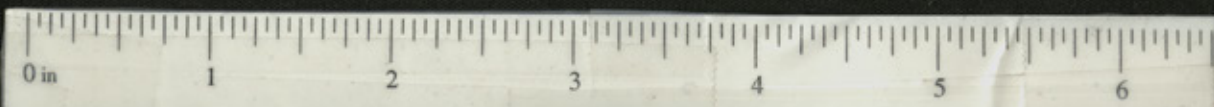
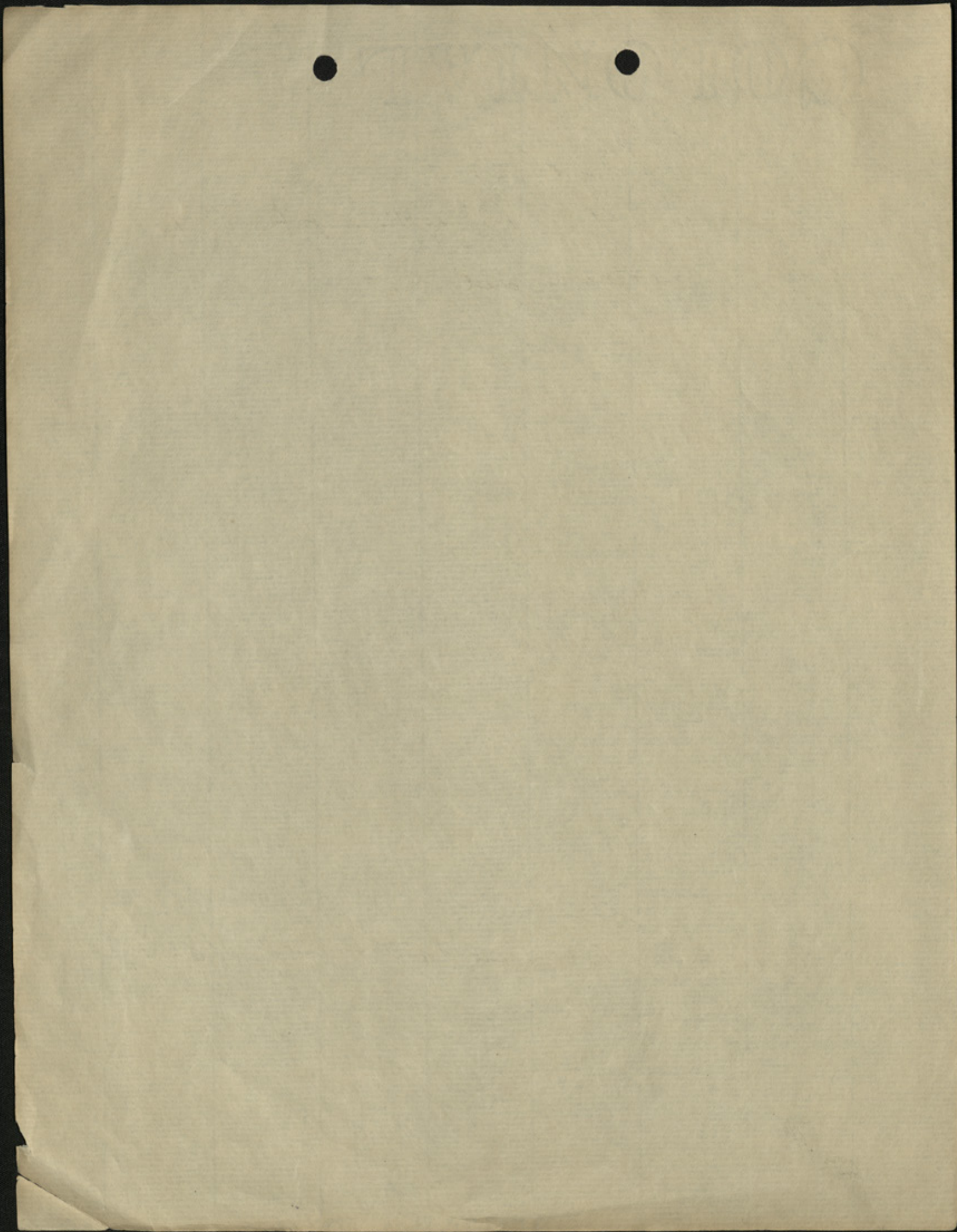


Lecture
written for Bingham's M.
but never delivered

No 3 Vol 8.

Subject
Campaign of General McDowell 1861,
including Battle of
Bull Run, Va.





1st Lecture at

Pinghantou N. Y.

September 14th 1893

Subject:

The Campaigns of
Major General McDowell

in
1861

including

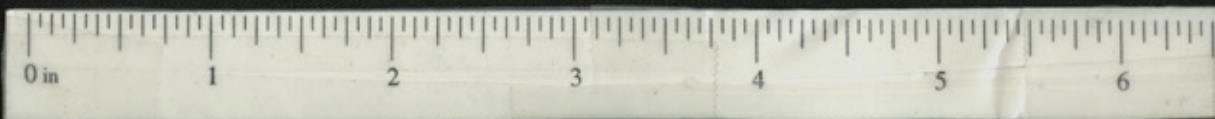
the first battle of Bull Run

or

Manassas

by

Major Genl O. O. Howard
U. S. Army



LECTURE delivered at BINGHAMTON, N.Y.

September 14, 1893. ^{Brooklyn N.Y.} Apr 20/94.

Causes of War.

It is wise for students to begin a review of the civil war, or of any considerable portion of it, by stating to themselves as concisely as possible the causes which led to the conflict.

All now admit that SLAVERY was the fundamental cause. Incident to slavery and an essential protection to its interests, was an interpretation of our NATIONAL CONSTITUTION in favor of state sovereignty, or state supremacy, which national men like WEBSTER and CLAY strenuously denied.

The majority of slave states and a large number of citizens of other states asserted the existence of state sovereignty in all matters which were not expressly conceded to the general government by the Constitution.

Admitting state sovereignty ^{as a right} according to this claim, the right of secession appeared to all the advocates of this view to be a logical conclusion. They claimed that secession was the natural remedy against abolitionism and the only resort of the slave states to withstand the constantly increasing opposition to slavery and slave-extension in this

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September 1853. George N.Y.

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country. - As long as the political power, or what was called " the BALANCE of POWER " could be preserved between the protectors of slavery and the opponents of the institution, a measure of peace prevailed; to this end when a free state was admitted to the Union, a slave state simultaneously came in; and there were also other checks and balances shrewdly devised and ably maintained.

The southern ultimatum hinged on the breaking of this rule, (this balance of power) which had been in the nature of a compact, avowed and unavowed, as compromises under the constitution.

At last a new party came into power, which was organized mainly to prevent the extension of slavery into new territories. The very organization of this party was regarded ^{by slaveholders} as a violation of the said compact ~~of~~ compromise, because, if that party should ever gain control of the nation, no more slave states, either in Texas, New Mexico or California would be admitted. Slaveowners saw clearly enough that under such an administration slavery was doomed.

The Republican party (this was the name of the new party) in the fall of 1860 elected its president, ABRAHAM LINCOLN. In consequence of this election secession began.

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The attempt of the new administration which had to be made according to the law to protect and retain U.S. forts and other U.S. property, which were within or near the seceding states was withstood by organized opposition. In South Carolina the 12th of April 1861 at 4.30 A.M., a U.S. fort commanded by Major Robert Anderson and held by a small garrison was fired on by an organized division, which had all the appurtenances of war; this division was commanded by General BEAUREGARD, who, a prominent officer of the U.S. Engineers, had ~~late~~ly resigned from the army, in order to associate himself with the aiders and abettors of the secession movement.

The Government of the United States regarded this action of hostile troops as an action of rebellion against its authority, and the President called upon states for quotas of troops, 75,000 all told, with a view to suppress this " rebellion, " recover U.S. property and re-establish the authority of the general government wherever it had been successfully overthrown.

