morning exercises with the same fervent spirit he had formerly done. In the afternoon he read the 119th Psalm, 5th part, addressed the throne of grace with great freedom, read the 61st Hymn, first book, made a short introduction, entered on his subject and was suddenly seized with a fit of palsy which in a few moments deprived him of both speech and reason. He was carried home where he lingered till Thursday A. M. following, when he sweetly fell asleep in Jesus."

His parents both having died when he was between ten and fifteen years of age, little is known of them or their lineage. I have never, in my lifetime, heard what the christian name of his father was. His mother was a Thurston of Massachusetts, and he always stated, so my mother said, that the black hair and dark eyes of the family and the greater portion of their mental force was derived from her.

I have seen the genealogical record of the Sargent family and herewith copy the same down to and including the fourth generation, and Jonathan Sargent's family, as No. 12 of that generation in this genealogy, which genealogy is as follows:

William Sargent, first ancestor of our family in this country, came from England 1638, was admitted a member of the church in Charleston, Mass., March 10th, 1639, and his wife Sarah the Sunday following; he was made a freeman of Massachusetts colony the same year; they resided at Mystic Side, where he was a lay preacher from 1648 to 1650, and is mentioned by Johnson in his "Wonder Working Providences," page 211, as a godly man.

William was made a freeman of Plymouth colony in 1658, having removed probably in 1657 to Barnstable, where he died Dec. 16th, 1682, and his wife January 12th, 1683.

The farm at Malden, given to John Sargent, in the will, was owned by William as early as 1649, and perhaps

earlier, with the exception of eight acres southwest of and adjoining his own land, which he purchased in 1654. It was on a hill in the southerly part of the town, about one and a half miles northeast from Malden Bridge, and is now intersected by the Newburyport turnpike.

John, by deed of gift in 1708, gave part of the house (balance of house to his wife in his will) and "all the land adjoining that was my father William Sargent's" to his sons Jonathan and Ebenezer, who divided the same in 1720; Jonathan retaining the southerly portion, with parts of the buildings, and Ebenezer retaining the northerly portion, with the "east ends" of the buildings.

Jonathan, in 1735, gave a quarter of an acre of his part "in the southerly part of Malden, being part of my homestead whereon now I dwell," with a road twenty-six feet wide to the highway, to the "inhabitants of the southerly part of Malden for a meeting house."

Ebenezer, in 1736, sold land "received from my father by deed of gift, being the homestead," and describes it as being bounded on the south and southwest by the meeting house and the way to the meeting house; and, as his part of the estate was the northerly part, it may be inferred that the meeting house was near the center of the whole farm.

Near the former site of the meeting house, and south from it, now stands an old dilapidated unpainted house, which there is much reason for believing was the residence of the first three genertions of the family. It certainly was occupied by members of the three succeeding generations.

No part of the place is now in the possession of any member of the family.

The orthography of the name seems to have varied, not only with the different early members of the family, but also—according to time—with the same members.

The most common spelling previous to the commencement of the present century (and perhaps, the most correct,) was Sargeant; and this method is still retained by

some branches of the family, though a majority of the living members omit the latter vowel in the final syllable.

SECOND GENERATION. *Children of William.*

(2) I. Elizabeth, b. in England; m. 1st, —— Nichols, m. Jan. 14, 1652-3, Thomas Bill of Boston; d. March 5, 1657-8.

(3) II. Hannah, b. in England, m. Henry Felch, of Reading.

(4) III. John B., in Charlestown, (Mystic Side) Dec. 1639, and baptized on the 8th of the same month; admitted to inhabit Barnstable between 1662 and 1666; returned to Malden about 1669, was selectman there six years, and was made freeman March 22, 1689-90. He m. 1st, March 19, 1662, Deborah Hyllier of Barnstable (b. at Yarmouth Oct. 30, 1643, d. April 20, 1669, dau. of Hugh); 2d, Sept. 3, 1669, Mary Bense (d. Feb. 1670-1); 3d, Lydia Chipman of Barnstable (b. at Barnstable Dec. 25, 1654, d. March 2, 1730, dau. of John); and d. Sept. 9, 1716. His gravestone is in the old Malden burial ground. Ch. 7 at 21.

(5) IV. Ruth, b. in Charlestown, (Mystic Side) Oct. 25, 1642; m. 1st, Jonathan Winslow of Marshfield; 2d, m. July, 1677, Richard Bourne of Sandwich; 3d, John Chipman of Sandwich; d. Oct. 4, 1711.

(6) V. Samuel, b. in Charlestown, (Mystic Side) March 3, 1644-5; made freeman of Plymouth Colony in 1684, d. Sept. 22, 1710, unm.

THIRD GENERATION. *Children of John,* (4.)

(7) I. Joseph, b. in Barnstable, April 18, 1663; m. 1685, Mary Greene, (b. Dec. 1668, d. April 9, 1759 dau. of John), resided in Malden, —where he was made freeman March 22, 1689-90—and in Charlestown, and d. Nov. 27, 1717. Ch. 22 at 31.

(8) II. John, b. in Barnstable, Feb. 16, 1664-5, m. Mary ——, (d. about 1755); resided in Malden and Reading, Mass., and in Mansfield, Conn., and d. April 16, 1755. Ch. 32 at 38.

(9) III. Mary, b. 1667, m. Nathan Toby of Sandwich.

(10) IV. Jabez, b. April, 1669, d. 1694-5, unm.

(11) V. Hannah, b. Dec., 1675.

(12) VI. Jonathan, b. in Malden, April 17, 1677, m. March 1st, 1699-700, Mary Lynde (b. July 5, 1678, d. Nov. 19, 1716, dau. of John); m. Nov. 26, 1717, Mary Sprague (b. May 26, 1695, d. March 14, 1787); resided in Malden—where he was a selectman three years, and representative to general court seven years,—and in Mansfield, Conn., and d. Oct. 27, 1754. Ch. 39 at 49.

(13) VII. William, b. in Malden, Nov. 20, 1680, m. Dec. 30, 1702, Mary Lewis (b. March 1, 1680, d. Feb. 1743–4, dau. of Isaac); resided in Malden, where he was a selectman nine years, and d. March 15, 1731–2. Ch. 50 at 54.

(14) VIII. Lydia, m. 1701, Joseph Wayte, Jr., of Malden.

(15) IX. Deborah, m. Dec. 26, 1701, Thomas Wayte of Malden.

(16) X. Ruth, b. Oct. 26, 1686, d. Oct. 28, 1719.

(17) XI. Samuel, b. in Malden, Sept. 15, 1688, m. Dec. 2, 1714, Elizabeth Pratt (b. Jan. 24, 1692–3, dau. of Thomas), resided in Charlestown and d. Dec. 7, 1721. (His widow m. John Tufts of Medford.) Ch. 55 at 57.

(18) XII. Ebenezer, b. in Malden, Sept. 25, 1690, m. Aug. 7, 1716, Esther Willis; m. 2d, Mary ——, resided in Malden, Charlestown and Brookline, Mass., and d. 1771, w. i.

(19) XIII. Hope.

(20) XIV. Mehitable, b. Sept. 5, 1696.

(21) XV. Sarah, d. Dec. 5, 1716.

FOURTH GENERATION. *Children of Joseph*, (7.)

(22) I. Mary, b. July 4, 1686, m. Sept. 28, 1705, Thomas, Burditt, d. Oct. 27, 1761.

(23) II. Sarah, b. March 22, 1688–9, d. in infancy.

(24) III. Joseph, b. May 28, 1690, m. June 4, 1713, Hannah Bucknam, (b. Aug. 13, 1694, d. Jan. 22, 1782, dau. of Joseph,) resided in Charlestown and Malden, and d. Nov. 16, 1760. Ch. 58 at 67.

(25) IV. Jabez, b. 1692, m. Aug. 21, 1716, Mary Lynde (b. 1692, d. May 26, 1744, dau. of Joseph), m. Oct. 9, 1746, Rachel Waite (b. Oct. 24, 1704, d. Dec. 23, 1776, dau. of Thomas), resided in Malden, and d. Oct. 28, 1781. Ch. 68 at 72.

(26) V. Sarah, b. Oct. 30, 1695, m. Dec. 3, 1713, Samuel Newhall, d. Nov. 17, 1740.

(27) VI. John, b. June 10, 1698, m. May 25, 1721, Sarah Dexter (b. April 6, 1699, d. Aug. 3, 1759, dau. of Richard), resided in Malden, and d. Nov. 20, 1760. Ch. 73 at 78.

(28) VII. Deborah, b. Aug. 13, 1701, m. Uriah Oakes, d. May 20, 1764.

(29) VIII. Samuel, b. March 1, 1703–4, m. Elizabeth ——, (b. 1708, d. Oct. 20, 1781,) resided in Stow, Mass., and d. Nov. 20, 1791 Ch. 79 at 87.

(30) IX. Nathan, b. Sept. 12, 1706, m. May 29, 1729, Mary Viall (b. Aug. 23, 1711, d. Sept. 9, 1795, dau. of Nathaniel), resided in Chelsea, and d. March 15, 1774. Ch. 88 at 96.

(31) X. Elizabeth, b. Dec. 5, 1710, m. Nov. 7, 1734, Ebenezer Barrett, d. Feb. 11, 1769.

Children of John, (8.)

(32) I. John, b. Dec. 22, 1689, d. in infancy.

(33) II. Sarah, b. Jan. 23, 1691–2, d. May 16, 1693.

(34) III. Mary, b. Aug. 12, 1694, m. Feb. 8, 1716, Robert Arnold, d. Aug. 24, 1747.

(35) IV. Ruth, b. March 29, 1697, m. March 2, 1720, Theophilus Hall.

(36) V. Isaac, b. Feb. 24, 1699–700, m. April 11, 1722, Anne Wood, (b. 1699, d. July 30, 1792, dau. of Thomas,) resided in Mansfield, Conn., and d. April 2, 1787. Ch. 107 at 115.

(37) VI. Jacob, b. March 29, 1702, m. Dec. 21, 1727, Mindwell Root, (b. 1702, d. April 4, 1789, dau. of Thomas,) resided in Mansfield, Conn., and d. April 2, 1787. Ch. 107 at 115.

(38) VII. John, b. Jan., 1705, m. Jan. 15, 1730, Mary Porter, (dau. of Thomas,) resided in Mansfield, Conn., and d. Aug. 23, 1742, w. i.

Children of Jonathan, (12.)

(39) I. Jonathan, b. Feb. 20, 1700–1, m. Sept. 29, 1726, Deborah Richardson, resided in Leicester, and d. at an advanced age. Ch. 116 at 121.

(40) II. Phineas, b. Sept. 21, 1702, m. Dec. 31, 1724, Abigail Pratt, (b. 1699, d. June 14, 1776, dau. of John,) resided in Malden, and d. Sept. 25, 1761. Ch. 122 at 125.

(41) III. Nathan, b. Aug. 27, 1718, m. June 24, 1742, Mary Sargeant, (b. Nov. 18, 1721, d. May 28, 1750, dau. of Joseph,) m. Feb. 12, 1751, Mary Denny, (b. April 22, 1727, d. Aug. 8, 1822, dau. of Daniel,) resided in Leicester, and d. June 15, 1799. Ch. 126 at 135.

(42) IV. John, b. Nov. 6, 1720, m. July 24, 1740, Hannah Wadkins, resided in Mansfield, Conn., and d. at an advanced age. Ch. 136 at 139.

(43) V. Mary, b. Nov. 7, 1722, m. Nov. 9, 1742, Josiah Storrs, d. July 3, 1794.

(44) VI. Hannah, b. Feb. 8, 1724–5, d. in infancy.

(45) VII. Ebenezer, b. Nov. 4, 1726, d. in infancy.

(46) VIII. Lydia, b. Nov. 26, 1726, d. in infancy.

(47) IX. Hannah, b. Oct. 10, 1730.

(48) X. Ebenezer, b. April 13, 1732, probably d. in infancy.

(49) XI. Sam'l, b. Nov. 4, 1733, d. probably in infancy.

It will be seen from the foregoing genealogy that Ebenezer, tenth child of Jonathan, who was a son of John, who was born April 13, 1732, is noted as having probably died in infancy. My inference is that he left home while a boy, and reached the Merrimac river, at Bradford, and grew up and was married there, and moved from there to New Hampshire, in 1770, and there died, as stated in the memorandum attached to the sermon preached at the funeral of my grandfather Benj. Sargent. For Benj. Sargent had no brothers or sisters, and all his early recollections were of poverty, suffering, distress and death, and of privations which his father and mother could not endure, and on account of which they died. Of course, when the Revolutionary War commenced, it was natural for a boy 15 years of age, in such a country and under such circumstances, to enter at once into the army. This he did, and remained in the war to its close. He often spoke in his life, of his terrible sufferings, in common with all the other soldiers, during the winter at Valley Forge, and of the excitement and joy that all felt at the surrender of Cornwallis, at which he was present. His first son was named Benjamin, no doubt after himself, his second son was named Ebenezer, after his father, as I think, the third son was named Moses, and the fourth John, who was named after his brother, if my suspicions are correct. Of course, in all this I may be mistaken, but there is more that goes to strengthen this theory than to militate against it, and my belief is that it is correct.

The wife of my grandfather Sargent was a Lendel, from Manchester, Mass., and the name of her mother was Lucy Lee, of the old family of Lees that early settled on the Atlantic coast.

In regard to my ancestors on the side of the Sanborns, there seems to be, so far as I am able to learn, nothing striking, except their regular, orderly life and freedom from all crimes and offences. There seems to be no record anywhere of any one who has ever been charged with any offence, or who has ever been guilty of any

perfidy or crime. My grandfather Josiah Sanborn, was too young to enter the military service in the Revolutionary War, being then but 12 years of age. His father, Eliphalet Sanborn, entered the military service and made the march as far as Lake Champlain, and remained on duty until he became sick, and came back in a few months in desperate plight.

My only object in writing this narrative is to enable my children and relatives to know all that I know in regard to their ancestry and the genealogy of their parents.

In regard to my own life I can only say that it was my purpose, up to the time that I was sixteen years of age, to remain at home and take charge of the homestead in Epsom, and care for my parents through their old age, but the failure of the health of my brother Henry F. Sanborn, during his junior year in college, changed this plan. He, after making two or three efforts to resume the course of his studies, was advised by physicians that he never could lead a sedentary life, and came home and determined to live an out-door life. He married and settled down on the old homestead when I was sixteen years of age. At that time I should have been compelled to have gone away and fitted myself for professional life, and my mother, who had much mental force and a clear perception, did all she possibly could to accomplish this, but she was supported by no one, and I was unsettled and indifferent and continued to work on the old homestead farm for seven years, and until I was twenty-three years of age. During this time we made a new place of the old homestead, and more than doubled its producing capacity, so that my brother was able to live there and bring up his family in comfort and luxury compared with the preceding generations.

At twenty-three I fully settled down to the purpose of pursuing professional life and commenced to get what education I could in the time that I had to prepare myself for the practice of law, and enter upon the practice of that profession, and I thereupon fitted for college at Pembroke

Academy in New Hampshire, and Thetford Academy in Vermont, and entered Darmouth College in the fall of 1851, and remained through that term only, and commenced the study of law the following spring in the office of Asa Fowler at Concord, New Hampshire, and continued it till the July term of the Superior Court of that State in 1854, when I was admitted to the bar, and entered upon the practice of law, at Concord, New Hampshire.

But falling in with Theodore French, of Concord, who had completed a course of legal study and of lectures at the Cambridge law school, and entering into conversation concerning the most promising region of the country for men about entering the profession of law, it was concluded by both of us that we ought to leave New England and settle somewhere in the Northwest. After adopting this general plan, we fell in with Mr. Paul R. George who was a quartermaster in the Mexican War, and had been spending some time with his old army comrades on the upper Mississippi at St. Paul, and he advised us that there was no place in the country anywhere that seemed to him to have such a bright future as Minnesota, and that he believed that St. Paul would ultimately be a great city, and recommended that if we were to leave our native State at all, that we should come to Minnesota.

This settled our minds, and about the last day of November, 1854, French and myself started from Concord and went to Boston and bought about $400 worth of law books and shipped them direct to Galena, Ill., the terminus then of the railroad, and followed on by rail, stopping a day or two in New York and Chicago, and Galena and Dubuque. We reached Dubuque the 5th day of December, 1854, and attempted to get passage for ourselves and baggage to St. Paul upon M. O. Walker & Co's stage line then carrying the mail between the two points by a road on the west side of the river, running through Elliota, Preston, Rochester, Cannon Falls, etc. The fare charged us was $120 apiece. We brought our Yankee wits to bear upon the situation, and concluded that we

would buy an entire outfit, a pair of horses, harness, wagon, robes, etc., and put in our baggage and drive up more cheaply. We did so, and soon found that we had all the passengers that we could take care of to come through with us, and we reached St. Paul on the evening of the 21st day of December, 1854, having more money in our pockets, when we had settled with the passengers we had brought through, than when we started, and sold our horses, wagon and harness at a profit of about $300.

Our partnership commenced on the first day of January, 1855, under the name of Sanborn & French, and continued under that name until the first day of January, 1857, when Charles C. Lund became a member of the firm, and the firm was continued under the name of Sanborn, French & Lund until French's death in February, 1860, when Mr. Lund and myself formed a new partnership under the name of Sanborn & Lund, which continued until I was in the military service, and until January 1st, 1862, when Lund, with the law business that followed him, joined the firm of Henry J. Horn and R. B. Galusha, under the name of Horn, Lund & Galusha, and from that date my entire time and energies were given to the military service until the last day of June, 1866.

During this period I had held the rank and position of Brig. Gen. of Militia, and had been Adjutant General and Quartermaster General of the State from April 24th, 1861, to January 1st, 1862; Colonel of the Fourth Minnesota Infantry Volunteers from 1862 to August 4th, 1863; and Brigadier General from August 4th, 1863, to November 16th, 1864; Brevet Major General from 1864 to the date of muster out in 1866.

The record of my military services is full in the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, commencing with the 17th volume, which contains the reports of the battle of Iuka and Corinth, and, as I understand, will be more largely found in the volume which will contain reports of the battles and campaigns against Vicksburg, which I am advised by Col. Scott will be the 25th volume.

Upon mustering out of the service on the last day of June, 1866, my purpose was to immediately resume the practice of law at St. Paul, Minnesota. On that day I was met by an old friend, Charles King, (who was practicing in Minneapolis when I left for the war and whose son was a clerk in my office,) on the steps of the National Hotel, in Washington. He seemed very much depressed in spirits, and said that he was having a very hard time to get along, but that he knew how to transact the department business in Washington, and that if he could only get business he could do well. His appearance and language appealed to my sympathies, and he offered, among other things, if I would give him the use of my name to enable him to get the advantage of my acquaintance in the army, that he would willingly give me one-half of all he could make in his office. This appeal was directed, as he well knew, to—what I have always considered the weakest point of my character—my sympathies; and I consented to organize a partnership upon the terms suggested by him, under the name of Sanborn & King, to commence July 1, 1866. This firm continued in that practice for twelve years until July 1, 1878, and its business was very successful. This firm did business at Washington, D.C., where I never resided, and by the terms of the partnership was not required to give personal attention to the business at all. But the business grew to such an extent that it required my presence in Washington from four to six months in the year, and the profits of the business were such as to compensate well for the time. It enabled Mr. King to live comfortably and educate his family to his satisfaction, and gave him a competency for his old age.

On the first day of January, 1870, while I was still connected with the Washington firm, I opened an office again in St. Paul, with a view of having my nephew, Walter H. Sanborn, son of Henry F. Sanborn, become a partner as soon as he could be admitted to the bar. He was admitted that year, and on the first day of January,

1871, the firm of John B. & W. H. Sanborn was organized as a law firm at St. Paul, and has remained in the practice from that date to the present time. Edward P. Sanborn, a brother of Walter H. Sanborn, became a member of the firm on the first day of January, 1882.

The business of both firms grew, until it required my attention at St. Paul and Washington at the same time, and the result was that the Washington firm dissolved at the end of twelve years, July 1, 1878. Its business I turned over to Charles King and his sons, George King and Wm. B. King, and since that time it has been a very respectable and profitable business, both for father and sons.

During the year 1867–8, most of my time was devoted to the duties devolving upon me as a special commissioner to the Indians of the plains, or rather to all the Indian tribes east of the Rocky Mountains, with a view of settling all difficulties, and determining upon some general policy proper to be pursued by the government towards those people. It was not until January 1, 1869, that I was able to devote my time and energies to my private business.

From April, 1861, to January 14, 1869, the public business received all my thoughts and energies. During this time I organized and equipped the first five regiments of infantry, two batteries of artillery and four squadrons of cavalry in Minnesota; commanded the District of Minnesota from the time the regular troops were moved East in May, 1861, to April, 1862, without any trouble or loss from the Indians, who soon broke out after I left; commanded a demi-brigade in the siege and evacuation of Corinth; a brigade in the autumn of 1862 and at the battle of Iuka September 19, 1862, where I lost in killed and wounded about six hundred men, and I doubt if I ever rendered any better or more valuable service than in this my first experience in battle on the open field; a regiment a part of the time and brigade the other part at the battle of Corinth; commanded a brigade down the Yazoo Pass and at the attack on Fort Pemberton in March, 1863,

and back to Helena; the seventh division seventeenth army corps from Helena via Millikin's Bend, Roundaway Bayou, Lake St. Joseph and Hardtimes Landing to Port Gibson, and until after that battle; a brigade at Forty Hills, Hankinson's Ferry, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hills, Black River, and in the assault of the 22d of May and during the siege of Vicksburg, and was hotly engaged at all these places except Black River, and for these services my brigade was designated to and did lead the column into Vicksburg at the surrender, led by the band of the 4th Minnesota Infantry Volunteers, my regiment.

I know how these minor events have been perverted by the writers, and that even in Gen. Grant's narration there are many unintentional errors, but the official records when published will make this all right. A hundred witnesses are now (1887) living in St. Paul who can swear to all the facts.

After the battles of Iuka and Corinth I was appointed by the President Brigadier General of Volunteers, but the senators and men in political life in Minnesota allowed my confirmation to fail, and after Vicksburg my promotion was pressed by all my superiors, including Gen. Grant, and resisted and opposed by the public men and political influences from Minnesota for reasons then and now to me unknown, which I think was unfortunate for the history of the State, whatever the effect may have been to me personally. After I resigned on account of this opposition on August 9, 1863, and came home, my promotion came, and after this I commanded the District of South West Missouri from October, 1863, to June, 1865, and during this time with a brigade or division of cavalry I fought the battles of Jefferson City, Booneville, Little Blue, Independence, Big Blue, Marias des Cygnes, Little Osage and Newtonia, making in all seventeen times that I was under the fire of both musketry and artillery during the war, counting the assaults and forty-four days of the siege of Vicksburg as but one battle or one day's exposure. I was in fact under fire on sixty different days.

After the surrender of the rebel armies in 1865 I was assigned to and took command of the District of the Upper Arkansas and conducted a campaign against the Commanche, Kiawa, Cheyenne, Arrapahoe and Apache Indians and established peace with all these tribes by the first day of November of that year, and was ordered to Washington to receive instructions in relation to a mission to the Indian Territory to adjust the relations between the slaveholding Indians and their former slaves. It was during this mission that I was married to my second wife, whose acquaintance I had formed at Springfield, Missouri. She visited her sister Mrs. Shepard there in 1864.

My official reports of battles and campaigns in all matters pertaining to what I saw and did are literally correct. It was an unalterable rule with me to report the truth exactly. This rule in one or two instances led to some severe criticisms upon officers and troops, and my superiors induced me to modify my reports, in the interests of the service, to prevent demoralization of officers and men. Hence as my reports stand, nothing is reported that is not true. All the truth as to the conduct of some officers and troops is not reported.

If I am living when all my reports are published in the official records of the war, it is my purpose to print them and bind them together for my children.

The following is a report made by me to the War Department as ordered at the close of the war:

Headquarters District of South West Missouri,

Springfield, Mo., March 28th, 1864.

MAJOR SAMUEL BRECK,

Assistant Adjutant General, War Department.

MAJOR:—In response to your circular of January 30, 1864, I have the honor to furnish the following account of my military history since March 4, 1861.

On the 22d day of April, A. D. 1861, I was appointed and commissioned by the Governor of Minnesota, Adjutant General and Acting Quartermaster General of the State, with the rank of Brigadier General, and I continued in this position and discharged its duties until January 1, 1862.

Having been commissioned by the Governor on the 5th day of November, 1861, Colonel of the fourth regiment of Minnesota Vols. Infantry, I mustered into the United States service as Colonel on the 21st day of December, 1861, and assumed command of the regiment and all other United States Vols. in Minnesota on the 1st day of January, 1862. The command of the regiment was retained by me until the 12th day of May, 1862, when having moved to Hamburg Landing, Tenn., and been assigned to the 1st Brigade, 3d Division, Army of the Mississippi, I was assigned by Brigadier General Schuyler Hamilton, then commanding the 3d Division of that army, to the command of the 1st Demi-Brigade of the 1st Brigade of said Division. I retained this command until the 25th day of June, A. D. 1862, (except while on detached service) when I assumed command of the 1st Brigade, 3d Division, Army of the Mississippi, and remained in command of this Brigade, with the exception of the time from September 20, 1862, to October 5, 1862, and except when temporarily absent, until August 4, 1863, at which time my resignation was accepted by General Grant; and not

having been advised of my promotion to my present grade until September 11, 1863, I was not in command during this interim.

Immediately upon being advised of my promotion, my resignation was withdrawn, and I was mustered out of my old grade and into that of Brigadier General of Volunteers Sept. 12, 1863, and received orders same day to report to Major General Grant, commanding Department of the Tennessee.

Proceeding at once to report to General Grant as ordered when reaching Memphis, I was advised by Major General Sherman that General Grant would soon be at that place, and directed to remain there, and await his arrival. Upon General Grant's arrival at Memphis, about the 11th day of October, I received an order from Major General Halleck, through him, directing me to report to Major General Schofield commanding the Department of the Missouri, and reported to Major General Schofield on the 15th day of October, A. D. 1863, and was assigned to the command of the District of South West Missouri.

I proceeded at once to Springfield, Mo., assumed command of the District on the 24th day of October, A. D. 1863, and have been in command since that date.

By permission of Major General Grant, commanding Department of the Tennessee, I left my command on the 1st day of January, 1863, to go to St. Paul and adjust some unsettled accounts with the State while the Legislature was in session, connected with my business as acting Quartermaster General of the State. I was absent on this business until Feb. 5, 1863, my command lying at and east of Memphis on the railroad during this time. This is the only instance of my being absent from my command except on detached service.

Immediately after the return of the army from the pursuit of Beauregard's army, after the evacuation of Corinth, I was detailed on a General Court Martial, of which Brig. Gen'l Plummer, U. S. Vols., was President,

and Major Morrison of the 5th Iowa Infantry was Judge Advocate. This Court met about the 10th day of June, A. D. 1862, at Camp Clear Creek, Mississippi, and adjourned about the 15th day of July, 1862. During this time Gen'l Plummer was relieved from duty on the Court, and Colonel Eckley, 80th Ohio Infantry, became President, and Major Morrison was relieved as Judge Advocate and Captain John E. Tourtellotte, 4th Minn. Vols., detailed in his stead. This court adjourned for several days during its organization, and the members made a campaign toward Holly Springs and returned during the time, in command of their troops.

Soon after the adjournment of this Court I was detailed on a General Court Martial which convened at Camp Clear Creek, Miss., about the 20th day of July, 1862, and adjourned about the 10th day of August, A. D. 1862. Of this Court Martial I was President, and Captain John E. Tourtellotte was Judge Advocate.

A General Court Martial was convened at Jacinta, Miss., on the 25th day of September, A. D. 1862, and adjourned the 30th day of September, A. D. 1862. Of this Court Martial I was President, and Captain John E. Tourtellotte, 4th Minn. Vols., was Judge Advocate.

On the 15th day of April, 1863, I assumed command of the 7th Division Army of the Tennessee, the same troops as the 3d Division Army of the Mississippi, and remained in command until the 3d day of May, A. D. 1863.

The foregoing constitutes all the detached service I have ever been on.

It is not contemplated, I apprehend, that I should give the names and rank of the numerous Aides de Camp, Ass't Adjutants General, and other officers attached to my staff, while as Colonel I commanded the Brigade and Division of the Army of the Tennessee.

Serving on my present staff are 1st Lieut. E. H. Kennedy 10th Minn. Infy., and 1st Lieut. S. Lee Davis

7th Minn. Infy., both detailed Oct. 19, 1863, and have both been constantly on duty since.

I have been engaged in the following battles and sieges:

1862—May; in the siege of Corinth.

1862—Sept. 19th; in the advance upon and battle of "Iuka." I fought this battle with my command, aided in the fighting only by the 11th Missouri Infantry. The moral effect of the presence of other troops of course aided in securing the result, and there were some losses in the reserve lines.

1862—October 3d and 4th; in the battle of Corinth, on these days commanding my regiment and hotly engaged both days. In the pursuit of Van Dorn's Army till October 14th, 1862; during pursuit commanding Brigade.

1862—November and December; in the campaign down the Mississippi Central Road to the Yocana Potoffy River.

1863—March; in the Yazoo Pass expedition and the attack upon Fort Pemberton.

1863—April; in the movement down the Mississippi to Hard Times Landing, in the command of the 7th Division.

1863—May 1st; moved the 7th Division, Army of the Tennessee, across the Mississippi River, and on to the battle of Fort Gibson; embarked six thousand men and twenty pieces of artillery, with the horses, etc., sailed ten miles down the river and disembarked in little more than two hours, and moved forward eight miles to the field of battle and formed in position on the left of the enemy, about four o'clock P. M., all the time within sound of the battle.

1863—May 3; in a heavy skirmish most of the day at Forty Hills, and drove the enemy across the Big Black. All my command this day consisting of my Brigade, was engaged.

1863—May 12; in the battle of Raymond my command formed under a heavy fire of the enemy's artillery on his right, almost simultaneously with the enemy turning

General Logan's right; the enemy's line soon broke, and he fled from the field.

1863—May 14; in the battle of Jackson, my command formed the right of the line of battle, formed on the Jackson and Clinton road, and made a charge in conjunction with the balance of the Division, which resulted in the rout of the enemy, and the capture of twenty pieces of artillery, many prisoners, and my leading regiment raised its colors over the dome of the Capitol of the State.

1863—May 16; in the battle of Champion Hills, whole command engaged during the entire battle, capturing prisoners, colors, etc.

1863—May 22d; in the assault upon Vicksburg; whole command engaged all day, reaching the ditch, and remained in the dead space under the enemy's works until dark.

1863—May 25th; in a heavy reconnoisance to Mechanicsburg and Satartia and down the Yazoo.

1863—June to July 4th; in the siege of Vicksburg; whole command constantly engaged in the work of the siege until the surrender of the place and the rebel army.

I have the honor to be

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed,) JOHN B. SANBORN,

Brig. Gen. U. S. Vols.

Adjutant General's Office,
Washington, April 4, 1872.

GENERAL JOHN B. SANBORN,
475 Pa. Ave., City:

GENERAL:—Referring to the report of your military services from March 4, 1861, to March 28, 1864, which you furnrnished in 1864, I respectfully request that you will now furnish a report of the remainder of your services.

With a view to uniformity in the reports, please state date of assuming and being relieved from each cammand, how subsequently employed, date and period of each leave of absence, if on court martial or military commission, when, where and for what period, name of president and judge advocate, also name, rank and period of service of each of your staff officers, with a brief summary of each battle in which you were engaged, and report on quarto paper, leaving one inch margin on left hand side for binding.

It is hoped that you may find it convenient to furnish this report at an early date, as it is desired to have a complete military history of each of the general officers of the volunteer army.

I am very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
J. P. MARTIN,
Asst. Adjutant General.

St. Paul, July 30, 1872.

ASSISTANT ADJUTANT GENERAL,

United States Army:

GENERAL:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of April 4th, 1872, requesting me to furnish a report of my military services from March 28th, A. D. 1864, to the time that I was mustered out of said service, which in connection with the report made by me heretofore up to that date will cover my military history during the war.

I believe I am correct in stating that I had no leave of absence during the war. I was detailed on a Court Martial that convened at St. Louis about the middle of November, as I recollect, 1864, and which tried Generals McNeel and Brown upon charges of misconduct in presence of the enemy during the Price raid in October. I think General Meredith was President of this Court and Major Black Judge Advocate. But I have not the orders. All is stated from recollection, and I may be in error. I sat upon the court only about one week when I was relieved, and soon after returned to my command in the South West.

It is impossible for me to give correctly the names or length of service of the members of my staff as the general orders announcing them are not at hand, and as I had a district headquarters' staff and a staff with my command in the field at the same time, I give my recollection and such information as I have.

Captain William T. Kettridge remained on my staff Ass't Adjt. Gen'l until I was relieved of the command of all troops, about Nov. 7th, 1865. Captain E. H. Kennedy, as Judge Advocate, until about August, A. D. 1865, when he took command of his company, 10th Minn. Infantry Volunteers. Lieutenant S. Lee Davis, Aid de Camp, 7th Minnesota Volunteers, until the muster out of his regiment about August, A. D. 1865.

Lieutenant Dubart E. Murphy, Aid de Camp, 8th M. S. M. Cav., and afterwards 14th Mo. Cav., until about the first of September, 1865, when he resigned. Captain George C. See, Commissary of Subsistence, remained on my staff until I was relieved of the command of the District of South West Missouri. Captain R. B. Owens, Assistant Quartermaster for the same time as Captain See. Lieut. Col. J. D. Brutsche, Provost Marshal, until I was relieved of the command of the District of South West Missouri. Captain McAfee, Judge Advocate, succeeding Captain Kennedy for the same time. Capt. Charles Ruby, 8th M. S. M. Cavalry, District Inspector, for the same time. Lieut. J. H. Creighton, Ordnance Officer, for the same time. Captain J. B. Dexter, Assistant Quartermaster in charge of Springfield depot, until about March, 1864; and was succeeded by Lieutenant A. T. Baubie, 6th M. S. M. Cavalry, who remained on that duty till June, 1865.

While I was in command of that district Major S. B. Davis and Major Hogeboon were Medical Directors on my staff.

In addition to the staff officers above named there were on my staff in October, 1864, in the field, Capt. Samuel Turner, 15th Missouri Cavalry Volunteers, A. A. Q. M., during operations in the field; Captain Graves Commissary of Subsistence for same time; Captain J. G. Quinn, 6th M. S. M. Cavalry, for same time, Aid de Camp.

In addition to the staff officers Kittridge, Davis and Murphy above named, there were on my staff while commanding the District of the Upper Arkansas, the following officers, all of which except such as were of the general staff were from the First and Second Colorado Cavalry, viz.:

Lt. Col. John Wanless, Acting District Inspector.
Major E. W. Wynkoop, Chief of Cavalry.
Surgeon W. H. Cundiff, Acting Medical Director.
Captain H. Garvens, Chief Quartermaster.
Captain David W. Scott, Asst. Quartermaster.

Captain A. J. Hopkins, Chief Com. of Subsistence.
Captain J. F. Seymour, District Provost Marshal.
Captain M. B. Halloway, Asst. Commissary of Musters.
Captain E. L. Berthoud, Topographical Engineer.
Captain M. T. Bishop, Assistant Inspector.
Lieutenant Thomas Doyle, Assistant Inspector.
Lieutenant John E. Tappan, Acting Ordnance Officer.
Lt. H. W. Garfield, 7th Iowa Cav., Acting Aid de Camp.
Lieutenant R. W. Jenkins, Acting Aid de Camp.

All officers on my staff during the war were well qualified for their positions, and discharged their duties with ability, zeal and integrity, and all have been respectable citizens since the war, so far as I have heard.

I remained in command of the District of South West Missouri until the 7th day of June, A. D. 1865.

During the period from March 28th, 1864, to the time I was relieved from the command of the District of South West Missouri, my principal services consisted in maintaining the discipline and improving the efficiency of my own command, protecting the country and people from the incursions and ravages of the bands and organizations of Rebel bushwackers that constantly infested it, resisting the advance of the Rebel Army of the South West into Missouri in September and October, A. D. 1864, pursuing, attacking and defeating that army at Jefferson City, Vincennes, California Station, Tipton, Booneville, Independence, Big Blue, Marias des Cygnes, Little Osage and Newtonia, and in the restoration of the functions of the civil law, and the protection of persons and property thereunder, in a few weeks after the surrender of the Rebel armies, in that section of country, where it had been wholly swept away by the war, and where martial law had reigned supreme for four years.

In this service there is perhaps little that will be of advantage or benefit to a future age or worthy of any place in history.

That which impressed me the most profoundly was the

barbarity and cruelty manifested and practiced by the Rebel forces thus operating in this section of country. The contending forces were largely relatives, neighbors and friends before the war. The barbarous practices of the Rebel forces in this section commenced with the commencement of the war, and continued to its close. The first Union citizen killed by them after the war commenced was horribly mutilated after death. His hands were cut off, his tongue cut out, his chin peeled off and his person otherwise cut and disfigured; and during all the time of my command in that section there was no instance of any Union soldier killed by these roving Rebel forces and falling into their hands, who was not cut to pieces in the most horrible manner, the mode and extent of mutilation far exceeding in inhumanity and cruelty that ever practiced by the barbarous tribes of this country upon their captives taken or enemies killed in war and battle.

My only object in referring to this in my report at this time is to show that the principle of inhumanity and cruelty exists in civilized and enlightened people as well as barbarous tribes, and that under certain conditions it will develop in its greatest ferocity.

These brutalities were never practiced by our troops upon the dead, and only produced an uncontrolable purpose on their part to destroy the perpetrators of such enormities. The Federal troops carried on a relentless war against these bands, and took but few prisoners compared with the number killed in action. The prisoners taken were tried before military commissions, and when found guilty of murder, arson, etc., were shot. The number of these Rebel maurauders killed by my command during the period of nineteen months of my operations in that section exceeded three thousand, while my own losses did not reach five hundred.

This vigorous warfare carried on against them, and compelling all who aided or befriended them to leave the

country, restored order and established security to person and property in that region.

In the autumn of 1864, in addition to commanding my district, I commanded a brigade of cavalry resisting the attack of the Rebel army under Price upon Jefferson City, Missouri, and attacked the same army with a division of cavalry at Vincennes and California Station the following day, and at Tipton and Booneville on the two following days. I commanded a brigade of cavalry in the attack upon the same army at Independence, Big Blue, Marias des Cygnes, Little Ossage, Mine Run and Newtonia.

To reach and attack the Rebel army at Marias des Cygnes, on the night of the —— day of October, I marched till one o'clock on the morning of that day, having marched in rear of the army under General Curtice all day, and passed the other brigade in bivouac at the trading post about ten o'clock that evening, with the assent of General Curtice and the approval of General Pleasanton, who ordered the remaining portion of his command, Benteen's and Phillips' Brigades, to follow me and act under my orders. I opened the attack at the earliest dawn on the Rebel camp, and driving the enemy out, ordered forward the brigades of Benteen and Phillips, which forced the enemy to form in line to protect his trains. These brigades charging that line broke it, capturing seven pieces of artillery and eight hundred prisoners.

To get into the battle of Newtonia I marched one hundred and four miles in thirty-six hours, and if I had been a half hour later than I was, our troops would have been defeated there.

So far as I participated in battles perhaps there is nothing worthy of special mention, unless it is that during the three years in which I commanded in the field and in twenty sieges, battles and affairs, in several of which my command suffered in killed and wounded terribly, still it was always able to execute every order it received, and was never driven from its position, and never pursued by

the enemy. No sound man was ever taken prisoner from it to my knowledge. I write this not to gratify any feelings of elation, but for history, as showing that our soldiers were gallant and efficient, and our commanders discreet and intelligent, as well as brave.

The surrender of the large Rebel armies on the Atlantic coast was immediately followed by the surrender of the Rebel forces in southern Missouri and northern Arkansas, and as South West Missouri was *de jure* in a loyal state, it opened a field for the reconstruction of society under the civil law immediately.

To that end General Orders No. 35 were issued by me on the eighth day of May, 1865, the substance of which was to relinquish martial law, and the refusal longer to control and govern the country thereby, and applying it only to two classes of offences, viz., efforts and attempts to intimidate judges, jurors, sheriffs, justices of the peace, etc., and any refusal of these officers to act at once upon the proper complaint or information of any citizen. At the same time I placed the whole Federal force in the district at the command of these officers of the peace.

This gave confidence to these officers immediately, and the energy with which they commenced to enforce the statute and civil law struck terror into offenders, and order and general security to person and property was very speedily restored, and that in a community and over a large scope of country where martial law had held sole and exclusive sway for four years, and where the people had come to feel that there was no security or safety in any other system of law or government, and that to cast it off for the old system was not desirable.

