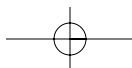
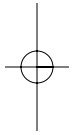
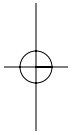
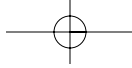


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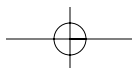
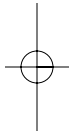
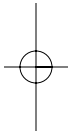




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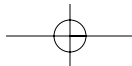


RISE AND FALL OF THE CONFEDERACY

**THE MEMOIR OF SENATOR
WILLIAMSON S. OLDHAM, CSA**

**EDITED WITH
AN INTRODUCTION BY
CLAYTON E. JEWETT**

**UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI PRESS
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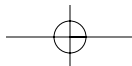
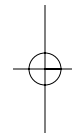
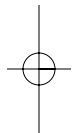
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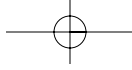
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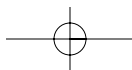
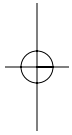
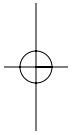
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**FOR MY BEST FRIENDS,
CHARLIE, JASEN, JESSE, AND STEVEN**



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This project would not have been possible without the support of many colleagues and friends. My students tolerated my constant ravings about the importance of understanding the past and being politically active, and the support of my colleagues Al Purcel and Marlette Rebhorn is much appreciated. The staff members at the Center for American History, as always, offered their gracious service. I am indebted to Vernon Burton, Mike Campbell, and Rosemarie Zagari, who over the years have offered their candid advice and unyielding support. Jane Lago, Beverly Jarrett, Sara Davis, and the staff at the University of Missouri Press deserve many thanks for their patience and support. I owe a debt of gratitude to my friend and coauthor on a previous monograph, John O. Allen, who read every word of the manuscript, offered much advice, and saved me from numerous mistakes. Last, but not least, I owe too many thanks to Jon L. Wakelyn, whose support over the previous decade has meant more to me than he knows.

EDITOR'S NOTE



The memoir of Williamson Simpson Oldham, along with the Oldham Papers, is housed in the Center for American History in Austin, Texas. The collection includes both the handwritten original and a typescript that is not fully accurate to the original. In this edition, eccentricities of punctuation, grammar, and capitalization in the original have been allowed to stand. Spellings have been corrected for the sake of clarity, but every attempt has been made to maintain the integrity of Oldham's words. The chapter breaks are Oldham's; the chapter titles have been supplied by the editor to allow easier reference.

The footnotes provide biographical information on first mention of military and political figures named by Oldham. Information on major battles mentioned is included in Appendix 1.

In citations of *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, unless otherwise noted, all volumes are contained in Series I. Furthermore, in instances requiring more than twenty non-consecutive page citations from the *Official Records*, only the volume number appears in the footnote. In addition, due to space constraints, several sources are abbreviated in the footnotes, and the reader should find the following list helpful:

- BD* Jon L. Wakelyn, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy*
- BR* Ezra J. Warner and Wilfred Buck Yearns, *Biographical Register of the Confederate Congress*
- CCS* Archer Jones, *Civil War Command and Strategy: The Process of Victory and Defeat*
- CTR* Joseph Harsh, *Confederate Tide Rising: Robert E. Lee and the Making of Southern Strategy, 1861-1862*
- GG* Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders*



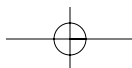
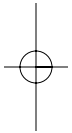
xii **RISE AND FALL OF THE CONFEDERACY**

JCCSA *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*

LCW Charles F. Ritter and Jon L. Wakelyn, eds., *Leaders of the American Civil War*

O.R. *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*

TC Clayton E. Jewett, *Texas in the Confederacy: An Experiment in Nation Building*