Such is substantially the generally admitted statement of the causes and the inception of the great war through which we passed during the trying period of our history from 1861 - 65. (3)

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2 // \$ The first Blow & its effects
 General GRANT in his Memoirs shows how the news of the attack upon and fall of Fort Sumpter and the President's call for 75,000 men ^{were} ~~was~~ received and responded to in Illinois. He says: " As soon as the news of the call for Volunteers reached GALENA, posters were stuck up calling for a meeting of the citizens at the Court-house in the evening. Business ceased entirely; all was excitement; for a time ~~then~~ ^{was} there ~~was~~ no party distinctions; all were Union men, determined to avenge the insult to the national flag. In the evening the Court-house was packed. x x x x Speeches were in order, but it is doubtful whether it would have been safe just then to make other than patriotic ones. There were probably ~~none~~ ^{none} in the house, however, who felt like making any other." Galena could not then be allowed more than one company (one hundred men). " The company was raised and the officers and Non-commissioned officers elected before the meeting adjourned. "

" The ladies of Galena were quite as patriotic as the men. They could not enlist, but they conceived the idea of sending their first company to the field uniformed. " x x x x x

" In a few days the company was in uniform and ready to report at the State Capital for assignment. "

These doings at Galena which are so simply described are a sample of the action of the people in every town and village of the Free States.

At the time Captain Grant was drilling the Galena company, Your speaker was in another sort of community. It was ^{at the} West Point, ~~and~~ the U. S. Military Academy. - There were there on duty as Staff Officers, instructors, and attached to the Engineer company twenty eight (28) Lieutenants ~~including myself~~. Several of them had their families with them. Nine (9) came from slave-holding states, yet only two (2) of these ^{ever} joined the secessionists. There were eight (8) permanent professors and their families. ^{revere} Not one of these ^{men} ~~veered~~ the least in his loyalty to the Union. The feeling at the Academy as the news came ^o pouring in, was intense, but it was of a different type from that which shook other places. One ^{Lieut. Howard's} extract of a letter to ~~my~~ mother of February 11th 1861, exhibits a phase of the watching, the anxiety and the sentiment that prevailed.

" I am glad that Virginia and Tennessee have gone for the Union. We can do without the Gulf States. We will hardly miss them if we do not have war. Oh, that we may not be called ^{upon} to spill each others' blood !"

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It was the cry of hearts warmly attached to each other. " Oh, can't the statesmen fix up this quarrel somehow without civil strife ! "

But when ~~when~~ we began to divide- when Colonel HARDEE, who had been our Commandant, and FITZHUGH LEE an instructor in tactics resigned and went South and WARREN and MC.COOK, two other prominent instructors ^{us} ^{nation's} left and entered the Volunteer service, and the secession-work kept on [^] cropping more and more, and showed itself in military forays against the government-forts, capturing the garrisons from Florida to Texas, the old Army Conservatism broke up, and the ^{ardently} loyal became ^{desirous} ~~to~~ to bear their part in recovering lost ground and in upholding the integrity and honor of the Nation.

The evacuation of Fort Sumpter the 14th April, however honorable to our troops, was a source of universal sorrow among us. ^{at West Point} In fact that deplorable event was the touch-stone which separated the loyal and the disloyal. Under its influence all patriotic hearts at West Point, as ~~elsewhere~~ ^{elsewhere}, were led to decision and unanimity; while on the other hand, the few seceders hastened away to join those who were already well organized and exhibiting intense exultation and ^{over Sumter's fall} ^{ation}

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 " to fire the Southern heart! "

National men at West Point from the North,
 South, East and West, gathered daily to read the
 start^tling accounts; to hear of Butler's movements;
 of the Massachusetts Sixth Regiment, so badly handl-
 ed- some killed and many wounded-in Baltimore; of
 Washington in danger; of the killing of Colonel ELLS-
 WORTH, the President's personal friend, in Alexandria;
 and to repeat ^{to one another} the published orders which showed a
 steady preparation on the one side, and on the other
 for a great ^{and bloody} conflict.

^{of the Garrison, at West Point,}
 Our ladies, who in a social way so much reliev-
 ed the tedium of military routine, for once read the
^{daily} papers with eagerness and participated in all the
 excitements. Some, particular^{ly}, of those from the Slave
 states took sides with a vexation and passion that
 could not be suppressed. We, who were together at
 West Point and daily looked into each other's faces
 with a hope to gather strenght and resolution- in

and increasing defiance. *Against the Abolition*

As in all such revolutions, there were many ~~secession~~ leaders who sprang to the front, made ~~admirable~~ inflammatory harangues, and who made their ~~speeches~~ that

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view of such a struggle of brother against brother and friend against friend, were a type of the regular ^{everywhere} army. As waters of different temperatures, put into the same vessel, soon ~~attain~~ a medium temperature, so did our people, our loyal people of various feelings and sentiments in the army, come to a common understanding and expression. We belong to the whole nation; we do not want it divided; we propose to stand by it forever; but we ~~make~~ ^{hate} civil strife; we will not be too eager to enter the lists in this conflict; certainly not simply for the sake of promotion. We do yet hope that the differences may be settled without further bloodshed.

Such was the spirit of the regular officers, ^{generally} even up to the time ^{when men} ~~we~~ were hurrying with ~~our~~ new regiments to answer Mr Lincoln's call; ^{they were pressing} on, on from East and West and North to the Capital of the Republic. There, ^{at Washington} in early June 1861, General IRVIN MC.DOWELL under the old Veteran Commander General WINFIELD SCOTT, was marshalling the troops, ^{up} fixing the fortifications and manning the defenses of WASHINGTON.

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33 General MC. DOWELL.

For years the name IRVIN MC. DOWELL attached to General Scott's ^{orders} as Assistant Adjutant General had been, at evening parades ^{at every post,} a familiar sound. Those who had never seen him were surprised to find him ^{so} tall and of full build. He was in perfect health and 43 years of age. His habitual deportment was that of a man self-absorbed, reticent and a little haughty. He had a twofold reputation in army circles usually condensed into these words: " He never drinks liquor not even wine; he is the best read-man in the service "

He had a good Mexican War record connected with Generals' Wool and Taylor, and was brevetted for gallantry at Buena - Vista. May 14th 1861, the President had promoted him to Brigadier General in the Regular Army, and soon after, assigned him to command " the Army ^{of North East Virginia, afterwards} ~~of the Potomac~~ ^{denominated} "The Army of the Potomac"

As Mc. Dowell was then believed to be the coming leader of ^{the national} ~~our~~ hosts, for SCOTT the Grand Figure which for half a century had filled the public eye, was too old and infirm, ^{so} he, Mc. Dowell, engrossed the constant observation and remark ^{of soldiers & citizens.} ~~of soldiers & citizens.~~ ^{The Capital of the Nation.}

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who had the local command of Washington and its vt-
courage - and officer remarkable for his Christian
character, the District of Columbia became a vast
camp. Numbers of Volunteer Regiments crowded every
height; officers and soldiers in uniform crowded the
streets. But there was not yet a semblance of an
organized force. In fact in most things, to the eye
of a Mexican Veteran like our Washington - ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the}
there was much irregularity, and great confusion.
Everybody talked; newspapers typical of every situa-
tion published idle and abundant rumors as well as
facts; reputations of large size were made and un-
made in a day. There, at the great White House, sat
Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet; there at the Department
of War was his venerable Secretary SIMON CAMERON.
Old General SCOTT came daily in his barouche for and
large, to his office on 17th Street. He pointed to
Washington, Cincinnati, Louisville, Cairo, and St.
Louis on the map, as he touched the finger-ends
and the thumb-point, and then gradually closed his
- while he said with frowning dignity: "That
is the way to crush this rebellion." But who of
these wise men knew just where to commence; or just
what to do? ALEXANDRIA, across the POTOMAC, it is
true, with its approaches was occupied by our ~~army~~ ^{army}

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soldiers, some of the best drilled, Col. HEINTZEL-
 MAN in command; but that already famous ^{Confederate} General, P. T
 BEAUREGARD, had his headquarters only about 25 miles
 beyond, at MANASSAS, while his out-posts came within
 7 miles of the Capitol. The stars and bars ^{were} of that new
 Confederate flag ~~was~~ flung to the breeze, within the
 range of view of several observatories of the Capital,
 and boldly challenged our rulers to the desperate
 conflict which was destined ^{eventually} to destroy, or to ^{re}esta-
 blish, the great republic.