For this order I received the following acknowledgment from His Excellency, the Governor of Missouri, viz.:

State of Missouri, Executive Department,

City of Jefferson, June 1st, 1865.

GENERAL:—I have been for some days intending to write you, expressing my thanks to you for the appropriateness, timeliness and perspicuity of your General Order No. 35.

The disruption of society and the general demoralization in civil affairs caused by the Rebellion in every southern State, but most especially in Missouri, have rendered the restoration of the civil law a task, the severity and onerousness of which can only be appreciated by those who have to contribute towards its performance as you have done and are doing.

The order is most admirably conceived, clearly expressed and has throughout the right tone, and in it I recognize and gratefully acknowledge the most effective assistance I have yet received towards the re-establishment of order in Missouri.

But assured that when peace and the arts of industry shall once more have assumed their legitimate sway in the State which you have done so much to save, your name will be cherished with increasing reverence as our prosperity flows on in an uninterrupted tide.

I am General, with great respect,

Your obebient servant,

(Signed,) THO. C. FLETCHER.

Brevet Maj. Gen. John B. Sanborn.

Before the prisoners that had surrendered to me in May had all been paroled, and on the 7th day of June, 1865, I received by telegraph an order from General Pope, commanding the Department of the Missouri, to turn over my command to the officer next in rank, and report to him in person without delay.

I reported as ordered, and was ordered to proceed to the Plains, and take command of the District of the Upper

Arkansas, with headquarters at Fort Riley, and make a campaign against the Camanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne and Arrapahoe and Apache Indians.

This order was at once executed and I assumed command of the District of the Upper Arkansas, July 12th, 1865. My command here consisted of about five thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry. This command was wretchedly supplied, and it required two weeks to put it in condition for operations in the field.

About the first of August the cavalry was put in motion against the Indians, and within two weeks thereafter a half-breed messenger arrived from the Indian camp with a statement from the chiefs and headmen that they did not want war and never had, and desired me to come to their camp and make arrangements for a council to agree upon terms of permanent peace. I sent back word that I would be at their camp near the mouth of the Little Arkansas in three days, and proceeded thither mith my Adjutant General and some six orderlies.

The Indians received me kindly on the eighteenth day of August, 1865, and agreed to cease all acts of violence or injury to the frontier settlements and travelers on any of the lines of travel, and to meet commissioners appointed on behalf of the United States, on the fourth day of October, and agree upon terms of perpetual peace.

The quiet and security of the southern plains was at once restored, and was not interrupted for nearly two years.

Perhaps there is nothing that I could add that will be of service or interest in the future in regard to carrying on military operations against the Indians. While I found them entirely reliable and honorable in all negotiations looking to a settlement of difficulties, doing as they agreed and all they agreed, and protecting all messengers and persons sent to them upon that business, I found that in carrying on war and hostilities that they relied solely upon stratagems and surprises, and destroyed all small bodies

of troops that they could reach, and made efforts to capture all stock and property unguarded, and avoided all conflict with and even being seen by, any respectable number of our soldiers at the same time.

This rendered it absolutely necessary if you would fight them at all to attack their villages. Their costume and dress is such that our soldiers cannot as a rule, especially in the excitement of battle, distinguish between the sexes, and hence in an attack upon a village all sexes and generally all ages suffer indiscriminately. My impression is that they are a people easily managed and easily satisfied, and that for a government like ours to go to war with them is little less than disgraceful.

I was designated as one of the commissioners to meet the Indians in council on the 4th day of October, A. D. 1865, at the mouth of the Little Arkansas. (The District of the Upper Arkansas having been merged into the District of Kansas in September, and having been relieved of all command myself except the troops designated for muster out of the service, and as an escort for the commissioners to the mouth of the Little Arkansas.) General Harney, Kit Carson, William Bent and Judge ——— from the Interior Department, were the other commissioners. My duties on this commisson terminated about the first of November, 1865, and I proceeded at once to Fort Riley and found awaiting my arrival Special Orders No. 559, Paragraph 16, War Department Series of 1865, and on the eighth of November I received a telegraphic order directing me to report in person to the Secretary of the Interior as soon as practibable.

This order was at once complied with, and on the 20th day of November, A. D. 1865, the instructions of the Secretary of the Interior were received. The duties imposed were the establishment of the freedom of the slaves of the Choctaw, Ckickasaw, Cherokee, Creek and Seminole tribes of Indians, and the adoption of some plan

under which these freedmen could be protected and enjoy their freedom in the Indian Territory.

My first step was to publish in form of a circular the instructions received from the Interior Department, which set forth fully the object of my mission and the end sought by the government. This circular was distributed to all the government officials and the leading men of the respective tribes of Indians. I followed this up with consultations and councils with the representative men of the respective tribes. No difficutly whatever was experienced in securing absolute freedom and every right from the Creek and Seminole natives to their former slaves. These tribes at once recognized them as a band, and allowed them a chief with a seat and vote in their councils, and at once entered into contracts with them for their labor. Order and good feeling prevailed in these tribes.

With the Choctaws, Chickasaws and Cherokees the case was different. Each of these tribes protested against their former slaves remaining with them or in their country. But when satisfied that it was the determined purpose of the government to protect these freedmen, either in certain sections of the reservations of the respective tribes that might be specially set apart for them or wherever they should live on these reservations, their prejudices though strong, yielded to discretion, and in two months after my arrival in the Territory all seemed to have concluded to sustain the government fully in whatever course it should adopt as to the freedmen of these tribes. Their old slave codes which were among the greatest obstacles that I had to overcome, as they felt that what was lawful might and ought to be done with impunity, were soon repealed, contracts in writing were made by nearly all who employed negro labor, or with whom these freedmen lived, and the heart burnings, bitterness and strife that existed between the two races on my arrival, making the person and property of both insecure, disappeared under the policy of the government

in the short space of four months, and the freedom of the black race and the harmony and happiness of both races in that Territory was secured.

General Orders No. 168, series of 1865, War Department, included my name among the general officers there named to be mustered out February 1st, 1866.

On the eleventh of January, A. D. 1866, I was advised by telegraph that that order would not take effect in my case till I was relieved from the duty to which I had been assigned by Special Orders No. 559, dated October 20th, 1865, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior Department.

On or about the first day of April, A. D. 1866, I informed the Hon. Secretary of the Interior that I had fully performed the duties and accomplished the mission for which I had been sent to the Indian Territory, that satisfactory relations existed between the freedmen and their former masters in that country, and that all further services required by the government could be as well performed by the Indian agents and superintedents as by any officers, and on the 13th day of April, 1866, I was informed by telegraph in response to my communication, that I was relieved from further duty in the Indian Territory, and that my muster out of service would take effect April 30th, inst. I proceeded to Washington and at once settled and closed my accounts with all the bureaus and departments, with the service of which I had been connected.

In closing this imperfect sketch I desire to state that during the whole period of my service the general officers under which I served, Pope, Rosecrans, Hamilton, Grant, McPherson, Crocker, Smith, Schofield, Pleasanton and Dodge, in all places and under all circumstances, whether in battle, in camp or on the march, always responded to every request of mine with the greatest promptness, and gave me every aid in their power, so that a failure of mine in any respect could have been no fault of theirs. And it

is with me a deep conviction that the patriot can express no better wish for his country than that whenever in the long future she shall be assailed either by foreign foes or domestic traitors, she may have at command armies as patriotic and gallant, and officers as faithful and skillful as those which crushed the Rebellion of 1861.

I have the honor to be

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN B. SANBORN,

Late Brevet Major General of Volunteers.

ADDRESS

Delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association at Winona, January, 1869, on

INDIANS AND OUR INDIAN RELATIONS,

BY JOHN B. SANBORN,

LATE INDIAN PEACE COMMISSIONER.

When from the advanced position of our civilization we look back and down upon the degraded and barbarous nations of the earth, we are struck with their peculiar habits, customs, and condition, and are constrained to ask, "Who hath made us to differ?"

In the ever attractive realms of the mysterious and unknown,—in pre-historic times, the mind loves to wander in search of causes that have in the course of ages wrought such wonderful differences in the form, features, thoughts, language and manners of the various races.

Little indeed is there, even of circumstantial evi-

dence, from which we can deduce the true, or even the relative condition of the different races before the light of letters or a written language dawned. But from the condition then existing, much may be inferred of what had been in previous ages. Dissensions, discord and war reigned, almost supreme. Art and science were unknown. Successive generations of men appeared on earth and passed away, mingling with and raised very little above the brute creation around them. The bow and arrow, the spear and shield, were the weapons and implements of war, while the chase and pastoral occupations gave sustenance and support to the benighted masses. The forces of nature all remained unsubdued, and man seemed almost unable to exercise or even hold the dominion with which his Creator had invested him.

But at length from the creative powers of the mind, a written language came; and the Almighty Father, as if to aid men in the subjugation of the earth as well as to mark out the way to happiness beyond the grave, pronounced a code of laws, whereby man was elevated in the scale of being and in due time should attain such powers as would enable him to exercise in all things the dominion God had given him. Under these laws, aided and guided by the doctrines, precepts and example of the carpenter's son, a portion of the race has moved forward gradually to the advanced positions

now occupied by the communities and states of christendom.

But another and by far the larger portion, has not yet heard of these laws, doctrines and precepts, or having heard, fail in all things to comply with them, and grope on in mental and moral darkness, remaining to this day even as their fathers were before that great light shone down from the mountain side upon those fleeing from the house of bondage.

Since that time nature itself has changed: bright constellations that then nightly appeared above the southern horizon to the inhabitants around the Mediteranian sea, have sunk into eternal night; islands have reared their lofty forms from the depths of the ocean; rivers have changed their courses, and mountains sunk away; but man through all this time and for more than a hundred generations, has retained the same habits and customs and heathenish rites and superstitions, and to-day Christian civilization advances slowly into those realms of ignorance and barbarism which still cover more than two-thirds of the habitable globe.

With this view before us, and with no design to unduly disparage the elevating and salutary influences flowing to us, and through us to all coming generations, of the Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman civilizations, and with the fullest apprecia-

tion of that ancient Grecian literature which has been to all lovers of learning wealth in poverty, health in sickness, liberty in bondage, society in solitude, and which did more to prepare the way for the spread of the gospel than any other cause, we still boldly assert that the only true and permanent advancement in civilization made by any portion of our race has been made upon the principles of the Christian religion, and by the unerring light of revelation.

That the mind is so constituted as to be self illuminating is true when applying its vision and powers to mortal existence and things pertaining only to earth, but when applied to things immortal and heavenly, it darkens and obscures all unless it reflects the light that burst forth from the burning bush, and mildly gleams from the star of Bethlehem.

Upon the minds of the aboriginal races of this country, this light has never or but dimly shown. The superstitions and prejudices of ages surround them, and their mental and moral world is without form and void. Darkness is upon the face of that deep, and the spirit of God has not yet moved upon the face of those waters, and no light save reason's dim rays has dawned thereon, and in the Indian of to-day we see the prototype of our race before the foundations of Troy were laid, before the Pyramids were thought of, or the valley of the Nile inhabited.

Bearing constantly in mind the difference between natural religion and Christianity, it is true that most of the Indian nations of our country are deeply religious and believe in the frequent miraculous interpositions of a Great Spirit in their behalf, though this is not universal. Their religious rites are of the most cruel and barbarous character. I have never been able to satisfy my mind fully as to their religious theories, but all seems to indicate a belief on their part that man stands condemned, that there is wrath on the part of the Great Spirit towards man, and that wrath and justice may be appeased and satisfied by sacrifice and great bodily suffering. Hence they scarify their flesh until all covered with gore. At other times they will pass sharp pieces of the pitch pine wood through their flesh, and setting it on fire let it burn until the blood from the wound extinguishes the flame.

The sun dance is the most cruel of all their rites. In this they tie a lariat or large cord through portions of their flesh, and making the other end of the cord fast to a tree or pole, throw their whole weight upon it, dancing and singing in a doleful strain until the flesh is torn through. During the whole time the face is upturned to the sun or sky, for at times the dance continues for twenty-four consecutive hours. If the victim faints or fails from exhaustion before the flesh is torn through, the lariat is cut away by other hands.

So great is this tax upon the physical powers that the Indians participating bear the marks of anguish and exhaustion for weeks.

"You are sick with consumption," I said to a young Indian who appeared before me at Fort Rice last July. Shaking his head, he pointed to his bosom all lacerated, and then to the sun; and this told the story—he had danced at the sun dance.

This worship of the sun is common to all Indian nations. All the shields of a village are hung out to catch the first rays of the morning sun, and receive the last light of evening. "The sun," say they, "gives us the grass, and the grass makes buffalo. All life is from the sun." The creature is worshiped instead of the Creator.

An eclipse of the sun produces great alarm and trepidation. They ride about furiously, throwing their arrows in the air, and calling upon all who have fire-arms to shoot the great frog that is swallowing up the sun.

In the autumn of 1865, the day of the eclipse of the sun had been designated for a council with the Witchitas, Caddoes, Queechis, Ionis and Tawacarros. Ten o'clock was the hour. The eclipse made it quite dark, and no Indians came. Messengers were sent to the camp and found them performing all manner of ceremonies to appease the wrath of the Great Spirit.

The sun soon became bright, and the chiefs appeared in council well pleased with the success of their incantations. I took out a pocket almanac and read what was there said about the eclipse. All rose and triumphantly exclaimed: "The book tells about it; nothing bad will happen."

Their superstitions take a thousand forms. The skins of certain animals must not be dressed, or the animal will come and eat their children. A war club surrendered must always be carried or hung up horizontally, having first been bound up in scarlet cloth. The pipe is sacred and must be pointed to the heavens and earth before smoking. And so on in endless variety of forms does superstition manifest itself, proving conclusively that man naturally is a religious being, but that unaided by the light of revelation, he can find no way satisfactory to his own mind to make himself just before God.

Religious sentiment and belief is the most deeply rooted of any in the human mind, and when it has taken certain forms under certain conditions and circumstances, it will remain unchanged, while the conditions remain the same. The religious sentiment of the Indians has been fixed for many ages. It descends from sire to son in regular succession. In it they are as sincere and full of faith as intelligent Christians are in their creeds. Sincerity, although a virtue, is no evidence of the correctness of any view or doctrine.

The heathen mother who in violation of the impulses of nature, sacrifices her first born to appease an offended deity, can hardly be less sincere than a Christian mother who simply teaches her child the truths of the Christian religion. All should add to their virtue—knowledge.

This rigid and blind adherence to the religious rites of their fathers has ever been and now is one of the most formidable to the early and complete civilization of the Indians. The eradication of these sentiments must be a slow and laborious work. He who engages in it must contend against "the world, the flesh and the devil." A careful preparation of the ground must be made before the seed sown can take root and grow. First of all they must be localized, brought together, and made to live in one section or region of country. Mental light must be made to dawn and shine upon them, and after this the good seed may be sown, and will take root and bear fruit an hundred fold.

The Indians' idea of heaven is, that it is a place where the souls of the brave and true make their abode after death, exempt from the greater evils of the present state. Fertile valleys and plains, boundless and ever green, covered with buffalo, horses, elk and all varieties of game, limpid streams that never cease to flow, and forests that ever afford grateful shade, are their possessions and homes forever.

The Dakotas do not seem to believe that the tem-

perature will be always quite congenial, for when the son of an old Dakota died last summer, and he had been furnished with a blanket, leggings and other things deemed necessary for the burial, he came to me with the request that I would furnish him with an umbrella. "What do you want with an umbrella," I asked. "It may be hot," he replied, "where my boy has gone this warm season, and he may need it for a shade." Upon the refusal to furnish it, the old man went with mournful face to the suttler's store, and paid out his last money for an umbrella for his dead son, and placed it over his repository; for the Dakota nation do not bury their dead, but reposit them on branches of trees or scaffolds, fastening at the head and feet the heads and tails of the horses killed in the ceremony, in the belief that the ponies will be needed in the hunting grounds whither they have gone. They seem to believe the highest good and greatest pleasure realized here is but a shadow and foretaste of the bliss of the future state, and all the happiness that the mind can conceive here will there be enjoyed by the brave and true, while for the cowards or unfaithful, or such as are scalped or hung, no immortality remains. They will be blotted from existence.

Strange as these ideas seem to us, it is quite certain that ours in regard to a future state appear equally so to them. While the Indians were assembled at

Medicine Lodge Creek a little more than a year ago to meet the commissioners in council, a Methodist divine engaged Little Raven, an Arrapahoe chief, in conversation in regard to the future state of man, eliciting from the chief very fully his ideas concerning it. The divine then stated ours, giving him the revealed plan of salvation and of the atonement made by the son of the Great Father for sin, all of which seemed edifying to the chief and to meet with his approval. He then told him that those who rejected the proffered terms of salvation would be cast into a lake of liquid fire, where they would forever suffer for the sins done in the body. Here the chief burst into a hearty laugh and exclaimed: "That is good! that is the best thing I ever heard. I did not know that any place had been prepared for the whites that I have seen in my country. That is where they will all go."

Early education and impression give form and character to the mind, and direction to the thoughts of men. The savage adheres to the teachings of his youth with all the faith and tenacity that we do to ours; but with no revelation, with no light save that of reason he has learned, he has heard a voice coming from the dark recesses of his own bosom, saying that the soul is immortal, and the hope of a happy immortality cheers his gloomy troublesome pathway through life.

In domestic life the Indian is a despot, and his wives and children slaves. Marrying first in early life they continue to marry until they have as many wives as they can manage and support. Polygamy has existed among all the Indian nations, and now exists among the uncivilized. With the Osages it was formerly the custom for the man who married one daughter to take all her sisters into his family as wives, but this is no longer the custom.

The number of wives of the principal men of a tribe is from three to twelve. Harmony and friendly feeling usually prevails among them, and all seem devoted to the interests of their lord. At times when he is intoxicated and unusually oppressive, they all make common cause, and seizing their husband tie his hands and lay him away in a corner until sober.

All are industrious and active in various employments. They pitch the lodges when halting for a night, and strike them when ready to move. They pack and unpack the ponies, and take all the care of the herd. They dress all wild animals killed, prepare and preserve the meat, and secure and dress the pelts, provide all fuel and food, make the clothing, and in fact do everything except hunt. At all times industrious and watchful for the interests of her lodge and people, by voice and action swelling the enthusiasm for war, and redoubling her efforts to make pro-

vision for and furnish its sinews, now joining in the doleful strains that ring out from the dancing circle that surround the funeral pile of the tortured captive, and now joining in the joyful songs of returning peace, instilling into the minds of her children the hereditary hatred of the nation of its traditional enemies, bearing off the dead and wounded from the field of battle, and administering her best comforts to the dying, at times sacrificing her own life to save that of her children or husband, or to avoid the dishonor of capture, hopeful in adversity and mirthful in her extreme degredation, the Indian matron exhibits those traits and characteristics found only in the mothers of a people—the greatest, kindest gift of God to man.

The Indian warriors (and all males between the ages of fourteen and sixty are warriors) pass their time in the excitement of the chase and in war parties and battles. A hunting party rarely exceeds a hundred persons. The villages are generally near the Buffalo, so that the party proceeds but a short distance before it can make what the hunters term a "surround," that is, take a position on all sides of a large herd and commence killing the bulls, if in August or September, for lodge skins, and if in winter the cows for robes. Each hunter singles out the animal he desires to kill, and rides along nearly abreast of him, throwing his arrows through him till he is brought to bay, when he is

finished, and the squaw begins her part of the work. The revolver is preferred to the bow and arrow by the Indians for this hunt. Formerly large numbers were killed by driving them over the precipices along the streams at the base of the mountain. Within three years the Mountain Crows have killed as many as a thousand cows at one surround.

As one looks out from his tent in the morning on the vast plain bounded only by the sky, covered all over with these animals moving by different lines in the same general direction, the view is surpassingly grand and exciting. No one who has ever seen these larger herds would dare to estimate their numbers, and one who has not seen them cannot form any conception of their magnitude. Till within three years they have moved in herds forty and fifty miles in diameter, and as compactly as the ordinary droves of cattle that pass along our highways.

Their advance is grander than that of armies. First at intervals of thirty or forty paces, like a line of skirmishers, and several hundred feet in advance of the main herd, come a line of strong bulls bellowing and tearing up the ground with their feet and horns. Then come other bulls circling about and fighting each other, and then follows the enormous mass—the cows and calves in the center—till far away in the horizon under the setting or the rising sun, the black covering

of the earth extends and moves, impressing you with the idea that the surface of the earth itself is moving off.

Thus the herds appeared to me in July 1865, on the Arkansas. The bellowing of ten thousand of them at the same moment, the clashing of their horns in combat, their crowding in upon our camp, and the constant fire of the sentinels to keep them back, made the nights hideous with their presence, and drove slumber from all eyes.

It is perhaps safe to say that these herds no longer exist, and so rapidly are the buffalo disappearing that soon they will be among the things that were. Kit Carson said last winter that in five years more the last buffalo in the United States would disappear.

There is no satisfactory explanation for the rapid diminution of these animals. They are killed no more rapidly by the Indians and whites than they have been for a century. The Indians say that they leave any country over which a wheel passes, and the probabilities are that as our civilization advances they move farther north, and perish in the storms.

With the disappearance of the buffalo disappears the whole means of subsistence to the Indians of the plains. They have depended upon this animal from a time far back in the twilight of their traditions. The skin of the animal has provided their shelter and

clothing; his flesh has been their food; his sinews have furnished thread for their bow strings and other purposes; his bones have furnished their saddles, tent pins, knives and scrapers. As they have been made migratory and nomadic by relying upon and following these herds, it is to be hoped that they will be localized and made to adopt pastoral pursuits by their disappearance.

The tribes of the plains have tratitions that they once lived by planting, far north of where they now are, knowing nothing of the buffalo.

The Cheyennes say that their home was once on the Red River of the North, and that then there were no buffalo there, but they existed upon smaller game. That failing, the nation was about to perish, when their head chief went to a cave to consult the Great Spirit in regard to their distressed condition. He was there met by a maiden in white robes who gave to him some seed, saying to him that if he would plant it in the ground food would spring from it, and his nation could live. After this they lived many years by planting corn there. But at length they were attacked by the Dakotas, who came upon them from the north, defeated them in battle, and drove them from thence to the Missouri, where they saw the first buffalo and first horse, who with his rider, a Kiowa Indian, they thought a supernatural being,—part man and part

beast. From thence they were driven across the Missouri, up the Big Sheyenne and the White Earth, and across the North Platte, where they formed an alliance with the Arrapahoes, Comanches and Kiowas, and with an immense force fought the entire Dakota nation for three days on the Laramie River, defeated them and drove them across the North Platte, and established that river as the boundary line between the two nations.

The Dakotas have a tradition of having come from the north fighting the Cheyennes as they moved south, and the Chippewas who were constantly crowding upon their northern line. All their traditions are that they abandoned planting as soon as they came upon the buffalo. The name of one of the bands of Dakotas is Minne Conjou, signifying those that plant by the water, and yet this band has not planted any within the memory of living man.

Whatever may have been their habits at a remote period, they are certainly now so confirmed as nomads and hunters, that many of them must perish in passing through the change to a local residence and agricultural occupation. As they see the wild animals which have so many ages covered the boundless prairie and been their sole support and chief joy passing away, their minds are filled with sorrow and despair. A house in the shady grove filled with all the comforts of

home, surrounded by fertile fields and pastures, covered with flocks and herds so attractive to and so much sought for by civilized men, has no charm, and to them is but the valley of the shadow of death. Drooping and desponding in listless inactivity, they sink away to the rest of the grave.

The government existing among the Indians though in some instances technically and nominally a despotism, where the chief-ship is hereditary, is practically a pure democracy. The organization into nations and bands is for the purpose of providing for the common defense and promoting the general welfare, which means no more than their greater ability to protect themselves against the inroads of surrounding nations, and to wage and conduct wars of aggression with greater and more certain success.

All the Indians of this country are organized into nations, bands and sub-bands. A nation, as the term is used by us, includes all who speak the same language; a band, such portion of a nation as acknowledge the authority and are recognized as being subject to the control of some particular chief; and a sub-band is some portion of a band subject to the control of a chief or chiefs who are themselves under the supervision of the head chief of the band.

The larger nations as the Dakota and Comanche have no head chiefs, and the only method they have

to act upon national affairs is for some head chief of a band to send out runners with tobacco to the other chiefs, calling them into council on a full or new moon, for they compute time only by moons, and submitting to them such questions for their consideration and action as he desires.

The larger nations necessarily occupy vast regions of country, as from their manner of life every Indian requires as much territory for his support as one thousand white men.

Within the memory of men now living the Dakota nation occupied all the country between the St. Croix and Mississippi rivers and summit of the Rocky mountains, extending from Mille Lac on the north, to the mouth of the Missouri on the south. It numbered then as now, eleven principal bands, namely, Santees, Yanktons, Yanktonias, Two Kettles, Brules, Sansarch, Blackfeet, Minne Conjous, Unkpapas, Oglallas and Assinneboines, with not less than thirty sub-bands, numbering in all at this time about thirty-five thousand souls. They say the nation has not met in council for many years, and their language would indicate that they have commingled but little for a long time, for they now speak not less than three distinct dialects, although they converse together with as much facility as the Scotch, Irish, and Americans.

The Assinneboines say they had trouble with the

nation far back in the past when they were encamped on what is now known as the Lake of The Woods, and have never participated in the affairs of the nation since. They seceded successfully. From this you will observe why it is that our government in dealing with the Indians is compelled to deal with each separate band as though it were a distinct nation.

More than one hundred of these bands now exist in this country, the chiefs of which, whether elected or inheriting their position, are in times of war the mere representatives of the popular sentiment,—the slaves of public opinion. They cannot make war unless the sentiment of their young men favors it, or peace when public sentiment favors war. If they sign a treaty contrary to the will of their people, they are either banished from the band or put to death.

A young warrior of the Minne Conjous in the presence of all the chiefs, said to the peace commissioners last spring: "When we went to war against the whites we put the chiefs behind our backs; but now that we have made peace, we shall take them to our arms again." Still in times of peace and in matters pertaining to peace, the chief apparently has full authority. In his own estimation he is a prince among princes. He speaks in all councils, advises in all questions pertaining to peace or war, and if sustaining

or participating in war, sends out the war parties with directions for their operations.

Some of the chiefs are also medicine or sacred men, and have unusual authority and power, as they operate upon the superstitions of their people, fortelling events that come to pass, teaching them in regard to their future state as well as ruling in temporal affairs, thus performing all the functions of prophet, priest and king.

The powers of sovereignty other than those of making war and peace are rarely exercised by these nations. No circulating medium has ever been established by them. The horse is the unit of greatest value, and the dog the unit of the least value. How many dogs it takes to make one horse I have never learned. The root of all evil with us is the root of no evil with them—they have no use for money, hence no love for it. You will perceive from this the sagacious policy of our government in providing them with money annuities. They have no other laws or customs regulating trade than that all may exchange property at will, and if either party to the trade changes his mind and desires to re-exchange while the property remains in the same condition, the other party has no discretion, but must permit it.

The land occupied by a band or nation is the com-

mon property of all, and each Indian is as much attached to it, and as strongly impressed with the idea of the absolute right of possession and ownership in it, as if he were the sole possessor and occupant—as strongly impressed with the idea that the land is his, and that he cannot be rightly disturbed in his possession of it, without his consent, as our farmers are that their title and right of possession in their homestead is secured against all the world. Each individual is recognized as the owner of and entitled to protection in the possession of whatever he acquires from war or the chase, but for protection in rights of person or property, he must rely solely upon the public sentiment of his band or tribe. There are no established proceedings of law whereby redress for wrongs can be obtained, and when wrongs remain unredressed the sufferer has no recourse but to physical force, and failing in this, can secede from his people, and if possessing sufficient influence, organize a new band. From this source undoubtedly have sprung many of the small bands now found in all the nations.

As we glance at this feature of Indian life and their condition resulting therefrom, and contrast it with the law, order, good government and universal protection existing among us, and remember that the difference is largely due to the principles embodied in Magna Charta, the right of trial by jury, the strongest feelings

of gratitude must fill our bosoms towards those who forced such principles into the fundamental law of our mother country, and thereby secured them for our own.

The different nations, speaking as they do different languages and occupying different and well-defined sections of country bordering on each other,—the weak jealous of their rights and watchful against invasion, and the strong oppressive and disposed to invade the territory of the weaker, as is too often the case in more civilized communities,—are almost incessantly engaged in war with each other.

War is sometimes commenced by them after a full council of all the chiefs, and a decision by them to that effect. Sometimes by a party of young men committing acts of war, afterwards sanctioned by the chiefs, because they are not strong enough to punish them for it, and sometimes in direct violation of the authority of the chiefs, who are deposed while the war progresses. It is prosecuted by ambuscades, surprises and the capture or destruction of the defenceless. They have no base of supplies, no strategic points, and in the mild season no villages. In their estimation the party or nation is the victor who takes the largest number of scalps.

All the warlike Indians use the bow and arrow and spear almost exclusively for war purposes. As their theory is to avoid all parties prepared to meet and

resist them, and attack and destroy the unarmed and defenceless, speedy movement from place to place is with them the greatest desideratum, hence they carry with them as little weight as possible.

The entire weight carried by a mounted Indian warrior is not more than four pounds, while that of one of our cavalry soldiers exceeds forty pounds. This difference in weight produces a very perceptible difference in horses moving from sixty to one hundred miles per day.

When a party of Indians is met on the plains carrying revolvers, rifles, blankets and provisions, it is safe to assume they are friendly hunters, but if carrying simply bow and arrow, spear and shield, and divested of all clothing, look well to your scalps.

In the Phil. Kearny massacre eighty-two of our officers, soldiers and citizens, were killed in one hour, and but two of those were killed by bullets. These were two officers, both of whom were shot through the left temple, and powder burnt into the flesh about the wound, so it is supposed they killed themselves rather than to be captured. If this supposition is correct, then all those killed by the Indians were killed by the arrow or spear.

They throw their arrows with great force and rapidity, drawing them from the quiver three at a time; they throw one after the other so fast that

the third will have left the bow before the first one reaches its destination eighty or one hundred yards distant, which is as far as it can be thrown with deadly effect. They will throw them through a buffalo or horse at twenty yards.

Considering that they do not fight in the open field but from ambuscade, the bow and arrow is the most formidable weapon they can use. They would hardly be willing to go to war without them. Providing them with firearms, amunition and artillery, if used would rather diminish than increase their power to do harm in war. Certainly if they could be induced to accept them in exchange for their bows and arrows, they would be much less formidable enemies than now.

When Little Bear, a Sioux chief, said to Gen. Harney in 1855, "I do not wish to fight you, for you have firearms and big guns, while I have only bows and arrows,"—the general replied: "I will give you firearms and artillery if you will stand up and fight with them." The offer, however, was quickly rejected.

When a tribe is at war, no region of country frequented by their enemy is safe from their incursions. A village on the Upper Missouri or Yellowstone may send their war parties to the Arkansas or the frontiers of Texas, and a village on the Red River of the South may have their war parties on the Union Pacific Rail-

road, so there can be no perfect security anywhere on the frontier while one band or nation is at war with the whites.

To all civilized nations war is demoralizing, degrading and destructive. During its existence arts and science languish, literature pines, progress fails, and virtue and religion die. Not so with the Indian. With them effort and activity increase, hope and joy abound, and through the smoke that ascends from the fire of the frontier cabin, and the funeral pile of the tortured victim, he sees the only portal through which he can pass to glory.

Nor is war between the nations of Indians so destructive of life as is generally supposed, for only the men captured in war are killed, while the women and children are incorporated into the tribe capturing them. Hence, although a nation may be blotted out in war with another tribe, the number of Indians in the aggregate are diminished but little. It is a matter of great doubt in my mind, if the number of Indians in our country has diminished since its occupation by the whites, to any such extent as is popularly believed. Tribes have disappeared, but the individuals, under other names and nations, have survived. Changes and transformation of nations have taken place without the destruction of individuals. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the three hundred thousand Indians in

the United States to-day, not including those of Alaska, approximate closely in numbers to their ancestors of preceding generations.

In our own country, rivers break forth from the earth and flow on for many leagues, now through evergreen valleys, and again over rocks and precipices, until they mingle their waters with the great lakes of the West. Departing therefrom through a river of another name, they flow on mingling with other lakes and rivers, until all pass into the great ocean. So nations from their origin move quietly along in their course of life, until passing through some convulsion, they disappear but to mingle with other peoples and nations, still continuing to swell the great stream of human existence.

War carried on by any civilized people against the wandering tribes of Indians at any other season than winter, is little different from a hunt for wild beasts, for scattered over an area of country as extensive as that between the Mississippi river and the Atlantic coast, and adding the reason of the man to the instinct of the animal, he becomes more difficult to capture or kill than any animal of the plains. Hence the operations of ten thousand mounted men for a year, incurring an expense of twenty millions of dollars, results usually in killing only about fifty Indians, where several hundred of our own defenceless people on the frontier

are killed or captured during the progress of the campaign.

General Sheridan is now making the first vigorous winter campaign that has ever been attempted on the plains. His troops have struck a village of Cheyennes after tedious marching and great suffering, and inflicted upon them a severe loss. But during the present difficulty with that nation, our loss has been about equal to theirs, for they had killed about eighty of our people on the frontier of Kansas prior to October first, and since that time have killed a large number of officers and soldiers.

In looking at these people then, we see here a people still groping in mental and moral darkness, with the simplicity of manners and the habits and customs of the primeval ages. Generous and kind to friends, implacable and revengful to foes, always ready to receive favors and to grant them in return, mere children of nature, uneducated and unsophisticated, inferior in all things to our race, and yet a people that we have been unable to control, and against whom we have carried on war at intervals for more than three hundred years. Is here an instance where the weaker seeks and courts war with the stronger? Are we to believe that ignorance and degredation are struggling for the mastery over knowledge and virtue? Far

from it. The injustice, oppression and perfidy of the European races have driven these natives of the forest to the performance of their dark and damning deeds against our race and people.

The early voyagers and explorers of this country treated them most cruelly and treacherously. Slavers visited every bay and river of our coast, seized the Indians wherever they could be found, and transporting them to different countries, sold them into perpetual bondage. Even the fame and glory of the great Columbus is dimmed and tarnished by these acts of injustice and crimes. He seized and enslaved five hundred of these Indians, and sent them to Spain to be publicly sold at Seville in 1494.

From the quiet and contented villages, sleeping amid fields of maize, all along our Atlantic coast, cargo after cargo of these unsuspecting children of nature were treacherously decoyed into slave-ships and sold into remediless bondage. Every effort was made and every inducement offered to the chiefs and Indians to turn traitors to their race, and assist in their capture and delivery to the slavers, but be it said to their everlasting honor, that no temptation was ever found strong enough to induce them to betray any one of their people into slavery.

Cruelly as the Indians were treated by the slavers and seamen of those early days, the explorers of the

country treated them no less so. In 1540, De Soto, with his five hundred Spaniards, attacked a village of Chickesaws on the banks of the Alabama, because they refused to give up their lodges to him, and massacred two thousand and five hundred of them in a single night, and burned the village.

The explorers found them independent, hardy, and lovers of freedom, but they enslaved, slaughtered and oppressed them at will, until all faith and confidence in the European races was destroyed, and for more than three centuries we have been reaping the harvest grown from the seeds sown by these early adventurers.

When in the seventeenth century the colonists of Virginia and the Carolinas saw by the lurid light of their burning habitations their wives, sons, and daughters, slaughtered or carried into a captivity worse than death, they beheld the retribution that always comes upon the strong, that oppress the weak. When such calamities befall communities, a general feeling pervades all minds, that the Great Ruler of Nations has been offended; that crimes have been committed, and that the calamity is a merited punishment. Such feelings came over the minds of the colonists.

On the first of August the London company, writing to the Governor and Captain General of Virginia, said that the circumstances "make us to confess that it is the heavy hand of Almighty God for the punishment

of our and your transgressions. To the humble acknowledgment and perfect amendment whereof, together with ourselves, we seriously advise and invite you, and in particular earnestly require the speedy redress of those two enormous excesses of *apparel* and *drinking,* the cry whereof cannot but have gone up to heaven, since the infamy has spread itself to all that have but heard the name of Virginia, to the detestation of all good minds, the scorn of others, and our exceeding grief and shame. In the strength of these faults undoubtedly and the neglect of the divine worship, have the Indians prevailed more than in your weakness. Where the evil therefore springs, the remedy must first begin, and an humble reconciliation be made with the divine majesty by future conformity unto His most just and holy laws, which doing we doubt not but that you will be safe from all your enemies, and them that hate you."

Deeply impressed were the minds of these people that just and holy laws had been violated, but failing to trace effect back to cause, extravagance in dress and unnecessary use of intoxicating drink bore more heavily upon their consciences than the capture, enslavement and massacre of the hitherto innocent Indians.

The colonist having been educated in a country where caste and class have been recognized and have

ruled society since the days of Cæser, and impressed with the idea that the learned and honored have rights that the ignorant must never know, were slow to perceive that all their trouble with the aborigines sprung from a violation of those natural laws that are the same to all men of every nation and age, in every rank and condition,—those laws whose protecting arms are thrown about us in our natal hour, that stand by us in all the troubles and vicissitudes of life, and by unseen influences compelling us to sacifice all things for the defense of ourselves and ours, and at the mortal hour calling to our side the loved and honored in life to bid a final adieu to the genial spirit as it goes home to its Father.

The experience of Smith in the camp of Powhattan, the result of his treaty with this chief, the wonderful example of the world-renowned Pocahontas, the bringing in to the colonists of corn and clothing in abundance by hands that had but recently been raised to take the life of their Governor, the success of Sir Walter Raleigh with the Indians of North Carolina, the baptism and investment of the chief Manteo with the rank of a feudal baron as the Lord of Roanoke, made an impression on the minds of the colonists, and they began to see that all that was needed to secure peace and perpetual friendship with the Indian was to

recognize his natural rights and protect him in the enjoyment of them.

The governments of Europe and leading men of this country now soon learned that this was the only solution of the difficulty between the races, and have ever since nominally recognized the rights of the Indians. In 1763, Mr. Stewart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in a speech at Mobile made to the Indians soon after the peace of that year, said: "Lastly I inform you that it is the King's order to all his Governors and subjects to treat the Indians with justice and humanity, and to forbear encroachment on territories allotted to them. Accordingly all individuals are prohibited from purchasing any of your lands. The boundaries of your hunting grounds will be accurately fixed, and no settlement be permitted to be made on them. As you may be assured that all treaties with your people will be faithfully kept, so it is expected that you also will be careful strictly to observe them."

Only nine years after this, Governor Gage made his proclamation reciting "that many persons contrary to the orders of the King upon this subject, have undertaken to make settlements beyond the boundaries fixed by treaties made with the Indian nations, which boundaries ought to serve as a barrier between the

whites and said nations;" thus showing that the Indians then were not fully protected in their rights, even under the King.

The rights of these people were fully explained and defined by the Supreme Court of the United States as early as 1832 :

That they were independent polititical communities; that they retained their original natural rights to the undisputed possession of the soil, with the single exception of that imposed by irresistible power which excluded them from intercourse with any other European potentate than the first discoverer of the coast of the particular region claimed, and that this was a restriction which these European potentates imposed on themselves as well as on the Indians; that this involved no claims to their lands, or dominion over their persons, but was an engagement to punish aggressions upon them; that these rights of possession and occupation in their discretion of the land over which they roamed and hunted was as sacred as the fee simple of the whites; that they could not be deprived of this right except by voluntary cession or compact, or that international law of the highwayman —conquest; that they are domestic dependent nations with power to make and conclude treaties, dispose of lands for considerations stipulated, or purchase other lands. That the United States sustains a relation

to them similar to that of a guardian to his ward, and is bound to protect them in their natural and legal rights,—are all principles which have been held and enunciated by the highest judicial tribunal of our country, creditable to our nation and civilization, in conformity with and illustrating the humane policy of our government and enobling to humane nature itself.

But has the nation performed that other and more important part of protecting them in these rights? Here is the deadly upas; here the cockatrice's egg, from which has sprung all our woes. Although the government has assumed to do this, it has egregiously failed in the accomplishment of the task; not so much from the want of a proper will and disposition, as from its failure to adopt a sound policy and efficient method in the performance of the duty.

Since the commencement of the revolutionary war, the government has endeavored to discharge this duty through three different channels. First, through a Department of Indian Affairs, which was conducted under the superintendence of commissioners. The Indian country was divided into three districts, and the commissioners endeavored to collect the Indians in some territory where they could be protected from the whites and taught the arts of civilization, with the view of being ultimately admitted into the Union as a State.