The slave states were then more military than
 the free states. They organized a military force
^{a graduate of West Point & distinguished as a general in the} from personal & official acquaintance
 very quickly, - and their president ^{Jefferson} Davis
^{both juniors & seniors} knew whom to choose for command ~~they~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~

From the free states the governors came on to
 Washington with their troops; prominent citizens of
 every shade of opinion hurried to the Capital with
 their proposals; avaricious dealers, like birds of
 prey, ^{up} hovered around the War Department, bent on
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And permeating all this mass from high to low was a shrewd active, indefatigable secession-element; which weakened the arms of Columbia's friends and ever keeping her enemies well informed, incalculably

strengthened their hands and emboldened their hearts. *Preparatory to move forward and crossing the Potomac*

from day to day

General McDowell visited the *out-lying* camps and watched the discipline and drill *of the volunteers* which Mansfield pushed forward

through regular officers detailed as aids and assistants to the Colonels of regiments and Commanders of batteries. As soon *as* the General deemed them fully prepared for field service, he formed them into

brigades and had them marched to the south side of the Potomac. Thus the historic army of the Potomac at first called " the Army of N. E. Virginia " was brought together, and so put into positions as to occupy the high grounds in front of Washington,

Georgetown and Alexandria, grounds already select-
efficient
ed and pretty well fortified by the Engineer Corps

of the Army. To unify his brigades, each consisting of four or five regiments, General Mc Dowell formed five divisions To wit: TYLERS, HUNTER'S, HEINTZEL-

MAN'S *Dixon S. MILES' and RUNYON'S ; all except Runyon were old Army officers lately made Colonels.*
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And permeating all this mass from high to low was

ed held the left of this defensive line, from the Manassas R. R. around southward to the Potomac; Runyon's kept Alexandria as a reserve.; while the other divisions ranged along northward to and beyond Georgetown, covering and watching altogether a frontage of 10 miles.

Mc Dowell, for mounted troops, only an

The General had ~~an~~ escort of U.S. Cavalry,

commanded by a regular officer, Major I. N. PALMER;

reckoning all
only seven small troops, not to exceed 500 men for

duty during this campaign.

at Manassas
The effective force of General Beauregard was 21,833

This number was independent of General JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON'S brigades, 6200 strong, which at the

time the battle was planned were in the Shenandoah valley; and according to General's SCOTT'S promise to Mc.Dowell were to be watched and retained there

by our Union General PATTERSON who confronted them.

The Union soldiers were under the impression that Beauregard far exceeded Mc.Dowell in cavalry. This arm is not included in his summary of effective force; but in his report of the battle he incidentally includes Colonel J. E. B. STUART, as one who deserves mention for his enterprize and ability as a Cavalry Commander. He remarks further: "Through his judicious reconnaissances of the country on our left

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flank, he acquired information both of topographical features and the positions of the enemy of the utmost importance to the subsequent and closing movements of the day on that flank, and his services in the pursuit were highly effectual. "

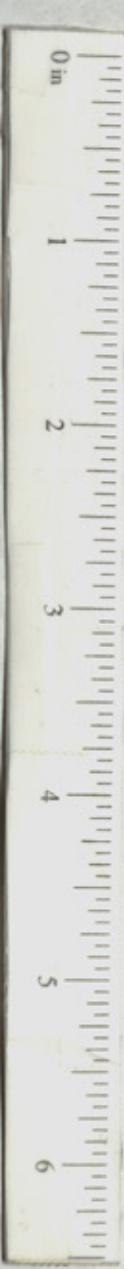
Elsewherethe Confederate Colonel RADFORD is spoken of as commanding a brigade of Cavalry. He was Colonel of the 30th Virginia Cavalry, and we find his regiment and ten other Independent Cavalry companies as part of the Confederate Army of the Potomac.

While Stuart had the 1st Virginia Cavalry Regiment and formed part of the " Army of the Shenandoah "

Radford must have had all the cavalry belonging to Beauregard's army proper, so it was denominated a brigade. When Johnston's head of column appeared, Stuart with the famous 1st Va. Cavalry began his work so highly commended. Radford reconnoitred the right flank and Stuart the left of Beauregard's BULL RUN defensive position.

Beauregard in his comments gives another clew to some of his advantages over Mc.Dowell. Think of what these words mean: " Colonel TERRETT, the Commander of the intrenched batteries, Captain STERRETT, of the Confederate States Navy, and their officers made the most efficient possible preparations for the

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 the Confederate States Navy, and their officers made
 of the intrenched batteries, Captain STEPHENS, of
 these words mean: "Colonel THURTELL, the Commander
 some of his advantages over Mc.Dowell. Think of what
 Beauregard in his comments gives another clue to
 BULL RUN defensive position.
 right flank and Stuart the left of Beauregard's
 work so highly commended. Radford reconnected the
 Stuart with the famous 1st Va. Cavalry began his
 brigade. When Johnston's head of column appeared,
 Beauregard's army proper, so it was designated a
 Radford must have had all the cavalry belonging to
 and formed part of the "Army of the Shenandoah"
 While Stuart had the 1st Virginia Cavalry Regiment
 as part of the Confederate Army of the Potomac.
 regiment and ten other Independent Cavalry companies
 nel of the 30th Virginia Cavalry, and we find his
 of as commanding a brigade of Cavalry. He was Colo-
 Elsewhere the Confederate Colonel RADFORD is spoken
 the pursuit were highly effectual."
 ments of the day on that flank, and his services in
 most importance to the subsequent and closing move-
 features and the positions of the enemy of the ut-
 flank, he acquired information both of topographical



*the desperate defence of that position (MANASAS)
in extremity; and in this connection I regret my in-
ability to mention the names of those patriotic
gentlemen of Virginia, by the gratuitous labor of
whose slaves the intrenched camp at Manasas had been
mainly constructed, relieving the troops from that
laborious service and giving opportunity for their
military instruction. "*

*With a good body of horse under Radford and a body
of slaves used to hard work to make strong forts for
the reserves, Beauregard before the arrival of
Stuart and the Army of the Shenandoah that had pre-
ceeded, was surely well prepared with his effecti-
ves of 21,833 soldiers and 29 cannon to sustain a
good defensive battle against the Union columns of
only 28,568 men and forty nine cannon.*

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6 § - Features of Bull Run Battlefield, (16)

Before locating further Beauregard's brigades let us attempt a sketch of the battle-field and its vicinage.

Take C.C. COFFIN'S way of illustrating which may be hard for a listener to follow, but is easy to a student with a pencil and sheet of paper before him. He uses a diagram. [§] Out line a square ten inches on a side; an inch is for a mile. Regard the square as it lies before you as a map with the usual points of compass: North, South, East and West.

Draw a straight line across the square cutting it one inch from top on the east ^{straight line} and two inches from the top on the left side; this represents the pike (or Warrenton turn-pike). Now mark a point on the cross-line one inch from the east side, this point is CENTREVILLE; a point four inches further, the Stone Bridge over BULL RUN. Draw the ordinary crooked line through the stone bridge ^{the} tending mainly, North-west and south-east and cutting bottom one inch from the east side; this represents the Bull Run. Let the middle point of the bottom be MANASAS. it is a hamlet. From this hamlet the railways branch. The Washington branch running easterly, crosses the Bull Run about a mile off at UNION MILLS.

MILLS.

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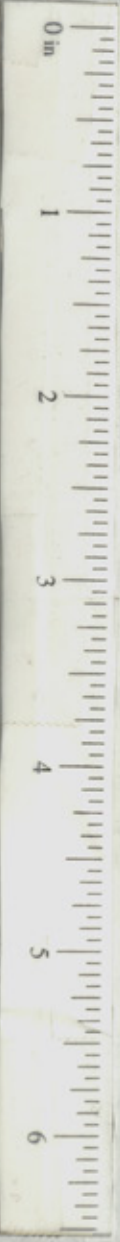
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rings.