This system proved unsatisfactory, and by the ordinance of 1786 for the regulation of Indian affairs, they were placed under the control of the War Department, and continued there by the act of 1789 until 1848. The business was first performed through a clerkship, and afterwards through a bureau created by an act of Congress. In 1848 the Interior Department was created, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred thereto, where it now remains.

Under neither of these departments have Indian affairs been managed to the satisfaction of the public mind. Much complaint has been made against them all, the least against the Department of War, the greatest against that of the Interior. The same general plan and system has been pursued by all. Success in the conduct of these affairs has been in precise proportion to the degree of protection that the government at different periods and under different systems has been able to afford the Indians. The greater protection was secured through the former; the least through the latter.

The Interior Department, having little or no executive power, being unable to carry its own righteous decisions into effect, subject to the sway and influence of false public sentiment, its officers and policy changing with every political change and every new administration, flocked upon by the harpies of the

treasury more than any other, it is the most unfit of any of our departments for the control of these affairs.

On the other hand the Department of War possesses nearly all the executive power of our government, and carries its decisions and purposes into effect with the greatest promptness. It is the farthest removed from the influences of false public sentiment, and unmoved by political excitement and political changes. Its officers hold their positions during life or good behavior, and its action in all matters pertaining to the execution of laws is always uniform; moreover its officers are stationed among all the uncivilized Indians, performing more or less of the government service pertaining to them. For all these reasons that Department should have the entire control of these matters.

Many good citizens fear that the transfer of these affairs to the War Department would result in long continued and expensive wars. It is to prevent war that the measure is urged. Conflict will cease when the laws respecting the Indians are executed, and this one department only has power to do this. And is not this department like all others, the creature of the statute? Does not it depend for its existence and all its powers upon the will of the people as expressed through their representatives in Congress assembled, and does it not make war and peace as the people will? When the people through their President ordered

it to subdue a gigantic rebellion in eleven States supported by myriads of armed men, it sent forth its legions and bore back the eagles of the Republic safely to their old eyries in the capitol of every State. Again, the President ordered it to strike the shackles from four millions of bond-men, and a whole race from sorrow and bondage arise to joy and liberty. Let it be ordered to protect the Indian race, and it is done. Now no longer a fugitive, without home or asylum, he at length feels that our government is in fact as well as name, his guardian and friend.

The administration of our Indian affairs has for the past eight years been most unsatisfactory. There has been no vigor, no life. Errors have been committed in matters of the gravest importance, and destructive wars have followed. Neglects in minor matters have brought the service into discredit and contempt.

In the spring of 1863 Bishop Whipple applied to the bureau for two hundred dollars of the Santee annuities to enable him to get some land ploúghed for some of the friendly Indians who took refuge with him at the commencement of hostilities the autumn previous. Three commissions were sent that season from Washington to ascertain if this expenditure was necessary, and sometime during the next year the department having at an expense of about one thousand dollars become satisfied that it would be proper,

ordered the expenditure to be made. Private charity, however, had previously supplied the want.

The Navajoes are a tribe who live on the San Juan River in New Mexico. They have been localized for many generations, and are good herders, raise good crops of grain, and manufacture a blanket famous for its beauty, durability and capacity to hold water. To make it requires about six pounds of wool with other material that they provide. For many years they have besought our government through its agents, to furnish them wool instead of blankets, as the blankets furnished are picked to pieces and made over by them. The cost of the wool for one of their blankets would be about two dollars, while that of the blankets picked to pieces is about twelve dollars; yet they have never been able to effect this change, and blankets are yet sent to the Navajoes.

When a commission goes upon the plains to visit Indians at war, peace is speedily restored and continues during its stay, but soon after its return war ensues. Yet no commission ever performs an act or exercises any authority that the officers of the department are not required to exercise.

These are instances showing the present imperfect management and the necessity of an immediate change. It is true that the department has not had sufficient means provided by Congress to properly manage our

Indian affairs. I believe it to be true that this department is no more corrupt or extravagant than others.

The whole system of our government for securing supplies is vicious in the extreme, as all of you must know who saw the tens of thousands of uniforms furnished late in the war undersize and inferior in all respects, and those shoddy blankets for which soldiers paid seven times their value; and when you reflect that these were furnished by a department under the control of an efficient and most faithful officer, having thirty regular inspectors provided him by law, you can form some judgment of what may happen at times in a department having no regular inspectors. Swindling in all the departments will be the order till the system is changed.

But the cheating of the Indians of which so much is said, though a crying evil, is by no means our chief wrong towards them. As our fathers did, so do we. We invade their country, we take their lands and homes from them without compensation, and make war upon them because they resist our aggressions.

All humanity, all economy, all sound policy, require that at this most favorable opportunity the government shall designate certain territories wherein it will gather the Indians and throw around them the strong arm of its power. Here let the government dispense its charity and always be provided with means to

relieve want and starvation. Let the Legislative Department appropriate a sufficient amount to collect and subsist the Indians on these reservations, and make proper improvements thereon. This amount for the first year should be at least four millions of dollars above what is now required by treaties, after which it could be much reduced. This accomplished war would be at end, and our own people at least, secure, and the expenses of the government reduced by at least twenty millions per annum. For we support upon a war footing in and adjacent to the Indian country twenty-five regiments of troops at an annual cost of thirty millions of dollars. Two-thirds of this force could be at once dispensed with and the cost proportionately reduced.

Of all policies towards the Indians, that of war is the most objectionable. Our annual loss of life while at war with them is not less than five hundred, while they lose not over one hundred, and we expend from twenty-five to forty millions of dollars.

To feed with a soldier's ration the three hundred thousand Indians in the United States for a year would cost nineteen millions, seven hundred and ten thousand dollars, at the present rate per ration. But more than one-half of the Indians are self supporting. The children would require but half a ration, while sugar and coffee and other items could be dispensed

with. So that for less than one-sixth of the expense of war all the Indians needing subsistence could be supplied; and no rule pertaining to them is so general as that when well fed they are always friendly, and when starved they are always dangerous and hostile. Eating the food of civilized men tends most rapidly to their civilization. Four years of this diet will either civilize or kill any savage. If the former event happens the philanthropist should be satisfied; if the latter, the exterminationists ought to be.

Why cannot a policy so sound and so economical be adopted? Would it not have been better for the government to have had twenty thousand dollars in subsistence supplies at Redwood in 1862, than to have had our fair frontiers all desolated, and had forty millions expended in fruitless war? Would it not have been better for the government to have had the treaty made at Laramie in 1851 with the Western Dakota and other tribes, giving them an annuity of seventy thousand dollars for forty years ratified, than to have had it cut down to ten years, and at the end of that time compelled to expend twenty-five millions and lose a thousand valuable lives? Would it not have been better for us when the princely territory of the Cheyennes was overrun by the gold seekers, to have spent two millions in feeding and providing them a home elsewhere, than ten millions in hopeless war,

with the loss of eight hundred lives? All sane minds answer these questions in one way, and answering, decide what our Indian policy should be.

If a machine with secret springs were placed in this room and so arranged that by touching one of them it would dart about and destroy the lives of all present, and knowing this, one should set it in motion, would not he be responsible for the death of all? So the Indian is a mere instrument in our hands. If certain springs of their nature are touched they are not only harmless, but a source of protection in their wild and unfrequented country. If certain others, they move about the plains destroying all within their reach.

When we know that the Hudson Bay Company has carried on an extensive business for two hundred years with the most ferocious tribes of the North, and is able to report that not one of the thousands of whites employed by them has been killed by the Indians in all this time,—when from the reports of the Governor General of a neighboring province we see that no trouble ever occurs between the races, knowing that the Indians are the same as those with whom we have to deal,—when we know that one of our own people by putting on a Canadian cap can visit the country of the most hostile with impunity, we must and

do know that there is no necessity of war or trouble with these people, and that we ourselves are responsible for the blood of all.

Every parallel of latitude from ocean to ocean, every degree of longitude from gulf to lake has been the scene of Indian wars and massacre. For two centuries hecatombs of our hardy pioneers have almost annually been sacrificed to appease the wrath of the god of war. In 1862 more than eight hundred of our industrious frontier people were delivered over to this merciless destroyer. In 1863 hundreds of our emigrants across the plains were made the victims of this relentless enemy. In 1864 the great mail lines for a distance of more than seven hundred miles along the Platte and Arkansas were lined with the graves of the sacrificed, and covered with the smoking ruins of burning habitations. Nor has the number of victims been less in either of the subsequent years, and the slaughter still goes on.

How long! How long shall this sacrifice continue? How long shall the shrieks and cries of the captives ascending from funeral piles, around which infuriated savages dance and sing, break upon our unwilling ear? How long shall our government pursue a course which makes an inferior race instruments of such cruelty and barbarity to our own?

When Niobe saw her children falling away before the fiery darts of the angry gods, she grieved herself to stone; but our Republic, the mother of a more royal family, sees scores of her children annually slain by this insatiate god of war, nor raises a hand to stay the sacrifice, and seemingly repines not at her loss.

Let these slaughters cease, or let the government cease to be responsible for them. Let that policy be adopted, and let that department have control of these affairs that will give protection to red, and consequent security to white men. Let our courts be opened to hear and redress their grievances, and the privileges of our naturalization and pre-emption laws be extended to them. Let them be localized, educated and christianized. Those Indians who survive the existence of their nations will mingle in the great ocean of European life that is now rolling and surging around them.

But little can be hoped for them as a distinct people. The sun of their day is fast sinking in the western sky. It will soon go down in a night of oblivion that shall know no morning. As we remember what they have been and contemplate their early doom, a feeling of subdued sadness steals over us like that produced by the fading and falling leaves of autumn, intensified by the knowledge that no spring-time shall renew their fading glory, and no future know their fame.

"In other lands whose suns have set,
Reflected radiance lingers yet.
There sage and bard have shed a light
That never shall go down in night.
There time-crowned columns stand on high,
To tell of them who cannot die.
But the poor Indian leaves behind no trace,
To save his own or serve another race.
With his frail breath his power has passed away.
His deeds, his thoughts, are buried with his clay.
No lofty pile nor glowing page
Shall link him to a future age,
Or give him with the past a rank.
His memory is but a broken bow;
His history but a tale of wrong and woe;
His *very name* shall be a *blank*."

ADDRESS

DELIVERED IN ST. PAUL ON DECORATION DAY, 1871, BY JOHN B. SANBORN.

Comrades and Fellow Citizens:

Difficult indeed is the task of giving fit utterance to the emotions and sentiments that fill our hearts on this day.

By a custom which has all the force of solemn enactment, it has been consecrated for all future time to the memory of great deeds wrought in behalf of humanity—to the memory of patriotic men, whose familiar faces are hidden from us now by a handful of earth, but whose devotion to country and duty, even unto death, has made their lives and names illustrious.

Long year have passed away since we first learned the unwelcome truth, that self-love and self-interest are the great mainsprings to human action and to human effort, and that great efforts induced by these motives, and attended with great success, although they elicit something of admiration and praise, are not long remembered. The tombs of those who have done well for themselves will be visited by few only even while the generation in which they lived remains. But no effort induced by such motives, and no success attending such efforts, arouses those feelings of gratitude, love, devotion and veneration, which kindle and burn in all hearts as we stand by the graves of those who sacrificed their lives for the public welfare.

Nor are these emotions and sentiments confined to the generation or age in which such devotion to the public

weal is attended with such sacrifice. Those who give their lives for the happiness of others, are remembered with reverence by every nation and every age.

More than two thousand years have passed since the brave three hundred resisted the invader and oppressor of Greece till no one survived; and although the freedom and power which they defended has been crushed for more than twenty centuries, and the people have degenerated into a race of timid slaves, yet the travellers from all lands, even to-day, pause at the place where the three hundred fell, and are almost ready to build altars there.

Hence nothing that our poor tongues can utter, nothing that our poor hands can do, can add aught to the fame of these patriotic dead. They sacrificed their lives in the defence of their country! they gave all for the welfare and happiness of others. This ensures for them the gratitude of their countrymen for all time, and a fame which will never decay, which is reposited more securely in the universal remembrance of mankind, than in the inscriptions upon the monuments which mark their tombs.

Let the hours of this day then be devoted, not so much to the purpose of prolonging the memorial of those fallen in defence of their country as to that of inducing a purer and nobler patriotism in the living; not so much to the purpose of mourning the untimely death of the young and brave as for increasing and strengthening that devotion to country and duty which the occasion and its associations must forever promote in the living; not so much to the purpose of reviving the memory of marches, battles and triumphs as to the better preparation of ourselves for an honest and faithful discharge of all our duties as citizens of that country saved by the valor and sacrifices of those sleeping in the graves which you have assembled to decorate.

We cannot stand by them without hearing that earnest voice which comes forth from each, saying to us: "The peace, order and happiness which you enjoy I gave my

life to secure, and sleep in the cold grave while you delight in their blessings. Be vigilant and faithful in the discharge of your duties as citizens that the blessings which, by the sacrifice of my life, were secured to you, may be transmitted to the succeeding generations;" and these words from the grave are more potent with us than all the words of all the living.

We cannot hear them without forming new resolves to be zealous and faithful in the discharge of all duties; to be true to every trust; and during the short period of life allotted to us, to do all in our power to strengthen the foundations of that government for the unity and perpetuity of which the untold sacrifices of five years of gigantic war have been made during our own lives, and to have all its branches and all its departments so administered that while it shall preserve order and secure protection to all, it will burden and oppress none.

During the whole history of civilization there has not been any other government that imposed so grave and responsible duties upon its citizens as our own. It is but little too general to say that all other governments, in the present and past, in all their forms, while they have imposed the severest duties upon the citizen in time of war, have left him quite free from all responsibilities and all duties except that of bearing his share of the financial burden of government in time of peace. At such times and in such governments the king—the emperor—the despot—the representative of the sovereign power, whoever he be, or whatever that is—assumes all responsibility and exercises all control. No responsibilities rest upon the citizen, and his voice is neither sought nor heard.

Not so in the government formed by our fathers, and preserved by the valor of their descendants. Here the sovereign power is vested in and remains with the people, and every one who exercises the elective franchise is in no small sense a ruler. Woe be to him who exercises this right regarding his own self-interests above those of the

public! Woe be to him who, forgetful of the sacrifices made by our fathers in establishing this government, and of these dead, fallen in the struggle for its preservation, regardless of the public welfare, cast their influence and vote for selfish aims and ends!

In a governmnt vast and complex, comprehending every variety of climate and soil—every industry and enterprise, constantly growing and expanding, and including in its population men of every race and clime—no election can ever pass without the decision, for better or worse, of some question vitally important to the country and probably affecting unborn millions of men. And at no time in this or any country have questions of vast public importance crowded so thick and fast upon any people or any representatives of sovereign power, for action and decision, as are now crowded upon the citizens of our own land. This is neither the time nor place to discuss them.

But what course should our government pursue in regard to the prostrate and disordered States of the South? By what policy are they to be regenerated and reinvigorated, and made free, independent loyal States, adding luster and glory to the whole galaxy instead of darkening and beclouding all, as now! When, and by what policy, are they to regain the strength and vigor of youth, and start anew on their long and uninterrupted course of empire? To what extent should the government, depending, as it does, for existence upon the intelligence and virtue of the people, assume control of their education? Should this be left to the States as from the beginning, or shall the federal goverment make it compulsory throughout the land? Conceding, as all do, that the gold dollar is the only fixed and universal standard of value throughout the world, what course, after a long period of inflation and after the business of the country has adjusted itself to another and different standard, and by unforeseen and overwhelming financial disasters, in-

dustries of all kinds, and particularly manufacturing industries, have become paralyzed, and labor thereby become depressed and oppressed, will afford to labor and the industries the surest and most speedy relief? Will such relief come surest and soonest from an increase or decrease of the standard upon which the business of the country has been conducted for more than a decade? And is this the only question worthy of consideration in connection with our finances at the present time? Or has labor been better compensated and become more elevated and dignified under the local national standard, than ever under the general standard? Shall our commerce be allowed to continue to droop and decline and we dwindle away to a third or fourth class commercial power, while our iron sleeps in its native beds and our oaks and pines decay in their primeval forests?

If not, by what system or policy shall it be restored? Shall it be by vast subsidies, taxing and burdening the labor of the whole country, or by allowing all articles that enter into the construction of ships to be admitted into this country free of duty? Or if both are necessary to restore it, shall both be granted, rather than this decline should continue? By what policy shall labor be insured a more liberal compensation? Can it be by limiting the hours of labor to employes of the government? Ought the agriculturists, who produce the raw material from the soil, which is the true source of wealth, to be compelled, as they now are, to enable them to live in comfort, to work twelve hours a day, and have the revenues derived from their toil applied to the payment of labor at six hours for a day, and at a higher rate than they ever dream of earning while working on their own soil? Does such a policy tend to elevate labor generally, or only with a small class, and at the expense of labor? While the whole West is open for settlement, and all these fertile lands inviting laborers to work and promising the richest reward, can legislative enactments limiting the hours of labor that

shall constitute a day's work, in any manner elevate or alleviate the laborer's lot? Considering that the great object of government is to secure to labor adequate and ample compensation, what policy shall be adopted, what course pursued, to secure this result? To what extent shall the use and employment of capital, which is but another name for the surplus earnings of labor, without due protection to which all great incentive to action is lost, be subjected to the control of law? Shall its increase be limited or otherwise? And if limited at all, shall it be to a less, greater or the same amount, when employed in the development of the country, in the construction of internal improvements, in opening up to settlement and providing for new fields of industry, than when loaned out on bonds and mortgages in growing cities? By what policy can the political success of those clamorous for and unworthy of office, be defeated, and the people be permitted to confer positions upon reliable men of their own choice? How shall the intensity and bitterness of party spirit, designed originally to warm into life a drowsy patriotism, but which now burns and destroys all patriotism, be mitigated and allayed? Is this occasioned by too vast an amount of patronage pertaining to the offices sought to be filled? And if so, should this be in part withdrawn and taken back by the people to themselves? By what policy and what laws can more integrity and more faithfulness on the part of the public servants of the executive department of the government be secured? How shall collections be enforced more rigidly and disbursements made more honestly? By what legislation shall the temptation to misappropriate and embezzle the public moneys by those entrusted with their disbursements be removed? How can the purchase of supplies in all dedepartments of the government be more advantageously and economically made? Shall the government at this period in its history enter upon a vast and comprehensive system of internal improvements, applying the public

moneys or public credit to the construction of long lines of railroads and canals to facilitate transportation of the products of labor, or shall these enterprises of immense national importance be left to private enterprise under guarantees and regulations prescribed by law?

All these, and many other questions, are pressed home upon our generation, and at this time, and upon them the people must act and decide. And if any refuse to consider them so carefully and to study them so thoroughly as to be unable to decide intelligently themselves, then such must from their knowledge and confidence in some one or more of their fellow-citizens, delegate the power of deciding all these to their representatives.

Fidelity, faithfulness, integrity, devotion to public duty, experience, observation and vast knowledge all are required by every one who is called upon by the people to act in their stead upon public matters and questions at this time. How refreshing it is to consider these things as American citizens simply as we do this day, without any reference to parties or politics. So considering, we almost shudder at the risks run and the acts performed by portions of our people as partisans and politicians.

Not an election passes that does not decide questions more important to mankind than any that were ever before submitted to any tribunal. A single elector at the polls may by his ballot decide a question more important to our country than was the decision at the Rubicon to the Roman power of the question whether a decree of the Senate should be violated. The conqueror of Gaul is represented to have paused and solemnly and sadly deliberated before deciding the momentous issue.

Consider how thoughtlessly and inconsiderately our electors decide upon these questions that may be vastly more important and vital to the liberties of the people. Consider the great responsibilities that devolve upon us all as citizens in these days of peace. Let the truth be deeply impressed upon all our minds that in our country

peace has its duties for us no less than war, and that if we discharge them well we win for our government and our generation victories not less glorious than those won upon tented fields.

To devoted patriotism and an earnest desire to discharge faithfully every duty, by study and labor, I beseech all to add that knowledge without which all virtue is vain. And then armed with knowledge and virtue advance as you have before advanced, and lend your influence and strength to decide and finally determine all these questions and all issues in favor of your country, liberty and humanity.

And when the important questions of this day are, as they will be so determined, with what satisfaction and exultation looking backward will you behold the achievements of the past, and looking forward also behold the future generations moving along the course of life through peaceful, prosperous, happy days.

REMINISCENCES

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS AGAINST VICKSBURG

BY

GENERAL JOHN B. SANBORN,

LATE COLONEL FOURTH MINNESOTA VOLUNTEERS, BRIGADIER GENERAL AND BREVET MAJOR GENERAL.

Read by request at the October Meeting of Department of American History of the Minnesota Historical Society.

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REMINISCENCES

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS AGAINST VICKSBURG.

Personal reminiscences of the campaign against Vicksburg might, with little impropriety, include reminiscences of all the military operations in the Mississippi Valley, in the War of the Rebellion, subsequent to the attack upon Fort Sumter, in 1861, and prior to July 9, 1863. For the campaign against Vicksburg was a campaign organized and directed by the government of the Union to establish the freedom of the navigation of the Mississippi River, and the complete and undisputed dominion and authority of the Federal power in the Mississippi Valley.

This dominion and control could not exist, either over river or valley, while a hostile force occupied the commanding position of the Chickasaw Bluffs, as they reach the shore of the river at the point where Vicksburg stands; and to restore and establish it, not only Vicksburg but Island No. 10 and Memphis, on the north, and New Orleans and Port Hudson, on the south, must also be compelled to surrender.

The topography or conformation of the country was favorable for the early capture of Memphis, as the results of battles in the open field, by the armies of the Union which could use the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers as

a line of supplies, demonstrated; and the battles of Fort Donelson, Shiloh, and siege of Corinth, early and effectually accomplished this work.

The reminiscences of the writer commence with the campaign that followed the battle of Shiloh, directly to gain control of the line of railroad running from Memphis to Charleston, and, as a result, to force the surrender of Memphis, and open the Mississippi River to Vicksburg.

The army in line in front of Corinth, at the siege, was of enormous proportions. It numbered on the rolls more than one hundred and fifty thousand men; and while joining, and for the first time forming part of it, the fact that a government that less than one year before had no military establishment worth the name, had organized and brought together such a force, and equipped it for the field, struck the mind with amazement, and led to the conviction that a government that could thus raise and organize armies, could not be torn to pieces or conquered, either by covert foes or organized revolution.

The condition of this great army was exceedingly peculiar. It may be safely said that nothing like it had ever before occurred in history. There was at this time no *trusted* leader or commander. The sentiment of the army corresponded with that of the public sentiment of the people of the North. Both were fixed by a class of young men, newspaper correspondents, each of whom, as a rule, having some pet relative or friend whom he desired to make great in the war. At this time in this army, were Generals Halleck, Grant, Thomas, Sherman, Pope, Schuyler Hamilton and Sheridan; the latter then in subordinate command. But in public estimation, which was about the estimation in the army, General Halleck was a theorist, who could write books on the art of war well, but could not fight battles;—Grant, it was true, had fought Donelson and Shiloh, but fate had saved him in one and Buell's army in the other: had shown incapacity at Shiloh, and Halleck had been sent to supersede him;

—Pope had captured Island No. 10, but then this was done by his colonels, and many stories were told to lower his character in public estimation;—Thomas had won a victory at Mill Spring, but it was only a small affair, and whether he could manage a large force was problematical;—Schuyler Hamilton, lineal descendant of Alexander Hamilton, which fact alone raised him in the estimation of the army, had great experience and ability, but no physical power left;—Sherman knew all the books contained about the art of war, but he was crazy, and wanted an army as large as the allied forces at Waterloo, to whip a few Southern troops;—Sheridan was known only as an A. Q. M. who had been censured by the general to whose staff he had been attached, for branding the obnoxious letters "U. S." upon horses, mules, and other animals captured from the enemy, while yet some of the staff officers of that general still had them in possession.

So, each evening, as the colonels were gathered together socially, the leading or ranking officers were discussed; all hoping that each would do well, but greatly fearing that all would fail.

It may be truly said, now, and by all future historians, that no nation of any era was ever blessed with more patriotic, determined and brave men than the field officers of that army of one hundred and fifty thousand men gathered about Corinth, and the following year (1863) about Vicksburg. They were nearly all professional or large business men, intent only upon one thing, and that was the restoration of the national authority; and their great desire was the early suppression of the rebellion, and a return to their homes and peaceful occupations. They were not seeking honors nor laying the foundation for future public life, nor seeking preferment before their comrades, but were all jealous of their honor, and intent upon maintaining their then relative rank, if faithful discharge of all duty would do this. There was no rivalry and no jealousy with them as a class. It requires some ex-

ceptions to make a rule. And hence the public sentiment, and estimation in which the more prominent officers were held, changed as fast as personal acquaintance was formed with them by colonels and subordinates.

All these general officers were affable, genial, courteous men, of extraordinary ability, and ready to impart to any volunteer, at any time, all the knowledge they had concerning tactics, engineering, sieges, and all pertaining to the art of war. The writer, soon after joining the army, was directed one morning, to detail three officers and one hundred men, to prepare and deliver at a certain point, in a few hours, one hundred gabions and an equal number of fascines. Just as the officer detailed to take charge came up for instruction, General Sherman came along mounted, with one orderly, and upon hearing the remark from the officer in charge of the detail, that we had been in the service but a short time, and had hardly learned the tactics and much less the matters pertaining to sieges and fortifications, he immediately stopped and fully explained what gabions and fascines were, and just how to make them, as fully as a school teacher would explain a lesson to school boys. This was a spontaneous, thoughtless act on his part,—no doubt forgotten in an hour,—but promoting the service, and giving the general a life-long hold upon that detail of men and officers. General Sherman, above all others, made the soldiers feel that he was their comrade and friend, and had all requisite knowledge of the art of war to protect them as fully as possible, and that no serious disaster could occur while he was in command.

To have complete confidence and admiration for General Grant, it was necessary to be under him in one movement of the army, or in one campaign at least. His natural modesty made him seem cold and reserved. But observation and study of his movements had produced the same effect, so far as I could ascertain, upon all thoughtful and candid minds. All concluded, as fast as they had

taken part in his campaigns, that here was a military genius of the first order, a man of determined purpose that nothing could resist, with imperturbable strength and coolness, which permitted his mind to work under the most intense excitement with as much precision as under the most favorable circumstances. It is but little exaggeration to say of him, that in many battles that he fought he captured two armies, the one he commanded, and the army of the enemy.

The brigade of the writer, upon arriving on the field of Champion Hills, was ordered to a certain position by General McPherson, to act as a reserve of the seventeenth corps. One regiment after the other was ordered into action to support troops already engaged, and had proceeded, under charge of staff officers, till the whole brigade and staff was scattered along the line, supporting Logan's Division of the seventeenth, Hovey's Division of the sixteenth, and Boomer's Brigade of the seventeenth corps. "You can be spared from your command now," says McPherson. "We are all safe here on the right, and advancing our line. All my staff officers are engaged. Go to the center and find Hovey, or Crocker, or Boomer, and learn the situation there, and report to me at once. If the sixteenth corps is not well up on my left, my command may be cut off from the balance of the army, and all three of the corps be whipped in detail." Horseflesh did its best with its rider to reach the point indicated in the shortest possible time. Boomer, a most intimate friend, and cool and reliable officer, was first met,—excitedly asked, "Where is McPherson?" "I have just come from him, to learn what the condition is on this part of the line." "Inform him at once, that the whole center has given way. Not fifty men of my brigade can be found together. Hovey's Division has been fighting desperately since morning, and is exhausted and retreating; and there is no line of battle between where we stand and the enemy, whose line is still in perfect order. Some-

thing must be done immediately. I will form as much of a line as possible here, from the stragglers and retreating forces, and make all the resistance I can till a movement is determined upon. If I can be supported by Holmes' brigade, we may be able to check the advance of the enemy."

Horse and rider fly to McPherson. By the time he is reached, stragglers from the forest in which the troops had been engaged, confirm the correctness of Boomer's statements. The General heard the report, and instantly said, "Go immediately to Grant, and inform him of the situation, and tell him that the line must be re-formed immediately, or my corps will be cut off from the balance of the army; and I recommend that we reform on the ridge to our left and rear, so that the thirteenth and seventeenth corps will be kept united, and the enemy prevented from attacking each in detail." Again the horse did all he could to destroy time and space between these two officers. Grant was riding with a fair number of staff officers along the field, smoking the inevitable cigar. He heard the report, but not with perfect composure. He dashed his cigar to the ground and asked, "Are there no troops in reserve?" "The last regiment of the reserves to the seventeenth corps has been in action more than an hour," was the answer. "Where can McClernand be, with the remainder of his corps? I sent him orders at daylight this morning, to come upon this field as rapidly as possible, and here it is—" drawing his watch (I have forgotten the time stated), "and I have not heard a word from him nor a sound from his guns yet,—and he has fifteen thousand men," said Grant. Then turning to his chief of artillery says, "Where is your artillery?" And this staff officer designated some six or eight batteries, not engaged and near, limbered up. "Bring them into battery on this crest, and open fire with shell, over the heads of these stragglers. If the enemy has whipped Hovey's Division and Boomer's Brigade, he

is in bad plight, for they are the best of troops, and if we can make some further show of resistance, he may give way."

Fifty pieces of artillery, without any reserve to support them, came into position at once, and opened fire over our retreating soldiers.

"Fortune favors the brave," also the wise. Within five minutes of the first shot from these guns, colors were seen through the green oaks, approaching from the rear. "What troops are those?" asks General Grant. "Holmes' Brigade of the Seventh Division, that has been guarding the wagons during the night, already cut down by the battles of last week to twelve hundred men." "You go immediately to Holmes," says the General, "and tell him to move his brigade, as now, by his right, till it reaches the right of the batteries, and then rapidly by the left flank, until stopped by an overpowering force of the enemy." No movement was ever made with more determination or spirit, and in less than half an hour, even before I could reach any of my own command, more than four thousand prisoners and thirty pieces of artillery had been captured. This little brigade swept all before it, augmenting its strength as it advanced, with the line that Boomer had formed from all the retreating forces.

Self-reliance is one of the most marked traits of the General's character, and although he had great confidence in McPherson's judgment, still he refused to act upon it, and adopted a course that led to victory, when the other would probably have led to defeat; and defeat at that time and place had terrible significance. Probably it meant nothing less than the destruction of this government and the establishment of petty dynasties upon the ruins of the republic. For the loss of any one of the three great armies of the Union at that time would have been likely to have given success to the rebellion. We who were in the army, and knew the feeling and purposes of the troops, had a better appreciation of defeat at that time

than those not in the army, and who were ignorant of the deep feeling and determined purposes of the men engaged in fighting these battles.

In a conversation concerning this matter, in the autumn following, with General Grant, the question arose as to what conditions or circumstances would justify a General in hurling six or eight batteries into action without any reserves, and the General's answer, in substance, was, that when the enemy had already been punished severely, that even though your own troops might be in bad condition, still, if you could make a show of an offensive movement, some demonstration towards the enemy, it might and oftentimes did turn the scale. And he referred to the promptness with which the flag of truce was displayed at Donelson, when he had got his lines formed, and appeared ready to attack, on the morning of the third day of the siege, although his army, he said, was in bad condition.

All the time, the General seemed to me to be governed, in great crises, more by intuition, or his own judgment, than by any precedents or rules laid down in works upon the art of war, or in the histories of battles and campaigns.

The social and friendly relations which characterized the Army of the Tennessee in 1862, had not diminished a particle at the time, nor after the surrender of Vicksburg. Officers of all grades were wont to assemble on the verandah of the house occupied as the headquarters of the Army of the Tennessee, in Vicksburg. One evening in July, conversation had lulled a little among the friends and smokers, and General Sherman, in his quick, pointed way, spoke up and said, "Grant, I should like to have you point out to me some author or work on the art of war, or same instance in history, that will justify the movement you made against Vicksburg. You took one of the main armies of your government, upon which it depended for its existence in time of war, and moved it away from all

base of supplies, and trusted to the results of battle to open a new base. I should like to have you point out authority or precedent for such a movement." Grant answered, without any hesitation, "It is because there is no authority or precedent for it that it was successful. If I had moved according to the rules laid down in the books, Pemberton would have known exactly what my intentions were, and would then have moved his whole army against me at once, and I should have been defeated; but as it was, he was unable to tell what was intended, and we made a perfect success of it."

It became evident early, that Sherman was the great military scholar, and Grant the great military genius.

General Rosecrans joined the army at Corinth a few days before the evacuation. He rode to the picket lines in front of my command the day after his arrival, and drew the fire of the enemy's pickets, and had his horse severely wounded. He brought with him, the prestige of victory. He had won several minor battles in Western Virginia, and his presence seemed to inspire more confidence in the troops. He was a bold, resolute man, and commander; had wonderful power of organization, and understood thoroughly the art of war. But he had a nervous temperament, and in the most important crises, the turning points of battles, it seemed to me, that his nervous system, and mental powers, in some measure gave way; and the splendid esprit de corps of the army under his command, and the magnificent strategic movements, were likely to be followed by disaster or failure in the very crisis of battle. One thing is certain, and that is, if General Rosecrans failed at all it was as a field marshal, and not as a strategist or organizer.

In July, 1862, Gov. Ramsey visited our camp, then between Rienzie and Jacinto, in northern Mississippi. As we were marching back to Corinth, to still further satisfy the troops that he could ride a horse with ease and safety,—his experiment at Fort Snelling, on the review,

not being entirely satisfactory on this point, as he was thrown from his horse that day,—he demanded a horse, and rode at the head of the column. He was very active all day, visiting all the families in that region, to find two things—one, buttermilk, and the other, a man, woman or child that ever heard the name of George Washington. The former he found, though not in abundance, but out of twenty families upon which he called he found but one person who had ever heard of George Washington, and that person said that George Washington was a nigger and a slave of old Buford, who lived near Boonville. The ignorance and destitution of the poorer classes of Southern people that remained at home was, and still is, beyond description.

The first real confidential and friendly conversation that I had with any Confederate officers of rank was after the surrender of Vicksburg, and the conversation that I now remember best is the one with Stephen D. Lee, of South Carolina, one or two evenings after the surrender. Volunteer officers of both armies were most interested to know when the war would terminate, and this was the principal topic of our first conversation.

At this time, this officer, young, gallant, and, it seemed to me, far-seeing, frankly admitted "that the Southern Confederacy was a failure, and could not be maintained against the power of the North." He said, "true policy would dictate a surrender of all our forces upon the best terms we can get. If we cannot maintain our authority over this river, we cannot anywhere, and there ought to be no more bloodshed. But," said he, "although I know this, and we all know it, the fight cannot stop here. The people of the Confederacy will carry on the struggle until they are completely exhausted, and nothing can prevent it." The sequel showed the correctness of his views.

Personal reminiscences of the campaign against Vicksburg, recited in detail, would fill volumes. Hence, what

to write and what to leave unwritten, is a troublesome question. No officer connected with that campaign can permit his mind to turn back to it without a feeling of inexpressible sadness. Death never reaped so rich a harvest in so short a time. The colonels and field officers of that army were the flower of their generation, in the full vigor of manhood. Not one, to my knowledge, had reached forty years. Yet several years have passed since most of them were laid away in the tomb.

The patriot cannot express a better wish for his country, than that in those days of darkness in the future,—which, as they come on all nations, must come on us also,—officers as patriotic, as capable and faithful may be found, to uphold the national authority and rightful power of government, as those officers who now sleep the last sleep.

The kindness of all officers of the regular army, and their readiness to assist, in every way in their power, every deserving volunteer, is worthy of special mention, and should always be remembered to the credit of the regulars and of West Point. All information and all aid at their command was freely given to me always, and was of immense advantage.

The plan of the campaign that culminated in the battle of Iuka, was, like all the plans of General Grant, one that if fully executed would have resulted in the capture of the rebel army at that point. The plan failed of execution. The battle resulted in a victory for the Union forces in battle, and the failure of the campaign. Ord was to attack from the north and drive south, and Rosecrans was to cut off the retreat and force a surrender. Instead, however, Rosecrans attacked from the south and whipped the enemy, who retreated by the right flank and joined the force under VanDorn, and compelled us to fight the combined force of both armies at Corinth, thirteen days thereafter.

These campaigns led to the estrangement between Gen-

erals Grant and Rosecrans, which it is to be regretted continues to this day, and will to the end of the days of these heroes. Perhaps it may be improper to say more now than that this continuance is not the fault of General Grant, and that towards the close of Grant's recent administration, conferences were had upon the matter, without any solution of the difficulty. Mrs. Grant went far to effect reconciliation. Rosecrans conferred freely with the writer, pending the matter, who urged him to accept all that was offered in the same spirit in which it was offered. But nothing was accomplished. "A wounded spirit who can heal?"

The battle of Corinth was one of the most brilliant field engagements, for the Union army, of the war. The loss of the Confederate forces was four times as great as that of the Federal forces, and the enemy's force engaged was double that of the Union force. The writer, during the war, never went into action so depressed in spirit, and, at the same time, under circumstances that precluded him from communicating his feelings to any one of his inferior officers.

The brigade had lost at Iuka, thirteen days before, about six hundred men in killed and wounded, out of twenty-two hundred for duty in all; and, as we marched near the head-quarters, on the morning of the first day, General Rosecrans said, "Your command suffered so severely at Iuka, you will be held in reserve in this battle, and will not be put into action unless it becomes absolutely necessary." But at about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the command was out about three miles on the Purdy road, and the enemy's lines of skirmishers appeared in front, General C. S. Hamilton in confidence informed the writer, that he saw no way of saving the position of Corinth; that the enemy's center was near the town and our depots; that his lines extended across the road by which we marched out to our position, which, in fact, was our rear; and that he supposed that the army

would retreat during the night, and would try and cross the Tennessee at Pittsburg Landing, and try and effect a junction with Buell's army, in northern Tennessee or in Kentucky, and that, in that event, my force must act as rear guard, and fight and hold the enemy as long as possible, at all available points. This was a thunderbolt. I had formed no idea of the seriousness of the situation. I went into action feeling that all was lost but the army, and that we must fight with desperation to save that. The attack made by my regiment upon the enemy's left and rear was successful. It checked his advance. It caused delay, and necessitated the formation of a new line of battle on his part.

It was almost dark when I returned to the place where the doleful condition had been communicated to me, to report to Hamilton for further orders. Rosecrans was there, and the generals were engaged in the most earnest conversation. "This movement has worked splendidly," said Rosecrans to Hamilton, "and I think you had better move right forward in the same line to-morrow morning." Hamilton responded, "Rosecrans, it will never do. Our whole line must be reformed during the night. Each division must be so formed that it will support and command the front of the other, and each battery must be so placed that it will support and command the front of every other battery, or we shall be all torn to pieces before nine o'clock to-morrow." Rosecrans looked steadily and thoughtfully down upon the pommel of his saddle for a few minutes, and says, "Hamilton, I believe you are right. Bring in your command, and we will reform during the night." Hamilton at once said to me, "Withdraw your command as quietly as possible, and march to Corinth via the Farmington road, and bring in all the wounded and all the public property."

The command reached Corinth at midnight, and no man ever appreciated more highly the whiskey and sleep found in that bivouac. The result of the attack of the

enemy next day, showed the wisdom of this movement. The history of the war does not record a more gallant attack and assault than that made by the enemy on the following morning, nor a more decisive and disastrous repulse.

The campaign down the Mississippi Central Railroad, in November, 1862, to reach Vicksburg by that line, was filled with exciting incidents, but no real battle between the armies. The command of the writer reached the Yokeny Potoffa river, about ten miles below Oxford, Mississippi, which was as far south as any infantry marched in this movement.

While in this position, on one quiet, smoky Indian Summer afternoon, information was received that Van Dorn, with a column of ten thousand cavalry, had passed north ten miles east of our left flank. This meant trouble with our lines of communication and our supplies. Everything was put in readiness for action or marching. By ten o'clock the next day, the information that Holly Springs and all our supplies and ammunition had been captured or destroyed was received. Orders were expected momentarily. It was past twelve at noon when they were received, and directed the command to fall back to Oxford.

The march was made with vigor, and Oxford was reached after sunset. The troops of the brigade occupied the same camp as when they rested there over night marching south, and the commander occupied the same bed room, which had a bed that would pass for a rough one in St. Paul, but seemed quite a luxury in the field. Profound sleep, after a hard march, naturally came early upon troops and commander. At midnight there was pounding upon the door. "Who is there?" exclaimed the sleeper. "Aides-de-camp of General Grant and Quimby, with orders," was the reply. The door was of course opened, and the orders read. In substance they directed the brigade to move, without delay, to the west

of the town (the camp was on the east), across the railroad, and to form in line of battle in the position that would be designated by the aide, and to be prepared and held in readiness for action at that point until further orders.