Jefferson Davis Collection (18)

Join Manasas with Centreville for a wagon road.
^{Join road} It cuts Bull Run at MITCHEL'S FORD. Between the
 R.R. bridge at Union Mills and Mitchel's Ford are two
 other crossings, viz; Mc. LEAN'S and BLACKBURN'S
 FORDS. Country roads go from Manasas across these
 fords and intersect roads that run into Centreville.
 From Blackburn's to Mitchel's is a cross-road ^{convenient for Beauregard} ~~east~~ ^{South}
 of Bull Run. Again from Manasas to the north-~~east~~ ^{West}
 goes the **SUDLEY** wagon-road, passing over the whole
 field; ~~where~~ ^{at} it cuts the pike is the point ^{at} ~~which~~ ^{small}
 YOUNG'S BRANCH is crossed. This ^{small} stream winds about
 the pike in a serpentine way making a loop south and
 then a loop north; then it passes down and joins
 Bull run near the Stone Bridge. The **Sudley** road
^{northward} prolonged intersects the Bull Run at the extreme
 N.W. corner of our map; the point is named **SUDLEY'S**
^{or "Sudley Springs"} CHURCH. From here a road not very straight ~~curving~~
~~N. Easterly and Southerly~~ ^{unites} ~~joins~~ the **Sudley** Church
 and ford with Centreville, seven miles. This bend-
 ing country-road crosses another famous stream,
^{the} called CUB RUN close to the pike. Cub Run is a north-
 ern branch of Bull Run. It flows south and empties
 into the larger stream just ^{above} ~~below~~ Mitchel's Ford.
LEWIS' and **BALL'S** FORD are found between this con-
^{of the Cub and Bull Runs} fluence and the Stone Bridge. (17)

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Join Manassas with Centerville for a wagon road.



^{S. J. R. Run}
YOUNG'S branch in its vagaries produces a ravine.

The point where Young's branch, the pike and the
Gudley road all meet is the "STONE HOUSE."

On a plateau, one half mile east of the Stone House
and south of Young's Branch ~~and~~ some little distance
from the stream is the ROBINSON HOUSE. The HENRY
^{which became the disputed point}
HOUSE is still further to the south-east.

There are ^a few other historic places; passing west-
ward along the pike from the Stone House, you rise
out of the ravine of Young's Branch ^{and} in less than a
half mile you find the DOGAN HOUSE and ^{farther} on a
short distance is GROVETON, a small hamlet. Still on
~~for~~ ten miles from Centreville is the village of
GAINSVILLE. A few words more as to the character of
this sweep of country. Mc.Dowell ^{describes} says of Centreville:

"A village of ^a few houses, mostly on the west side of
"a ridge running north and south. The road from Centre
"ville to Manassas Junction runs along this ridge and
"crosses Bull Run about three miles ^{from} the former place.
"The Warrenton turnpike (or the pike) which runs
"nearly east and west goes over this ridge through the
"village and crosses Bull Run about four miles from it."

Along Bull Run and its two tributaries the country
was for the most part wooded. The current was not
rapid, but the banks were abrupt often rocky and

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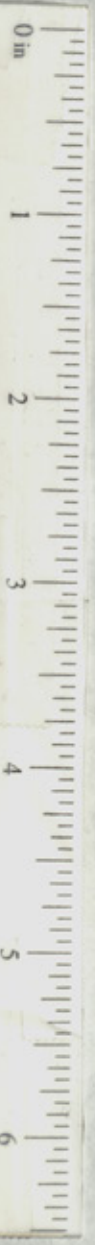
was for the most part wooded. The current was not

rapid, but the banks were abrupt often rocky and

precipitous . The ~~Stream~~ could not be crossed with Artillery and Infantry and not easily with Cavalry except at the fords and bridges. The higher ground afforded plenty of quiet slopes and plateaus, but so many trees had ~~been~~ allowed to grow during the preceeding decade that the farms appeared like ~~the midst of~~ glades of more or less expanse in woodland. There were no prominent points like the Cemetery Hill on the one side and the Lutheran Seminary on the other at Gettysburg from which the whole battle-field could be surveyed . The two Generals worked out ~~their~~ ^{very} plans mostly with maps and sketches with ~~pr-~~ ^{very} little help from actual observation.

~~H-~~ ^{H-} ~~Beauregard~~ ^{Beauregard} ~~arranges his army.~~ General Beauregard with his staff, his fort, his depot of supplies, his force of workmen and his reserves was, before the battle, at Manassas. This is his disposition against Mc.Dowell: ^{The right of his army} " At UNION MILLS FORD EWELL'S Brigade of three (3) regiments; at MC. LEAN'S FORD, JONE'S Brigade of three (3) regiments; at BLACKBURNE'S FORD, LONGSTREET'S Brigade of five (5) regiments; above MITCHEL'S FORD, BOHNAM'S Brigade of five (5) regiments; at LEWIS' FORD, COKE'S Brigade of portions of six (6) regiments; at STONE BRIDGE, EVAN'S Demi-Brigade of a regiment and a half ^{which}

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constitutes the left of ~~the line~~ ^{his army}; EARLY'S Brigade of four (4) regiments was posted as a reserve in rear and support of Longstreet and Jones. All the ^{brigades} above together with some seven (7) other regiments and portions not brigaded constituted Beauregard's ^{confederate} Army of the Potomac." (See Nicolay.)

RADFORD'S Cavalry Brigade watched beyond ^{Beauregard's} the right and Stuart's 1st Virginia, after it came, ^{was placed} near the ^{his}

left. ^{P - first March July 16, 1861} ^{A considerable portion of} Let us now return to Mc.Dowell's Army. ~~it~~ had been

before the movement toward Centreville and Bull Run pretty much an army on paper. Some of its regiments had just come from the north; some had not yet crossed the long bridge of the Potomac.

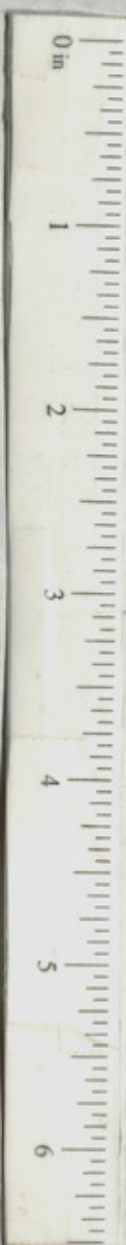
The General for the sake of contracting his lines and grouping his divisions, ordered a short march for ^{out from the Potomac} to several small places in Virginia near together, the 16th of July. The first division (Tyler's) to

Vienna; the 2nd division (Hunter's) to Little-river-pike; the 3rd division (Heintzelman's) to the

Accotink Creek or ^{to Pohick} ~~Pohick~~ at discretion. This march ^{duly} was made. One brigade Commander says about the

Accotink : " When I came up ^{to that Creek} ~~I found~~ I found a large number of men of the brigade preceeding mine sitting down and taking off their shoes, not to wade but for fear they might, like some ahead, slip off the narrow

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number of men of the brigade preceding mine sitting
down and taking off their shoes, not to walk but for
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bridge made of two logs ^{placed} side by side, and so wet their socks. Regiment after regiment crossing at single file thus straggled out, so that each brigade before mine took at least two hours in crossing a stream which was fordable and not more than twenty yards wide. My brigade was considerably irritated because I made them march, closed up, straight through the shallow ford. But the men would not have been so fresh and happy the next morning if they had been three hours later in getting into camp. - West Point Officers, however, were ^{without doubt} too severe with the new troops. Remembering MAHAN'S rule: "not to imperil ~~the~~ the success of a campaign for fear of wetting the soldiers' feet," they (for a few were present with each brigade) ^{perhaps} showed unnecessary indignation, and scolded the regimental officers harshly for thus wasting important time. ■

(21)

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(22)

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2nd
Section

(22)
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(21)

2^a
Lecture,

GENERAL MCDOWELL's CAMPAIGN including the
BATTLE OF BULL RUN.

DUP Licate COPY.

Gen'l O. O. HOWARD.

156
~~105~~ COLLEGE STREET,
BURLINGTON, VERMONT.

THE FICUS COLA

WALLS OF BAPTIST

ON THE WCDOMETER'S CONSTRUCTION INCLUDING THE

TECHNICAL

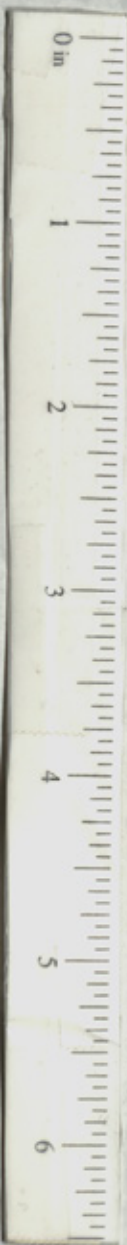
The orders of the 17th of June brought every
command abreast of FAIRFAX COURT HOUSE

General Howard in a Monograph said: " Gen'l FRANKLIN
and I encamped near each other upon a hill-side. We
reclined before our camp-fire together and studied
the news and orders just received. A thrill of excit-
ement went through the whole brigade when WILCOX 'S
words from FAIRFAX STATION came: " The enemy fled
on our coming without a shot." Wilcox took two pris-
^{one}soners from an Alabama, and ^{one from}a Louisiana regiment.

At the Court House was Mc.Dowell himself, and three
divisions near by. Tyler was a mile or more ahead on
the Centreville pike. The Confederate out-post there
had retired in haste as Tyler was getting behind it.
But all the pickets were captured. Colonel Miles had
four men wounded. General Mc.Dowell reported: " The
excitement of the men found vent in burning and pil-
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This generally a responsible soul, in a great crisis
is grieved at the wrong doing of his agents.

9. ~~The 3 March & Tyler's Skirmish~~

General Mc.Dowell's general instructions from Fairfax Court House were few and comprehensive:- "

[This Colonel Miles was killed in 1862 at Harper's Ferry]

" Miles' division will go to Centreville; Tyler's division beyond Centreville on the road to Gainsville; Hunter's will get as near Centreville, as he can find water; while Heintzelman's will move to Little Rocky Run on the road hence to Centreville.

A kind of Postscript gave a little zest to the General's message to Tyler: " observe well the roads to Bull Run and to Warrenton. Do not bring on an engagement , but keep up the impression that we are moving on Manassas. "

Remember, Centerville to Mc.Dowell is an important junction of wagon-roads as Manassas is to Beauregard.

In fact when that postscript was penned, Gen'l. Mc.Dowell had just changed his mind. ~~Before that,~~ To move on Manassas by a rapid push to his left, had been his plan. But he found the roads " too narrow and crooked for a large body to move over, and the distance around too great to admit of it with any safety. " He might have added that his ^{"confederate"} enemy expected that eastern approach and had deployed his troops to meet it. During the 18th of June as our troops were tramping along, a discouraging rumor ran down the

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This generally a responsible soul, in a great crisis

the column, something of this form: " Tyler's de-
feated ! He was too fast ! He has exceeded his
orders, and a disastrous check is the consequence !"
A fair reading however of the reports of Tyler and
those of his brigade commanders, Colonel RICHARDSON
and others, will make military critics correct their
severe judgments. Though Mc.Dowell did not intend
so much, General Tyler understood his movement to be
a reconnaissance in force. It was difficult to make
it otherwise with fighting Colonel Richardson in
front. Everything was so quiet when Tyler and Ri-
chardson came near Blackburn's Ford that they could
hardly detect with glasses that Longstreet was there
with ^{his} batteries and five regiments, and that Early was
behind him with four more. Tyler brought forward
Ayers' battery (5th Artillery) and supported it
by Richardson's brigade ^{i.e.} the 2nd and 3rd Michigan,
the 12th New York and the 1st Mass. regiments.

A few shots from the ^{union} battery brought a battery re-
sponse, and ~~from the enemy~~ ^{rifle} their infantry fire obtained quick and
sharp retorts.

The 12th New York getting too far forward was attack-
ed and driven back in disorder. Then Richardson
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the enemy's position. Tyler very properly refused.
He had reconnoitred. He had found the ~~Confederates~~ ^{and had}.
In doing so he had lost six lives ^{and had} twenty six more
disabled by wounds. This small affair at that time
gave the morale to Beauregard's men. It was not a
favorable beginning. Later in the war ^{however} such a skir-
mish would have passed with scarcely a remark.
Saturday night (^{of July} the 20th) all Mc.Dowell's divi-
sions except Runyon's were grouped around Centre-
ville. General J. E. JOHNSTON, ^{Confederate} had with his Army of
the Shenandoah ^{near Winchester} eluded PATTERSON, ^{Piedmont} passed to and em-
barked his infantry on the cars, part at a time.
He himself came on with the first train-load, arriv-
ing at Manassas the 20th of July, the Artillery es-
corted by Stuart's Cavalry marched. The last briga-
des and the marching column did not get to the field
till the afternoon of the 21st, but all came soon
enough to participate in the battle. After his arri-
val, though he is very modest about it, giving all
credit to Beauregard, Johnston, being the senior in
rank, took command and probably at the crisis of
the battle saved the day. This General, JOSEPH E.
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BE'S Confederate brigade was placed near *Colts*

at Lewis' Ford; "Stonewall" Jackson's midway be-

tween Ball's and Mitchell's Fords to keep *ROHAM*:

HOIME'S brigade just up from AQUILA CREEK was sent

to re-enforce the right; while the left at the Stone

Bridge ~~was~~ very slender and weak. Beauregard's plan

which Johnston approved was to move forward pretty

much from his right and attack Mc.Dowell before

Patterson could join him. *[Mc.Dowell's Plan]*

~~That~~ Saturday night the 30th of July 1861, Mc.Dowell

called together at his unpretentious Centerville -

tent, his Division and Brigade Commanders. He lay a

large topographical map on the ground, the tent had

no floor, and explained with care his excellent

plan of battle. "Tyler hold the lower fords and the

Stone Bridge; make proper demonstrations; Miles'

division will be behind you at Centerville, as a re-

serve; Hunter, you go over Cup Run along the pike,

then take that right hand country road and move up

to Sadley's Church, to the ford there over Bull Run.

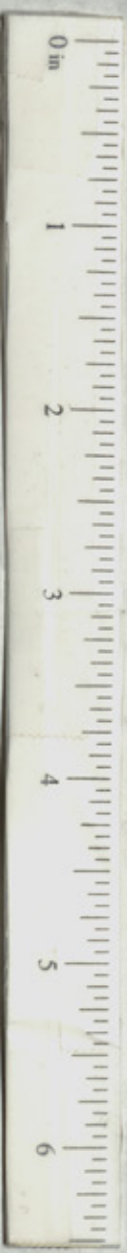
Gross and move down; when the next ford is reached

Heintzelman will follow you and cross there. I hope

to get Centerville before Johnston's men can get

there." Mc.Dowell did not know that this was

*would be the left
which Johnston
had anticipated
and which was
the right flank
of the army*



Confederate was already on hand with half of his force - with enough to raise the Confederate army to 30,000 and thus overbalance him in numbers. Still

11 Mc.Dowell outweighed them in artillery.

Each

II - The Eve of Battle.

Each brigade commander had a handsome camp with wood and water in plenty. ^{One, at least,} he had assembled his four regiments at the evening parade, all the men in close mass had uncovered their heads as the God of battles had been entreated for protection and guidance.

Tyler was to start at three A. M. the 21st, Hunter and Heintzelman at two thirty A. M. ^{Three} the divisions ^{in cross-directions} were much intermixed and could not be moved like three blocks of English regulars. In fact the brigades of Tyler did not clear the turning point on the ^{turn} pike, just over ^{the} Cub Run ~~till~~ ^{until} five-thirty A. M. So Hunter waited two mortal hours for Tyler; Heintzelman stood for an hour ^{longer} ~~more~~ with his head of column at the pike for Hunter's to pass. General Howard reported:- " My poor brigade was rear of this moving column; it stood ^{at Centreville,} fully equipped, from two-thirty ^{at 11} till the sun was an hour high, with its head at the turnpike."

The fatigue from such a waiting coupled with the excitement always existing at such a time, weakened

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P. The First of Battle.
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at the pike for Hunter's to pass. General Howard re-

ported: - "My poor brigade was rear of this morning

of course
column; it stood fully equipped from two-thirty till

the sun was an hour high, with its head at the turn-

pike."

The fatigue from such a waiting coupled with the ex-

haustion always existing at such a time, weakened

many a strong man. All this bad management kept
Hunter's ^{troops} back. Instead of beginning his attack at day-
light, he was not in position across the Sudley Ford
till after nine. Though excited the advance briga-
des were at first cheerful and hearty. They went
swinging along singing " John Brown's Body " with
a wonderful volume of sound . The rear brigades
felt the hot sun extremely. The want of sleep troubl-
ed them more. All these new circumstances of war
had nerved them to a tension that could not last, so
that before the end of the second mile many fell out,
sat, or lay down sick and faint by the road-side.