The long roll was beaten, the troops formed, and the march made, and the line of battle formed, and the troops ordered to rest on their arms. Upon reaching Grant's head-quarters, which the command had to pass, the windows were all aglow with light, while all others in town were dark. I went in. General Grant had retired, but General Rawlins was roaring like an enraged lion. The burden of his wrath was, that the campaign for Vicksburg had failed through the faithlessness of certain officers, whom he dared to name; and that the cavalry had reported that the whole rebel army was advancing by our right, and would reach our flank at Oxford, by four o'clock in the morning, and he supposed a general engagement between the two armies would be fought in the morning. "Is the army concentrated, General," I asked. "All the commands are moving towards Oxford, and the most remote can reach this place by ten o'clock in the forenoon;" and he added, "compel the enemy to form in line of battle as far out as possible, and make all the resistance you can, and we will have troops enough on the field by the time the skirmishers are driven in."

This, from the Adjutant General of the army, made the battle a reality to me. No doubt was left in my mind that a general engagement was to be fought in the morning, and that my command was to bring it on. Four companies of infantry and a section of artillery were stationed a half mile from the line, and about half-past one in the morning the orderly took charge of my horse, all saddled and ready, while I reclined against a tree. A half mile beyond the infantry picket, a strong cavalry picket had been stationed, by the commander of the

army. At just about half-past four, a lieutenant of this cavalry force came in upon full gallop to me, and, with great excitement, delivered a dispatch in writing, from the officer in command of the cavalry, to the effect that the head of the enemy's columns was within a mile of his position, and that he was advancing rapidly with an immense force of infantry and artillery. The infantry and artillery settled the question that it was the whole army, and with the impression on my mind left by Rawlins' instructions, not a doubt was left that it was the opening of a great battle. I wrote upon the back of this dispatch the time of its receipt by me, and directed the officer to proceed with it to General Grant's head-quarters.

I moved out immediately, with six companies more of infantry and two sections more of artillery. Before reaching the picket station, the drums were beating and bugles blowing in all directions about Oxford. Before the line of skirmishers was fully formed, another cavalry officer came up, as excited as the first, but not so serious a look on his face, and at once said, "that column that we thought was the enemy, is one of the army trains that has been lost and marching all night to get away from the enemy and join the army at Oxford."

I proceeded with great speed, with the officer, towards Oxford. My own command had torn down fences, houses and barns, while I was gone, that all obstructions to their fire might be removed. Columns were coming upon the field, by every avenue leading from Oxford. Generals and staffs were riding in all directions. Upon reaching Grant's head-quarters, his horse and those of all his staff officers were caparisoned, and some of the staff were mounted. The general stood in the door, giving a verbal order to one of the staff. He looked surprised at my approach, and I at once said, "General, this is all a farce, that column is one of our own trains." "*Well*," said the general, "the cavalry has reported that this

column was the enemy, positively. It seems impossible to me that the enemy would bring on a general engagement here." The sudden change did not seem to be the occasion of joy or sorrow. He was unmoved. "The hurrying to and fro and mounting in hot haste" was soon succeeded by general quiet, and the only farce in which I had to play in the war was over. All the anxiety and excitement of a general battle had been suffered or enjoyed, without the battle, and the army marched quietly back to Memphis, but not till after much discussion and doubt.

Rawlins insisted that the army could move down to Jackson, and east to Vicksburg, subsisting on the country, which was full of corn, with a good supply of cattle and swine, and that the result of the movement would be the evacuation of Haines' Bluff, which would give us the Mississippi as a line and base of supplies. Boomer and many of the colonels concurred in this idea. General Grant said he believed it was feasible, but in view of the general condition of the country, he considered it would be unmilitary to thus risk the whole Army of the Tennessee.

Sherman was already demonstrating on Haines' Bluff, and the enemy were rapidly concentrating there, and whether the further prosecution of this campaign of November, 1862, down the Mississippi Central Railroad, relying wholly upon the enemy's country for supplies, and trusting to the result of battle for a new base, involved any greater hazard than the campaign that was successfully made to the rear of Vicksburg, from the south, is a question to be determined by the future writers upon the art of war, and future historians. If the question had been left to the colonels of that army, at that time, they would have voted, so far as I know, to continue the march south to Vicksburg, without any base of supplies, subsisting wholly upon the enemy's country, and opening our base, when we reached there, by battle

and victory, if necessary. The commander of the army, probably more wisely, ordered otherwise, and all attempts to reach Vicksburg, by using railroads as a line and base of supplies were abandoned.

Late in the winter of 1863, the Yazoo Pass Expedition was organized, with the renewed hope of turning the enemy's right at Haines' Bluff, and compelling the evacuation of that position, and using it as our landing and base in the operations against Vicksburg. My command formed part of this expedition. About twelve thousand men and two iron clad monitors were transported through this narrow pass to the Coldwater river, down the Coldwater to the Tallahatchie, and down the Tallahatchie near the junction of the Yallabusha, where we came upon gunboats, forts, enemies' forces, and a flooded country. The waters were so high that no troops could operate except by means of transports; and running Mississippi steamers through forests was anything but satisfactory. The currents were swift, the channels narrow and overhung with trees. The pilot's bells were constantly ringing to the engineer, and the captain of the steamer Pringle, upon which I had my headquarters, was constantly shouting to the engineer, "back her, Dan," while the steamer with seven hundred tons freight, would go right on through cottonwood forests, snapping off trees from three to nine inches in diameter as if they were pipe stems. After a day's performance of this kind, I went down to see the engineer, after the boat had tied up for the night, and asked him how he had got along. Said he, "O; pretty well. I am only twenty-five bells behind for the day, and nearly all of them are to back her, and I am going to make them up the first thing to-morrow morning after we start."

That force that went into the Yazoo Pass was in great peril, and the enemy ought to have captured it. It could not be landed anywhere to operate, and there were many points where batteries might have been stationed, beyond

their reach, that would have rendered it impossible for the transports to pass. As soon as General Grant was advised of the situation, he ordered the command back, and added, that he should wait with great solicitude the arrival of the troops in the Mississippi river. The command returned safely and joined the main army, at Milliken's Bend.

General Quimby, who had commanded the division in this movement was sick when the command came out of the pass, and for the first time—March, 1863,—the command of a division fell upon me, while we lay just below Helena, in Arkansas, and this was continued until after the battle of Port Gibson.

During this time, under orders from the War Department, officers were detailed for the Eleventh and Twelfth Louisiana Regiments, colored troops. This created a very bitter feeling among the troops raised on or near Mason's and Dixon's line. The Fifty-ninth Indiana was raised along the Ohio, and the Tenth and Twenty-sixth Missouri felt bitterly for a time, but all opposition soon passed away, and those regiments took their quota of officers of the colored troops with great alacrity.

The march from Milliken's Bend to Grand Gulf was not more difficult nor more tedious than was anticipated. Still there was that in it that would remind you that it was war, horrible war! The army, at certain points, marched over cotton lands, protected by levees; which lands were lower than the surface of the river. All the teams of the artillery and supplies had to be doubled, and in the roads over which the horses and mules tumbled and floundered, were corpses of dead young men, with every particle of clothing torn from them by the feet of these struggling animals. When marching over one of these fair and lifeless forms, with Colonel Alexander riding by my side, he looked up, and with great solemnity said, "*There* is the glory of war."

When I reached the point on the Mississippi opposite

Grand Gulf, McClernand's Corps had been across the river some three or four days. Logan's Division of the Seventeenth Corps had crossed the day before my arrival.

This point was reached in the early morning, after forced and hard marches for two or three days and parts of nights. General McPherson met the column with beaming smiles, and said, "Halt the column just where it is, and give the men a good rest. You need not cross the Mississippi till in the afternoon any way, and, perhaps, not until to-morrow morning." This information ran along the line, and but a few moments passed before the perfumes of coffee and breakfast filled the air.

Before the appetite was satiated, dull, heavy sounds of artillery were heard east of the river, and seemed eight or ten miles distant. The enemy has attacked McClernand, was the conclusion and rumor that ran along the line. Anxiety was great; sleep was impossible. In less than an hour the aide of McPherson came riding up, with a dispatch of the following purport: "General McClernand has reported to General Grant, that the enemy is in front with heavy force, and has called for reinforcements. I have ordered General Logan's division forward, and leave with my staff for the field immediately. Come forward, at once, with your division. You will find all the transports and gun-boats on the west bank, to transport the troops to Hard Times landing."

In two hours and a half from the time I received this order, the division, consisting of twelve regiments of infantry, four batteries of artillery, and a squadron of cavalry, numbering for duty that morning about six thousand five hundred men, was on the east bank of the Mississippi, at a point ten miles below the point of embarkation, and marching toward the point from whence came the sound of artillery. The crossing of the Mississippi river by so large a command in so short a time, without accident or delay, has always been a source of great satisfaction and some pride with me.

The division was in line to protect the left flank and rear of the army before nightfall. At midnight, another dispatch was received from the general, of the following import: "We have had a glorious day. The enemy has been driven at all points. Come forward immediately upon the receipt of this dispatch." The line of march was again taken up, and before sunrise the command was with the advanced lines of the army.

None of the colonels of this old division which had done much to save Iuka and Corinth, having been promoted, and the generals being determined that none of it should be placed under the command of the brigadier-generals who had received their promotion by hanging around Washington, after consultation with us all, and with our consent, a West Point graduate and splendid officer, Gen. Crocker, of Iowa, was assigned to the command of the division at Port Gibson; and with my old brigade I took the advance of the army, and marched as far as the North Branch of Bayou Pierre that afternoon and evening. The suspension bridge across this bayou was burning when we arrived. Some negroes were trying to extinguish the flames, and, with the aid of our troops soon did the work.

The cooks of my mess had a serious time that night. No other mess wagons had come up. Some were still on the other side of the Mississippi. Before I was through, General Crocker and the division staff came up for supper; and before he was through General McPherson and staff had come up and had no provision for supper and had to be supplied; and before General McPherson and staff had been supplied General Grant and staff came up, and had to eat at the same mess. It was fortunate that we had cooks and servants; otherwise no supply of provisions would have prevented a hungry night.

The night was cold. Profound sleep to all, except the large detail to repair the bridge, which worked all night, followed the previous sleepless nights and weary days.

We were sleeping in the open air and upon the ground. In a half conscious state, the impression was made upon my mind that some intruder was punching my back with his knees and elbows. To such an extent did this proceed, that, being fully aroused, I made a great effort to expel the fellow, at the same time asking "Who are you?" and a boyish or childish voice answered back, "I am Fred Grant; I am cold." A larger share of the robe was furnished, and greater quiet followed.

After a short rest on the Black river, waiting for Sherman to get round with his corps, which had been left behind to perform the hard and inglorious part of threatening Haines' Bluff, and drawing the enemy in that direction while we were crossing the river and getting a foothold on the east side, we advanced, and the battles of Raymond, Jackson and Champion Hills followed in quick succession, and victory crowned all our efforts.

On the day the battle of Raymond was fought, the seventh division (now Crocker's) was entitled, in the ordinary course, to lead the seventeenth corps. A battle was expected, and Logan, who has been accused by some of caring alone for fame and glory, demanded the advance. McPherson ranked Logan, but Logan in many respects commanded McPherson. McPherson apologized to Crocker and the brigade commanders, and gave Logan the advance. Soon after the column was in motion, Crocker remarked, "Logan has demanded the front to-day, and got it, when he was not entitled to it. Now he may fight his own battle. We will do just what we are ordered to do to-day, and nothing more. We are in no danger of being whipped, and we will see how much of a battle, Logan can fight without us."

Musketry firing in front is soon heard. Soon the column halts. Shortly artillery firing is heard, and the musket firing is more general and nearer.

The writer asked Crocker if we ought not to corral our train, and get the road clear, and be prepared for action.

"Logan has sought the opportunity to fight this battle; now let him fight it," was the answer. The firing got alarmingly near, and suddenly aide after aide arrived, with orders to come forward immediately, double quick; the enemy has turned Logan's right, and is advancing. Crocker gave the orders a good deal modified. "Come forward in an ordinary gait. This is all a scare; just what I wanted Logan to get."

But when we attempted to go into the position assigned, it seemed that we had the worst of it. For the brigade was exposed for a whole half mile to the fire of a full battery and was thus compelled to show its left flank squarely to the battery, but this compelled the enemy to abandon the field. McPherson made a personal request that Logan should have the credit of fighting the battle of Raymond alone. It is doubtful if from the official reports it will appear that any troops were engaged in that affair except those of Logan's division. Men were killed and wounded in my command.

The battle of Jackson was fought the next day by Crocker's division, as sharp, vigorous and determined an affair as we had in the campaign, in the most terrific thunder storm. We camped in Jackson for the night and the next morning at daylight the army faced west and marched towards Vicksburg. The next morning after leaving Jackson the weather was fair and comfortable and the sound of artillery greeted our ears soon after taking up our line of march. Boomer's brigade had the left of our division, my brigade the right. About seven o'clock General Grant and his staff came up from the rear on a fast trot, and as he passed he said: "Colonel, we shall fight the battle for Vicksburg to-day. Pemberton has moved out with his whole army. Come forward with your brigade as rapidly as possible and have your men in condition for action when you reach the field." I have already related the incidents of this battle that

impressed me the most deeply, and which did not belong to official reports.

The result of the charge upon the enemy at Black River the following morning when communicated to the army produced the wildest excitement, and the most conservative began to conclude that we should capture Vicksburg without a siege, and all knew that the advance of Sherman's corps on the right would compel the evacuation of Haines' Bluff and give us a base of supplies and something to eat and drink, which we had not felt sure of for a single day after we left Black River.

Three miles east of the main crossing of the Black River, orders were received from McPherson to construct a pontoon and forward to Vicksburg the artillery and teams, but remain with the infantry on the east side of the river till further orders. Cotton bales and the timber and boards of a cotton gin made a pontoon across the river, in a few hours, strong enough to cross a battery of twenty-pounder Parrotts, drawn by eight horses, and all the trains. A strong force of cavalry was kept constantly reconnoitering to the rear.

On the afternoon of the second day after the artillery and trains passed, Major Mudd, of the cavalry, came in and said that General Joe Johnston was advancing, with a strong force of infantry and artillery, and he thought would reach that point the next day. This dispatch was forwarded by me to General Grant, and the orderly who took it returned in a few hours, with orders for me to come forward to Vicksburg with my command, and to destroy the pontoon as soon as my command was over. It was a welcome order, and promptly obeyed, and in the afternoon of the following day the command formed on Logan's left, and became a part of the line investing Vicksburg.

On the afternoon of the twenty-first of May, written orders for a general assault upon the enemy's works, by

the whole army, were received, and read at all the headquarters. As soon as it was dark, all the colonels of my command and myself moved out among the abatis in our front to find places through which troops could make their way. The enemy's pickets were everywhere, and talking scandalously about the damned Yanks, but would agree not to fire nor retain us if we would bring over some coffee and exchange for rice. Some points were easier to traverse than others, but to advance through that abatis, under fire, seemed to me to be impossible. The trees and lopped limbs were from four to six feet high, and so thick that it was impossible to crawl through and carry a gun. You could crawl along like a snake, as we did.

That evening Mr. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, General McPherson, Colonel Boomer and Colonel Alexander, came together to my tent. The order for assault was read and discussed. Mr. Dana asked me the direct question, what I thought the result would be. I answered, "You ask for my judgment. You must not take my answer as evidence that I do not want the assault to be made, or to take part in it. I shall do all I can to make it a success, and my command will go as far as any other in the army; but if the enemy has protected his whole front as thoroughly as he has that portion in front of my command, we must fail." "O, pshaw," says Dana, "you don't take into account the demoralization of the enemy. He will fly as soon as we advance." My answer was, that "no men behind such breastworks, and protected by such abatis, were ever known to fly." All the other three added, "We are certain to succeed."

When these officers were about to leave the tent, there occurred one of those incidents that is always attended with gloom. My determination to assault with all vigor, was full, and I had not thought of being killed. Colonel Boomer said, very seriously, "If I am killed to-morrow, have my remains sent to my sister, Mrs. Stone, at Cleve-

land, Ohio." Alexander laughed, and said, "Yes, Boomer, we'll attend to that." When the day's fighting was over, Boomer was among the dead, and the instructions as to his remains, were complied with. I append a communication written by me to his sister, soon after his death, at her request, and which she had the kindness to publish in his biography, written by her, not because of any special interest to this State and Society, but because of the many incidents of the campaign contained in it, and which were written at a time when they were all fresh, and therefore must be correct.

Early on the morning of the twenty-second, the whole army was in line, and the artillery opened from every position, and after the first hour the enemy's batteries seem to slacken their fire. In an hour more our columns advance, and while struggling in the abatis, are met with a murderous fire of musketry. Most of the columns halt, form in line, and hold fast, covering themselves as best they can. My command, and the whole Seventh Division, were holding easily all that had been gained in the first movement, and without serious loss up to two o'clock in the afternoon. General Quimby, commander of the Division now, had just returned from a severe sickness, still weak and unable to take the field in the morning, and sent word to me about 1 o'clock, that he was wholly exhausted, and that I would consider myself in command of the Division the balance of the day. About 2 o'clock, the famous McClernand dispatch came to me as commander of the Seventh Division. The original dispatch was in my possession for a long time, and what has become of it now, I don't know. All the writing was in pencil. I can see that dispatch and the difficult, rapid handwriting now. On the face it read (I may not get the words exact, after sixteen years):

"GENERAL GRANT: I am in part possession of three of the enemy's works. The flag of the United States waves

over the stronghold of Vicksburg. If my right can be properly supported, I can carry the enemy's position in an hour. MCCLERNAND."

On the back of this dispatch were the following words, which proved of fearful import:

"GENERAL MCPHERSON, Commanding Seventeenth Corps, will send one division of his corps to the support of McClernand's right. GRANT."

Then followed:

"The commanding officer Seventh Division, Seventeenth Corps, will immediately move with his command, to the support of Major General McClernand's right.
MCPHERSON."

The division moved out with the greatest gallantry and enthusiasm, and marched a mile or more to the left, and was met by a staff officer of General McClernand, who indicated the points of support and attack. The movement of reinforcements towards these points, had caused the enemy to reinforce, no doubt. And as the first and second brigades moved forward to the attack, they met a determined and destructive fire. If McClernand had any right there to support, it was not found by me; and if he had any other "part possession of the enemy's works" than all other commands of the army had had all day, viz., the outside of them, while the enemy had the inside, it could not be discovered by me. Four hundred of the officers and men of the first and second brigades went down in this fruitless effort; while to aid, or, rather, relieve these struggling brigades, Sherman assaulted with his whole corps, and Logan with his division, so that fully twenty-five hundred men were among the killed and wounded as the result of that historic dispatch. The first brigade reached the ditch of the enemy's works, and

could easily have gone over, but it was evident that to do so would be to go into captivity. After reaching the ditch, the command was suffering less, but was losing still.

While the command was in this condition, Colonel Tourtellotte, of the Fourth Minnesota, came to the writer, and said, "Colonel, we have suffered terribly," and named several officers who were either killed or wounded, and says, "I seem to be almost the only one not disabled, and here is a bullet hole through my hat;" which was true, and so low that it had taken some of the hair from his head. He said further, "We must have orders; we must advance or retreat. We can go over the works in one moment, if you say so." My answer was, "Hold your position ten minutes, and if I cannot get orders by that time from my superiors, I shall withdraw the command.

I rode back a short distance, to find McClernand, or some staff officer, but could find none. Colonel Boomer's adjutant came to me and said, "Colonel Boomer is killed, and the brigade is in line, covered by the crest of a ridge, and making no effort to advance." By him I sent orders to the ranking colonel to withdraw the brigade from the assault. Captain Martin, my adjutant, was at once directed to order the regiments of the first brigade to fall back in such manner as to insure the least exposure and loss, and to bring back the wounded.

The command bivouacked a short distance from the scene of the last assault. It was near dark. The surgeons had retired exhausted. Hundreds of wounded were groaning in the hospitals unattended to. The staff and staff horses were also played wholly out. I rode alone at ten o'clock to the tents of Surgeons Ham and Murphy, and found them both retired, and informed them that the wounded of the Seventh Division would require them to operate during the night, and guided them to the place.

After this General McPherson's head-quarters were

visited. It was now twelve o'clock; the General was just retiring. My rage was beyond my control, and no effort was made to control it. The whole situation and trouble was explained to him fully, and I added, "if these things are to be tolerated, I will leave the army, and if I cannot get out any other way I will desert or commit some offence of magnitude sufficient to result in being shot out of it." The general heard all with patience and then said, "You go to your tent and write an official report of just how you found things and just what transpired and I will call in the morning by seven o'clock and take it to General Grant's head-quarters." This he did, and but a day or two elapsed before General Ord was in command of the sixteenth corps that on this fatal day had been commanded by McClernand.

For two days great quiet prevailed along the lines, but at headquarters all was activity. On the evening of the second day during the twilight, McPherson came to my head-quarters and said he was sorry to call for the purpose he had. But he did not feel like issuing orders to me to make the movement contemplated, and had come to talk the matter over. He said that he had just come from Grant's headquarters and that the general had just received a dispatch from the colonel of the Illinois cavalry reconnoitering up Black River, that General Johnson had crossed about forty miles up the stream and unless checked would immediately threaten our line of supplies now at Haines' Bluff and the rear of our line of investments, and added with great earnestness, "he must be checked, and if possible driven back across the river. Grant has called for reinforcements but it will be from six to ten days before they arrive, and we have concluded to send out three brigades that have seen the most service in the army to make all possible resistance to his advance. These brigades must be withdrawn from the line of investment under cover of night, so that the enemy in Vicksburg may not know of the movement, and it is important to

meet Johnson's army as far away from Vicksburg as possible so that the sound of the guns cannot be heard here. Now are you willing to move out with your brigade in an hour, with three days' rations in knapsacks and forty rounds of ammunition to each man?"

The condition was evidently far more trying to the commanders of the army and corps than to us subordinates, and the suggestion was given the force of orders with the greatest alacrity. The brigade was moving north in an hour, in dense darkness, under a guide furnished by the corps commander, and continued the march until two o'clock in the morning. About daylight General Leggett came up with his brigade and an hour or two later General Frank Blair came up with a brigade of his command, and being the officer highest in rank, had command of the whole force. The day's march was made without resistance, but rumors of a formidable enemy in front came thick and fast. We bivouacked within about two miles of the enemy's line of battle, according to the reports from the cavalry. General Blair called a council of war, of the brigade commanders. This was the first and only one I ever attended. Blair read all the dispatches, and the substance of them was, that the enemy is near in heavy force and in line of battle; he submitted the question, shall we fight or fall back? It is said to have been a trite saying of Napoleon's, that "councils of war never fight." The vote was two to one in favor of falling back. Blair said at once "General Grant has sent us up here to find out what force the enemy has, and to gain for him all the time possible, so that his reinforcements may arrive before Johnson gets up. The command will advance in the morning, at four o'clock."

The advance had proceeded but a short distance before it was brought to a halt by the enemy's artillery, at the point where the cavalry had drawn the fire for the three preceding days. A heavy line of skirmishers was deployed and sent forward. A few rounds from the battery

were fired, and a cloud of dust gave token of the retreat of the enemy. A regiment of cavalry and a battery was all the force. We halted near Statartia for the day and night, and moved back to Haines' Bluff by easy marches and upon the arrival of the first reinforcements again took our respective positions in the line of investment. The siege progressed with lively routine until flags of truce appeared at many points along the enemy's works, on July the third.

On the evening of the third of July, my brigade was designated, with that of General Stevenson's, of Logan's Division, to occupy Vicksburg and parol the prisoners of war. The balance of the army turned east to whip or capture Johnson. General Sherman was given command. Generals Grant and McPherson made head-quarters in Vicksburg.

Marching into Vicksburg was a great Fourth of July celebration. The day was clear, bright and intensely hot, and most officers and the band and many others had donned a new uniform, but the joy was so great that the band played every step from our camp to the Court House, and the officers with their full, heavy uniforms seemed as light and cool as Minnesota air.

We stacked arms for a while, and reconnoitered the city. I proceeded to the house of Colonel Stevens, who was accustomed to spend much time in St. Paul, before the war, and who was a brother-in-law of our old-time citizen, Marshal Miller. Stevens was under great excitement but received me kindly, and said the surrender was wholly unexpected to them. The people and garrison were greatly reduced in subsistence supplies. My haversack was on when I called, and contained a fair amount of hard tack. A little child of Mrs. Craft's, a refined and elegant lady of Holly Springs, who was visiting there, cried for some of this delicious bread, and upon being handed some, eat it down with the greatest avidity and satisfaction. When tender mothers fail to

give their children sufficient food, a great scarcity of the article may be presumed.

While paroling these prisoners of war, and estimating the supplies and arms captured, my acquaintance socially with the generals and their staffs became more intimate than it had before been. At this time, General Grant was in receipt of dispatches from General Halleck daily, and he was wont to read them to us every evening. I well recollect that when he read the dispatch wherein Halleck informed him that the Army of the Potomac, under General Meade, had won a decisive victory at Gettysburg, and that he, Halleck, had ordered forward, as I now recollect it, forty thousand fresh troops to aid in the pursuit, with what positiveness the general asserted that "Lee will be compelled to surrender his army now." Without intending to utter one word in disparagement of General Meade, I must express a sentiment, which at that time was general in the Army of the Tennessee, that if General Grant had been in command, with the same opportunities, that the general's own prediction would have been realized.

One evening, not far from the tenth of July, General Grant read a dispatch from General Sherman, then investing General Johnson at Jackson, indicating that he had that army cornered, that his right and left wings rested on Pearl river, and that his batteries commanded the space between his wings, in the rear of Johnson's army, and he remarked, "I think Johnson will surrender to Sherman to-morrow." We all felt great interest in the situation, and I rode early to headquarters, to learn the news from Sherman. The dispatch was read by Grant himself, to the effect that Johnson, with his army, had escaped under the cover of the darkness. The general expressed regret, but did not utter a complaining word, nor censure any one in the least.

The campaign against Vicksburg was now over, and courts-martial and promotions were now next in order.

There are personal reminiscences of this portion of the campaign that I cannot give without referring to myself more than good taste will permit, yet which, as matters of history, ought to be given, and as they can now be given without any feeling, I venture to give them here. The official records of the Adjutant-General's office, of the State, show that I resigned from the service August 4th, 1863, while, in fact, I was in the service continuously from December 22d, 1861, to June 1st, 1866. It seems right that this matter should be explained by me while living, as there will be no one to explain it when I am gone.

Two officers of my brigade had been recommended by me for promotion, for gallant and valuable services at the battle of Iuka,—Colonel Mathias, of the Fifth Iowa, and Colonel Boomer, of the Twenty-sixth Missouri. I was recommended for promotion by General Hamilton, the commander of the division, and General Rosecrans, commander of the army. All of us were appointed by the President, about December, 1862. When the question of confirmation came up, the appointees from other States, whose names had been sent in on my own report, were confirmed, while the public men of Minnesota allowed my name to fail, and thereby, contrary to the recommendations of the commanders in the field, the junior was made the senior, and the inferior in rank made the superior. In this alone is the secret of a colonel commanding a division a portion of the time in the siege of Vicksburg, and in this alone is all the misfortune. It was not rank considered as such that was wanted, but the desire was to retain relative rank.

The day after the surrender, General McPherson came to my headquarters and announced, with exultation, that General Grant had informed him that his, McPhersons' recommendations for promotions should head the list that he would send on, for gallant and valuable services in the campaign against Vicksburg, and added, "I shall put your

name second anyway, and will head the list with it if you ask it, but if left to myself, I shall put Colonel Chambers, who is a regular army officer, first, and yours second." The result in the spring before led me to believe that it had been determined by the members of Congress from Minnesota, that I should not be promoted anyway, and I communicated this belief to McPherson, and he answered, "If my recommendation and General Grant's, with those you have previously had, don't carry you through, we might as well disband the army, for it will be impossible to maintain any *esprit de corps*." I then asked him, if in case the appointment of all the others on the list came back and mine did not, if he would approve my resignation. He said that he would, at once, and would resign if he were in my place, and that he could get General Grant to accept the resignation at once.

About the first of August, the whole list of appointments of those recommended for promotion came back, with the single exception of my name. I thereupon wrote out my resignation, and took it to McPherson, who approved it and then rode with me to General Grant's headquarters, and the General accepted it, and directed the proper staff officers to give me transportation to St. Paul, to allow me to take out my horses, and to turn over to me the colors captured by my command at Jackson. One of General Grant's staff officers communicated the secret, that Grant had written a personal letter in regard to my case, and that the promotion would surely come.

I issued the following address, in the form of General Orders, to my command, and left for St. Paul:

HEADQUARTERS 1ST BRIGADE,
7TH DIVISION, 17TH ARMY CORPS.

VICKSBURG, MISS., August 5th, 1863.

GENERAL ORDERS,
No. 16.

Soldiers of the First Brigade:

Having determined to leave the Military Service, the Colonel commanding announces that he sincerely regrets to part with that brave command, whose hardships, privations, honor and glory he has had the good fortune to share for more than a year past. During this brief period you have been called upon to fight for the honor of our Flag, and the maintenance of the authority of the Government many times, and have won immortal honors on many fields.

At the siege of Corinth, your constant and sure approaches, by great labor in the trenches, aided to drive the enemy from a most important position, and scatter the largest army yet brought together in the Confederacy.

At Iuka, alone and unaided, except in the last moments of the battle by the gallant 11th Missouri, you, at fearful sacrifice, resisted the repeated furious charges of the enemy, and drove three times your number from a hard contested and most bloody field.

On the first day of the battle of Corinth, seemingly as the forlorn hope of a day of bad fortune, you made a fierce and most perilous attack upon the flank and rear of the enemy's steadily advancing columns, and compelled him to fall back, when he had almost gained the town, and to wait the fortunes of another and more auspicious day. And on the second day of the same battle, when the enemy's advance had gained the town, and all seemed lost, again, by a most desperate attack upon the enemy's flank, you cut off his entire reserve, and compelled him to give all he had gained, and contributed vastly in wrenching from his hands a most brilliant victory.

When the sound of the enemy's guns at Port Gibson

broke on your ears, although the broad Mississippi rolled between you and the enemy, you crossed as by magic, and moved as if on wings, toward the scene of conflict, to aid your brothers in arms to win a victory in what you knew to be a most important contest, and long before the sound of battle ceased, you were in position protecting one flank of our Army.

At Forty Hills, by a steady and constant advance upon the enemy's batteries and lines, you drove him from strong positions across the "Big Black."

At Raymond you moved up on the run, through terrible dust and heat, and under a most gallant fire, to the support of a most gallant division, but hard pressed by superior numbers; your presence precipitated the retreat of the enemy from a well chosen and hardly contested field.

At Jackson, by a most perilous and gallant charge upon a hidden foe, supporting well manned batteries of artillery, you drove a superior force of the enemy from a most favorable position, and carried your standards in triumph to the very dome of the Capitol of Mississippi.

At Champion Hills, every one of you were engaged constantly for four hours, at no time taking any step backward, aiding the balance of the three small divisions there engaged, to drive the enemy from a well chosen position, that our Army might advance and wrench from the enemy's grasp the key that would unlock the navigation of our Mississippi.

At Vicksburg, you were among the first to reach the enemy's works at the assault, and the last of all to retire, although your position was unfavorable and exposed; and after this you immediately moved nearly fifty miles to the rear, and aided to develop the movements of the enemy in that direction, and then again took your position in front of the enemy's works, and aided by your deadly rifles, by trench and mine, to reduce this stronghold.

In addition to these services on the field of battle, you

have made long and perilous campaigns, always successful and without loss to the Government. *Yours is indeed a glorious record!* Few organizations of the Army have been so fortunate. In future strive to emulate your own example in the past, and nothing but glory can await you. Brave and faithful soldiers, I bid you Farewell.

By order of COLONEL JOHN B. SANBORN.

JOHN E. SIMPSON,
Captain and A. A. A. G.

Soon after my arrival home, the senators offered to give me letters to the President, and really seemed anxious that I should return to the army. But in the Army of the Tennessee, I had lost relative rank to such an extent that my usefulness would be much curtailed. But after much deliberation, I concluded to return to the army, and went to Washington with the letters of the senators. General Frank Blair was there, and wanted to go with me to meet the President. I had not seen the President since March, 1861. The interview was peculiar, amusing and interesting. We were invited in immediately upon sending in our cards, and found most of the cabinet officers present. Seward, Chase, Welles and Stanton remained quite a while, and heard us answer questions asked by the President about the campaign. At length I handed to Mr. Lincoln the letters from the Senators. He looked at them, and says, "Then they are ready for this now. I will give you a letter to Stanton." He immediately wrote it, and after the interview closed I took it over to Mr. Stanton, who opened it and handed it right back to me, and I have it still, and said, "Why didn't you come to me in the first instance? What did you go to the President for?" And he immediately revoked the order of General Grant accepting my resignation, and made the appointment a second time, saying that he had known all about the case all the time. Hence I was not out of the service a day, from December 22d, 1861, the day I mustered in, to June 1st, 1866, the day I mustered out.

The course of Minnesota was certainly very different from that of other States. Other States seemed to push their men and officers forward with great zeal, while Minnesota seemed disposed to hold hers back, and lost all opportunity of commanding influence in the army, and otherwise diminished her power.

This was the last time I ever saw Mr. Lincoln. He seemed as genial and social as if in a law office in Illinois. After handing to me the letter he had written to Stanton, he turned over another leaf of his portfolio, and says, "Blair, I want to read to you a letter I have written to McClernand, and get your opinion of my epistolary powers. McClernand has applied to me to call a court of inquiry upon his conduct and that of General Grant, in the campaign against Vicksburg; and you know McClernand and I are old friends, but this is something that I can't do, and I am trying to get out of it the best way I can. You see Grant has given us about the only good things we have had so far in this war, and the people of the country won't see him ordered before a court of inquiry now; so here is what I have written."

And he read the letter. It was quite lengthy for an official letter. The chief point of it was, as I now remember, that the orders and acts of both McClernand and Grant, had been in the presence of tens of thousands of their fellow citizens, and it would matter little what a court composed of a small number of these citizens might find the facts to be, basing their findings upon the evidence of a few more such citizens, and closing with declining to call the court. He added that he had studied pretty hard on that letter, and that he believed that was the best he could do. General Blair congratulated him on his success. Mr. Lincoln then illustrated the case by a very apt story, which, like many of his illustrations, cannot be given just as he told it. But the gist was, that long years before, when he was district attorney in Illinois, he had proceeded with the trial of a case of assault with intent to murder, without any previous consultation with

the complaining witness; the county attorney having attended on the grand jury, and drawn the indictment. He proved his *prima facie* case easily by the complaining witness. The prisoner had shot at him with a pistol loaded with a leaden bullet, and hit him; proved the time when and the venue, and rested. The counsel for the defense commenced to cross-examine the witness with great ferocity. "In whose house were you when you were shot?" The witness stammered out, "In the prisoner's house." "Who was there with you?" With still more stammering, he said, "The prisoner's wife." And so it went on, till the question was asked, "Where did the bullet hit you?" Whereupon the witness stopped and refused to answer. The judge told him he must answer, and he still refused; and at last Mr. Lincoln said to the witness, he couldn't see as it would do any harm for the witness to answer so simple a question, and, "You may as well answer the question; it can do no harm." Whereupon the witness, with great emotion, said, "Well, Mr. Lincoln, if you must know all about this, the fact is, that he took me on the rise." With a hearty laugh, he added, I think McClernand wants to take Grant on the rise, for he has already risen pretty high in the estimation of the people.

But sixteen years have passed away since the events above detailed, and the saddest, gloomiest feature of this review of unwritten history and unrecorded events, is the havoc made by death with the actors in those days. Not a group comes before the mind that has not been thinned or annihilated by death. Of the five colonels of the first brigade, Boomer, Alexander, Eddy and Mathias, that were wont to meet and converse as friends during the siege of Corinth, are dead, and I alone remain. Of the group that met at my tent the evening of the 21st of May, 1863, Dana, of the New York Sun, and myself, are all that survive. McPherson, Boomer, Alexander, Eddy, are all gone. Of all those met in September, 1863, in the Executive Mansion, not one continues but myself. Lin-

coln, Seward, Chase, Welles, Stanton and Blair, are all numbered with the dead; of the staff, Rawlins, Bowens, and others are gone. And this deeply impresses me with the thought, that if any of us who took part in those exciting days and scenes, are carrying in our minds portions of the unwritten history that may be of interest or profit to posterity, we must commit it to writing soon, or the darkness of the grave will exclude it from the light forever.

The order of General McPherson, read to the troops of his command, at dress parade, on the evening of July 4th, 1863, is also appended.

Reminiscences of this kind of this campaign do not afford a glimpse even of the great struggle, the gigantic efforts, the unutterable sufferings and sacrifices made by the Army of the Tennessee to maintain the supremacy of the Federal power by reducing this stronghold and gaining the undisputed mastery over the Mississippi river. Were all the official reports of all the officers of the army read here to-night (and these reports fill volumes) but a faint idea would be obtained. The great motive power of this effort was pure love of country and sincere devotion to the welfare of organized society. In the failure of this effort the leading spirits of that army thought they saw, or feared that they saw, the overthrow of this government, and in its overthrow they clearly saw the failure of the last great republican government on earth; society disorganized and reduced to chaos; intelligence and virtue overwhelmed into a sea of ignorance and brutality; and religion and purity superseded by bacchanalian revelry and superstitious degradation. Hence, in the estimation of these men, the struggle was to save the government and all the blessings that upon it depended. Institutions of learning and religion, the liberty of the masses, and civilization itself were at stake upon the decision of the issues of that hour. And their full appreciation by the army nerved it to strike such blows as would and did overwhelm all opposing forces.

APPENDIX.

HEADQUARTERS OF 1ST BRIGADE,
7TH DIVISION, 17TH ARMY CORPS,
VICKSBURG, July 27th, 1863.

MRS. S——,

DEAR MADAM:—Had I known positively your name and address I should have done myself the honor of writing you a letter of condolence at the time of your brother's death, knowing as I did, from his own remarks, that you were more to him than any other living being. It is indeed true that I am familiar with his military career, and it is all bright and glorious; so that it would be a most difficult task to recite facts or incidents that would have peculiar significance or interest. His whole life as a soldier, and all the incidents of it, seem equally interesting.

His mind was adapted to the service in every respect; and when he knew what movements our army was about to make, he was never at a loss to know what the movements of the enemy would be. For three long and tedious campaigns, namely: against Corinth, against Vicksburg, by the Central Mississippi Railroad, and against Vicksburg by the river, comprising almost every variety of movement and strategy, all of which were discussed and considered, no movement was made the effect and result of which he did not exactly foretell before it was commenced.

When a large portion of our army below Corinth was sent forward to General Buell, in Cincinnati, last summer, I recollect how confident he was that we should be attacked on that line at an early day. You will remember how soon the battle of Iuka and Corinth followed. Again, last December, when we were below Oxford, on the Yokeny Potoffa river, he constantly discussed the great danger we were in of having our supplies cut off by a raid upon the road, and came one day to request me to go with him to Grant's headquarters, and urge the necessity of the army being supplied immediately with twenty or thirty days' rations of hard bread and coffee, so that, in case the road was destroyed, the army could march on down to Vicksburg and open communications by river, and thus no delay be incurred in reducing the place by any movement of the enemy in the rear. Subsequent events, which came speedily upon us, proved how well founded his opinions were.

When the last spring campaign opened we were ordered to land about fifteen miles above Lake Providence, and open a way for boats above Bayou Macon, with a view of going through to Red River to reinforce General Banks at Port Hudson, and clearing the river as far up as Warrenton. The distance to be traveled through these narrow, crooked bayous and small rivers, through the enemy's country, would have been at least four hundred miles. Your brother at once took the most decided stand against the programme, and when the division commander gave the usual military reason for carrying it out, namely,

that it was so ordered, he went so far as to say that such orders must not be obeyed until a full consultation was held upon them, and the whole matter reconsidered. He immediately took a boat and went in person to Lake Providence, to have a private interview with General McPherson on the subject, and impressed him so strongly with the insurmountable obstacles to a successful campaign thus ordered, that the General made a trip to Young's Point to see General Grant on the subject, and the whole plan was dropped.

We were ordered down the Tallahatchie river by the Yazoo Pass, which was also a movement in which your brother had no confidence, and he often remarked, before we sailed, that the campaign would be immensely expensive, and result in no advantage to the Government; and so it proved. But when the last movement was commenced by way of Bruinsburgh, he was filled with confidence and hope, and often remarked that he could foresee its certain success. In battle your brother conducted himself with as much calculation, deliberation, and calmness, as in the most common occurrence and affairs of life, and he dared to do what he saw clearly was best without orders, and even against orders in an unquestionable case.