Mc.Dowell very soon ordered a slight change of plan,
which ^{greatly} added to the weariness of Heintzelman's men.
He ordered them ^{not to make the short cut, but} to follow Hunter all the way, seven
miles to Sudley's Ford. He in person detained Howard's
brigade at a blacksmith's shop, not more than a mile
from the Cub Run crossing ^{of} the pike. This brigade
he thus made a special reserve, for Hunter or for
Tyler as the battle might demand. Here, with a thick
forest in front within sound of the battle-field,
Howard's Maine and Vermont men waited ^{in no little trepidation} from eight
^{in the morning} o'clock till three in the afternoon.

Mc.Dowell with his staff and escort presented a fine
appearance as they trotted off, working their way

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through Wilcox and Franklin's moving columns of infantry, on, on, to the head of Hunter's command at Sudley Church. Here Burnside's handsome Rhode Island Brigade, to wit: Hunter's advance after his seven mile march, had covered his front with skirmishers and was taking a rest. ^{with the remainder} Now this large brigade was deployed under the eye of Mc.Dowell, and swept on near the Sudley and Manassas wagon-road down the gentle slopes, toward the valley of Young's Branch.

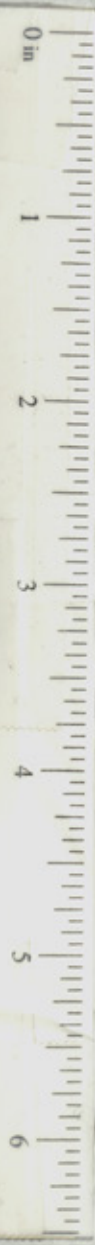
^{the quick witted confederate commander,} Evans, with that Demi-brigade at the Stone Bridge began to suspect that SCHENCK and SHERMAN, ^{having} the advance of Tyler's ^{division} there, were not in earnest in their assault; for they rattled away with their rifles, but did no more. He first sent a regiment ^{toward Burnside}, and then changed his whole front to the left and pushed over toward ^{the Manassas road} which Burnside was using as a guide. Evans ^{following and} posted his men ^{facing north} as well as he could under cover of uneven ground and trees, but he did not have more than one thousand souls. [¶] The Battle

Mc.Dowell from high ground not far from Sudley's Ford had a fair view of the field; for here was the largest opening among those woody farms and the country made a handsome picture with its rolling, variegated features sweeping off toward Manassas.

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30

Here he saw the skirmishers begin their noisy work, and soon the main-lines were rapidly firing and the light batteries whirled into place commenced their more terrifying discharges.

" At nine fifteen, Evans writes, my command opened a vigorous fire, which caused the enemy (The Burnside Brigade) to halt in confused order. # # # Enemy seemed to fall back; Major Wheat then made a charge with his whole battalion. "

Mc.Dowell, through his staff, hastened Colonel ANDREW PORTER'S large brigade to Burnside's support.

Generals Johnston and Beauregard by eight o'clock were already on a commanding hill south of Mitchel's Ford. Their signal officer Captain ALEXANDER detected the first skirmishers at Sudley's Ford about 9 A.M. Immediately General BEE, Colonel HAMPTON with his legion, and Colonel (Stonewall) Jackson were ordered to hasten to the left flank. Bee being nearest, spurred on by the firing, reached Evans first. He took that ^{chose} position strong as a fort, near the HENRY HOUSE; ^{there} located IMBODEN'S battery and supported ^{it} by his large brigade. But Evans was across the valley northward and calling loudly for nearer help. Bee, then sent ^{the confederates} the most of his force to Evans's support. Before an hour, all were driven back to

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that Henry House; for Heintzelman's two brigades
 were on the field ^{and in the mêlée} and the troops at the Stone Bridge
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 Bee ^{was running to the rear} could not quite halt ^(or he halted) ~~his army~~ at the Henry
 House. They were going back when that indomitable ^{confederate leader}
 Jackson, having orders for Stone Bridge, here received
 news of Bee's trouble; ^{he of course} marched at once to his
 help. He put in his troops to the west of the Henry
 House, supporting several batteries. Bee then rallied ^{most of} ~~the~~
 his men and returned to guard Jackson's right. This
 was done at 11.30 A. M. Jackson called for Rad-
 ford's and Stuart's cavalry to protect his ^{own} left
 flank. He commended Stuart most highly for his
^{in doing this} promptness and ^{for his} successful charges ^{which he made}
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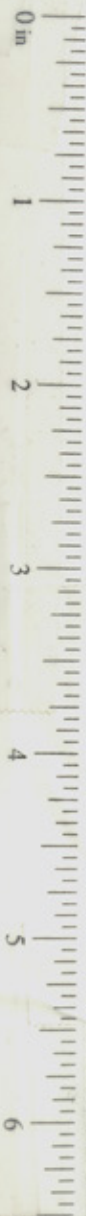
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It is of no small interest after their histories have been written to notice how through this able management of General Johnston, Colonel Wade Hampton with his legion rendered Bee's retreat orderly; and how Holmes and Jubal ^{Early} and Bohnham sent men and batteries to extend and defend the new line; and how Johnston's Chief of Artillery, PENDLETON, brought on his own and Pendleton's batteries; and how Johnston ^{ordering over Stuart} and many others, ~~with~~ Beauregard, sped the four intervening miles from their "commanding hill" to the Henry House !

"We came not a moment too soon, says Johnston, ### our presence with them under fire and some example had the happiest effect on the spirit of the troops!" After this important work and re-enforcement, General Johnston went to the Lewis House ^{father back} and there made his headquarters; for from that point he could see the approaches ^{beyond} Bull Run, particularly those to the Stone Bridge; and he could watch the movements ^{everywhere} of his own troops.

On the Union side, ^{Soon} Misfortunes began to multiply.

Hunter was severely wounded and left the field ;

~~Batteries~~ ^{cannon were captured} that had been well managed lost their ~~horses~~ horses ; several regiments, broken by the fighting, were much mixed up and appeared like flocks and

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herds to cover the valley and slopes without regu-
 larity or organization. ~~Gen'l. Mc.Dowell sent~~ *4P - last effort.*

Capt. Whipple of the Engineers for Howard's brigade.

He was to lead it straight to the battle-field, but

~~not knowing the cross-route~~ he guided it by Sudley's Ford, six miles around in-

stead of three miles across. Captain Munson [an officer of the fifth Maine who made a detailed record] wrote:

According to orders we started off in double time., but the heat of the day, the fatigue, the want of food, soon began to tell on the men. They first threw away their blankets, then their haversacks and canteens, and the most who kept on had nothing but their arms and ammunition. Numbers dropped out; the pace was decreased, but this did not stop the difficulty. Men fell out by tens and by twenties, and by the time we got to Bull Run about one half were absent. At this point a staff officer stood beside the road, who hurried up the troops saying: The rebels are running, and you had better hurry ~~and~~ get in if you want to have any fun. 33

General Howard when he crossed Sudley's Ford, saw Mc.Dowell and his small escort on high ground a few

hundred yards off. He beheld Burnside's men with muskets gleaming in the sunshine ~~who had come back from the field; it was then~~ between 2 and 3 P.M.