At the battle of Iuka, after the enemy's skirmishers were driven back to the main line by a portion of his regiment, and a fire received from nearly the whole of the enemy, Boomer applied to me for an order to bring in his skirmishers at once, to form the whole regiment into line of battle, and be ready for an advance of the enemy, which was evidently about being made. I told him my orders from General Rosecrans were, to have the skirmishers hold their line, or advance if possible, and bring the whole body of infantry forward to their support. He said the line the skirmishers were on could not be maintained a moment, and if I did not choose to take the responsibility of ordering the skirmishers in, he would bring them in without orders, and accordingly did so; and I obtained an order to the same effect while he was doing this. Hardly had a moment elapsed after he accomplished this before the whole line of the enemy came forward like a tempest, and almost swept away the imperfect formation we had made.

Your brother was not overcome at all or disquieted by this shock, his regiment being in reserve, and he having full discretion as to the point where and the time when he should move, personally led to the front line, where it was most weakened, and where the fire was most destructive, with four of his best companies; and seeing at a glance that all our reserve forces were needed there, he attempted to bring them up. While doing this he was shot, and fell, as was then supposed mortally wounded.

While laboring under the pains of what he supposed, with all his friends (except his surgeon), was a mortal wound, his courage and spirit did not fail, and he was only anxious for the issue of the battle. His only regret was that he was not able to complete the movements he had commenced, which he felt confident would have relieved the whole line in a great degree.

At Jackson, Champion Hill, and before Vicksburg, he exhibited the same judgment, calmness, determination and zeal. He was following

my brigade to the right of our line at Champion Hill, when he received an order to move back quickly and support General Hovey's Division, then being engaged and overwhelmed by superior numbers in the center. It was but a few minutes before the whole center of the enemy's line was falling back before him.

The enemy was speedily reinforced at that point, and even commenced driving back the thinned ranks of Colonel Boomer's Brigade. He came to me and spoke as calmly and coolly as on any occasion, saying, "Sanborn, the enemy are too strong for my brigade where I am, but with two more regiments I can clear that part of the field. Can't you let me have the Fifty-ninth and Forty-eighth Indiana from your brigade?" When I assured him that my troops were all engaged, but that the Third Brigade was close up, and I had heard General Grant order it at once to his support, he responded, "that is all I want," and rode off as cheerful as if it were a holiday.

In less than a half hour that part of the field was cleared, and clearing that cleared the whole; so that your brother performed a most conspicuous part in that battle. When the general order was given for the army to assault the enemy's works on the 22d of May, Boomer was disposed to favor it, and to believe it would be successful, and not attended with any very heavy loss. He based this belief on the fact that the enemy had been recently defeated in several engagements, and was consequently demoralized, and would not make a strong stand.

But after the movement had commenced, and the condition as well as disposition of the enemy became apparent, he had no confidence of our success, and became much depressed. This depression did not seem to be the result of any gloomy forebodings about himself, but of a fear—well founded, I think—that the assault would be carried so far, that we should lose the strength and flower of our army, and as a consequence Vicksburg, which we were sure to capture and reduce by delay.

Later than twelve o'clock that day he told me he had become convinced that we could not gain the parapets without the loss of more than fifty per cent of our men; that this would leave the enemy the larger force, which would be fresh, while ours would be exhausted and worn out, and that we had no chance of success. He asked me once if I did not think some one of us should go and see General McPherson in regard to the matter, and try to have the men ordered back to the camps. This, however, was but a few moments before we received a dispatch from General McClernand saying, that he was in part possession of the enemy's works; that if he could be supported he could carry the position, etc., and an order for us to move to his support.

As we left our position to go to the support of McClernand, I saw your brother for the last time alive. He gave a broad full smile, such as you know he could give, which seemed to say, "I don't believe a word of the dispatch, but am willing to go and see how it is."

A half hour afterward we were both warmly engaged with the enemy in our new position, when your brother was killed. He fell at the time of his greatest usefulness, and when moving rapidly forward in the pathway of glory. In his case how speedily it led to the tomb?

"The decree went forth, and the arrow sped
By fate's irrevocable doom;
And the gallant young hero lies low with the dead;
But the halo of glory that encircled his head
Remains uneclipsed by the tomb."

Your brother will never be forgotten by his companions in arms; and we all, even before we could realize that we should see him in the flesh nevermore, in heart exclaimed: "Wise counselor! Brave soldier! Genial and faithful friend! Hail! and Farewell!"

Very truly yours,

J. B. SANBORN,
Brigadier-General.

HEADQUARTERS 17TH ARMY CORPS,
DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
VICKSBURG, MISS., July 4th, 1863.

GENERAL ORDERS
No. 20.

SOLDIERS OF THE 17TH ARMY CORPS: Again I rejoice with you over your brilliant achievements, and your unparalleled success.

Hardly had your flag floated to the breeze on the Capitol of Mississippi, when springing to the call of our NOBLE COMMANDER, you rushed upon the defiant columns of the enemy at "CHAMPION HILLS," and drove him in confusion and dismay across the "BIG BLACK" to his defense within the stronghold of VICKSBURG.

Your assaulting columns, which moved promptly on his works on the 22d of May, and which stood for hours undaunted, under a withering fire, were unsuccessful only because no men could take the position by storm.

With tireless energy, with sleepless vigilance, by night and by day, with battery and with rifle pit, with trench and mine, you made your sure approaches, until overcome by fatigue, and driven to despair in the attempt to oppose your irresistible progress, the whole garrison of over *thirty thousand men*, with *all their arms and munitions of war*, have, on this, the anniversary of our NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, surrendered to the *invincible troops* of the ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE.

The achievements of this hour will give a *new* meaning to this *memorable* day, and "VICKSBURG" will brighten the glow in the patriot's heart, which kindles at the mention of "BUNKER HILL" and "YORKTOWN."

This is indeed an auspicious day for you. The GOD OF BATTLES is with you. The dawn of a *conquered* peace is breaking upon you—the plaudits of an *admiring world* will hail you wherever you may go, and it will be an *ennobling heritage* surpassing *all riches*, to have been of the 17TH ARMY CORPS on the 4TH OF JULY, 1863.

JAS. B. MCPHERSON,
Major-General.

ADDRESS

Delivered by Gen'l JOHN B. SANBORN, at Austin, Mower County, May 30, 1885, Decoration Day.

COMRADES AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

We come in the spring-time to visit the tombs that contain the mouldering ashes of those patriotic and brave men who willingly gave up life and all its joys for the welfare and happiness of their fellow-men, and calling them forth from the night of the grave we again behold these immortals, crowned with light and honor, form in serried ranks and pass in review before the present generation of men.

Look, and learn here the lessons of patriotism and duty! Consider, and learn here the cost and value of constitutional government! Twenty years in regular succession have marched by since the last battles of the Rebellion were fought. The war and its great events in which we participated, and with which we are as familiar as with our daily duties, have become

matters of history to the majority of those now living. I speak to-day to a generation of men the greater proportion of whom existed only in the all-creating power of God when the heroes whose ashes sleep here fell in the great conflict for the preservation of this government and the perpetuation of human freedom.

On every page of the annals of mankind you will indeed find the record of conflicts and wars, and read of heroic and brave deeds and great sacrifices, and great efforts and great triumphs; but through the history of the human race you will look in vain for a record of efforts so superhuman, of sacrifice of property, of happiness, of life almost without limit, made by an enlightened and elevated race to give freedom to and exalt a lower and degraded race of men.

Avarice and ambition in every period of history have waged devastating wars against the inferior races and nations of mankind; and revenge has brought back those races in time to destroy their victors. While the earlier civilization was marching slowly westward along the mild shores of the Mediterranean Sea, suddenly it seemed to turn its eye backwards over the rich and blooming plains of Persia, across which it had but recently passed, and, lured by wealth and splendor that remained behind, it turned back under the immortal Alexander the Great and spread desolation and sorrow over all the land to the Eu-

phrates. As if in revenge the armies of Asia desolated the plains of Greece, and carried their conquests throughout all southern Europe. Avarice and ambition carried the Roman legions across the Alps and to every tribe and people in Europe; revenge carried the armies of those conquered people back over the Alps through the gates and into the eternal city. Avarice and ambition carried the French armies under the lead of the great Napoleon against every nation and into almost every capital of Europe; and revenge brought back these nations against France and her emperor and compelled the capitulation and surrender of her proudest city, the seat of her empire, and the exile of her great chieftain.

But to their glory, and as their chief glory, be it said, that in the great struggle in which our comrades fell none of these low passions or desires held sway.

With the soldiers in active service in the War of the Rebellion avarice had no place. The nation was fighting for its life, and all that could be received must be received from herself. There was nothing upon which ambition's withering breath could breathe. Power and dominion, limited only by the constitution, existed when the war commenced, and ambition was satisfied with the great gift of the constitution. Revenge was not. No one in the generation then living was the author of the wrong that led to the conflict,

and the error of the fathers was committed in an over-zealous day to do more than they were able for the happiness of the generations that were to come after them.

The war in which our comrades fell seemed to have had its origin in the realms of the moral world, and to have been by a decree of providence transferred to that of the physical world for its determination, and these men whose virtues and sacrifice you this day commemorate, fell in a great war waged on behalf of humanity itself, and their names and memories must be sacred to all men while humanity endures.

> "Such graves as these are pilgrim shrines,
> Shrines to no creed or code confined,
> The Delphian vales, the Palestines,
> The Meccas of the mind."

Imperfection is stamped upon every human institution,—upon all sublunary things. Our fathers left us a written constitution that blindly recognized property in man, dominion of one man over another, as the same was construed and practiced for the first seventy years of our national existence. The nation could not have been formed without this concession to avarice and greed for gain, and with obscure language, and many sad but hopeful hearts, the crime against nature that had had its origin in the colonies was engrafted into the constitution, and spread its slow and withering

virus throughout the whole body politic, until the convulsion of war became the only remedy that could purify it from this deadly taint. The slightest concession to error and sin must always lead to disastrous results. This is a law of the moral world that every man of ordinary observation who has lived half a century has seen demonstrated in instances innumerable, and until he has been compelled to recognize it as fixed and certain as any law of his physical being.

How slight a concession to wrong that appeared to be in the following language of the constitution of the United States: "The immigration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight;" and, "That no person held to service and labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such labor or service, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service and labor may be due." But the annals of the human race will be searched in vain for another such record of wrong and crime against a race or class of men as that which grew up under the shield and protection of these provisions of the fundamental law of this land.

That most cruel and inhuman slave trade, that

congress in accordance with public sentiment of those days, as soon as the inhibition of the constitution expired by limitation, did not hesitate to declare piracy, had been practiced so long and had become so thoroughly interwoven with commerce and gain that the law when passed proved to be little more than a dead letter. And two hundred years after those who sought an asylum from the religious persecutions of the old world, had made the rock upon which their feet first trod upon this continent sacred to all their descendants and to freedom itself, the greatest orator of his generation standing upon, that rock, in the year eighteen hundred and twenty, speaking of the events that had transpired there two hundred years before, gave utterance to the public sentiment and public consciousness of his generation in the following expressive language:

"I deem it my duty on this occasion to suggest that the land is not yet wholly free from the contamination of a traffic at which every feeling of humanity must forever revolt. I mean the African slave trade. Neither public sentiment nor the law has heretofore been able to put an end to this odious and abominable trade. At the moment when God in his mercy has blessed the Christian world with an universal peace, there is reason to believe that to the disgrace of the Christian name and character new efforts are making

for the extension of this trade by subjects and citizens of Christian States, in whose hearts there dwell no sentiments of humanity or of justice, and over whom neither the fear of God nor the fear of man exercises a control. * * * I hear the sound of the hammer; I see the smoke of the furnaces where manacles and fetters are still forged for human limbs; I see the visages of those who by stealth and at midnight labor in this work of hell, foul and dark as may become the artifices of such instruments of misery and torture. * * * I call on the fair merchant who has reaped his harvest upon the seas that he assist in scourging from those seas the worst pirates that ever infested them. That ocean which seems to wave with a gentle magnificence to waft the burden of an honest commerce, and to roll along its treasures with a conscious pride—that ocean which hardy industry regards even when the winds have ruffled its surface as a field of grateful toil—what is it to the victim of this oppression when he is brought to its shores, and looks upon it for the first time loaded with chains and bleeding with stripes? What is it to him but a widespread prospect of suffering, anguish and death? Nor do the skies smile longer, nor is the air longer fragrant to him. The sun is cast down from heaven. An inhuman and accursed traffic has cut him off in his manhood and in his youth

from every enjoyment belonging to his being and every blessing which his maker intended for him."

While the evil flowing from the inhibition of congress to prohibit the importation of such persons as any of the States then existing should think proper to admit prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight had grown to such gigantic proportions that it thus aroused the conscience of the Christian world and touched every fibre of human sympathy, that other provision which obligated each State to return persons bound to service and labor in any other that had escaped thereto, had resulted in inexpressible and inconceivable wrong and woe. A whole race of men, greater in numbers than our ancestors at the period of the revolution, had been subjected to unwilling, everlasting and unrequited toil. The only protection to person, property or any natural right of this race was such only as avarice and the highest self-gratification of the master of these persons thus bound to labor should dictate.

Man created in the image of his God and but little lower than the angels and crowned with glory and honor, was degraded to a domestic animal of the common sort, and bought and sold in the market place like a beast of burden. The mother did not have the control of her child nor the father of his offspring.

Husband and wife, parent and child, were liable at any moment to be separated, and separated forever, at the mere whim or caprice of another. Those humane laws which exist in nearly all civilized communities and prohibit punishment beyond a certain degree, even upon domestic animals, and which are generally vigorously enforced, were without any power to protect, and were rarely, if ever, enforced for the protection of the persons of this class.

The conscience of the people in those States where slavery did not exist became alive to all these enormities, and demanded at last, in the year 1860,—forty years after the denunciation of the slave trade on Plymouth rock, which trade was then as always supported by slavery in Christian States, and which trade in turn supported the institution of slavery,—that these crimes against nature itself should be denationalized in this nation. That if slavery of this type must exist, it should be protected and maintained, not by the federal government,—the United States,—of which the people of all the States are citizens, but should be confined in such States as should choose to support and foster such an iniquity.

The election of Mr. Lincoln in 1860 was the first popular expression of the determination of the people of the land that the abomination of slavery, as it existed in some States, should cease to grow outside

of those States, and that it should not exist in any Territory or place under the exclusive control of the United States; that freedom, and not slavery, should be the law of the land, as contemplated by the fathers. The sequel showed that the owners of this slave property disdained to have any part or lot in this government if in its Territories and all places in its exclusive control it would not recognize and protect as property whatever was property under the laws of any State; and seeing in the result of the election of 1860 the decision of this question against them by the electors of the country, the slave-holding States threw off the restraints of the federal power and constitution, and waged war against its authority. This was the crisis. The government was without an army; the yeomanry were unarmed; and the first question with all considerate and loyal men, was, "will the people rally to the support of the government?" Finally the immortal Lincoln announced officially to the country that the forts and arsenals were attacked, and called upon the people and authorities to rally to its support.

It was for such a cause, and under such circumstances, that the patriotic men who lie buried here came from their fields and workshops and the peaceful pursuits of life, and formed in the ranks of war. They were moved by the noblest impulses that ever operate upon the minds of men. The destruction of their gov-

ernment, which was "a government of the people, by the people and for the people," was threatened, and slavery was to be made perpetual and nationalized. To establish the government, their fathers had endured the hardships, privations and sufferings of a seven years' war, and died in the belief that freedom was the law of its life. Imperfections it had; but far less than any other government in Christendom. The welfare of future generations was depending upon its preservation. To sustain and preserve it they must put all to the hazard; and risking all, even life itself, they go forth to maintain it as it came down to them from the fathers, and by their efforts and sacrifices, in common with all those who thought life of little moment in comparison with the preservation of the Union, have not only preserved the government of the fathers, but freed the constitution from every trace and vestige of slavery, so that every citizen, although the poorest and most degraded of earth, with exaltation may confidently exclaim that "although he may be poor, he can never be a slave."

It seems to be the order of providence that in this world great blessings flow only from suffering, hardship, privation and sacrifice. The lives of our comrades who lie buried here were crushed in the morning of their days, that thereby under the blessing of God the government might be preserved. It was preserved,

its protection increased and its liberty enlarged, and the government of the fathers made, in fact, as it was before in name, a bulwark of freedom to all men in all nations forevermore; and an enslaved and degraded race was exalted to the dignified position of citizenship, and no servitude or inequality before the law is left anywhere in our constitution, or in that of any of the States.

Life was never before sacrificed in so glorious a cause. Blessings of such magnitude were never before bestowed and secured by any such sacrifice. And the memory of those who died in this cause remains fresh to this day, and we may confidently hope will be cherished by all people for all time.

"Twine gratitude a wreath for them,
More deathless than the diadem,
Who to life's noblest end,
Gave up life's noblest powers,
And bade the legacy descend,
Down, down to us and ours."

On an occasion like the present our duty to the living not less than to the dead requires us briefly to consider the condition of public affairs, and to point out any serious defects in the administration of the government which we have observed to exist, and which a correct public sentiment would tend to remove.

We think it must be admitted by all candid minds that no government was ever before called upon to meet and decide in a single generation so many and grave questions as was ours during the single decade that succeeded the capitulation at Appomatox; and the same minds must admit that the weightiest of these questions have been decided wisely and well. The people of the colored race which were property before the war, and at its close neither property nor citizens, have been vested with all the rights of citizenship, and received the right to a full protection of the laws. The payment of any obligations by any State, or of the United States, incurred in carrying on war against the United States, has been forever prohibited. The elective franchise has been conferred upon all citizens of the United States without distinction on account of race or color. The aid and influence of the federal government has been largely given towards the education and mental development of all classes of our people, and we think it may be truly said that upon all questions bearing directly upon the mental and moral condition of the people the government has fully met the expectations and hopes of the philanthropists and patriots of all lands.

It is with deep regret that we are compelled upon such an occasion to admit that upon questions bearing directly upon the financial and pecuniary welfare of the

people the legislative department of the government, which is more susceptible to influence by public sentiment than any other, has failed to pass proper laws relieving the burdens of taxation and providing for an absolutely sound currency, or to establish a perfectly sound system of finance. Unequal and unjust laws, passed at a time when the attention of all true lovers of their country was wholly absorbed with the great moral and constitutional questions that convulsed the country from 1860 to 1870, have been allowed to remain unmodified and unrepealed till the productive labor of the country could no longer endure their burdens. Dunces and demagogues have deluded and deceived the people in many sections into a belief that a currency with which the nation was able to carry on a war successfully was good enough for days of peace and prosperity. At this time we can only refer to such a question, not argue it. But the logic is that because poison will save life in cases of severe illness, therefore it should be made the daily bread of the patient. Because the nation by this poison of an inflated currency and token money was able to save its life when assailed, albeit it was an extreme medicine provided by the constitution, to be administered only in cases of dire distress, it must therefore be made the daily bread of the people. It is duty of the legislative department of this goverment, which has been saved

by the blood of our fallen comrades, some of whom sleep here, to destroy at a single stroke all token money, or money that is in any degree of this class, whether paper or metallic, issued during or since the war, and give to labor and capital alike in this country a fixed and immutable measure of value, such as the market value of the precious metals in the marts of the world alone affords, and which is beyond the whim or caprice of congress or any other power to change.

Another evil has crept into our system since the war which tends ultimately largely to curtail the happiness and prosperity of the laboring masses of our people. I mean the absorption of vast tracts of the public domain by foreign corporations who have no sympathy with our government or its institutions. It is true that the remedy for this evil is to some and probably to a large extent with the States, and should be speedily applied if we would escape the evils of the English and Irish tenantry system. We have hitherto felt that by limiting estates tail to two lives in being and prohibiting the descent of property by primogeniture that this system would be effectually barred out of this country and our lands be held in small tracts by those who cultivate them. But events have proven otherwise. The corporation with unlimited power to hold lands, and with endless duration, has stepped in and taken title to estates in land which in a few years

will be of value and magnitude far surpassing any held under the feudal or any other European system. And to-day in single counties in the west there are hundreds of tenants struggling to rear their families under long leases from corporations, who receive all the improvements made by their constant and honest toil, and the natural increase in the value of the land from increasing population and improvement. The Irish tenantry system, with all its woes and all its enervating effect is thus fully incorporated into our free republic. The same oppression and suffering of the laboring classes will exist here as has always existed in many of the countries of Europe under this system, unless the power to all corporations to acquire and hold lands is curtailed and limited to such quantity as may be necessary in the exercise of the special functions vested in them by the local legislature, and a serfdom of the worst type grow up under our free system of government.

We are prone to forget that the happiness of the people is the end of all government, and every patriot should with an earnest voice call attention to those events and errors which he knows must lead to their unhappiness and ultimate ruin. No people of any nation or age ever held so sacred a trust as that devolved upon the citizens of the United States, of which each of you is one. Your government is the

price of the blood of the revolutionary fathers, and of more than five hundred thousand of the young and brave men who started out in life with some of you, but were cut off in the morning of their days, that its blessings might be preserved for other generations. Its administration now affects more than fifty-five millions of men. Learning and religion, charity and hope, are upheld and protected by its power. In matters of such consequence, what man is he who would be willing to act carelessly or thoughtlessly while the voices of the living and dead patriots call upon all to act with the fullest consideration and utmost care upon all questions pertaining to the government which holds in its hands the destiny of all?

It is one of the many wise sayings of the Father of his Country that "the spirit of party is always seen with its greatest rankness in governments popular in form, and is truly their worst enemy, and that while it is a fire not to be quenched it demands a uniform vigilence to prevent its bursting into flame, lest instead of warming it should consume."

We are compelled sadly to admit that since the authority of the federal government has been restored over all parts of the land, we have seen the public councils debauched and the public administration influenced too much by party spirit. We have seen

the same party spirit agitate communities with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, and the animosity of one section kindled against another, and in some instances riot and insurrection fomented. We have seen the same party spirit ignore the services and patriotism of the leaders of our armies in the War of the Rebellion, and place before the people for their support in their stead those who made the war a convenience for accumulating wealth and acquiring position in the civil councils; and we have seen the same spirit crush out free and fair elections in many States and drive from the polls electors who had fought by our side to save the Union. Such party spirit, such inclination to serve party instead of country, deserves, and should receive, the rebuke of every true patriot, and especially of all of us who saw and can fully appreciate the cost and value of preserving our institutions. That the government should be so administered as to confine each member of society within the limits described by laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property, is of the highest importance to every one. But the question as to which party shall do this is wholly unimportant; and in days like these, when no party and no men are found in the country to resist or question its constitutional authority, and the only question for any citizen or patriot to consider is how

this government should be administered so as to be the least burden upon, and the greatest blessing to all, party spirit and party affiliation should be thrown to the winds, and every man act upon a careful and candid judgment of what expression of his through the ballot will most promote the interests of all classes of his fellow-citizens.

At a time like this, when we are all receiving a new baptism of patriotism, and when the tender cords of memory and affection run out from all our hearts to the graves of ten thousand of the patriotic dead that we knew in life, and who now lie buried upon the battle-fields from New Mexico to the sea, I should feel that any neglect to call attention to any evil that seemed to threaten the stability of our institutions would be a grave breach of duty and trust. I have already briefly hinted at the leading part that avarice has performed in bringing on the wars in the earlier days of civilization, and the retribution that revenge has inflicted for such wars. It must be admitted that the virus of avarice and venality in a republic is absolutely mortal unless it is restrained and overcome by the healing influences and power of pure patriotism. As our cities have grown and multiplied, and corporations and wealth increased, avarice and venality have undoubtedly likewise largely increased, and it seems at times that this increase is out of all proportion to

the growth or existence of the patriotic spirit. But let us hope otherwise; and above all let us look with indignation and scorn upon any official or any elector who permits himself to be swerved one hair from his duty by the hope of power or wealth or any particular advantage to himself. Let the estimation of such a man be the same as that of one who connives at the degradation and shame of his wife or sister or mother, for he degrades and disgraces his country, which is the common mother of us all.

Far distant be the day when the historian of our republic shall be compelled to inscribe on any page those words so frequently found in the histories of declining and falling states, "everything became venal." But let the fires of patriotism burn and glow with flames so pure and bright that all that is sordid and selfish shall be consumed before them and be nowhere found in the republic.

While on this occasion our minds are almost solely directed to our old comrades who are sleeping in the tomb, we cannot restrain them, and would not if we could, from wandering to the sick-room and bedside of our illustrious and immortal chief, through whose energy, skill and wisdom your efforts and sacrifices were crowned with victory. Our feelings towards him can never be those common to the world at large.

The world adores him as an immortal who in great achievements must rank in all future time with Alexander the Great, Cæser, Wellington and Napoleon. But while we have all these feelings of adoration, we also love him as a brother, venerate him as a father and look up to him as the redeemer of a race and the savior of his country. On this Memorial Day we invoke for him the kind favors of heaven and ask that his life may long be spared to himself, his country and to the world.

In the course of nature but a few more years will have passed ere all of us who were engaged in the great struggle for human freedom in the war of 1861 will be numbered among the dead and our names will be inscribed upon the long roll of the forgotten. Let us then during the short time allotted to us on earth use our remaining powers and energies to establish more firmly, and perpetuate with more certainty, the blessings of a government where all are equal and free, and whose institutions lead the advancing generations of men as they rise in long succession, to the fountains of learning, religion and truth.

"So when our children turn the page,
To ask what triumphs marked our age,
What we achieved to challenge praise,
Through the long line of future days,
This let them read and hence instruction draw:

Here were the many blessed;
Here found the virtuous rest;
Faith linked with love, and liberty with law;
Here industry to comfort led,
Her book of light here learning shed;
Here the warm heart of youth
Was wooed to temperance and to truth;
Here hoary age was found
By wisdom and by reverence crowned;
No great but guilty fame,
Here kindled pride that should have kindled shame.
These chose the better happier part,
That poured its sunlight o'er the heart,
That crowned their homes with peace and health,
And weighed heaven's smile beyond earth's wealth;
Far from the thorny paths of strife
They stood a living lesson to their race
Rich in the charities of life,
Man in his strength and woman in her grace
In purity and truth their patriot path they trod,
And when they served their neighbor felt they served their God."

ORATION

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

SOCIETY

OF THE

Army of the Tennessee

AT

Chicago, Ill., September 9, 1885,

BY

GEN. JOHN B. SANBORN.

ST. PAUL:
H. M. SMYTH PRINTING COMPANY.
1887.

COMRADES AND FELLOW CITIZENS:

That great, wise, wonderful man who had accepted your invitation to deliver the oration at this meeting, who would have spoken to you as no other man can, and to whom you would have listened as you can to no other man, is no more. That voice, whose gentlest accents moved mighty armies and commanded the attention of queens, kings and emperors, has been silenced, and our nation mourns for its greatest chief, its mightiest fallen, and we for the most distinguished, honored and beloved of our comrades and commanders.

This Society, more than any other organization, may justly claim a special interest in and title to his unparalleled fame and greatness. His patriotism, zeal, wisdom and skill crowned the Army of the Tennessee with power, victory and glory, and the victories and glories of that army made the future greatness and unspeakable renown of its first commander. The man made the army, and the army made the man. He imparted to it his zeal and his power, and became the exponent of all that it was and all that it accomplished.

Of Washington, Lord Brougham wrote: "It will be the duty of the historian and sage of all nations to let no occasion pass of commemorating this illustrious man, and until time shall be no more will a test of the progress which the human race has made in wisdom and virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington." We consider that the same statement is applicable to and can be made with equal propriety of our first commander, and that the hour cannot be more advantageously spent than in the review of some of the services and achievements of his life, and in the contemplation of those traits of character that made those services and achievements possible.

It is of no public moment at what particular time or place such a man was born, or when or where he died and was buried, for his renown is of all nations, and his influence for good is for all time, and the whole earth is the sepulchre of a man so illustrious.

There is no injustice done to any living or dead officer who served in the war of the Rebellion by the statement that he who commanded the Army of the Tennessee in its first movements into the enemy's country, and in its first great battle, was its greatest and most distinguished commander, and we would fain discover the hidden source of that power—some of those innate principles of that mental and moral force and greatness which in simplicity, humility and apparent weakness was led forth from obscurity at the commencement of the organization of this army, and of the war, but which soon proved to be a chariot of fire, "borne on irresistible wheels and drawn by steeds of immortal race, and which was destined to crush the necks of the mighty, and sweep away the serried strength of armies."

More fortunate than any other of our comrades, we are, by special favor of Heaven, permitted to meet here twenty years after the last sound of battle was heard in the land whose institutions were saved by the valor of our armies, under the happiest auspices; a union of States fully restored, with fifty-five millions of people at peace, in the full enjoyment of the blessings of the highest type of Christian civilization, the legitimate results of the war secured in the fundamental law of the land to all nationalities and classes. Where all was tumult and alarm, war and strife, now all is quiet and happiness; all is peace and harmony. The Earth rewards all who gently call upon her bounty, and white-winged Commerce, contented and secure, greets our eyes upon every river, lake and ocean. Education and religion take the rising generations by the hand, and lead them to the overflowing fountains of knowledge and truth. The unspeakable happiness flow-

ing from the domestic relations—from kindred, parents and children—is securely enjoyed by all orders and classes of our people. We enjoy without molestation the increase of the earth and the smiles of heaven. To picture the conditions of this land if the principles for which the war of 1861 was waged and carried on by our government had been overthrown, would be revolting beyond description. Even the suggestion will bring to the minds of all as repulsive a scene as the argument on this occasion requires. Dissolved and discordant communities; degradation and vice of every type among all classes; violence and bloodshed running riot throughout the land, make up some of the salient features of the scenes which fill the whole perspective.

When we think of the vast work of one man in securing to fifty-five millions of people the happiness of to-day and averting the calamities that not only threatened, but were impending and imminent in 1861, we feel justified in using the form of language adopted by one of the apostles in recounting the events immediately preceding the advent of the Christian era: "There was a man sent from God" to take command of the armies of the free, and lead them to complete and final victory.

In most important respects he was unlike all ordinary men, and in the hundred generations that have passed since the commencement of historical time, he has no equal in achievements, no superior in patriotism, integrity or statesmanship.

One of the salient points of his character, which must always attract the attention of the biographer and historian, was his absolute mastery over all his mental and moral faculties. Of the hundreds of thousands that have witnessed his daily life for long periods of time, no one can say that he ever heard him utter a word or saw him do an act from revenge, or passion, or impulse. All was the result of the clearest understanding and the highest purposes and aims. He had complete rule over his own

spirit. Insults and the unmerited disgrace that were heaped upon him in the beginning of his career were borne with equanimity and contentment.

When, on the 16th of February, 1861, after a campaign through the swamps of the Tennessee, amid overflowing rivers and in rain and snow, he had compelled the capitulation of the rebel force of more than fifteen thousand men at Fort Donelson, not only did he receive no congratulatory letter from his superior officers, but he was humiliated and chagrined by a dispatch sent to the commander-in-chief of the army, at Washington, indicating that he was defeated in his campaign, except for the interposition of Gen. Smith, and that "Smith, by his glory and bravery at Fort Donelson, when the battle was at its height, had carried the enemy's outworks," followed by a recommendation that Smith be made a major-general, and without one word of commendation of the commander of that army, and no recommendation for his promotion, and intimating that he had failed as a general in that campaign.

This injustice was followed, a few days afterwards, by the stinging words, also communicated to the President of the United States, "I can get no returns, no reports, no information of any kind from him (Grant). Satisfied with the victory, he sits down and enjoys it without any regard for the future. I am worried and tried by this neglect and inefficiency. C. F. Smith is almost the only officer equal to the emergency;" and directing Gen. Grant to place Maj.-Gen. C. F. Smith in command of the expedition, and remain himself at Fort Henry; closing with the question, "Why do you not obey my orders to report the strength and position of your command?"

Under all this ignominy he remained as cool and deliberate as if his achievements had met with due appreciation from his superior, and has nothing to say further than "you may rely on my carrying out your instructions in every particular to the best of my ability," which was

only followed by his superior with the extreme indignity of informing him that he had been advised to arrest him on his return from Nashville. To have made the campaign against strongly fortified positions, to have carried these positions and forced the surrender of an army, seemed to be a matter of little or no moment, while the failure to write a letter or forward a report was a matter of the most serious concern.

With all critical military students and all students of history, the battle of Pittsburgh Landing must be considered one of the most important fought in our war, and probably, in its results, one of the most important in the history of civilization. It was the first engagement of large armies in the field without intrenchments in the war of 1861. The armies that met on that field were the embodiments—the personifications respectively—of the spirit and temper of the Northwest and Southwest. When the battle opened, the Confederate army outnumbered the Federal forces on the field by about twenty thousand men, and deducting from the Federal force the troops that were stampeded in the morning, the Confederate force on the field exceeded the Federal by more than two to one. But the army was so handled by Gens. Grant and Sherman that against this overwhelming odds the field was held and victory won. During this day's battle, with a small army—twenty-five thousand volunteers actually engaged—eight thousand of the enemy had been placed *hors de combat*.

Later in the war, armies of one hundred thousand well-drilled men were permitted to fight days without weakening the enemy as much. In this battle the spirit of the North had its first fair trial in the war, and being skillfully directed, was found equal to the emergency. Our illustrious general, when asked by the speaker, more than a year afterwards, what event could have happened that day that would have resulted in the defeat of our army, considerately and fairly answered, that if either himself

or Gen. Sherman had been disabled before the formation of the last line was completed, which was between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, the field would probably have been lost. So severely was the rebel army of the Southwest punished in the battle that it immediately resorted to picks and shovels, and fought but little more outside of breastworks during the war.

Yet, for this glorious and unparalleled achievement, this illustrious man was heralded throughout the country as unfit to command any force, as negligent, careless and unskillful, unduly under the influence of stimulants on the momentous occasion.

That service for which other nations would have bowed down and worshiped—a service like that which England has many times rewarded by donations of millions of dollars—brought to this hero dishonor and disgrace. His official report was demanded before the commanding general of one of his leading divisions—who had been ordered to hold his position till the line of the balance of the army had been reformed, even at the risk of capture, and had done so at terrible loss and final capture—could be heard from, and hence was unable to do more than forward, without comment, the reports of his subordinate officers. Thank Heaven, he lived long enough for the passions of men to cool, and was permitted to submit to the candid consideration of the world, before his death, his plain, simple report of this great battle.

After this immense service he was derided by the press from one end of the land to the other. He was removed from the actual command of the army, and during the siege of Corinth was often seen two or three files in rear of the general commanding-in-chief, among staff officers and aid-de-camps, and yet no one heard any complaints—no threat to leave the army, no feeling of revenge or hate.

Nothing but the most devoted patriotism, nothing but the most intense desire for the success of the Federal cause and the Federal arms, in connection with absolute

control over his own spirit, could have induced him to submit to these indignities and remain still in the service and on duty with the army. The history of our war—the history of all wars—may be searched in vain to find an officer who, under such circumstances, had been so unfairly dealt with and who still remained in the service of his country and on duty. The substance of his response to all this injustice was, that "I am only anxious for the success of our armies."

In addition to this absolute mastery over his own impulses and passions, it must be stated that he had understanding in a most extraordinary degree, and military skill and judgment unsurpassed in the history of the world. It is true that not a single campaign that received his full and unconditional approval ever wholly failed, and if ever any partially failed, it was because some important subordinate commander failed to carry out his part of the plan, and to execute the orders given to him.

We may ask why Gen. Lee was not compelled to capitulate at the Wilderness or Spottsylvania, instead of at Appomatox a year later? The answer is, that a whole corps, ordered to go into action simultaneously with that of Gen. Hancock's on the day of the crisis of the battle of Spottsylvania, made no attack and did not fire a shot; and I can never forget with what emotion our old adjutant-general, Rawlins, complained of that neglect and failure the first time we met after the termination of the Virginia campaign, and added, "If all the corps commanders had executed their orders with the zeal, vigor and skill of Gen. Hancock at Spottsylvania, the capitulation of Lee would have been an inevitable result, and the untold losses and sacrifices of another year of terrible war been saved." That this would certainly have resulted can never be told, but that this patriot and soldier went to his grave in the full belief that it would, cannot be doubted.

No commander ever had a higher appreciation of the

advantages gained by time—by the execution of a movement now instead of at some indefinite future day—than Gen. Grant. To use his own simple words, he saw, when he reached Cairo, in the winter of 1861, what a loss would be incurred and how much life would have to be sacrificed if it was permitted the rebels—then advancing rapidly—to occupy Paducah and the mouth of the Tennessee River; and without authority from any one, he invaded the nominally neutral soil of Kentucky and established the Federal authority at that point, and saved all such cost and sacrifice. Orders over his own signature were in possession of trusted subordinates removing corps commanders from their commands if, in the final efforts to force the army of Northern Virginia to surrender, they failed to attack at the appointed necessary time.

When the enemy showed weakness in battle, all his subordinate officers learned to know what order would next and soon be received: "Advance at once, and attack wherever you find the enemy." This led to the surrender of the brigades, divisions and armies resisting his advance. The enemy seemed never to rally from the effect of a single battle fought with the army under his command. Pittsburgh Landing was fought on the line of the Tennessee and the Mississippi, and the enemy at once resorted to picks and spades, and their army was never found without them thereafter on that line, except at Iuka, Corinth and Champion Hills.

The battle of Missionary Ridge was fought on the line of the Cumberland and Atlanta, and picks, shovels and entrenchments were the constant reliance of the army on that line thereafter.

After three years of engagements in the open field, with varying success, the Army of Northern Virginia was brought to action with the Army of the Potomac, with Gen. Grant upon the field and supreme in command, at the Wilderness and Spottsylvania; and at the close of the engagement, that army also resorted to picks and shovels,

and never fought a general engagement in the open field thereafter.

It has been said by some of his detractors that he lacked that military tact and skill which enables commanders to succeed without great sacrifice and loss—that in the high art of strategy he failed. Such a statement is without any foundation, and receives no support from any of the campaigns that he conducted. His plans were such that they forced the surrender of armies, and advanced the Federal authority at all points within his command. It is indeed true that he was not governed by the precise principles of strategy and rules laid down in works and by authors on the art of war, for he was above and superior to them all. It is true that he did take one of the main armies of his government—this Army of the Tennessee—when that government was engaged in active war and in sore need of all its military forces—away from all base of supplies into the enemy's country, and trusted to the results of battles to open a new base, but the result justified the wisdom of his plan, and he thereby has established a new principle in the art of war, or, to say the least, that there are exceptions to the general principle, and that he had skill to decide when the exception should be adopted instead of the principle.

No military critic of any note has pointed out any mistakes or failures in the strategy after he took command of all our armies. He surrendered nothing that had been previously won, and advanced all armies at the same time upon strategic lines where all results were favorable, and accomplished the most for his government, and tended to break down and cripple the enemy in the greatest degree.

We who were in the army, and part of it, hardly considered what gigantic and irresistible blows were administered by our great commander, after he had fully determined to bring the rebellion speedily to a close in the winter and spring of 1864 and 1865. Gens. Mead and

Sheridan were striking the most destructive blows upon the Army of Northern Virginia; Gen. Sherman was loose with the Army of the Tennessee "marching through Georgia," or, in the more military language of his old friend and admirer, the conqueror of Mexico, when he first met him after the war, "taking the whole coast in reverse;" Gen. Terry, with his gallant command, demonstrating that water batteries and sea coast fortifications, situated where navies may ride and armies land, may, with the aid of iron-clad vessels, be besieged, breached, assaulted and carried in a few hours, as effectually as by sapping and mining on land alone for weeks; again showing that at times it is more important to understand the exception to a principle than the principle. At the same time all the positions of importance that had before been captured were held with an iron grasp.

You who talk of strategy and skill, point out, in the history of campaigns, and show an instance where strategy more skillful and destructive has been used against an enemy.

But his great faculties and extraordinary powers shone forth most brilliantly in great crises, amid acts and scenes of most intense excitement, that tended to dethrone the reason and induce all ordinary men to act almost solely from impulse. Unlike all others at such times, he thought deliberately, spoke calmly, acted judiciously, felt confidently. On the field of Champion Hill, which he announced to the speaker when the engagement opened would be the battle for Vicksburg, he was called upon, at the very crisis of the battle, to act upon a recommendation of Gen. McPherson, commanding the Seventeenth corps, which, with the exception of Hovey's division of the Thirteenth corps, included all the troops which, up to that hour and for aught I know which at any time, had been engaged on that field.

Hovey's division had brought on the engagement in the morning, and had been supported by Boomer's brigade

of Crocker's division early in the forenoon, and as soon as that brigade came upon the field. Gen. Logan's division had formed on our extreme right, had found the enemy's left, and had met and driven the enemy back at various points on his front and captured some batteries. The attack of the enemy was so persistent and vigorous upon our center and left that the ammunition of those troops became exhausted and the lines were broken, and there was every indication that the enemy would at once occupy this portion of the field. The speaker, whose brigade had been sent, regiment after regiment, to different points along the line, in support of troops already engaged, was ordered by Gen. McPherson to go at once to Gen. Grant and advise him of the condition of the center and left, and inform him that there appeared to be danger that the rebel army, by an advance at that point, would interpose between the Thirteenth and Seventeenth corps and be able to attack with its whole force the respective corps engaged in that campaign, in detail.

By the time Gen. Grant was reached the statement of the condition of the centre and left of the line was confirmed by the cloud of retreating troops upon the hillside. Upon the announcement of the communication and recommendation, he asked anxiously if there were not troops in reserve, and upon receiving the answer that all the troops of the Seventeenth corps had long been engaged, remarked: "If the enemy has whipped Hovey's division and Boomer's brigade, they are in bad plight, for these are good troops," and, turning to his chief of artillery, ordered him to bring all his batteries into position at once and open fire over the heads of the retreating soldiers. Hardly had this order been executed when Col. Holmes' brigade of Crocker's division, numbering about 1,200 men, which had been escorting the baggage train, came upon the field, and he was ordered by Gen. Grant to form under cover of the fire of the artillery and charge until the enemy stopped his advance. This order was of course

most gallantly executed, and but a few moments passed before the enemy's lines were broken and several thousand prisoners and a large number of batteries were in our hands. That battle was won, which, if lost, would have been most disastrous to that campaign, and might have resulted in the overthrow of the government.

The writers on the art of war require infantry supports for batteries. He, relying on the weakened condition of the enemy, after overcoming such troops as those composing the division and brigade mentioned, was willing to risk the artillery without any infantry supports, and again, by acting on an exception instead of a rule, saved this field. Referring to this event and this decision a few months later, while traveling up the Mississippi River, on his way to take command at Chattanooga, he said that, upon considering the situation, he felt certain that the troops that had been engaged with Hovey's division and Boomer's brigade had been badly punished, and if a show of resistance and advancing troops was made that they would not only check the enemy's advance, but cause him to give way, and that this proved to be true. Such deductions of the mind are not extraordinary or unusual in the quiet of the study, or the office, or the camp, but they are extraordinary in the last degree amid the clash of arms, the firing of artillery, the groans of the dying, and the intense excitement that comes upon all officers having large commands, in the crisis of a battle. No other quality of mind or character is so rare in the men of any of the generations that have passed away since the dawn of history.

It was this more than anything else that gave the Duke of Wellington his success, and secured to him immortal fame. If, during the first assault of the main body of the French infantry at Waterloo, and when the attack had been repulsed, or if, when the assault of the Imperial Guard had been repulsed, he had given the command to the allied armies under him that he gave later in the day,

all would have been lost. Doing precisely the right thing at the right time, under such circumstances, is what few men, exceedingly few, possess the capacity to do. The old, familiar, unmilitary command of Wellington: "Now, boys, up and at 'em!" was given not only after the French infantry had been repulsed, after the Imperial Guard had been repulsed, but when the fiery and almost irresistible assault of the Old Guard had been withstood by the English squares. At that moment the command was given, and the field immediately won.

No commander ever lived who possessed this faculty of giving the right order and doing precisely the right thing at the right time in a greater degree than did the first commander of the army of the Tennessee. The same quality was manifested in as great, and possibly in a greater, degree in the battle fought the same year at Missionary Ridge. Hooker, with his corps, early in the morning, had carried the enemy's left, and swept Lookout Mountain in the operations carried on above the clouds. Sherman, with the Army of the Tennessee,—in those days always assigned to and always with alacrity accepting that part of the field where the fighting was the hardest and the chance of victory and glory the least,—assaulted the right of the enemy's line with the utmost vigor, from early morning till long after the sun had passed the meridian, and could see the splendid Army of the Cumberland standing in line looking on. It was of the most vital importance that the time for the assault at the centre should be determined with perfect accuracy. At last the moment came when, in the judgment of our hero, it could be made successfully, and the order was given to the Army of the Cumberland to advance, and the field was won.

Up to this time in his career, Gen. Grant had had nothing to do with the political campaigns and schemes of that period, and it was prophesied of him that when he should take command of the Eastern armies—all the armies of the country—and be surrounded by and brought

into contact with the politicians of the country, that his glory would wane, and that the fate which had befallen the other commanders who had won glory in the West and taken command in the East, would also befall him; but those who prophesied thus had far too low an estimate of the man.

So great a task as that undertaken by him when he accepted the rank of lieutenant-general, and took command of all the forces of the United States, was never before undertaken by any mortal. At this time more than ten millions of people, thoroughly organized into eleven State governments and one national Confederate government, united as one man in purpose and effort, with an army of more than four hundred thousand men, commanded by men of military education and experience, a large portion of the troops veterans in war, and armed and equipped in the most approved methods of modern warfare, operating in and covering a country more than fifteen hundred miles in length and one thousand miles in width, in their organized character as governments in armed hostility to the United States—had to be overcome and subjugated; and when this was accomplished the diversity of sentiment which had led to and which supported these governments and these vast military establishments and operations was required to be harmonized, and a basis of perpetual peace and friendship established.

He assumed the task with a determined purpose to succeed, and full faith in his ability and power to reach the end sought. Means that had been deemed adequate had failed in other able hands, and the feeling was general that they would fail in his. He at once made his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac, than which a braver and better never was organized and never existed upon this planet; and it is equally true that under commanders of far more than ordinary ability it had failed to meet the expectations of the country, or to achieve those victories in the field which were essential to the suppres-

sion of the rebellion. The army had fought under the patriotic and skillful McClellan, and been driven back. It had fought under the impetuous and gallant Hooker, and had lost the field. It had fought battles on Northern soil, both under McClellan and Meade, and held the field; but it was essential that that army, and all our armies, should do more than hold the fields. The task was to win fields and force the surrender of the armies opposed to the Union.

The results of the three years' campaign could but have impressed that army that to advance upon the enemy's position at Richmond, and force the surrender of the armies stationed and entrenched in that state capitol, was a task which was beyond its power to perform. This lack of faith extended to all the citizens and people of the Northern states. Advancing and retreating had gone on so long that it was not believed that even the reputation and skill of the great commander of the West would be adequate to enable this army to win a decisive victory. This judgment proved partially correct, but the campaign planned by Gen. Grant proved an ultimate success. Under all these discouragements, this great man took command of all the armies of the country. He moved forward with the army of the Potomac with as much confidence, as much zeal, and as much determination to ultimately win a battle and force the surrender of the enemy as if that army had never seen failure; and in one year all was accomplished.

Considering his character with reference particularly to his military achievements, he stands before the world greater than Alexander, greater than Cæsar, greater than Napoleon, and of equal greatness with Wellington.

Alexander the Great hurled a well organized and experienced army into and through nations without armies, and without notice, and wholly unprepared for his advance and attacks. Cities and nations fell at the wave of his sceptre, and he met but feeble resistance from any land

between the Hellespont and the Euphrates. Cæsar won his laurels in war by the command of well disciplined legions in campaigns in Trans-Alpine Gaul, and in battles fought with uncivilized nations inexperienced in war. Bonaparte turned the turbulent tide of the French revolution, which had inundated and threatened to destroy France, away from her shores towards her rival and enemy, and by organizing and giving direction to the most fiery and impetuous spirit of modern times was enabled

"To wade through slaughter to a throne."

But the star of his destiny and glory waned at Esling and Aspern, was clouded at Leipsic, and sunk in eternal night at Waterloo, while that of Gen. Grant increased in brilliancy and power from Donelson to the grave.

It must be admitted, we think, that the resemblance between the characters and traits of Gen. Grant and the Duke of Wellington is more striking than between any others of the great military men of history. They carried on campaigns and fought battles with equally successful results. While a young man, and known only as Arthur Wellesley, or Major Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington had been defeated in India in attacks made by him upon the fortifications of the natives, but as the Duke of Wellington he never met defeat. Gen. Grant as Capt. Grant had known what it was in the Mexican war to have attacks fail and to be unable to hold positions, but as a general in the field never lost a battle nor campaign.

Wellington was never known to complain of lack of support from Parliament or the management of the government at home, but was simply grateful for all aid and support, and gave constant assurance that he should use all means at his command to the utmost advantage.

"Shall I order another draft?" asked Mr. Lincoln of Gen. Grant, after the battle of the Wilderness and the attack at Spottsylvania. "You must do as you think best about the draft. I shall use all means at my com-

mand to the best advantage. I think, however, that the draft had better be made." Content with what he had, but ready and anxious to have more that he could do more.

Both had the utmost deliberation and sound and accurate judgment, even under the most intense excitement. Each brought order out of confusion, harmony out of discord, prosperity out of adversity, and established their respective nations upon the rock of eternal justice, and died lamented by all nations and all classes of mankind.

In his devotion to his country and his effort to accomplish what was necessary for its preservation, no obstacles were so great that he would not attempt to overcome them, and those that seemed insurmountable to others were by him swept away as a gossamer thread. Acting upon his own judgment and conclusions, he always succeeded, and upon the judgment of others he hazarded little.

To force the capitulation of Vicksburg by attacks from the river was impossible. "Move upon its rear by the Coldwater, Tallahatchee and Yazoo Rivers," says a patriot and a general with zeal, but without much military experience. The movement was attempted and found impossible, and the general wrote that he should "await the return of the command to Helena with the greatest anxiety." "Turn the channel of the Mississippi River in front of the fortifications, and move the army on transports to high land south of the city, and move upon the intrenchments from the south and east." This scheme was given a fair trial and failed. Then the scheme which was purely the product of his own mind, of sending the commissary, quartermaster and ordnance supplies for his army by transports past the batteries, and marching the army by on the other side of the river beyond the fire of the enemy's guns, was adopted and executed with the utmost vigor and unparalleled success. A new chapter was

written in the art of war, and the army and its commander became immortal.

Against his will, the great general was called upon to fill the presidential chair and to sacrifice the office and position where he had done so much for his country, and won his fame, and which he loved as he never could any other. At first he dissented and refused, but upon the assurance of those nearest to him that the sentiments of the people were so diverse upon all questions of reconstruction that a majority would unite upon no plan, but could be brought together upon him and upon no other man, he reluctantly consented to receive the nomination and to undertake a task more difficult than that undertaken by any man since Cæsar undertook the reconstruction of the Roman republic after the termination of his war. While the efforts of the latter resulted in his death, in the senate house, after a few weeks of effort, Grant yielded enough to senators to receive their support, and ignoring *the government patronage* and all minor issues, adopted policies that resulted in the nation reaping all the legitimate fruits of his victories.

The finances were established upon a perfectly sound foundation for the first time in the history of the Republic. All controversies with foreign powers were adjusted upon principles of sound international law, and with results more than satisfactory to this country; the burdens of taxation were lightened; the equality of all men before the law was emphasized and made effectual; resistance to federal authority, and the invasion of individual rights under the constitution and laws was resisted and punished; submission to the law was enforced; security to persons and property was established on the high seas and through our Indian country and frontiers, and tranquility and order was restored throughout the whole land. His friends need not fear to compare the good results of his administration with those of any other of this government,

including those of Washington. Unfortunately, perhaps, and perhaps fortunately, the chief executive of a nation of fifty millions of people has higher duties to perform than that of examining into the peculations and frauds of members of the different departments of the Government, and of his own subordinate officers. But we challenge any detractors of his administrations to point to a single instance of known faithlessness to the Government going unrebuked, or the retention of any man in office after he had proven himself unworthy.

No human faculties are adequate to distinguish between interested and disinterested friends, and interested and disinterested friendship, when a man occupies an exalted position and controls the patronage of a nation. The cabinet of Washington was disgraced by embezzlement of public moneys, and the sage of Monticello, after he had retired from the tumult of public life, felt compelled to write: "I indulge myself in one political topic only, that is, in declaring to my countrymen the shameless corruptions of the representatives of the first and second congresses, and their complete devotion to the treasury."

It has been said by many, and there has been a tendency to acquiesce in the saying, that the general was not a statesman, and knew little of the arts of government; that his mind was receptive and not inventive; that he was wanting in the high attainments of statesmanship.

That he was not versed in the art of government, as the result of experience in the management of governmental affairs, is true, but it is not true that he was not a master of this art in manner and degree the same as the art of war. His power in this field, as in that of war, was not derived from books and authors so much as from his own intuitive, native strength. His mind was both inventive and receptive. Early in his administration he formed the belief that he could adopt a policy that would lead to an amicable and honorable adjustment of the most serious complications between our government and the leading

power of the world. He was opposed by most experienced and renowned statesmen. To proceed in his own way required that the most illustrious and popular chairman of the committee on foreign relations in the senate should be removed. He did not hesitate to make the issue, nor to do all that was required to accomplish the grand result which speedily followed.

On the field at Appomatox, in the confusion and excitement of battles and surrendering of armies, he adopted a policy in relation to the conditions of surrender that made the reconstruction of the government possible. No insult, no degradation to rebel officers or men, was permitted; surrender and submission to the national authority was the only condition demanded, and arms and horses, food and favors were bestowed. To tear down and destroy is what all may do; to build up and restore the broken fragments of a government is the most difficult task that men or statesmen are ever called upon to perform. His judgment on this historical occasion—his statesmanship—induced him to yield to his foes all the honors of war. Horses and side arms were of no moment compared with the restoration of fraternal feeling and the dawn of an era when there should be a union of sentiment as well as law in this country.

It was a frequent remark to his friends by Mr. Webster, in the last years of his life, that the union of the States which he and Clay and Benton, and their supporters, had maintained during his life, would be broken, and the States be involved in war within ten years after his death, and he always added that he could see through the war, and could see that the North would be victorious, but could not see how the Union could ever be restored. That which baffled the wisdom of the greatest statesman and orator of the world was wrought out under the influence and direction of him whom the world adores as a general, but has been slow to recognize as a statesman.

When certain politicians and public men proposed to

violate the terms of the capitulation of Appomatox, he did not disdain to announce himself ready to draw his sword to maintain its conditions in all respects. When extremists in the South refused to accord to the soldiers mustered out of our armies their legal rights and due protection under the laws, he did not hesitate to use the military force of the country to enforce this protection. We now boldly announce a Union restored in feeling and sentiment, as well as law, and justly claim that herein has been the greatest triumph of statesmanship in the history of civilization. And in all future time, when the question is asked, who, more than any other man, gave direction to the plans and policies that accomplished so much for civilization and the happiness of mankind? the answer must always be, "The hero of Appomatox."

It is not the man who most foments strife, discord and discontent among the people, or who may delight them most with strains of eloquence, or flashes of intelligence and wit, but he who marks out for them through the long future, paths of peace and prosperity in which all may walk, and who does most to promote the highest happiness of his fellow countrymen, who is the greatest statesman.

Judged by all correct standards, and the conclusion must ever be, that while Grant was by universal acclaim the first general of his time, he was second to none for far-seeing statesmanship.

It has been my purpose to speak only of his public life and services, with which we are all familiar. His devotion to his family; his earnest struggles to make better provision for their comfort after his first notification of the approach of the inevitable hour; his friendship and almost affection for all old officers and friends; with what composure and deliberation he took his way into the dark valley; with what firmness and faith he advanced to meet the King of Terrors, those about him and connected with his private life will, in due time, record.

All that is mortal—and how little this is of such a man! —is no more. But during every day of the life of those of us who were with him and served with him, he will appear in the freshness and vigor of his best days, and his precepts and examples, like his name, will be immortal.

On the bank of that historic river whose name is inseparably linked with the history of the trials and virtues of the early settlers of this country, and with the patriotism, struggles, hardships and triumphs of our revolutionary sires; amid the hum of the industries of the honest millions of his countrymen, happy and free, and the learning and refinement which is the flower and glory of the country which he saved, let his mortal remains rest till the heavens be no more.

"Let the sound of those he wrought for,
And the feet of those he fought for,
Echo round his bones for evermore."

MONEY.

Address Delivered before Miss Beale's Class in Saint Paul, December, 1885, by John B. Sanborn, Esq.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

The subject covers the whole field of civilization. All happiness, all misery, all enterprise and all unthrift are connected with it. It is the great motive power of the world, essential alike in the affairs of Church and State. It constructs ships and sends them across oceans on errands of commerce, of peace and of war; it moves navies and organizes and supports armies. Without it, society verges to decline and death, while, with healthy and uniform circulation, it shows vigor and growth in all parts. To organized society, money is what arterial blood is to the physical organization of animals. When supplied in proper quantities, uniform and sound, health and vigor attend the whole system; when supplied in quantities too large or too small, or of a debased or corrupt character, weakness and decay develop, and a tendency to dissolution is manifested.

What is this most potent agency in civilization? What is money? It is the medium of exchange of all nations and of all peoples, and to be such must have value in and of itself, independent of all stamps and laws. By writers it has been defined to be "that which passes freely from hand to hand throughout the community, in final discharge of debts and full payment for commodities, being accepted equally without reference either to the character or credit of the person who offers it and without the intention of the person who receives it, to consume or enjoy it or apply it to any other use than in turn to tender it to others in discharge of debts or payment for commodities."

It may not be within the scope of this definition to include the first medium of exchange of the Romans, which was cattle, pecus, whence pecunia, and our word, pecuniary; or the medium of exchange adopted by the Virginians, in the early days of the colony, which was tobacco; or that of our Indian tribes, which for all time has been peltries, horses and dogs; but it is broad enough to include every commodity which is set apart, either by the concurrence of all members of society, or by a general law of the State, to be used as a medium of exchange, whether the commodity be gold, silver, peltries, or any other class of commodities.

The great medium of exchange of all civilized nations from the earliest days has been the precious metals, viz.: in the earlier days, silver, and in our days, silver and gold. This medium of exchange has been adopted as a necessity of commerce, and has been found the most uniform in value and the most convenient of any commodity known either to ancient or to modern times. At what date in

the history of civilization coinage commenced, it is impossible to tell with certainty, but it was as familiar to the Greeks as to us, and the discussions of their statesmen and publicists seem almost like the discussions that we hear in our own generation upon the same subject. Xenophon, who wrote some three centuries prior to the Christian era, upon the revenues of the State of Athens, says that "our silver mines alone, if rightly managed, besides all the other branches of our revenue, would be an inestimable treasure to the public; but, for the benefit of those who are unskilled in inquiries of this nature, I design to premise some considerations upon the true state and value of our silver mines, that the public, upon a right information, may proceed to taking such measures in council as may improve to the best advantage." He further spoke of the advantages of silver coin in the following words: "And, whereas in other trading cities, merchants are forced to barter one commodity for another, in regard that their coin is not current abroad. We abound, not only in manufactures and products of our own growth sufficient to answer the demands of all foreign traders, but, in case they refuse to export our goods, in return for their own, they may trade with us to advantage, by receiving silver in exchange for them, which, transported to any other market, would pass for more than they took it for at Athens." This is the only argument that can be or ever has been made in support of our trade dollar.

It is evident that all the nations that have existed along the shores of the Mediteranean Sea, have used a metallic currency, and those that have used it the most and have

paid the most attention to their mining interests, rose to the highest degree of civilization and were the most prosperous and happy.

But it is not my object this evening to spend time upon the history of coins or the financial system of states which have risen and prospered and passed away, but to devote our time mainly to the consideration of our national system of finance and to the currency of to-day in this country, and to point out defects, if any exist, to the system now existing. Our government is a government of laws and not of men, and the currency, like all other matters connected with the government, is based upon laws, constitutional and statutory, which can be seen and read of all men, and which all Americans ought to see and read frequently. The grant was made to the United States in and by the Constitution, "to coin money and to regulate commerce," and the same power that granted this authority to the general government, inhibited its exercise by the States. Hence, our currency, whatever it is, is provided for by the laws of Congress, passed under the authority granted by the Constitution of the United States.

When the first act providing for a metallic currency was adopted, many of the members of the convention which adopted the Constitution were in Congress, in the Cabinet, and otherwise connected with the public service of the United States.

It was passed on the second day of April, 1792, a little more than two years after the Constitution was adopted. Section 9 of the act was in the following words: "And be it further enacted, that there shall be from time to time,

struck and coined at the said mint, coins of gold, silver and copper, of the following denominations, values and descriptions, viz.: Eagles, each to be of the value of ten dollars, or units, and to contain 247 grains and 4-8 of a grain of pure, or 270 grains of standard gold. Half-eagles, each to be of the value of five dollars, and to contain 123 grains and 6-8 of a grain of pure, or 135 grains of standard gold. Quarter-eagles, each to be of the value of two dollars and a half a dollar, and to contain 61 grains and 7-8 of a grain of pure, or 67 grains and 4-8 of a grain of standard gold. Dollars, or units, each to be of the value of a Spanish mill-dollar as the same is now current, and to contain 371 grains and 4-16 part of a grain of pure, or 416 grains of standard silver. Half-dollars, each to be of half the value of the dollar or unit, and to contain 185 grains and 10-06 parts of a grain of pure, or 208 grains of standard silver. Quarter-dollars, each to be of 1-4 the value of the dollar or unit, and to contain 92 grains and 13-16 parts of a grain of pure, or 104 grains of standard silver. Dimes, each to be of the value of 1-10 of a dollar or unit, and to contain 37 grains and 2-16 parts of a grain of pure, or 41 grains and 3-5 parts of a grain of standard silver. Half-dimes, each to be of the value of 1-20 of a dollar, and to contain 18 grains and 9-16 parts of a grain of pure, or 20 grains and 4-3 parts of a grain of standard silver. Cents, each to be of the value of 1-100 part of a dollar, and to contain 11 pennyweights of copper. Half-cents, each to be of the value of a half a cent, and to contain 5 pennyweights and a half a pennyweight of copper."

This act provided for the legends and devices to be

stamped upon each coin, which have been retained, in the main, to this day. The act further provided that the standard for all gold coins of the United States should be 11 parts fine for 1 part of alloy, and for all silver coins, 1485 parts fine to 179 parts of alloy.

As early as February 15, 1791, a year earlier than the coinage act, the Congress made provision for a paper currency by passing an act to incorporate the President and Directors and Company of the Bank of the United States with a capital stock of ten millions of dollars, with a provision that the United States might become a subscriber to the amount of two million of dollars, and that three-quarters of all the stock subscribed could be paid, one-fourth in gold and silver and three-fourths in that part of the public debt which, according to the loan proposed in the 14th and 15th sections of the act entitled "An act making provision for the debt of the United States," shall bear an accruing interest at the time of the payment of 6% per annum, and that it should be payable in four equal parts in the aforesaid ratio of specie to the debt, at the distance of six calendar months from each other. The limitations upon the bank were that the total amount of all debts which the said corporation shall at any time owe, whether by bond, bill, note or other contract, shall not exceed the sum of $10,000,000 over and above the moneys then actually deposited in the bank for safe keeping, unless the contracting of any greater debt shall have been previously authorized by a law of the United States.

On the tenth day of April, 1816, Congress chartered the second bank of the United States, with an authorized

capital of $35,000,000 and a provision that the United States should be a stockholder to the amount of $7,000,000, and provided further that its charter should expire on the third day of March, 1836. The corporation gave a bonus to the United States for this charter of $1,500,000, and this shows what a striking change has come over our legislators since that early day. If a corporation should decide to spend so much money for a charter in these days, it certainly would not expect to pay the same into the treasury of the United States, but to friends in Congress who would support the grant of such privileges.

This charter, among a great many other provisions, contained the following, viz.: "That the deposits of the money of the United States in places in which said bank or branches thereof may be established, shall be made in said bank or branches thereof, unless the Secretary of the Treasury shall at any time otherwise order and direct; in which case the Secretary of the Treasury shall immediately lay before Congress, if in session, and if not, immediately after the commencement of the next session, the reasons of such order and direction."

It was this provision of the charter that led to the controversy between President Jackson and Congress, during his first administration. He determined upon the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank, which was about equivalent to a determination to annihilate it, and Congress by decided majorities, but less than two-thirds of each house, determined to renew the charter of the bank for another period of twenty years, from March 3, 1836. The President communicated his determination to his first Secretary of the Treasury, Amos Kendall, and he refused

to obey the direction, and resigned from the Cabinet. The same determination was communicated to the succeeding Secretary, Mr. Duane, who also refused to execute the purpose of the President, and also resigned from the Cabinet; and it was not until the Hon. Roger B. Tanney was made Secretary of the Treasury that the President found sufficient independence and vigor in his Secretary to carry his purpose into effect. The deposits were then removed to certain designated state banks, and financial disasters and the commercial wreck of 1836 swiftly followed in the train of these events; but, in the calm light of history, the appalling evil that was sought to be averted, and which was averted by these acts of President Jackson, was probably greater than the evil of the destruction of financial credit and the universal commercial wreck of 1836. The calamities that immediately followed fell thickest and most heavily upon the states in the Mississippi Valley. The bank had loaned in these states more than $30,000,000; the wealth of these communities consisted only in rich lands without population to work them, and with wholly inadequate means to transport the products of the soil, and, so far as the immediate value was concerned, it differed little from that of the air and water which, while a necessity, is the common property of all. Of course, the debtors could not pay the bank, the bank could not pay its depositors, and this bank, in common with nearly all others, state and national, was involved in financial ruin.

The evil developed by and in connection with the bank, which, in the judgment of President Jackson and of his Cabinet and friends and of the majority of all the electors

of the country, was the concentration of the money power of the government in the hands of a board of directors of the bank who were not connected directly with the administration of the government and not answerable to the people, whereby a power which had become, outside of Congress and the government, almost as great as the government itself, an "*imperium in imperio*," threatened to control or direct, if not absorb, all its powers. On this account the entire force of his administration was turned against extending the charter of the bank, and in 1832 President Jackson arbitrarily ordered the public deposits which had been placed in the bank from the earliest days of the Republic, by virtue and in pursuance of an act of Congress above quoted, which allowed their removal only for cause which should be forthwith communicated to Congress, to be removed and placed in certain selected or designated banks. Confusion in the currency and money questions of the country followed, which had not been finally settled up to the commencement of the War of the Rebellion.

From 1836 to 1860, the only powers exercised by the government in connection with the money question, was simply to coin money as provided by law. The money upon which the business of the country was transacted was furnished exclusively by state banks. The greater portion of it was backed by no security whatever, beyond the stock subscribed or paid into the bank. In times of buoyancy it was thrown out without stint or limit, and produced the greatest and wildest inflation, and in times of depression it became largely worthless, and the losses to private citizens and corporations was beyond

estimate. It would be safe to say now that one-half of the money received by the farmers of Minnesota for the small crops that they could market in 1858 and 1859 became worthless in their hands. Under this condition of the finances it was not an uncommon thing to take money at the close of business hours, on a given day, which was passing current on that day, that would be depreciated 50 per cent. by the time the banks opened on the following morning. In the midst of such a flood of depreciated and worthless currency, of course lawful money and gold and silver disappeared; hence, while we may now say that our currency is not wholly sound, and our system not entirely perfect, it is so vastly superior to the condition of things that existed from 1836 to 1860, that it is hardly an exaggeration to call it perfection itself.

Reference is made to this early action of Congress and the government, as well to show the construction placed upon the Constitution by those who framed it, and were instrumental in its adoption, as for purposes of history. It establishes the construction that Congress has power not only to coin money, but to provide a national currency—a question which agitated the country and created the greatest antagonisms that have ever existed between our public men, from 1830 to 1860. From the date of the adoption of the Constitution to the administration of Gen. Jackson, a period of forty years, there seems never to have been a question on the part of any of the statesmen of the country that Congress had the power to incorporate national banks, and to provide a paper currency as well as to coin gold and silver. But from the date of the removal

of the deposits to the administration of Abraham Lincoln, the only power conceded to the United States or exercised by the government in relation to the currency, was to coin money from gold and silver.

But what are the laws of to-day in regard to our currency. These most concern us. We have to-day a currency of gold and silver and paper, all issued under the authority of law, and all a legal tender for debts, public and private. The statutes authorizing this currency are as follows: "The gold coins of the United States shall be a $1.00 piece, which, at the standard weight of 25 8-10 grains, shall be the unit of value; a quarter-eagle or $2.50 piece, a $3.00 piece, a half-eagle or $5.00 piece, an eagle or $10.00 piece, and a double-eagle or $20.00 piece; and the standard weight of the gold dollar shall be 25 8-10 grains. Of the quarter-eagle or $2.50 piece, 64½ grains; of the $3.00 piece, 77 4-10 grains; of the half-eagle or $5.00 piece of 129 grains; of the eagle or $10.00 piece, 258 grains; of the double-eagle or $20.00 piece, 516 grains.

"The silver coin of the United States shall be a trade dollar, a half-dollar or 50-cent piece, a quarter-dollar or 25-cent piece, a dime or 10-cent piece; and the weight of the trade dollar shall be 420 grains Troy; the weight of the half-dollar shall be 12½ grams; the quarter-dollar and the dime shall be respectively 1-2 and 1-5 of the weight of the said half-dollar."

The standard for both gold and silver coins of the United States shall be such that of 1000 parts by weight, 900 shall be pure metal and 100 alloy; the alloy of the silver coins shall be copper. The alloy of the gold coins

shall be of copper and of copper and silver, and the silver shall in no case exceed 1-10 of the whole alloy.

The provision of the Bland bill which was passed February 28, 1878, which has been and is the subject of so much discussion and controversy, provided that "there shall be coined at the several mints of the United States silver dollars of the weight of 412½ grains Troy of standard silver." As provided in the act of January 18, 1837, on which shall be devices and superscriptions provided by said act, which coins, together with all silver dollars heretofore coined of the United States, of like weight and fineness, shall be a legal tender at their nominal value, for all debts and dues, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract.

In addition to the gold and silver coinage, an issue of treasury notes not exceeding three hundred and fifty million of dollars is authorized by law, and a bank circulation by the national banks is authorized, which now amounts to $314,894,818. Under all these laws combined we now have, therefore, in the United States a circulating medium consisting of the last mentioned amount of national bank notes, $314,894,818; of legal tender notes, $350,000,000, in addition to the gold coin and bullion, which amounted, at the date of the last report of the comptroller of the currency, to $586,727,787 in gold coin and bullion, and $307,658,827 in silver coin and bullion, making in the aggregate about $1,560,000,000.

Since the resumption of specie payment under the second administration of Gen. Grant, the currency has been in a far sounder and better condition than ever

before in the history of this government, although it must be admitted that from 1791, the date of the organization of the first national bank, up to the administration of Jackson, there was not any loss sustained by the masses of the people on account of a bad or worthless national currency.

The question whether we should have a bi-metallic or mono-metallic currency is the gravest money question that confronts us at this time, but its gravity is as nothing compared with that of having a sound, well-secured currency as safe as the national obligation to pay, or as safe as gold and silver, even at the present standard, or at any standard that any Congress could be induced to establish. Society always has been and always will be divided into two great classes, the creditors and the debtors, and as long as human nature remains as it is, the creditors will struggle to make money as valuable and scarce as possible, and the debtors to make it as low and plenty as possible. Between these two extremes, the true mean will always be found.

It must be admitted as an unquestioned fact in the case, that either gold or silver or both have been the basis of the currency of all civilized nations during the entire historical period of the world. The tables presented by the United States silver commission report for 1877 show that over 700,000,000 of the inhabitants of the earth now have adopted and use silver as the sole standard of money, and 180,000,000 the double standard of gold and silver, making together 900,000,000 of the inhabitants of the earth who use silver as a standard money, while there are 92,800,000 that have the single gold standard at the

present time. What the relative value of gold and silver will be in the future, as compared with the past, no one can determine with accuracy. Many facts must govern this which cannot be determined with accuracy now, and can only be estimated. That there has always been a vast flow of silver towards the Eastern nations is conceded by all, and that it is more attractive to semi-civilized and barbarous nations than gold, is beyond question. The question of future production is one that cannot be determined; there may be a large increase, there may be a vast diminution.

At the commencement of this century, the annual production of gold was estimated at about 3,000,000 pounds sterling per annum, but the outbreak of the revolts of the various Spanish dependencies in South America, checked the usual supply from these countries, and a marked increase in the value of money was the consequence. During the period from 1809 to 1849,—40 years,—the value of gold and silver rose about 2½ times over the former level, notwithstanding fresh discoveries in Asiatic Russia. The annual yield in 1840 was estimated at 8,000,000 pounds sterling. By the discovery of gold in California in 1848, and in Australia in 1851, an enormous mass of gold was added to the world's supply, and most careful estimates fix the addition during the years 1851 to 1871 at 500,000,000 pounds sterling, or an amount nearly equal to the former stock in existence.

The additional supply of the precious metals was almost entirely gold, which tended to produce a distinction between two principal monetary metals, and an alteration in the currency of some of the bi-metallic countries.

Under this influence, France, from being a silver-using became a gold-using country. It was thought by many that the increased supply of gold rendered a general currency reform possible and made the use of a gold mono-metallic standard appear feasible to capitalists, and movements for currency reform, as they were termed, soon arose in many of the civilized States. During the same period, while this vast addition was made to the gold supply of the world, the silver supply rose from 8,000,000 pounds sterling per annum between 1860 and 1870 to 15,000,000 in 1870, and remained at that amount for more than five years. But this increase in the production of silver was a very small element, if indeed an element at all, in causing its depreciation.

The policy pursued by Germany and the Scandinavian States and England, in adopting a single gold standard, and of the Latin Union in limiting the coinage of silver, followed by the Indian government adopting a new method of drawing bills, were undoubtedly more influential causes for the decline in value of silver as contrasted with gold. It is demonstrated beyond controversy that all the silver and gold of the world to-day, if coined into money and used as money, either as a coin, or by its representative in the form of paper certificates of deposit, would not form a circulating medium as large as that which is now used, nor be adequate to transact the business of the world. If all other forms of money were gradually retired in our own country, and the gold and silver coin and all bullion were placed in the treasury and certificates of deposit issued therefor, our circulating medium would not be largely increased nor diminished, and it would

undoubtedly be inadequate to transact the business of the country.

You have already seen that the present circulating medium is more than $1,500,000,000, and that the precious metals in the United States do not exceed $1,000,000,000 in value. What objection, then, can there be to the unlimited coinage of these metals, upon the basis of their market value in the marts of the world? Uncoined, they are commodities; coined, they are money. Why these two commodities should not be set apart from all the other commodities of the nation, to be used as money, and whereby the value of all the other commodities should be measured, is hard to understand.

The last bill introduced by the chairman of the finance committee of the Senate seems to look to some such settlement of pending controversies.

If they should be thus settled, Minnesota may feel a just pride in being the State wherein this idea was first formulated in and accepted by a political convention. The Republican Convention which met in St. Paul on the first day of May, 1884, adopted unanimously, or with but three dissenting votes, the following resolution relating to the currency, viz.:

"We believe in a bi-metallic gold and silver standard and the continued coinage of those metals into money without limitation, but upon the basis, as to the weight of the coin of each, of the intrinsic market value of these respective metals in the marts of the world; and we favor the issuance by the treasury of gold and silver certificates equal in amount to the surplus of the gold and silver in the treasury, on the basis of intrinsic value, whether

coined or uncoined, and of the redemption and cancellation by the treasury of all other evidences of debt hereafter issued for or designed to circulate as money as fast as such gold and silver certificates are issued and are available for that purpose, to the end that all promises to pay, and all paper issued by the government to circulate as money, may represent intrinsic value, and not stand upon a simple obligation to issue other like promises or paper on the demand of the holder. We favor the restriction of the power of Congress over the legal tender of the country by such amendments to the constitution as will guarantee that the only full legal tender money coined in time of peace shall be of gold and silver possessing equal intrinsic value."

The value of the property of this nation, according to the assessed valuation returned at the last census, is, real estate, $13,036,766,925; personal property, $3,866,226,618; making in the aggregate $16,902,993,543. Can any one see any objection to setting apart one thousand millions of those seventeen thousand millions in value of commodities as a standard for measuring the value of all the balance? The objection that silver is cumbersome and difficult to handle, not as convenient as paper, is all swept away by the fact that certificates of deposit are now authorized by law to be issued for the same, so that each citizen may have either the specie in kind or its representative paper, as he may choose. The objection that it would create too large a circulating medium disappears in view of the fact that there are $350,000,000 of treasury notes that may be retired as fast as the gold and silver is issued. This gold and silver in the nation represents

more certainly than anything else the accumulated wealth of the nation. It is what has been saved from labor already performed, from work done; while the promise to pay in the future is a promise that work shall be done, that money shall be earned. One is assets, the other is debt; one is fruition, the other is hope; one is substance, the other may, in the great emergency of the state, become moonshine.

To demonetize silver or take from it its legal tender quality is to further diminish its value and this at a time when our direct trade with Japan, China and the Indies is auspiciously opening. Silver is the standard money of these countries. All that they have can be bought for it, and we are now producing ninety per cent. of the whole silver product of the world. Why should we not seek to make it as valuable as possible? All the interests of this nation lie in that direction, while all the apparent interests of England, certainly all except that of the consequent degradation of her labor, are promoted by depreciating the value of this metal. That nation controls the trade for the present of the Oriental nations. The commodities, mainly manufactured articles which are sold by her people to these nations exceeds three hundred million of dollars annually, and are sold for prices fixed upon the basis of the gold standard, and paid for by the products of these Eastern nations at prices fixed upon the silver standard of the East, and these goods in turn sold to other nations upon prices based upon the prices paid in the East, as if upon the gold standard, which is equivalent to about twenty per cent. profit by way of exchange on the whole business of the East. If silver were made as valuable as gold, all

this would be lost and be equal to the loss of more than $50,000,000 per annum to this trade.

There can be no question upon the point that it is the highest duty of the United States to make silver as high and scarce as possible; and that, to do this, every possible encouragement should be given to trade with the Oriental nations by way of the Pacific Ocean and our Pacific Railroads. All which, as in the days of Xenophon, can be paid for by silver which our mines produce beyond those of any other nation. The government should continue to purchase and hoard largely of this metal, and issue certificates of the same. In the trade of the world, there is still more demand for silver than for gold, and with proper legislation relating to commerce with the East, and the management of silver, it is believed that it can soon be brought back to its old standing with that metal, and, if it cannot, the weight of the dollar can easily be increased.

Hence it seems that the only real objection to the bi-metallic standard in our country is that by the last act of Congress, the weight of the silver dollar was fixed too low. It must be conceded that the value of a currency to be perfectly sound and perfectly uniform should be in the metal, and not in the stamp and devices attached to it. If the metal is of full value, the coin is absolute money; if the stamp is of value, then it becomes token money to the extent that the value is raised by the stamp and to that extent is unsound; but no more unsound than the treasury notes, which are simply a promise under the law by the United States to pay the holder in its gold and silver coin.

There is evidently an unfairness towards debtors in striking out one entire class of money which parties to the contract supposed to be money when the contract was made, and making it a commercial commodity simply, when the contract is to be fulfilled. If it diminishes the circulating medium one quarter, the debtor is required to pay 25 per cent. more than he agreed to pay by the operation of an unjust law, and the creditor who belongs to the class that would feel the loss the least, unjustly receives 25 per cent. more than he is entitled to under his contract. The tendency of such legislaation is to vastly increase the estates already too large and to impoverish those who most need the aid and support of the government.