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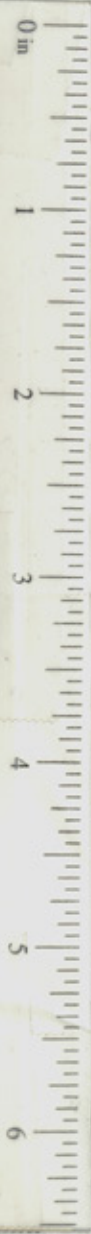
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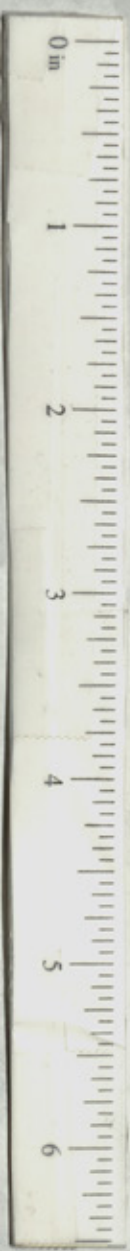
orders to cover the valley and slopes without regu-



They had ~~retired~~ ^{active} ~~apparently~~ ^{were} from the front and resting on their arms; ~~he saw~~
other troops scattered; ambulances in long columns
groaning with the wounded; General Hunter in one of
them; men with broken arms, faces bound up with ban-
dages white and blood-stained; legs bruised; bodies
pierced; such were walking or limping in irregular
groups to the rear; shells were striking or hissing
through the heated air. Away over toward the Warrant-
on pike, and up thereby the Henry House, there was still
a fitful rattling of musketry and an interrupted
roar of heavier guns. "Send General Howard to the
right to support Rickett's battery." Capt. Fry of
Mc.Dowell's staff brought these orders and led the
way across the Young's Branch Valley to a hill not
far from the Dogan House. In the little ravine north
of this hill behind a fringe of trees, he formed his
brigade in two lines - the 2nd Vermont and the 4th ^{Maine}
~~regiments~~ in the first line; the 3rd and 5th
Maine in the second. Before the action, when forming,
Howard had his men march past him as he sat on his
^{all were pale and thoughtful.}
horse and observed them. Many looked up into his
face and smiled. Then the first line swept on up the
slope through the trees and out into an open space.
The six guns of Rickett's battery were already lost;

Thompson's Battery
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the Captain wounded and captured, and one Lieutenant Douglas Rams[○] killed. The battery ^{then had had} 27 killed and wounded. Lieutenant Kirby covered with blood on a wounded horse was ^{along} hurrying and endeavoring to save the caissons. What a battery to support! There was no visible foe, yet the wood a few hundred yards in front emitted ^{against the Union men} a steady pattering of bullets ^{from} all along ^{its} the edge ^{His men fell. The ranks were thinned}. Howard's first line began to fire. ^{Soon he ordered up the 2nd line.} Captain Muhson says: "that the fire of their lines at first was heavy and silenced that of the enemy; but soon the bullets came thickly." He counted ^{on} the ground near the right of his regiment, the 5th Maine, 17 slain of the New York Zouaves, - and saw other signs of the previous contest for that hill. A brigade and a battery were approaching from ^{Howard's} right. Kirby Smith's ^{that were unloaded} the last from the Manassas cars. Howard ^{was compelled to} order ^{his men back to the ravine to reform.}

¹⁴ P. The Panic!
When the orders to retire were heard and repeated ^{by} the officers along the lines, all ^{the command} faced and began quietly to descend the slope. They looked ^{around} for supports, but saw nothing organized or solid behind them. Captain Heath of Waterville, Maine, of the ^{regiment,} 3rd ^{regiment,} walked by Howard's side, and the tears flooded his bright young face as he said: "My men

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a wounded horse was muzzling and endeavouring to save
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Douglas Rams killed. The battery ~~was~~ ^{then killed} 27 killed
the Captain wounded and captured, and one Lieutenant

will not stay together; they will not obey me."

Other officers plead and threatened; surgeons pointed to the wounded and cried: "For God's sake don't leave us" ! " But the panic, like a virulent fever had begun. Nothing seemed to penetrate the minds of the Union men everywhere except the foolish shouts: "The enemy is upon us ! We shall all be

taken ! " The heroic Heintzelman, grieved and angry, ^{riding hither & thither} his broken arm in a sling, kept repeating his sharp command to every officer he met: " Rally your command, Sir ! " A partial rally one would see

here and there in the throng which ^{wed} crossed the long Sudley road. The 14th Brooklyn had ^{once} quite a showy column and some others had a little display of form; but a fierce cry "The black horse cavalry are upon us ! " dissipated even these brave companies

into the woods that ^{all along} fringed the highway. At last all cool and self-possessed officers ^{their efforts} gave up, particularly after artillery horses, cut loose from carriages, with ^{Their} riders ran races through the already over-excited crowd. These officers gave a new call. And

it was a thousand times repeated. "To the old camp at Centreville ! " By the time our irregular masses came in sight of Cub Run - the ^{jumble} ~~sight~~ of wagons stalled stalled

came in sight of Gap Run - the ^{hundred} of wagons stalled
at Centerville! "By the time our irregular masses
it was a thousand times repeated. "To the old camp
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in the deep ford near the bridge which was itself clogged and obstructed with broken vehicles.- a few shots of cannon ^{being} fired west of them on the broad pike, carried the excitement beyond bounds. Men fled to the fields and woods and mounted men pressed their horses to the utmost speed, regardless of whom they trampled under feet.

15 ~~Φ~~ The end of the Battle Campaign.
But they were not far from aid. The well formed lines of Colonel Dixon Miles' reserves met everybody who got beyond the Cub Run, and enabled brigade commanders to gather their men once more at Centreville. Thence they for the most part were able to march them by regiments back to Fairfax Court House, and ^{afterward to Alexandria & Arlington} within the defenses of Washington. So ended the first Bull Run.

General Mc.Dowell's entire loss was 481 officers and men killed, 1011 wounded, and 1216 missing. Beauregard's and Johnston's entire loss, as gathered from Confederate tables, was 387 killed, 1582 wounded, and thirteen missing.

It was at least ^{two weeks} after our Bull Run panic before much reliance could be placed in ^{The National} ~~the~~ troops. In Alexandria the second night ^{they} ~~we~~ had to put the men under shelter in the empty houses. A dreadful rain-storm had set in after the battle.

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The rain poured down in torrents and flooded the roads and the streets of the city. Feeling that ~~the~~ ^{the} army was unsafe with no advance-guard, ~~A~~ ^{Gen Howard} moved three regiments (the 3rd and 4th Maine and 2nd Vermont) out along ~~Alexandria~~ ^{the} Alexandria and Centreville pike, four miles, to Bush Hill, near Mrs. Scott's farm. The 5th ~~Maine~~ ^{Maine} having lost all its blankets, was allowed to remain in town for ~~the~~ ^{the} time.

And now came the most trying period of the war to all patriotic hearts. The terrible discontent was aggravated ~~by much talk~~ ^{by much talk} and continued among the men. They dis-trusted their officers, high and low; many of them plead ~~to~~ to go home; some mutinied; some deserted; some worthless officers only encouraged the malcon-tents, while others feared them. Letters complaining of ill-usage filled the mails; the supplies for a time were short; spoiled clothing could not be imme-diately replaced; blankets and equipments were not forthcoming to fill the want; food was scarce and often poor; bread became mouldy and meat ~~insufficient~~ ^{tainted or} ~~insufficient~~! Counter complaints attended with bitter charges, came to us from the homes far away. The military authority was ~~insufficient~~ ^{not able} speedily to rectify all these evils. Officers and men rushed into Washing-ton

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pledged to go home; some mutilated; some deserted;

trusted their officers, high and low; many of them

degraded and continued among the men. They dis-

all patriotic hearts. The terrible discontent was

and now came the most trying period of the war to

in town for ~~the~~ time.

having lost all its blankets, was allowed to remain

miles, to Bush Hill, near Mrs. Scott's farm. The 5th

out along Alexandria and Centerville pike, four

regiments (the 3rd and 4th Maine and 2nd Vermont)

army was mixed with no advance-guard. A moved three

roads and the streets of the city. Feeling that

The rain poured down in torrents and flooded the

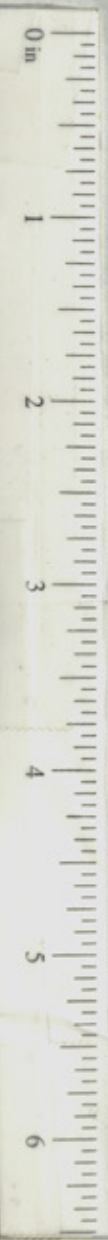
and thronged the hotels, boarding houses and public
~~Salons & Street corners~~ ^{were filled}
offices with ~~a~~ saucy, idle, vagabondish crowds. In
many regiments even the arms were abused and allowed
to become unserviceable from rust. But, little by
little, the Quartermaster General, (the worthy, dili-
gent and able General Meigs) arranged to so supply
every want in the clothing line as soon ~~as~~ to relieve
~~the~~ every cause of grumbling; and in like manner the
loyal-hearted Commissary General- General George
Gibson -, and his industrious assistants, before
long gave ~~the~~ ^{the soldiers} plenty of new bread and fresh meat, so
that the men became more contented and hopeful.