There has been much in the legislation of our country during the last twenty-five years, that has directly tended to throw the surplus wealth of the country into the hands of a few—a most dangerous tendency in a government like ours. The events that await a government where the property is in the hands of the few and the political power in the hands of the many, cannot be doubted by any thoughtful mind. With power in the hands of a single man who is sustained and supported by armies, it may matter little, so far as the safety of the state is concerned, where the surplus wealth of a nation may lie, but impoverished and suffering masses holding the political power in their own hands, will not long remain quiet, with more wealth in the hands of a single individual than in the hands of millions of others that may be equally deserving and meritorious. So that legislation in relation to the monetary affairs of a nation of fifty millions of people

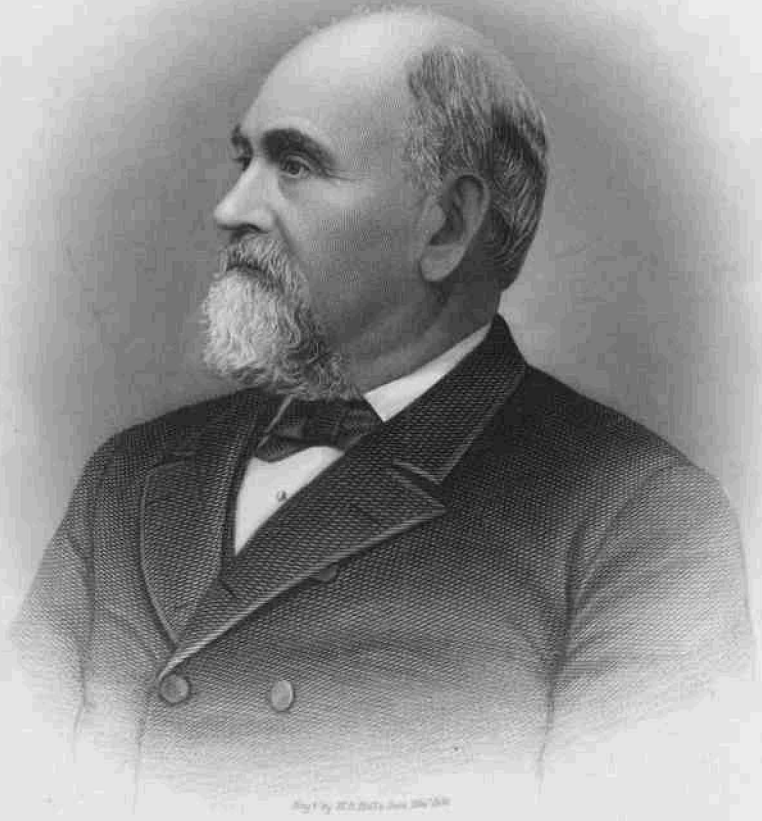
should proceed with the utmost caution and with a view of maintaining the equal and exact rights of all classes and all conditions of citizens.

Reviewing thus cursorily the phases of the money question as they have presented themselves at different periods of our history we can but be deeply impressed with the patriotism, wisdom and statesmanship with which they have all been met, decided and settled.

Even in that direful day when star after star in the constellation of the States was flying from its orbit, when nothing but the most gigantic preparations for war tended to preserve the equillibrium, which is always attended with enormous expenditures and drains upon the treasury, the new administration found the whole field of national credit unoccupied, and a paper mill and little higher tariff was all that the emergency demanded. Armies were raised, equipped and paid with hardly a jar in the financial system. The wisdom of the fathers had provided for the sinews of war, and the patriotism of their descendents was equal to the emergency.

Error is baneful on all occasions and wherever found, but upon some subjects and under certain conditions, its effect is limited and circumscribed. An erroneous impression may be made upon, a personal wrong may be done a friend, and all be retained in his aching bosom and go with him to his rest in the grave. But errors and unsound views upon the money and financial questions of this country, in whose government all have a voice, affect the laborers delving in the mines of all our mountains and cultivating our fields from sea to sea, the lumbermen in

the forest and on the rivers, the employes of our thousand railroads who safely transport us from one end of the country to the other, the teachers and professional men of every kind, and all men of every class throughout the length and breadth of the land. All should rise to the high duty of considering carefully and deciding correctly what course and policy is most just and righteous towards all our people upon these questions whose proper solution promotes the true interests of all.



Truly Yours.
John B. Sanborn.

REMINISCENCES OF THE WAR

IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI.

(*Paper read at meeting of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion at Ryan Hotel, St. Paul, Nov. 3, 1886, by Bvt. Maj. Gen. John B. Sanborn.*)

COMPANIONS: The attractions of war are its unfading laurels, its imperishable glories. For these, men aim and strive to win them as priceless gems or immortal crowns. The dazzling lustre of these laurels hide from view the weary march, the exposed bivouac, the suffering, the wounds, the death on the battle-field. In a few months of actual service the illusion vanishes, and all soldiers soon learn that while toil, labor, exposure, wounds and death in war are for the many, the glory and the renown are for the few.

It is very agreeable and pleasant for us to write, speak of and contemplate the pleasant and glorious things of the war and of our army life; it may, however, be not less profitable to ourselves and to future generations for us to dwell awhile, and write somewhat of the unpleasant and destructive phases of war, of its effect upon peaceful and orderly communities; the bitterness and wrath that in civil war is engendered between man and man, and neighborhood and neighborhood; of those deep-seated and hidden passions that lie concealed in the breasts of civilized and christianized people, which break forth, when

kindled and aroused by war and civil strife, and lead to more horrible and cruel deeds than have ever been practiced by the most savage of our aboriginal tribes upon the most hated of their fallen enemies; how at such times

"Religion, blushing veils her sacred fires,
And, unawares, morality expires."

Vicksburg had fallen. The rebel armies had been hurled back in disorder from the bloody heights of Gettysburg; the Army of the Cumberland was temporarily at bay near the well-contested field of Chickamauga, waiting for the Army of the Tennessee, from which it had separated a little more than a year before, after the surrender of Corinth, to again join hands with her, and, by a combined movement and effort, overwhelm the only remaining well-organized army in the confederacy. It was now October, 1863. My old command, first brigade, seventh division, seventeenth army corps, Army of the Tennessee, had reached Iuka, leaving the Mississippi River at Memphis on its march to Chattanooga to join the Army of the Cumberland. Thirty or forty general officers, who were to join their commands by the Memphis and Charleston Railroad in a day or two, were in the room occupied by General Grant at the Gayoso House at Memphis. The general was at his table writing as rapidly as he could move his pen, when an orderly handed him a telegram. He opened it and read it aloud. It was from Gen. Halleck at Washington, then general-in-chief of the armies, and directed Gen. Grant to send one, or, if he could possibly spare them, two general officers to Gen. Schofield at St. Louis to aid him in driving the rebel forces under Gen. Shelby from Missouri. The explosion of a bomb-shell would not have produced a more marked effect. The more nervous of these officers jumped from their seats and left the room. Those that remained looked at Gen. Grant and then at each other, as if expecting a dire calamity to befall them.

All had been with him through his campaigns of 1862 and 1863, knew their own commands and all other commands and commanders in that army, and, for one to leave, was like the breaking up of a family and leaving home. Whatever of rank or fame or military reputation each had acquired, had been won in that army, and to leave was to leave home and friends, honor and fame, civilized and honorable warfare, and go among strangers, into a dark and bloody region, where the war was carried on with a barbarity and cruelty that would have been disapproved by the Comanche or Sioux Indians.

Gen. Grant saw, in an instant, how repulsive the idea was to every one of his officers and remarked: "The service will be but temporary; whoever goes I will see that he is back to his command before I am ready to advance from Chattanooga," and turning towards me, said: "General, no brigade in the absence of its commander has as good a commander as yours. [This was a compliment to Col. Jesse I. Alexander, 59th Indiana Vols., who was with him in Mexico.] I wish you would go willingly and help Schofield out in his department." To me these words were words of doom.

The next morning I was on a boat, steaming towards St. Louis. Gen. Grant and his staff officers were on board *en route* to Louisville and Chattanooga, pursuant to orders from the Secretary of War for him to proceed thither and take command of the troops at that point. The trip to Cairo was delightful. At the separation at Cairo I was again assured of my speedy return to my command, but the separation was forever. I am glad to know, through Gen. Schofield, that it was not the failure of Gen. Grant to request my return, as he had stated, but of Gen. Schofield's disapproval of this request, and the action of the authorities at Washington, based upon the disapproval of Gen. Schofield.

Reporting at department headquarters in St. Louis, I was at once advised of where the rebel forces were that

were operating in the State of Missouri, and assigned to the command of the District of Southwest Missouri and given the full authority of a separate commander. The state of affairs, military and civil, in the State of Missouri at this time was deplorable beyond description. It has always been and always will be a subject of discussion as to what errors or blunders of the early commanders brought about the serious condition of affairs that then existed. At the beginning of the war the State was in what was known as the Western Department, and the department was under the command of Gen. W. S. Harney, with his headquarters at St. Louis. On the 21st of April, 1861, he had relinquished his command, by a general order dated that day; on the 11th day of May, 1861, in pursuance, as he says in his order, of instructions received from the adjutant general's office, he resumed command of the Department of the West, and retained it for the short space of nineteen days, when he again relinquished the command; and, on the 3d day of July of that year, Gen. Fremont was assigned to the command by the President of the United States, and assumed command of the Western Department on the 25th day of July, 1861.

The first army, entitled to the name, that was organized in the West in the War of the Rebellion, was organized under Gen. Fremont's command, and during that period some questions were considered and were agitated which set in motion that intense bitterness which existed in the department in 1863. On the 30th of August, 1861, five days after he assumed command of the department, Gen. Fremont issued his famous order, dated St. Louis, August 30th, 1861, in the following words:

"Circumstances, in my judgment of sufficient urgency, render it necessary that the commanding general of this department should assume the administrative powers of the State; its disorganized condition; the helplessness of the civil authority; the total insecurity of life; and the devastation of property by bands of murderers and mar-

auders, who infest nearly every county of the State, and avail themselves of the public misfortunes, and the presence of a hostile force,—to gratify private and neighborhood vengeance, and who find an enemy wherever they find plunder, plainly demand the severest measures to repress the daily increasing crimes and outrages which are driving off the inhabitants and ruining the State.

"In this condition the public safety and the success of our armies require unity of purpose, without let or hindrance, to the prompt administration of affairs. In order, therefore, to suppress disorder, maintain, as far as now practicable, the public peace, and to give security and protection to the persons and property of loyal citizens, I do hereby extend and declare established martial law throughout the State of Missouri.

"The lines of the army of occupation in this State are for the present declared to extend from Leavenworth, *via* posts of Jefferson City, Rolla and Ironton, to Cape Girardeau on the Mississippi River. *All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands within these lines, shall be tried by court-martial, and if found guilty, will be shot.*

"The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use; and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men. All persons who shall be proven to have destroyed, after the publication of this order, railroad tracks, bridges or telegraphs, shall suffer the extreme penalty of the law. All persons engaged in treasonable correspondence, in giving or procuring aid to the enemies of the United States, in fomenting tumults, in disturbing the public tranquility by creating and circulating false reports or incendiary documents, are in their own interests warned that they are exposing themselves to sudden and severe

punishment. All persons who have been led away from their allegiance are required to return to their homes forthwith. Any such absence without sufficient cause shall be held to be presumptive evidence against them.

"The object of this declaration is to place in the hands of the military authorities the power to give instantaneous effect to existing laws and to supply such deficiencies as the conditions of war demand; but this is not intended to suspend the ordinary tribunals of the country where the law will be administered by the civil officers in the usual manner and with their customary authority while the same can be peaceably exercised. The commanding general will labor vigilantly for the public welfare, and in his efforts for their safety hopes to obtain not only the acquiescence but the active support of the loyal people of the country."

This order has been called "Fremont's Proclamation of Confiscation and Emancipation." That portion of Missouri which he claimed to be within the Federal lines was filled with two classes of people: those who were the most intensely loyal of any people in the United States, and those who were the most disloyal of any people in the United States, not even excepting those living in and around Charleston, in South Carolina.

The order was followed, on the following day, by a retaliatory order from Gen. M. Jeff Thompson, commanding the State forces under Gov. Jackson, in which, among other language, he used the following: "I do most solemnly promise, that for every member of the Missouri State Guard or soldier of our allies, the armies of the Confederate States, who shall be put to death in pursuance of the said order of Gen. Fremont, I will hang, draw and quarter a minion of said Abraham Lincoln."

Two days after the date of the order, Mr. Lincoln, with that wisdom and foresight with which he seemed to have been gifted, and which seemed almost supernatural, wrote as follows to Gen. Fremont:

"My Dear Sir: Two points in your proclamation of August 30th give me some anxiety: First, should you shoot a man according to the proclamation, the confederates would very certainly shoot our best man in their hands, and so man for man indefinitely. It is therefore my order that you allow no man to be shot under the proclamation without first having my approbation or consent. Second, I think there is great danger that the closing paragraph, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves of traders and owners, will alarm our southern Union friends and turn them against us, perhaps ruin our rather fair prospects for Kentucky. Allow me, therefore, to ask that you, as of your own motion, modify that paragraph so as to conform to the first and fourth sections of the act of congress entitled "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6, 1861, a copy of which act I herewith send you. This letter is written in a spirit of caution and not of censure. I send it by a special messenger in order that it may more certainly and speedily reach you. Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN."

On the 8th of September Gen. Fremont declined to modify his order, and requested the President to modify it as he should see best, and the President on the 11th of September modified it as follows: "It is therefore ordered that the said clause of said proclamation be so modified, held and construed as to conform to and not to transcend the provisions on the same subject contained in the act of congress entitled 'An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes,' approved August 6, 1861, and that said act be published at length with this order."

The clause referred to was the clause relating to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves. That portion of the order which provided for shooting all persons who should be taken with arms in their hands north of the line designated in the order, though formally

modified by the President, practically still remained in force, and the bitterness was so intense that it was not found difficult to find officers who executed that portion of the order with the greatest alacrity, and the destruction of life and property proceeded, on both sides, with the utmost vigor; and on the 25th of September, 1862, under the orders of Gen. Merrill, ten confederate prisoners were executed at Macon in retaliation for the capture and killing of a Union citizen, and on the 18th of October of the same year ten confederate prisoners at Palmyra were executed by order of Gen. John McNeill for a like offence. These prisoners thus put to death were citizens of the State, who had committed no offence against the laws beyond expressing their sympathy for the southern cause, or who had taken their arms and started to join the confederate armies. They were all sympathizers with the rebellion, and their offence was political more than civil.

It seemed to me then, and has always seemed to me, upon reflection, since, that taking the condition of society in the State of Missouri into account, the fact that loyalists and disloyalists were mingling together in every community, the putting to death of such citizen prisoners in retaliation for the capture and destruction of Union people by the lawless men who made their sympathy with the confederacy their pretext for so doing, resulted in endless harm, and precipitated that condition of affairs in Missouri which we are to consider hereafter, and which, in all my observation and all my reading, I have never found equalled in any country or in any age. The fact that a young unmarried man voluntarily substituted himself for a man having a family who had drawn his lot to be shot at Palmyra, incited both sympathy and indignation.

It was the current rumor in the army that the Department of the Missouri was the graveyard of military reputations and generals. Gen. Harney was relieved of command under no cloud, so far as military services were

concerned, but the whole North entertained feelings of distrust in regard to his loyalty. Gen. Fremont relinquished his command of the department November 2d, 1861. When he assumed command he had the confidence of the whole country and was held in the highest estimation by all. When he relinquished the command, the country had lost confidence in him as a general, and he achieved nothing which has since added anything to his reputation and fame. On the 19th day of November, 1861, Gen. Henry W. Halleck assumed command of the Department of the Missouri, and designated the States of Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Arkansas and that portion of Kentucky west of the Cumberland River as the territory that was included in that department, and required all reports and returns to be made to the headquarters of that department in the City of St. Louis.

During Fremont's command in this Department and State, no battles had been fought save that at Wilson's Creek, under the command of Gen. Lyon; and his failure to send any reinforcements or to afford any support to Gen. Lyon when he was about to attack a largely superior force, led to a loss of all confidence in Gen. Fremont by the thoughtful men of the country. While Gen. Lyon was a soldier of the highest type, he was in full accord in sentiment with Mr. Lincoln and the Republican party; he was one of those officers of the regular army who if anything was in advance of the public sentiment of the North in regard to the question of slavery. He seemed to have yearned and burned for the day to come when the Republican party should be in power and when he could show his attachment to the cause of freedom by his services on the field. He had left Fort Riley in Kansas in March, 1861, and been ordered to St. Louis, and was on duty in the arsenal in the spring of that year. He wrote a letter while there to an old friend of his at Fort Riley who was afterwards a quartermaster on my staff and who gave

me several of the original letters of Gen. Lyon, written while he was on duty at the arsenal. At the risk of wearying your patience somewhat, I will read one of these original letters, simply to show the character, principles and feelings of this officer at that time. It is a letter written to a confidential friend, and contains the utterances of one of the most zealous and loyal hearts of the regular army, and shows some of the difficulties with which he was surrounded. It is dated "St. Louis Arsenal, March 7, 1861," but the stamp on the envelope shows clearly that it should have been April 7, 1861. The letter is as follows:

"Dr. Scott: Your note of the 2d inst. was received last evening and I am much obliged for your kind attention. I go up to town often and have just returned. I always find myself busy there and have to hurry back to attend drills, etc. I met Mrs. McIntyre and Miss Atkinson some days ago there, but have not been down to call on them. Went down and spent one day at the barracks with Robinson and wife, and family of Maj. Macrae. Have met Mrs. Wilson and her daughter Mrs. Thompson. Thompson was here on duty but has gone to Leavenworth; shall call on these ladies soon. Capt. Steele of the dragoons is in town, having been deprived of his command at Leavenworth by old Scott with his characteristic tyranny. He feels badly. I saw O'Connell in town to-day, but did not give him McLean's message. I will do so soon. He is often down here. Please thank McLean for his kind sentiments and efforts.

"I get very mad in thinking over the villiany of old Scott's character and the outrage done me and the line of the army. I have expected the necessity for a correction of this would force the new administration to do it. I cannot say that it will, as Lincoln seems to have put himself in this man's hands. I should not fret myself so much if Hagner had any capacity for command and zeal for the service, but his persistent refusal to take any precautions

for defense, and his orders that we are not to repel an attacking force till he has taken possession of our walls and securely lodged himself behind them and so entered our grounds that we are measurably in the enemy's power, convince me of covert treachery or unaccountable imbecility. In case of an attack I suspect we shall have traitors inside as well as outside, and you may rely upon it, so far as in my power, both will be dealt with as effectually as circumstances will permit. If, as I suspect, old Scott wants this place given up, and ourselves disgraced and our country still further degraded, he had better get me and some others of the officers now here out of the place before the attempt is made. By proper precautions we can hold this place easily with less force than we now have, and though, as it is, I hope we shall hold it, we must do so if attacked at great sacrifice. I should like old Scott to know that I see in this matter confirmatory evidence of what I have always regarded him, as an unqualified scoundrel, and if the present impending danger subsides I shall do what I can to put this matter in a proper light and bring it to its legal bearing.

"Soon after I arrived here I was able to see that purposes of an attempt on this place were entertained, but the matter subsided and the secessionists have laid their plans for an extraordinary effort, to be stimulated upon the indignation at Lincoln's address. At that time a secession flag was raised in the city and riot threatened. I cannot say that any purposes were entertained concerning this place. The convention is in session here and so far is doing very well, but a popular hobby with the secessionists is to cry out against coercion, and in connection with this to put the policy of Lincoln, as properly set forth in his address, in such an attitude of coercion as shall appeal to the coercion opposition, and place Missouri in an attitude of hostility to the government. This policy or that of determining upon a convention of the border Slave States seems likely to succeed. Of course

I like the purpose declared by Mr. Lincoln, to hold, occupy and possess public places, etc. Let him do this, save poor Anderson and other victims of Buchanan's treachery, with discretion and firmness, and though it may cost us much lead, it is the only way to effect anything and save us from entire anarchy and destruction.

"Tell our Republican friends that Maj. Anderson should have the brigadier generalship,—Sumner does not deserve it; he is now as high as he ought to be, and let this signal heroism, which is the delight of our countrymen, be duly rewarded. We cannot do too much for Maj. Anderson and his heroic party. I regret to see thus early a spirit of partisan policy that would advance party and and personal favors at the expense of justice and the interests of the service, and this party from which I had hoped so much, whose advent to power I had so much longed and labored for, at once demoralized by that odious feature of Democracy. If Mr. Lincoln cannot upon the avowed purpose of his party, rise above party tricks and sordid aims, we are indeed most miserable, and I can see nothing before us but disaffection in his own party and general misrule and disaster. I would apply these remarks to the question of this generalship and other appointments to the army in which we are interested—that case of old W. B. Montgomery, dismissed for his villiany at Fort Riley. I presume Mr. Lincoln and his party will be favorable to his restoration. I wish you would speak to such of them as you know and to Senator Foster of my State, and say that his re-appointment will be a great outrage, and that I will, if made, so expose it over my own name. I would like you to inform me if this matter is in contemplation. Tell me who of our Kansas people are in Washington,—Delahay, Vinaldi, Dr. Woodward, etc. If any of them whom I know are there, say my regards.

"Do you know Miss Julia Lee, daughter of Maj. Lee of the commissary department? These Julias seem to

possess a peculiar charm, and there must be something in the name. Please go to her and say many regards, and that I hope she is right on the question of the Union, both national and domestic, but that if opposed to the former I hope she may never realize the latter but live on an old maid forever,—a sad fate indeed, but less so than that which ultimately awaits secessionists. If any of my Republican friends in Washington can do anything for you, tell them they have my orders to do it. I intend going up town and will try and see O'Connell and show him your letter before closing this.

"Just returned from town, but did not see O'Connell; will do so soon and see that he gets yours and McLean's message. Please say to Maj. Hunter that I wrote to him and also enclosed a letter for Mr. F. P. Blair, in which I pointed out the wants of the service here. Please ask the Major if he received them. Sweeney sends you his regards, and I remain Yours truly, N. LYON."

When Gen. Fremont assumed command of the department, Lyon was in Southwest Missouri in command of a small force that he had gathered together of regulars and volunteers from Kansas and Iowa, and was confronted by a rebel army larger than any that the federals had been able up to that time to get together in the West. The rebel force numbered from twenty to twenty-five thousand men. The force under Lyon from four to five thousand. There can be no doubt that Gen. Fremont was kept in a constant state of alarm by the reports of a contemplated advance upon St. Louis and Missouri, by the Mississippi River and from Northeastern Arkansas and Southeastern Missouri. These reports were all without foundation. Gen. Lyon made the most urgent appeals for reinforcements on and prior to August 1, 1861, and at last sent an old member of congress from Southwest Missouri, Col. John S. Phelps, who had been a member of congress for eighteen years when the war commenced, and was at

that time chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, to urge upon Gen. Fremont the necessity of reinforcements to Gen. Lyon. All these applications failed to induce Gen. Fremont to forward any reinforcements.

On the 9th of August, 1861, Gen. Lyon received a dispatch, by courier, from Gen. Fremont to the effect that he (Lyon) had no doubt over-estimated the force in his front; that he ought not to fall back without good cause, and assured him that no reinforcements could be sent and that he must report his future movements as promptly as possible and do the best he could. To this dispatch Gen. Lyon made the following reply:

"Springfield, Missouri, August 9, 1861.

"General: I have just received your note of the 6th inst. by special messenger. I retired to this place, as I have before informed you, reaching here on the 5th. The enemy followed to within ten miles of here. He has taken a strong position and is recruiting his supplies, the horses, mules and provisions, by forages into the surrounding country. His large force of mounted men enables him to do this without much annoyance from me. I find my position extremely embarrassing, and am at present unable to determine whether I shall be able to maintain my ground or forced to retire. I shall hold my ground as long as possible, though I may, without knowing how far, endanger the safety of my force with its valuable material, being induced by the important consideration involved, to take this step. The enemy yesterday made a show of force about five miles distant and has doubtless a full purpose of making an attack on us.

"Very truly your obedient servant, N. LYON."

On the night of this same day Gen. Lyon moved out his force of 4500 men from Springfield to the vicinity of the camp of the enemy, and on the morning of the 10th at daylight commenced an attack upon their camp and line

of battle. While he lived to command the line he made constant advances. He fell a little after noon at a point more than half a mile in front of where his first line of battle was formed, and almost immediately after his fall the federal army commenced to retreat. A death more heroic than his is not recorded in the annals of war. While reconnoitering his line he had received three wounds and stepped to the rear and had a conversation with Maj. Sweeney, looking faint and exhausted and the blood trickling down his face. He sat down upon a stone and seemed to be in deep contemplation, when a force of Iowa and Kansas troops that had been engaged and been driven back and had reformed came forward saying, "We have no one to lead us." He immediately called to one of his orderlies for a horse and mounted saying, "Boys, I will lead you," and led them forward in a charge, which received no check until he fell mortally wounded. The spot where he fell is now marked by a vast pile of common cobble stones, which have been thrown up by the patriotic hands of his countrymen as they have passed by in the common highway. The same position where this battle was fought was occupied by about 1500 confederates when Fremont advanced on the same in the autumn following. He maneuvered towards this position slowly with 25,000 men, but no other battle of equal magnitude was ever fought in Missouri, while every county and almost every town was the scene of conflict and bloodshed during the four succeeding years, and many quite respectable battles and affairs were fought.

The glory of Lyon is imperishable, but the path which led to it led also to the grave. Fremont left the department with his reputation dimmed and clouded, but he was not disgraced. Gen. Halleck succeeded him in command and brought to the department zeal and a wealth of military knowledge that none of his predecessors possessed, and which proved to be of inestimable value to the country. He speedily organized and put in motion

armies that never knew defeat, and that proved to be the instruments in the hands of able commanders that suppressed the rebellion. Halleck made the whole department a military school, and every subordinate officer was his pupil. His orders were terse, vigorous and pointed; even the men who heard them read on dress parade could remember them. For our amusement more than our instruction I will read one at this time, it is as follows:

Headquarters Department of the Missouri.

St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 10, 1861.

General Orders No. 23.

I.—At a regimental court martial, which convened at Paducah, Ky., pursuant to order of November 27th, 1861, from W. L. Sanderson, colonel commanding the 23d regiment of Indiana U. S. Volunteers, and of which Capt. D. G. Kay, of Company C of the same regiment, is president, was arraigned and tried Private Thomas L. Wooldridge, of Company K, 23d Indiana regiment, on the following charges and specifications:

Charges:—"Absent from his quarters at night without leave from his superior officers." "Abusive and threatening language toward superior officers." "Drunkenness." "Stealing Chickens." "Running away from camp when detailed for duty." "Declaring that he did not mean to do duty, but would be about pay-day to receive his pay."

Specifications:—"Said Wooldridge absented himself from his quarters on the night of November 25th, 1861, without the consent of his superior officers, contrary to Article 42 of the Articles of War. Not long since—time not definitely known—he threatened to kill his superior officers the first opportunity he could get, and at the same time used abusive and disrespectful language in regard to them. On the night of Monday, November 5th, he came into his quarters in a state of beastly intoxication, and made himself very disagreeable to the whole camp. On the morning of the 25th of November, he was

detailed for guard duty at roll call in the morning, but as soon as he got his breakfast he went out of camp, and a file of men hunted him all day without being able to find him; he has not done one day's duty in a month, and he has declared he would not do duty, but would take good care to be present on pay day. About four weeks ago, as near as can be remembered, in connection with some others, he stole from one Mr. Schafer, of Paducah, one dozen chickens which he sold in town, four of them to a negro belonging to a Mrs. Petty, living on Market Street, in said city; the remaining eight to a man named McCoy, living in the lower part of said city."

To which charges and specifications the accused pleaded as follows: Guilty, of absenting himself from camp without leave. Guilty, of stealing chickens. Not guilty, of being drunk on the time specified. Guilty, of leaving camp when he was detailed for duty.

The court having fully advised itself in the premises, find the said Thomas L. Wooldridge guilty of the charges specified (in full;) and, therefore, we the court, do adjudge and affix the penalty as follows: 1st.—That all his pay be retained and that it be applied to the regimental fund. 2d.—That one-half of his face and head be shaved closely. 3d.—That he be drummed out of the service at the point of the bayonet to the tune of the rogue's march, bare feet and head and without coat.

II. — These proceedings are in almost every sense irregular, and show on the part of the court a total ignorance or neglect of its duty. There are no less than six charges with but a single specification applying to them all. These charges and specifications should have been reformed by the judge advocate before the trial. The sentence is most extraordinary, and in direct violation of the 67th Article of War, limiting the powers of regimental courts. It is therefore disapproved. The prisoner, however, having acknowledged in open court that he was guilty of disgraceful conduct, it is directed, under the

authority conferred by the 11th Article of War, that he be dishonorably discharged from the service of the United States.

III.—The attention of the commanding general has been called to the character of proceedings of court martial generally in this department; many of them are disgraceful to the officers composing the courts, as exhibiting on their part an utter ignorance or disregard of the rules and articles of war and of the army regulations. It will be useless to assemble courts for the trial of prisoners unless greater attention be given to this matter; for, no reviewing officer, no matter how desirous to promote discipline by punishing the guilty, can confirm such proceedings.

By order of MAJOR GENERAL HALLECK.
JNO. C. KELTON,
Assistant Adjutant General.

When Gen. Halleck was relieved of command he had won no laurels; he had won the confidence of the people and officers of the government as an organizer of armies and a superior stratagist, and hence was assigned the command of the armies and ordered to Washington. The enthusiasm of the people run wholly towards those officers who commanded in the field and won victories.

Gen. Scofield, before or soon after his assignment to the command of the department, had been promoted to the rank of Major General of Volunteers, and his appointment had stood unconfirmed for more than a year, and by an arrangement with the President of the United States he was removed from this command and assigned to the command of a division in the field to enable him to win his stars, which he assured the President he could do if he would but give him a command in the field, and which he accomplished early after assuming such command.

Rosecrans succeeded him, and the lustre of his stars

were dimmed rather than brightened by the laborious and difficult command of this tumultuous department.

Of Gen. Dodge, who succeeded Rosecrans, it is proper to say that he neither lost nor gained reputation while in this wretched command. No future officers nor future age can have the least proper conception of the labors, difficulties and trials of the department, and district commanders of the Department of the Missouri, and the historian who writes after the generation which precipitated and conducted that struggle has passed away, and all the animosities engendered by the strife have passed away with them, will alone be able to point out accurately what steps were right and what were wrong during that dismal and destructive strife.

My command of the Southwest District of Missouri commenced about the 20th of October, 1863. The district extended over a territory approximately 200 miles square. It seemed at the time that I assumed command that there was scarcely a township in which there was not a squad of bushwhackers or confederate soldiers "carrying on war," as they termed it, in violation of all the rules of civilized warfare. At the time of my assumption of command the parties bearing dispatches were off in various directions, one composed of five soldiers, bearing dispatches to Cassville, a town 55 miles southwest of Springfield; on their return to Springfield three days afterwards, they were captured by a body of eight bushwhackers near the place where the battle of Wilson's Creek was fought, and all hung to the limb of a tree, with the exception of one, a boy among them, who was but fifteen years of age. The leader of this gang wrote me a note which I retained for a long time but have now lost, in which he stated in substance that he had learned I had recently come to that section of country from the Army of the Tennessee; that he supposed I was not accustomed to the manner in which war was carried on in this section; "You may as well understand, first as last,

that we will not give any quarter, and we ask no quarter from you; if we capture you we will put you to death at once, and you have the privilege to do the same by us; we will not carry on war in any other way."

This was my first experience in that kind of warfare. Of course, wrath and indignation were aroused. It was dark when this boy arrived at my headquarters with the dispatch. He answered all questions in regard to the appearance of these parties, gave their number and the name of one or two, who had been citizens in that section of the country before the war. An aid-de-camp was sent at once to the camp of one of the cavalry regiments with orders for the Colonel to detail a detachment of four companies under the command of the Major, to report forthwith with three days' rations and forty rounds of ammunition each to headquarters. The Major received his orders, which were in effect to pursue and capture this party and bring them to Springfield, and he left within an hour from the time the boy had brought me this dispatch. This detachment came back and reported, at the expiration of four days or less, (the precise time I do not remember,) but at the time it reported only one of this party of eight bushwhackers was living.

But all my subsequent experience demonstrated that the statement made by the commander of this bushwhacking party was true, and that there was no possibility of carrying on the war in that section of country in any other way than by the absolute destruction of the entire confederate force. The destruction and suffering that this method of warfare occasioned is indescribable. Property was destroyed without limit. During one week a confederate force would pass through the country for a hundred miles or more and burn the houses and destroy the property of every loyal man, and before my arrival the federal forces would soon go over the same section of country and destroy the houses and property of all the disloyal.

The result was that through the tier of counties bordering upon the State of Kansas, namely, McDonald, Newton, Jasper, Barton and Mt. Vernon, the population of each of which, according to the census of 1860, was from five thousand to eight thousand people, was reduced by the autumn of 1864 to less than 300 in any county, and in two or three of the counties there were not 100 residents left. Women were left without shelter, children of tender years, from four to eight years old, were frequently found in the roads or crying in the forests, with no grown people near them, and were brought into Springfield by the troops, till a society of the ladies there had gathered from fifty to one hundred who knew nothing about their parentage or names or homes.

All the dead federal soldiers or Union citizens that fell into the hands of these bands were mutilated in the most horrible manner in every instance. Hands were cut off, tongues cut out, ears were cut off, and nameless parts of the body mutilated; citizens and soldiers captured were hung, shot, stoned to death, and subjected to indignities worse than death. There seemed no way to remedy this state of affairs but by the most vigorous and determined prosecution of the war in the manner designated by the bushwhacker who sent me the first communication.

It was determined at the commencement of the year 1865, to put an end to this condition of things by ordering and compelling all disloyal persons of every grade and class to leave the country, and if they would not go in obedience to the orders, to take them out by force and ship them below the Arkansas River. So I find that General Order No. 1, dated January 1st, 1865, recites among other things that "The persons hereinafter named have fed, harbored and favored these roving murderous bands, and have thereby become accessory to all their lawless deeds, and that to terminate this unhappy, unnatural and ruinous condition of society, it has become necessary to remove the following named persons from

this district," and then follows the names of more than 150 married women, the heads of families, who are ordered to remove from the district to some point "at least fifty miles beyond its limits on or before the 10th day of February next."

The feeling of hostility had increased to such a point that in one single instance at least, if official reports were true, a Union woman, the mother of a family, who was ploughing in the field, all the males of the family having gone off to the war, was shot down by these bushwhackers in the spring of 1864; and the federal troops were hunting them and destroying them in the same manner as they hunted and destroyed wild beasts. They had been declared in general orders to be enemies of the human race, and it was understood throughout the army operating in that section of the country that it was lawful to destroy any of these persons as a necessity to the restoration of order. They were driven into rivers and shot in crossing; and driven in one instance, at least, into a cave, and smoked out as wild beasts, and shot as they came out.

After these vigorous measures and those adopted in the winter of 1865, order was quite generally restored, although the military power was the only authority and the only power known in that section of the country. So timid had the people become that they neither desired nor were they willing to recognize any other government. The remark was often made by the old citizens who were left living that it was the best government and the best condition of things that they ever had, and they should be glad if no change was ever required to be made. It verified the saying that in their estimation that government is best which is best administered.

There was one feature connected with the carrying on of the war against these lawless bands which was peculiar: It was found by experiment that they would sustain about the same proportion of loss before abandoning a country

or section which they infested that a line of battle will sustain when engaged in actual combat. Ten per cent. of the number reported to be infesting any county would be killed, and no impression seemed to be made. This would be so when twenty per cent., upon our best estimates, had been killed, and sometimes they would show very little trepidation at thirty per cent.; but whenever, from the information received, their losses had reached forty per cent. of their entire number, it was almost universally the result that the remaining portion would depart from that country and no more trouble from them occur therein.

The losses of the parties carrying on the war this way was enormous. According to the official reports, during the time I remained in command, they had lost more than four thousand men killed. The loss to the federals was less than five hundred. But the conflict was weekly, it seems upon reflection to have been almost daily; sometimes it was between parties of five, ten or twenty on a side, sometimes between parties that would number one hundred or more. In one or two instances the entire party of federals engaged were killed, with the exception of a single man. In several instances the entire force of the confederates, numbering in one instance, as I recollect, about fifty men, were all killed with the exception of one or two. Sometimes there were results that would make a person feel superstitious, that were sometimes favorable to the federals and sometimes to the confederates. On one occasion a party of dispatch bearers, under a lieutenant, numbering 25 men, were attacked near Yellville, Arkansas, and the entire party killed with the exception of one man.

Late in the war under the general orders from headquarters of the district, which required all parties coming upon the trail of bushwackers to immediately pursue, and if they deemed their force inadequate to communicate at

once with headquarters, by telegraph if possible, if not by messenger, asking for reinforcements, a party composed of a lieutenant and five men pursued a band of bushwackers composed of a captain and eleven men. As they came in sight of them, they were across the Pomme de Terre river, then raised by a freshet to full banks, drawn up in line. The lieutenant and five men rode directly forward and directly into the stream, swimming their horses, under a fire from the entire twelve bushwackers, and reaching the other shore killed five of the men and captured their leader, who had a scalp wound, and captured six horses, twelve Colt's revolvers and five repeating rifles, and brought all safely to Springfield. Neither the lieutenant nor any man lost a drop of blood, while the clothes of each one was pierced by from one to four bullets. The balance of the party was captured the same day a few miles further on. Upon the communication of this result to the headquarters of the department, orders came back immediately to distribute the trophies equally among the men engaged in the capture, which was done.

The captain, whose name was Brownlee, had been tried by a military commission, in the first year of the war, sentenced to death and his sentence had been approved by the President of the United States. It was at once ordered from the department headquarters that the sentence be carried into effect, and this was one of the most trying and sad duties that I ever had to perform. He was a bright young man, a lawyer when the war commenced, a native of Pennsylvania, and a graduate of her institutions of learning, and seemed completely broken down when he found that the sentence he was under would be executed. But being a subordinate I could not even suggest a modification of the sentence to the President of the United States, Mr. Lincoln, who always scrutinized in person all sentences of this kind, modified them in the first instance if they were to be modified at all.

Comparative order and peace had been restored in the Southwest in the spring of 1865. The farmers plowed and planted as they did before the war, and the country was infested less with roving bands than it had been after 1861, and a feeling of confidence seemed to prevail among all classes. At last news of the surrender of the rebel armies at Richmond came and the rejoicing of all classes was inexpressible. The long night of chaos through which this section had passed was coming to a close, the morning of the day of peace at last dawned and again for these people "the morning stars sang together," and all the sons of liberty rejoiced.

But the work of restoration—and it was a great work—remained to be performed. Nothing but martial law had been known in this section of country for nearly three years. The provost marshals had even collected debts and remitted the money, exercising nearly all the functions of the civil tribunals. No magistrate dared to issue process, no peace officer dared to execute the process if once issued, and the question now for consideration was what steps to take to restore civil government, and to induce these people to take the affairs of government into their own hands. On the 8th day of May, 1865, I issued the following order from the headquarters of the district.

"General Orders No. 35.

"I.—The progress and success of the national arms for the last ninety days, has been such as to modify and reduce the conflict in which we have been engaged from one of vast proportions, as between two independent and contending powers, to a simple effort on the part of the government to establish order, restore the functions of the civil law, and fully protect the rights of persons and property; in which effort it does, and for some time probably will, in this section, meet the resistance of many disloyal and disorderly persons banded together as robbers and murderers, as well as an opposition more difficult to

control and overcome—of strong passions, and the most bitter animosities, engendered by, and a most legitimate outgrowth of the rebellion.

"II.—It is therefore specially ordered and enjoined upon all officers and soldiers in the service, and all citizens are requested to abstain from all exciting and heated discussions upon questions that have been settled by the war, and from all epithets, threats and language which tend to excite passion and ill-feeling, and each do all in his power to promote peace, confidence and good-feelings between all members of society, and between citizens and soldiers.

"III.—That the functions of the civil courts and officers may be fully restored, at the earliest possible day, it is ordered that the provost marshal and assistant provost marshals on duty in this district, shall not hear nor determine any more cases or questions in regard to the ownership or right of possession of any property, real, personal or mixed, except cases where the government of the United States is an interested party, or where property has been stolen; but all such cases will be left to the civil courts, to be heard and determined in the same manner as if there was no military occupation of the country.

"IV.—All cases of crimes and misdemeanors alleged to have been committed by any citizen, coming to the knowledge of any provost marshal, or assistant provost marshals, or other military officer in this district, will be reported by such provost marshal, or officer, to the sheriff of the county in which such offence is committed, and also to the nearest judge or justice of the peace; and if such sheriff, justice of the peace, or judge, does not proceed with the arrest, investigation and trial of said party, or parties, within ten days thereafter, the names of such sheriff, justice of the peace, or judge, will be sent to these headquarters, to be forwarded to the governor of the State with a notice of their delinquency; and in such case the provost marshal will cause such party, or parties,

to be arrested, if not already in arrest, and will investigate the case, and if sufficient evidence exist, hold the party, or parties, for trial before a military commission, in the same manner as heretofore. In those counties where the county government is not organized, the same proceedings will be had hereafter as before this order.

"V.—Commanders of regiments, detachments and posts, in this district, are authorized and directed to furnish the sheriff of any county a detachment of troops sufficient to enable him to execute any capias, or other criminal process, within this district. These detachments will be furnished whenever application is made by any sheriff who exhibits the process that he is directed to serve, and also a certificate of the justice of the peace or judge issuing the same, that he believes a detachment of troops necessary to enable the sheriff to execute said process.

"VI.—As the jails in many counties have been destroyed during the war, it is recommended that the county court, or other proper authority, of Greene County, fix upon a rate of compensation that will be charged, per day or week, by said county, for boarding criminals. In counties where no suitable jails are provided, prisoners shall be confined in the jail of Greene County. And it is most earnestly recommended that all judges, justices of the peace, sheriffs and all civil officers, as well as citizens generally, make every effort and use all means in their power, to punish, speedily and adequately, all guilty of crime, that the criminal laws of the State, as administered in and through the State courts, be made a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well, instead of a by-word and scoffing to the former, and a shame and scandel to the latter, as during the last two years.

"VII.—As the attempt and effort to intimidate, by threats, hostile demonstrations, or otherwise, the judges, jurors, and other members of courts, justices of the peace, or other civil officers, with the view to prevent them from discharging their duties impartially, constitutes a pecu-

liarly dangerous and heinous offence, tending, as it does, to subvert entirely the civil government and substitute a despotism in its place, the military authorities will, until further orders, take into custody, and manage, try and punish all persons charged with this crime; and any officer upon whom any such attempt is made will report the case immediately to the nearest provost marshal, or to these headquarters.

"VIII.—It is respectfully requested of the citizens of the City of Springfield, that they organize the municipal government of the city without unnecessary delay. To this end, John S. Bigley, Esq., justice of the peace, is requested to issue his warrant, or notice, pursuant to the provisions of the city charter, designating the third Tuesday of May, 1865, as the day upon which an election will be held for all municipal officers authorized to be elected by the city charter. When such government is organized the provost guard will enforce all military orders in regard to soldiers in the city, and will aid the marshal, at any time, when called upon, to enforce any ordinance or laws of the city government, as well as to make all arrests.

"By order of Brigadier General JOHN B. SANBORN.

"WILLIAM T. KITTREDGE,

"Ass't Adjutant General."

Under this order the officers of the county and city immediately commenced to exercise their functions, protected by the military forces about the city, and but a short time elapsed before the functions of the city, county and State government were fully restored.

During the entire period of my command in Springfield, it was customary to send all orders, as a matter of courtesy, to the governor of the State. I received a letter from the governor of the State, of date the first day of June, 1865, in relation to General Orders No. 35, as follows:

"*State of Missouri, Executive Department,*

"City of Jefferson, June 1, 1865.

"General:—I have been for some days intending to write you, expressing my thanks to you for the appropriateness, timeliness and perspicuity of your General Orders No. 35. The disruption of society and the general demoralization of civil affairs caused by the rebellion in every southern State, but most especially in Missouri, have rendered the restoration of the civil law a task, the severity and onerousness of which can only be appreciated by those who have to contribute towards its performance, as you have done and are doing. The Order is most admirably conceived, clearly expressed, and has throughout, the right tone, and in it I recognize and gratefully acknowledge the most effective assistance I have yet received towards the reinstatement of order in Missouri. Rest assured, that when peace and the arts of industry shall once more have assumed their legitimate sway in the State for which you have done so much to save, your name will be cherished with increasing reverence as our prosperity flows along in an uninterrupted tide. I am, General, with great respect, your obedient servant,

"THOMAS C. FLETCHER."

General Orders No. 35 was the last order issued by me to my command in Missouri. The prisoners of war that surrendered at that point numbered about 10,000, and were paroled under the direction of our companion, W. W. Braden. Orders were received by me to proceed at once to St. Louis, to take command of a force that was to operate against the Indians of the Southwest; and, on the 12th of July following, I find myself in command of the district of the Upper Arkansas, organizing a command with which to move against the Camanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne and Arrapahoe Indians, and the Apaches of the Upper Arkansas.

At this date, looking over the general orders issued to the troops on July 20th, when about to move against the Indians, I am amused at the reference made therein to civilized warfare. The first words of the general order are as follows: "All troops will observe and closely adhere to the rules of civilized warfare, and not allow themselves to become barbarians, because they are fighting barbarians. No women, children, or non-combatants, will be killed or injured, nor any Indian who duly surrenders as a prisoner of war unless it should happen in the casualties of battle. All hostile Indians, of both sexes and all ages, will be captured and brought to headquarters, whenever and wherever possible, and prisoners will be fed and clothed by the government."

This seems to be the first time in two years that I had been able to make any reference to the rules of civilized warfare; and, when it is considered that I had been fighting our own people, a civilized, educated and christianized race, and had gone from that sort of a field to carry on war against the Camanche and other Indians, it seems passing strange that I was induced, thoughtlessly, to refer to the rules of civilized warfare, and for the first time in almost two years order that they be adhered to and rigidly enforced.

If there is anything of value to a future age to be learned from the events of the civil war in the Department of the Missouri, and more especially in the State of Missouri, it is that there exists in the breasts of the people of educated and christian communities wild and ferocious passions, which in a day of peace are dormant and slumbering, but which may be aroused and kindled by civil disturbance, war and injustice, and become more cruel and destructive than any that live in the breasts of savage and barbarous nations. That there is an element of justice implanted in the bosoms of all men which revolts at injustice and cruelty, and in our age will not tol-

erate the putting to death of innocent men for the offence of another man, even when the offence has been authorized by his government against a citizen of a government with which it is carrying on war, where it may with propriety be looked upon and treated as the act of an hostile nation; and that when innocent men are put to death for the lawless and cruel act of another individual which no government authorized or approved, then every natural principle of humanity and justice is violated, and human nature itself rises in open opposition to such an exercise of tyranny, and that such acts are and must ever be the prelude to anarchy and the direct introduction of the reign of chaos; and that above the confusion, tumult and din of disorganized and contending communities, rent with civil fueds and drenched with fraternal blood, may always be heard the voice of divine wisdom speaking into the ears of all magistrates, rulers and officers, clothed with authority over their fellow men, those words uttered more than three thousand years ago by the rock of Israel to the most illustrious ruler of that people, "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God."

MEMORIES OF VICKSBURG.

Address of Gen. John B. Sanborn before St. Paul Camp No. 1, Sons of Veterans.

Comrades and Fellow Citizens, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Impressions that were broad and deep twenty-four years ago are, many of them, dim and shadowy now, but the great events of a military campaign, many of the marches and camps, and all of the battles, are so deeply impressed upon the mind of a participant that they can never be effaced.

No one can form any proper idea of the campaign against Vicksburg without some appreciation of the general condition of the country when the campaign opened, as well as some definite idea of the great obstructions interposed by nature and by a powerful, vigilant and skillful foe, to the success of that campaign. The nation was engaged in civil war; in the fall of 1862 and the winter and spring of 1863, it was in the throes of dissolution. The war had been waged for nearly two years; the North and the South had made vast preparations for carrying it on; battles had been fought; in the East the armies had made no progress from the position occupied by them in the summer and fall of 1861; in the West, the battles of Belmont, Donelson, Shiloh, the siege and evacuation of Corinth and the battles of Iuka and Corinth, had resulted in the extension of the Federal authority and the Federal lines from the mouth of the Tennessee and Ohio Rivers, some 250 miles, to a line

below Memphis and Corinth; we still held the great line of communication through Memphis and the northern tier of the Southern States, to Virginia.

Treason in its most flagrant forms exercised a powerful influence in many of the Northern States. The legislature of Illinois had refused appropriations for calling out and organizing and equipping the troops, and had been prorogued by that gallant, glorious and loyal governor, Dick Yates, whose voice never gave any uncertain sound during the conflict. The legislature of Indiana had also refused all appropriations for the purpose of organizing, equipping and sending forward troops to maintain the Federal cause, and the zealous and undaunted governor of that State, Oliver P. Morton, was in Washington begging for and receiving money from the Federal treasury without any authority of law to meet the demands for clothing, feeding and forwarding troops.

The Army of the Tennessee in the autumn of 1862, had fought the battles of Iuka and Corinth, at that time acting defensively, and struggling to hold the country that it had gained by the battles before mentioned fought in the spring of 1862. After the reinforcements which were called out by the President in the autumn of 1862 had been received, and a little more discretion had been vested in the department commander General Grant, he attempted to throw the enemy in the Valley of the Mississippi upon the defensive, and commenced a campaign down the Mississippi Central Railroads with La Grange and Memphis, Tennessee, as his base of supplies. No battle was fought, although one was daily anticipated in November and the early part of December. The advanced lines of the army reached the Yokenapotaffa River, about ten miles south of Oxford, Mississippi, and, while everything was beaming with promise, and the supplies had been gathered at Holly Springs (now about twenty miles in the rear of the advanced lines) for supplying the army for a long campaign sufficient to enable it to reach the rear of Vicks-

burg, we awoke one morning to hear the sad news that our supplies had all been destroyed by Van Dorn, with a column of cavalry, the night previous. It was winter; no one had any knowledge of the quantity of supplies in the country south of us, and the army had not been accustomed, at that period of the war, to rely upon the enemy's country for supplies; and there was no alternative but to abandon this campaign and return to points near our base of supplies and spend the gloomy winter of 1862-3. The winter was cold, stormy and disagreeable in the last degree. Snow fell at Memphis, on more than one occasion, to the depth of a foot or more. The news from the North was dispiriting in the last degree; and how the last great line of railroad communication through the confederacy, (reaching Vicksburg from the west of the river and running through the entire tier of Gulf States to Savannah and Charleston,) could be reached and destroyed, was a problem that all our commanders were willing to grapple with, but none able to solve to their own satisfaction.

The theory of the fall campaign to which I have referred, finally adopted, was to have one corps or division of the army make a demonstration upon the enemy's position at Haines' Bluff and Vicksburg, sufficiently strong to hold them in that position, while the remainder of the army along the Central road should advance by that line of road,and with that line of road as its line of communication, take the position in reverse and force its surrender. Gen. Sherman made the attack upon Haines' Bluff before he learned of the misfortune that had befallen the main army on the line of the railroad by the loss of its supplies at Holly Springs, and nothing was accomplished by the movement. Gen. Sherman was believed at that time (and it is doubtful if it is not the general impression to this day of a great majority of the officers of the army,) to be the most learned in the art of war of any officer then in commission in the government service, and it was generally understood by all officers that he still adhered to the

lines of operation and the general scheme that had been adopted in November, 1862, for the capture of Vicksburg.

Notwithstanding all the despondency occasioned by the failure of the autumn campaign, by the failure of the great armies in the East to make any advance into the enemy's country; notwithstanding the rumors and news that treason was rife in many of the Northern States, and that another still larger party favored carrying on the war only upon the conditions that it should not interfere with the institutions of the country as they had existed from its foundation, still the spirit and determination of the Army of the Tennessee and its commanders never flagged and never lost any of its vigor or force during this entire period. The determination among all subordinate officers and in the rank and file of the army, except with a few regiments raised in Missouri and along the borders of the slave-holding states, was to succeed in the campaign that should be inaugurated in the spring or die gloriously in the attempt. But all looked upon it as a desperate undertaking and felt that there was grave doubt as to the result, and that they had hardly an even chance of surviving the campaign. Sadness, gloom, determination and vigor seemed to be strangely mingled, both with the officers and with the rank and file of the army at that time.

All the intelligent and thoughtful officers of rank had some scheme, and the commander who had more determination and vigor than any other one in the army was willing to listen, and did listen to every scheme worthy of any consideration, and acted upon many, but evidently had one of his own that he had not fully developed. The great problem to be worked out was to find the nearest point practicable to Vicksburg where the army could set its feet on dry land and have a base of supplies from which it could receive its clothing, rations, camp and garrison equipage. Four hundred miles of low and mostly overflowed lands existed between Memphis and the Vicksburg Bluffs; two hundred miles below these bluffs was a like

condition, and Port Gibson was still in the hands of the enemy and was a formidable fortification commanding the river. It was evident to all minds that the commanding officer had abandoned, and abandoned for good, the idea of carrying on the campaign against Vicksburg by the long line of the Mississippi Central Railroad from Memphis.

About seventy miles below Memphis, on the left hand side of the river, there was a small pass known as Yazoo Pass, that carried a portion of the waters of the Mississippi River into Moon Lake, and from thence into a small stream known as Cold Water, and from thence to the Tallatchie River, and thence to the junction of that river with the Yallabusha River, which combined, formed the main Yazoo River which empties into the Mississippi at Haines' Bluff a few miles above Vicksburg. It was considered by some engineer officers of the army and by many men of good, practical, common sense, (among the most enthusiastic of whom was our fellow-citizen, Hon. Cadwallader C. Washburn,) that this afforded the surest and easiest means of transporting the army to the highlands above Vicksburg, either at Yazoo City, some forty miles above Haines' Bluff, or to a point nearer still, if not resisted by the enemy before reaching a nearer point.

General Grant consented to the trial of this route, and two divisions of the army, one of which I accompanied, the two numbering nearly 12,000 men, with two gunboats, the Baron DeKalb and Chattanooga, entered that pass and proceeded by that route to within a few miles of the Tallatchie and Yallabusha Rivers. Here we found a fort mounting heavy guns and so situated and constructed as to command the river for several miles. The country was overflowed with water, except here and there a small tract that would rise from three to six inches above the general water level. The army could not operate, and could scarcely land at any point. The route proved wholly impracticable, and upon this being communicated

to the commancing officer of the army, he sent back a dispatch with great haste for the expedition to return at once, and said he should await with great anxiety the arrival of the troops in the Mississippi River.

Upon the arrival of the command in the Mississippi River, the division commander became sick, and by rank the command of that division fell to myself, about the first of April, and remained until after the first of May.

The first orders received after we debarked on the sand-bar just below Helena was to report to the corps commander at the earliest practicable date at or near Lake Providence, Louisiana. This was a point about seventy miles above Milliken's Bend and Vicksburg, at which a small pass leaves the river on the west side and runs off through various bayous and cypress swamps to the Tensas Bayou, and thence into the Red River of the South. Many of the officers of the army had adopted this as a practical line for the transportation of the army to a point south of Vicksburg, where it could co-operate with Gen. Banks in the reduction of Port Hudson, and thereafter draw our supplies from New Orleans as our base, using the river as a line of communication instead of Memphis, Cairo and the North.

Upon arriving at Lake Providence, the river was pouring through this pass in immense volumes, and the water had submerged nearly all the surrounding country. It was a matter of difficulty to find ground, upon which a brigade or division could encamp, that was four inches above the water level which seemed to cover the whole country. Consultation after consultation occurred with the leading officers of the army, and at that time the results of these consultations were communicated very freely to me by Gen. McPherson, who at that time had his headquarters at Lake Providence. But a short time passed before he announced that the whole scheme was abandoned, and that the army was all to be concentrated at Millikin's Bend, and thither all the divisions at once

moved, arriving there not far from the eighth or tenth of April. At that point the greatest activity prevailed; transports were being loaded with rations, the river was filled with gun-boats, volunteers were called for to act as pilots, engineers and firemen to run transports past the batteries at Vicksburg; the corps and divisions were in motion, and everything indicated that a campaign was to open with the utmost vigor.

There may be, there is liable to be, on the part of those not fully informed, great error in the idea as to what composed the Army of the Tennessee that carried on the campaign against Vicksburg. The army and the department are often confounded. While in the Department of the Tennessee there were more than 100,000 men for duty, in this army that carried on the campaign against Vicksburg there were far less than 50,000 men. That portion of the army that was engaged in this campaign in the field, consisted of the Thirteenth Army Corps, commanded by Maj. Gen. John A. McClernand; the Fifteenth Army Corps, commanded by Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman; and the Seventeenth Army Corps, commanded by Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson. The Thirteenth Corps contained the ninth, twelfth and fourteenth divisions of the army, all including forty regiments of infantry and eight batteries, forty-eight guns in all. The Fifteenth Corps included the first, second and third divisions of the army, including thirty regiments of infantry and nine batteries of artillery; and the Seventeenth Corps included the third, sixth and seventh divisions of the Army of the Tennessee, including twenty-seven regiments of infantry and thirteen batteries of artillery, seventy-two guns in all, and one or two regiments of cavalry, detailed at army corps and and division headquarters.

For a time the elements seemed to conspire with the enemy to render the reduction of this stronghold impossible. Storms of wind and rain broke the transports from their moorings a few nights previous to the 16th,

and everything was in the utmost confusion both in the river and on the banks. Huge transports of a thousand tons burden, laden with rations, were at the mercy of the storm, without steam and without pilots, and for a time it did seem that a disaster was to befall the army greater than that which had occurred in the autumn at Holly Springs. The general in command of the army was on the hurricane deck of a transport in the middle of the stream, making every effort to stop the floating of the boats down the river, whither they were moving as fast as the current could carry them to within range of the batteries at Vicksburg. At length the wind ceased, steam was got up upon the boats and they were all brought back to their moorings, and no harm had been done; but the excitement, while it lasted, was equivalent to that of a first-class battle.

The time had now come when the great experiment was to be made as to whether the scheme which had been kept in the mind of the commander-in-chief of the army could be successfully inaugurated. The first step to be taken was one of the most doubtful and difficult connected with the campaign. It was impossible to take the ordnance, subsistence and camp supplies for the army overland from Millikin's Bend to a point on the river below Vicksburg, where they could be transported to the east side and placed upon dry land. The bottoms had been overflowed for weeks; the water of the river at that time, while the troops were encamped at Millikin's Bend, was running inside of the dikes four inches higher than the surface of the ground on which the men were camped, and hence there was no alternative but to attempt to transport these supplies in the ordinary, lightly-made Mississippi transports or steamboats, past the batteries at Vicksburg, where they were exposed to the fire of nearly one hundred heavy guns. A great many of the more conservative minds deemed it the height of folly to make even an attempt to do this; the commanding general and Admiral Porter had

more faith that it could be accomplished than any other men that I knew or met. No difficulty was met in obtaining volunteers to undertake the hazardous task of acting as pilots, engineers and firemen upon these frail crafts that were to be run by these heavy batteries. A few had doubts and misgivings. A request for volunteers was sent to all the division commanders and was read to each regiment at its dress parade. The volunteers were requested to report at division headquarters. Quite a large number reported from the Seventh Division, and one who said that he supposed he was the best pilot in the division stated that he had some misgivings about going, but concluded that he would volunteer and did volunteer, and, as I now recollect, he was the only man who was killed on the transports in that undertaking; his body was fairly severed by one of the heavy cannon shot from the Vicksburg batteries.

As the gun-boats and transports laden with supplies were about to start, a large number of other transports were filled with officers and started down the river to a point that would be just beyond the reach of the rebel batteries to see the venturous fleet off on its perilous voyage. So long a time elapsed after they parted company from their visitors that the hope began to be indulged that they would run past the batteries without being seen at all, for there was no moon, the night was one of intense darkness, there was not a glimmer of light upon any gun-boat or transport; they moved along silently and sullenly in the darkness that was intense. But suddenly, almost as if by a flash of electricity the whole heavens and earth were illuminated, fires blazed in every direction, the batteries opened from every point, while the gun-boats responded with equal vigor, and the heavens seemed ablaze, while earth and river shook. An hour or two passed, and the rockets sent up by the fleet below were read to mean that the gun-boats had all run past safely,

and that but one transport had been sunk, the Henry Clay.

The news was the occasion of inexpressible joy. Now, all who had any idea of the scheme of campaign that had been adopted by the general-in-chief knew that it would progress with the utmost vigor. From this time on Gen. Grant seemed to make superhuman efforts and to be endowed with superhuman power. None who had known him the previous years could recognize him as being the same man. During the previous year he had been, a great deal of the time, under a cloud after the battle of Shiloh, and while not under a cloud was by force of arbitrary orders from Washington on the defensive, and was at no time himself; but from this time his genius and his energies seemed to burst forth with new life. In all the movements the preceding year I never recollect to have seen him upon a gallop or even trot; he would oftentimes during the campaign down the Central road go upon a fast steady walk with his staff past the column to the front when the skirmishing was heavy, seeming to show no anxiety and to feel no excitement; but now, whenever he was seen, his horse was upon a fast trot or gallop; he seemed wrought up to the last pitch of determination and energy, and the whole army partook of this spirit.

The troops were at once put in motion, and with these three corps he had the double task to perform of holding a portion of the enemy in Vicksburg while he could make a landing with the advance of his column on the east banks of the river below Grand Gulf, and then resist any attacks that were made by the combined force of the rebel army upon his advance, until he could bring up the corps and troops left in the rear to attract the attention of the enemy while he made his march down and across the Mississippi River. All this was accomplished in the shortest possible time and without any considerable loss.

From Milliken's Bend to the point a little below Grand

Gulf, where the army embarked and crossed the river to Bruinsburg, by the route marched, was probably a little more than sixty miles, and a worse march no army ever made in the history of military operations. It was a common occurrence for the earth that had become a little hard on top to break through under the tramp of the soldiers and the movement of the artillery and trains and become almost a bottomless pit. Guns and carriages that were ordinarily drawn with the greatest ease by six horses for quite long distances would require from twelve to eighteen horses to draw a single gun or gun-carriage. The infantry picked their way as best they could, but were frequently in the mire to their knees, but no one heard a word of complaint and the marching was continued without any reference to the light of day or the darkness of night, controlled wholly by the orders of the commanders.

To reach the point opposite Grand Gulf on the morning of the first of May my division had marched most of the time for three nights and rested but a few hours during the day. So severe had this effort been that when a little after sunrise the command arrived on the bank of the Mississippi River opposite Grand Gulf it was met by Gen. McPherson, who congratulated the troops upon getting up, and informed them that they could rest until afternoon and probably until the next morning without making any movement; and they all fell, as soldiers do, at once to making coffee and getting what they termed "a square meal," and making themselves comfortable, but were not half through with their meal before the sound of guns at Port Gibson, on the other side of the river, greeted their ears and made them a little anxious; and in less than an hour an aid-de-camp came back from the corps commander stating that he had received a dispatch from Gen. Grant containing a copy of a dispatch from Gen. McClernand to the effect that he was attacked by the whole rebel army near Port Gibson, and that the whole army must be brought up immediately; that Logan had gone forward

with his division, and directing me to cross at once with the seventh division and come forward as rapidly as possible. This, according to my best recollection, was about nine o'clock in the morning.

The entire division, numbering more than 9000 on the rolls and more than 6000 present for duty, was on the east bank of the river by 12 o'clock, and an hour before sunset was in line of battle within a few miles of the battle field, where it had been ordered to form across a road running to Grand Gulf and protect the left flank of the army. The men lay upon their arms, but before midnight received the further order to come forward immediately to Port Gibson, as it was believed that the battle would be renewed in the morning; and before 1 o'clock the entire division was again marching, and did not reach the headquarters of the army until sunrise in the morning. A mile and a half after passing the hospitals where the wounded were still groaning and where the ground was strewed with the dead, I came to the headquarters of the army and reported the division present.

Gen. Grant answered the report in person, stating that he was satisfied the enemy had retreated and there would be no battle during the day, but that he should bridge the South Fork of Bayou Pierre and advance at the earliest moment practicable, and ordered the division to be put in the best possible condition for refreshment and rest. At this place the division which I had been commanding by virtue of my rank as the senior of the twelve colonels in the division in the absence of Gen. Quimby, sick, was placed under command of Gen. Crocker, and I took command of my brigade at noon on this day, and continued in this command to the surrender, except when commanding the division on the afternoon of the 22d of May in the assault.

The first great point of the campaign had now been made. At least seventy regiments of infantry and thirty batteries of artillery were on the high ground south of

Vicksburg, in the State of Mississippi. During all the time that this movement had been going on, Gen. Sherman with his corps had been making demonstrations in the vicinity of and at Haines' Bluff, had actually moved up the Yazoo, disembarked his corps, formed in line of battle and put batteries in position and made every demonstration that would indicate an assault upon that stronghold. The guns at Haines' Bluff could be distinctly heard on the day we were crossing the Mississippi River, fifty miles away. Such efforts was this hero making to hold the enemy from us until we could get a foothold on the east side of the river. Immediately upon learning that the army was across, he drew off and followed with all possible speed. The corps and troops that had fought the battle of Port Gibson moved on, rebuilt the suspension bridge on the night of the second of May across the north branch of Bayou Pierre; and on the following day, the third of May, drove the enemy across the Black River at Hankinson's Ferry, which was only fifteen or twenty miles below Vicksburg. And here, for ten days, was the most critical condition that the army was placed in during the entire campaign. The entire rebel army might come out from Vicksburg any night and throw its whole force upon the two corps of the Army of the Tennessee that had reached the Black River. Why it was not done cannot be accounted for except upon the theory that the commander of the rebel forces was bewildered by the strategy and movements of Gen. Grant, not knowing whether Vicksburg was to be attacked from the Yazoo and Mississippi Rivers, or from the army that had crossed the Mississippi south of the bluffs.

Delay was necessary to bring forward the rations for the army, and to enable Gen. Sherman to come up with his corps, before the main battles were fought. There seemed to be no anxiety and no excitement among the officers and men during this delay. They were equally ready to fight or to await their reinforcements and

rations without fighting, and it seemed to be a matter of perfect indifference to one and all.

The rations had reached the army, and Gen. Sherman with his corps had come within striking distance by about the 11th of May, and on the 12th the army commenced advancing in earnest. All expected fighting without delay and were not disappointed in their expectations.

The Seventeenth Corps had moved on the 12th about two hours before it struck a division of rebels a mile or two south of Raymond, and quite an obstinate battle ensued. Logan marched with his division in advance of that corps, which had the extreme right of the army on that day, and his right lost ground the first two or three hours of the fight, when the seventh division went into action on his left and the field was won at as early an hour as three o'clock in the afternoon, and this corps advanced to Raymond on the 12th.

On the following day the corps advanced to Clinton and there struck the great railroad and highway leading from Vicksburg to Savannah and Charleston, and nothing connected with it was spared. Ties, rails, and everything else, shared a common fate of destruction.

On the 14th the troops marched east, knowing now that the army was directly between two rebel armies, Johnson on the east toward Jackson, and Pemberton on the west, towards or in Vicksburg. By 10 o'clock Johnson's army was struck, on a ridge lying a mile or two west of Jackson, and a sharp engagement ensued, in the midst of a most terrific storm of thunder, lightning and rain that was ever experienced. Amid the bursting of shells and the firing of artillery it was hard to distinguish between the bolts of heaven and the shots, shells and reports of cannon. After the battle had been raging for about an hour, a general charge was ordered by the corps commander, which was communicated by the division commander (now Gen. Crocker), and made with the utmost vigor. The result was that the rebels were driven at all

points, abandoning all their artillery, and the troops marched without opposition into Jackson and carried their standard to the dome of the capitol of that State.

It was during this battle of Jackson that a heavy artillery fire was opened apparently one or two miles to the right of my position, and upon asking whose command it was I was informed by the division commander that it was Gen. Sherman's, and this was the first time we had heard his guns after he had thundered away so vigorously at Haines' Bluff, while we were crossing the river.

On the evening of the 14th, about 8 o'clock, it was announced that we would march west next day and engage Pemberton's army wherever found, or besiege it in Vicksburg, and on the following day, the 15th, we reached a point west of Clinton some five or six miles and camped for the night. Marching early the next morning and but a short time after sunrise, Gen. Grant with his staff passed me and the head of my column at a very rapid rate, he announcing to me as he passed that "to-day we shall fight the battle for Vicksburg," and directing me to come forward with my command as rapidly as possible. The booming of artillery was already heard to the west. By the time the seventh division reached the vicinity of the battle it was raging with great fury and continued thus for several hours.

The battle of Champion Hills was the hardest fought battle of that campaign. It was, as Gen. Grant announced in the morning, "the battle for Vicksburg." It was won without the troops of the Fifteenth Corps being engaged, and with but one division of the Thirteenth, although the proximity of those corps undoubtedly had great moral effect and contributed vastly to the result. The rebel army was routed at all points and abandoned artillery and baggage and arms and property of every description, and seemed to be seeking safety in flight. The pursuit was continued until the darkness of the night and the exhaustion of the army rendered it impossible to pursue further, and it was

renewed at daylight on the morning of the 17th, and on the 17th the enemy was found in a strongly intrenched position at the crossing of the Black River; and almost immediately upon the lines being formed, our army assaulted and carried the position, and took the entire rebel force prisoners, with all their batteries and camp and garrison equipage; and that portion of the army, viz., the Thirteenth Corps and Logan's and McArthur's divisions of the Seventeenth and the Fifteenth, moved forward towards Vicksburg, which they reached on the evening of the 18th, and invested.

On this day Gen. Johnson had communicated to Pemberton that if in these operations Haines' Bluff was evacuated, the only question remaining for him to decide was whether he would surrender both the army and position or simply the position, and recommended him, if Haines' Bluff was evacuated, to save his army in any way he possibly could. This advice, sound as it was and as the sequel showed it to be, in a military point of view, was unheeded by Pemberton. He seemed to be intent upon a siege.

During the 19th of May there was quite a vigorous advance and attack upon the rebel position concerning which I have no personal knowledge. My command had been ordered to build a pontoon across the Black River, some three or four miles above the bridge, on the morning of the 17th, and to cross over as many of the batteries and as much artillery at that point as possible, and to remain there with my command until further orders.

On the afternoon of the 19th, Maj. Mudd, of the Illinois Cavalry, reconnoitering to the rear, reported that Johnson was advancing with his army rapidly and was within a few miles of the position. The dispatch was forwarded to Gen. Grant, now in front of Vicksburg, without comments, and he immediately returned a courier with an order for me to cross the pontoon with my command and move forward into the lines in front of Vicksburg, de-

stroying the pontoon as soon as the command had passed; and the entire army was in line in front of and investing Vicksburg on the evening of the 20th of May. Our lines of communication were thoroughly opened via Haines' Bluff and the Yazoo River to the Mississippi River, and so on to the north; the army was fully supplied and in the best of spirits, and the feeling was general among officers and men that they could carry the position by an assault, which it was generally rumored would be at once made.

On the following day, the 21st, all were directed to reconnoiter as much as possible and find the weakest positions in the enemy's works and those portions of the works that could be reached with the least obstruction. Officers and men reconnoitered with a will, but the defences were inconceivably strong,—in the hands of cool, veteran troops, invincible to assault. There was perfect protection by earthworks along the crest of the hills and ridges, that were covered in front for many hundreds, and in some cases possibly thousands of feet, with abattis from four to eight feet deep, trees felled, limbs locked, chevaux-de-frise, and all conceivable kinds of obstructions that could be placed in the way of an advancing line or column. The demoralization of the rebel troops, however, was thought by sagacious men to be so great that they would not withstand a vigorous assault, and an assault on the morning of the 22d was ordered to be made, and a spirited assault was made. It was met, however, with spirited resistance. Our losses were heavy, but there was no despondency, no lack of faith in the ultimate result growing out of it on the part of the troops. There was, however, what there had been but very little if any of, in the Army of the Tennessee before, a discontent and dissatisfaction with a single corps commander, viz., the commanding officer of the Thirteenth Corps. His dispatches had deceived the commanding general of the army and the commanding officer of the Seventeenth Corps and the

commanding officer of the Seventh Division, and great losses in life and limb had been the result. Probably not less than 2000 men were killed and wounded as the result of a dispatch which seemed to have no foundation in fact, and this placed the commanding general of the army in a very trying position.

Notwithstanding the most brilliant and wonderful achievements in eight days, greater, we claim, than were ever achieved before by any commander in any war, his position was still precarious at Washington, more precarious than he knew; still he felt that he was not on a secure foundation, otherwise there can be no doubt that this officer would have been removed from his command the day after the assault. As it was, he was removed in a comparatively few days, and we think it may be put down as one of the most extraordinary records that any army has ever made, that in a campaign which involves five battles and an assault, with an army composed of approximately 50,000 men and not less than three thousand officers, that there is no record of disgrace or failure of any single officer of the army, except this one commander of the Thirteenth Corps.

For a few days after the failure of the assault on the 22d, there was a certain degree of anxiety in the army for the reason that our troops did not outnumber, very many, those in the garrison at Vicksburg, and we knew that there was a formidable army not far in our rear on the east. It was considered by all the thoughtful that our army was not large enough both for a line of investment and a line of circumvalation; but there was no feeling of despair, there was no fear of defeat or overthrow anywhere in the rank and file or among the officers of that army. Everything was done by the commander to hold the front line and to protect the rear. While the skirmish line was left intact, brigades were drawn out from different places and sent off to the rear, east and northeast, thirty, forty and fifty miles, both to ravage the coun-

try and to fight Johnson with his army, if it should be met at any point; and in a few days a reinforcement from the Department of the Cumberland or from Kentucky, reached Haines' Bluff, and from that time a feeling of satisfaction, security and certainty of the ultimate results pervaded all branches of the army.

The siege commenced in good earnest. Sap-rollers were made, saps were extended to the enemy's fortification, and from them mines were extended under them, filled with powder and explosives, and their highest and strongest fortifications were blown up. Skirmishing was constant, artillery firing was practiced, more or less, daily: the mortar-boats, lying under the bank of the river concealed and protected from the enemy's batteries on the river front, threw their vast shells and projectiles all night every night; and hardly a night passed during the siege when the heavens were not lighted with fire-works more grand than any ever displayed on the evening of the 4th of July. And so from the 22d of May till the 3d of July, a period of forty-two days, there was a regular routine of duty and almost a regular routine of events. All were zealous, all were patient, and all were confident.

On the evening of the 2d of July it was rumored that orders for a general assault on the morning of the 4th would be received the following day. They were expected, and although all felt that the casualties incident to all such assaults would be suffered, still there was no feeling of depression, no one was disheartened, and all felt confident if the assault was made that it would succeed. Still, when the white flags appeared at all points on the frowning fortification about noon or a little after noon of the 3d, the feeling was more buoyant and more joyous, and it was interpreted by all, at once, to mean that the hour for the surrender had at last arrived.

It was not believed by any of us in the army that the garrison contained more than twelve or fifteen thousand men, but the result showed how much we were mistaken

and how much more danger there had been of sorties and cutting out than we had anticipated. Almost 32,000 rebel officers and soldiers were in the garrison; and on the following day, the 4th of July,—the red letter day in American history, the day on which the nation had its birth, on which its most illustrious statesmen have died,—this stronghold of the rebellion surrendered, and the last link that bound the portion of the Confederacy east of the Mississippi River to those large and thriving States west of the river was severed never to be again united; complete victory had come and the nation was saved.

One of the principal objections to delivering a lecture or writing reminiscences of these campaigns and sieges is the fact that the speaker upon minor points must constantly run into conflict with written history and reports, and which have become erroneous from being swayed at the time from precise facts in the interest of same party or individual or scheme. In the examination of all the histories that have been written, I have found that what the writers have said from their personal knowledge, to be almost precisely correct; but what they have written and said, based upon reports of others, where I have had personal knowledge, I have almost as uniformly found it to be incorrect, in a greater or less degree.

On the evening of the 3d of July Gen. McPherson came to me in person and said that my own brigade and John D. Stevenson's brigade of Logan's division were designated to take possession of Vicksburg and take charge of guarding and paroling the prisoners, for the reason that they had fought the hardest and suffered the most in the campaign. All the writers that I have examined on this matter have reported that the place was taken possession of by Logan's division. While this is not strictly untrue, it is not the precise truth; but it is immaterial as a matter of history, so far as the campaign is concerned, but is not quite satisfactory to the troops who bore off the honors of the campaign and were designated to and did act-

ually march into Vicksburg and guard and parole the prisoners of war. As ordered by Gen. McPherson I led the column that marched into Vicksburg, and the 4th Minnesota Band and Regiment led my brigade.

Nearly all the officers of the army had procured and had by them new uniforms in anticipation of the surrender. On the morning of the 4th all such uniforms were put on, every enlisted man burnished his gun so that it glimmered in the sunshine like pure silver, the bands of music took their position at a little after sunrise, and the commands marched from their camping places during the siege into and through the city to the court house and the banks of the Mississippi River. Steamboats by the score, if not by the hundred, came out of the Yazoo and down the river from Millikin's Bend, and there was a scene of life and joy and excitement such as is rarely seen on this planet.

Orders were at once issued by Gen. Grant directing the details of all officers and men competent for the duty to write and take paroles, and the work of paroling the rebel prisoners was commenced in good earnest and occupied the time for about a single week. When every one had received his parole they formed in regular ranks and marched out, with their side-arms, in accordance with the terms of the surrender.

The following is a copy of the instructions and orders issued by me to the officers and men detailed to carry into effect the instructions received from General Grant. I remained on duty all day and decided the questions as they arose between the officers and their slaves:

Headquarters 1st Brigade,
7th Div. 17th Army Corps.
Vicksburg, Miss., July 9th, 1863.

The following instructions will govern the several commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the examina-

tion of the paroled prisoners in being passed beyond the lines,—

The following officers being duly paroled to be passed with their side arms, private horses (one each) and baggage:

All general officers, with their staff.

All field and staff officers of regiments.

All commissaries and quartermasters.

All other officers with special permits, from Major General McPherson, without horses.

All line officers, with side arms and private baggage.

All soldiers being duly paroled will be passed out with knapsacks, haversacks, canteens and blankets, after being duly examined to see that they have no contraband articles, such as colors, powder, caps or cartridges; when such articles are found, they will be taken possession of by the parties making the examination.

No negroes will be permitted to pass with the troops, except such as the commanding officer shall decide entitled to pass the lines under existing orders.

After each regiment shall have been examined, the regimental wagons will be examined, and all articles contraband, such as colors, powder, caps and cartridges, will be taken possession of.

The wagons allowed are as follows:

General headquarters, two teams.

Each division headquarters, one team.

" Brigade " " " 4 mules.

" Regiment " " " 4 "

Chief quartermaster, one team, 4 mules.

Each artillery company, one team, 2 mules, where company exceeds 60 men.

No other teams will be passed except such as the commanding officer shall decide to be entitled to do so under existing orders.

Commanding officers will instruct their men that it is the desire of Maj. Gen. Grant that no soldier shall indulge in

either abuse or jeering language to the prisoners whilst being examined, or being passed beyond the lines, and the commanding general feels assured that his command will conduct themselves with magnanimous forbearance towards their conquered foes. All men and officers are enjoined to remain patiently upon the ground until such time as they shall complete the work assigned to them.

By order of JOHN B. SANBORN,
Col. Commanding.

Many singular, and some rediculous incidents, occurred, mainly in connection with the colored servants of the officers. We formed a line of officers and men, mainly as a corps of observation, to observe the rebel army as it passed through the fortifications and out into the Confederacy. Strange changes seemed to come over the minds of these faithful servants very suddenly at times. They would dart up to me and ask if they were compelled to go out, and upon receiving the answer that it was optional with them to go or stay, universally, so far as I know, deserted their masters and staid in the Federal lines.

The number of men surrendered to Grant at Vicksburg was 31,600, including 2,153 officers, of whom 15 were generals; 172 cannon also fell into his hands. It was the largest capture of men and material which had ever been made in war up to that time. The small arms surrendered exceeded 40,000.

The campaign at Vicksburg opened amid the greatest diversity of opinion in regard to what was commonly known as the negro question. Gen. McClellan, in 1862, after he had been driven back to Harrison's Landing, wrote to the President, among other things, that "the military power should not be allowed to interfere with the relations of servitude, either by supporting or impairing the authority of the master, except for repressing disorders in certain cases;" and made the statement that

"a declaration of radical views, especially upon slavery, will rapidly disintegrate our present armies."

Notwithstanding this, Mr. Lincoln had issued his Proclamation of Emancipation, to the effect that "on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the people of the United States, shall be thenceforth and forever free, and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons or any of them in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom."

It was all that military authority and power could do to maintain discipline in some of the regiments recruited from the border States and along the line of the free States as they bordered upon slave States, but the result of this campaign seemed to crystalize all these conflicting ideas, and the country for the first time settled down to the determined purpose that the war should be from thenceforth conducted with a view to making absolute freedom and absolute justice the law of its life. Confidence was infused through the Northern States by this campaign that the rebellion could be overthrown and the rebel government subjugated, and it was the first time that there had been implicit faith in ultimate success during the progress of the war. It was the first great aggressive movement that had been successfully made during the rebellion up to that time. The most intelligent and wisest of the Southern leaders then in the Confederate army at Vicksburg frankly admitted that the doom of the Confederacy was sealed, although conceding at the same time that public sentiment through the South was wrought up to so high a pitch that other battles would have to be fought and other campaigns carried on before the great

mass of their people could be convinced that they could not maintain their government.

No campaign in the history of human affairs, has done so much to establish freedom and justice as the Vicksburg campaign. It seemed to derive its principle and great purpose from the noble and martyred President, and its energy and vigor from the greatest general of his day, and its influence for good on mankind can never be lost. Such achievement of men, in such a cause, can never be forgotten.

When ages shall have passed away, and the proudest monuments erected by human hands shall have crumbled to dust, and even those heights from which the guns of Vicksburg frowned and belched forth fire and death shall have been worn away by that mighty river that rolls at their base, the fame and glory of the campaign that compelled the surrender of this stronghold and of the commander that gave it direction and success will still survive, "exempt from mutability and decay," a light and hope to the desponding and oppressed people of all lands, and a beacon to all nations struggling to establish liberty, humanity and justice as the law of their national life.