~~The~~ ^{That} first battle was in many respects similar to
that of the First Napoleon at Marengo. As the ~~Austrians~~ ^{Austrians}
there came nigh to accomplishing a victo-
ry, striking the center and left of the French, dri-
ing back a corps and gaining ~~much~~ ground till late
in the day, so did ~~the~~ ^{McDowell} General Johnston's last bri-
gade corresponds to Dessaix's corps, which came just
in time to push back the Austrian right and strike
an unexpected blow, and enable Napoleon to regain

the field and score a victory where he was almost
Thus Johnston ~~thus~~ Kirby Smith gained ~~the~~ ^{the battle!}
ready to own a defeat. But, fortunate ~~ly~~ ^{for} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{McDowell}

and thronged the hotels, boarding houses and public
offices with a noisy, idle, vagabondish crowd. In
many regiments even the arms were abused and allowed
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an unexpected blow, and enable Napoleon to regain

the field and score a victory where he was almost
ready to own a defeat. But, fortunately for the
Union, Johnston's army was not defeated.



enemy's troops were as new as ~~ours~~ ^{his own} and there was no
^{equal of} Napoleon on the ground to reap the fruits of ^{his} di-
saster. Lessons learned.

I heard General Sherman once say, when he had listen-
ed to a severe criticism of Patterson, Mc.Dowell and
other early leaders, that ^{gentlemen} ~~we~~ must not be too criti-
cal and hard, for we were all ^{green} ~~green~~ in those days,
and we have to learn by experience.

^{the union officers} Yes, ~~we~~ were then ~~taught~~ ^{taught} many lessons - for examp-
le, the indispensable need of ^{good} ~~of~~ organization; ^{of} proper
commanders, drill and discipline; how little things,
like long waitings, or overhaste in marching, or
overloading the men, so certainly ^{proceed} ~~foretell~~ defeat;
how essential it is to keep the men who fight in
confidence and in heart; how ^{to place} ~~and~~ when to bring up
the supports and reserves and use them to the best
advantage.

^{the union men over} One thing which affected ~~us~~ ^{the} much was the saying so
often heard that day: " It is Sabbath ! ^{also,} The attack
-ing party on the Sabbath is sure of defeat . "

Whether this be the superstition or religion of the
people, wise men will respect it; certainly as much
as they do the old idea of the sailor that he must
not sail from port on friday. To violate ^{rule} ~~this~~, demo-
ralizes the sailor; to violate the Sabbath, weakens

enemy's troops were as new as ~~there~~ and there was no
Napoleon on the ground to reap the fruits of our di-

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cal and hard, for we were all ~~in~~ in those days.

and we have to learn by experience.

Yes, ~~we~~ were then. ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~many~~ ^{many} lessons - for examp-
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commanders, drill and discipline; how little things,

like long waitings, or overhaste in marching, or
overloading the men, so certainly ~~fatal~~ ^{fatal} defeat;

how essential it is to keep the men who fight in
confidence and in heart; how and when to bring up
the supports and reserves and use them to the best

advantage.

One thing which affected ~~much~~ ^{much} was the saying so
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Whether this be the superstition or religion of the
people, wise men will respect it; certainly as much

as they do the old idea of the sailor that he must
not sail from port on Friday. To violate this, demo-
ralizes the sailor; to violate the Sabbath, weakens

the soldiers who come from ~~the~~^{the} churches and Sunday-schools.

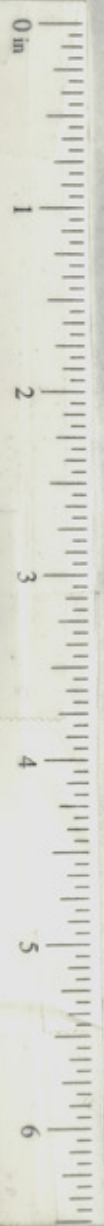
On the 27th of July, six days after the famous battle
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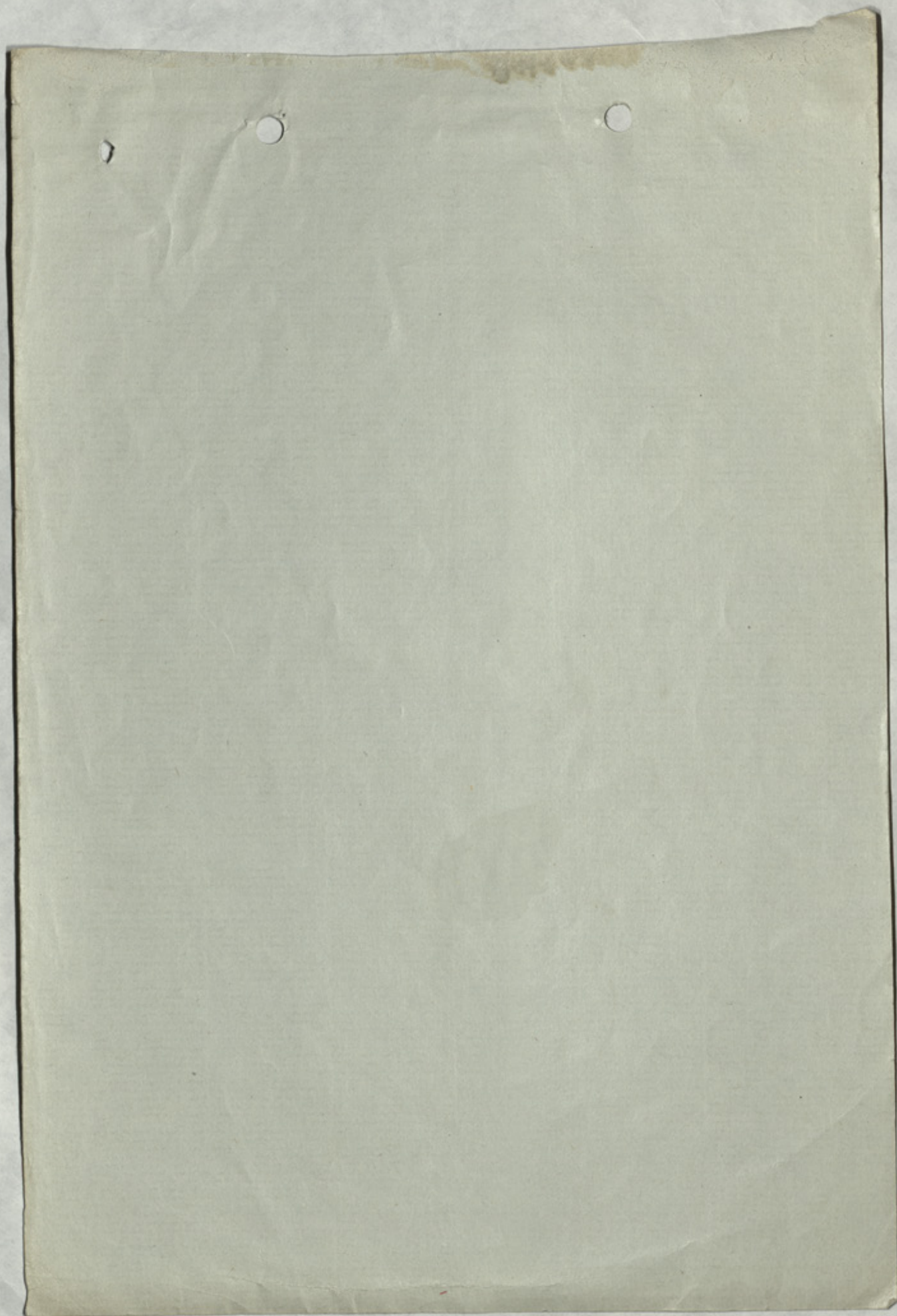
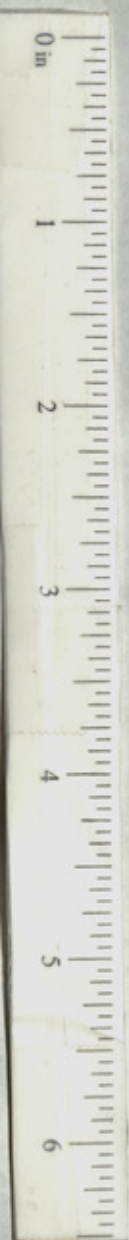
THUS ENDED GEN'L. MC. DOWELL'S FIRST CAMPAIGN.

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Gen M^c Dowell's
Campaigns & Battles 18
Ball Room

2^d Section