RISE AND FALL OF THE CONFEDERACY

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION



For years, historians of the American Civil War have neglected significant politicians, especially legislators, in favor of accentuating military leaders. While descriptions of the guns, blood, and death of the battlefield can be more interesting to read, an emphasis on that aspect of the war has left a gap in our understanding of southern Civil War society and the Confederate defeat. As such, it behooves historians to examine the words and actions of significant politicians and to explore the broader political realm in order to better understand that most significant historical period. Williamson Simpson Oldham, a Confederate senator from Texas, is one politician worthy of such attention. During the Civil War, six times Oldham traveled between Richmond and Texas and made note of the social, political, and economic climate. Immediately after the war, he wrote his memoir specifying numerous concerns facing southerners and the Confederacy. Over the years, researchers have consulted Oldham's memoir, and the noted historian Wilfred Buck Yearns edited and published a small portion that he entitled *From Richmond to Texas*. Yearns, however, included only the first four chapters of the memoir and omitted much informative and biographical information. *Rise and Fall of the Confederacy* is thus the first full edition of Oldham's Civil War memoir.

In his work, Oldham details his opposition to conscription and proffers his view on leadership and the appropriate function of government. He rails against government involvement in the market and chastises those military and political leaders willing to circumscribe individual liberties for the perceived necessities of war. He explains the failure of the Confederate government in Richmond to utilize the resources of the western Confederacy and the trade outlets through Mexico and exposes the blunders of leading eastern military and political figures. He denigrates some commanders for their failures and lauds others for their leadership capabilities. In the end, he dispels many myths regarding the Confederate defeat and sheds light on what he believes led to the southern demise.

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Williamson Simpson Oldham was born on July 19, 1813, in Franklin County, Tennessee. His parents, Elias and Mary Burton Oldham, eked out a living as farmers. The family had little means for formal education, and Oldham was largely self-educated. This did not deter him. At the age of eighteen, he opened a school in the hills of Tennessee and began teaching. He subsequently studied law under Judge Nathan Green and was admitted to the Tennessee Bar in 1836. He soon moved to Arkansas, where he entered law and politics. Oldham quickly became a public figure in Washington County and the state by winning election to the Arkansas General Assembly in 1838. On December 12, 1837, he had married Mary Vance McKissick; together, Williamson and Mary had five children.

While Oldham lived in Arkansas, his political career continued to flourish. In 1844, the state legislature elected him associate justice of the Arkansas Supreme Court, a position he would hold until 1848. Although a well-known political figure, Oldham lost a bid for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1846, and was defeated in 1848 by R. W. Johnson in a U.S. senatorial race. These political defeats, along with a mild case of tuberculosis, were the spark that ignited his desire for change; he moved to Austin, Texas, in 1849.

The move to Austin was difficult for Oldham. On December 26, 1850, his wife, Mary, died. Oldham, however, soon married his second wife, Anne S. Kirk. Despite the personal difficulties, Oldham made a name for himself in Texas. In 1852, he served as president of the Austin Railroad Association. From 1854 to 1857, he worked as an editor of the *State Gazette*, the voice of Texas Democrats. It was while working for the newspaper that Oldham made many of his political connections and began to earn a reputation as a defender not only of states' rights but also of personal and property rights. Nevertheless, Oldham still experienced frustration in his political career. In 1853, he lost a bid for a seat in the Texas House of Representatives, and he was defeated in an 1859 bid for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives.

In 1859, Oldham and his third wife, Agnes Harper, whom he married on November 19, 1857, moved to Brenham, Texas. Oldham maintained his political connections and activism, campaigning for John C. Breckinridge and Joseph Lane in the 1860 presidential race. By the time the national crisis surrounding the possibility of Lincoln's election arrived, Oldham had clearly established himself as a defender of personal and states' rights and represented Washington County in the Texas Secession Convention after Lincoln's election. The convention elected him as one of seven delegates to the Montgomery Convention and

Editor's Introduction 3

Provisional Congress of the Confederate States of America. From the very beginning, Oldham emerged as a significant voice in Confederate politics. As such, in March 1861, newly selected Confederate president Jefferson Davis appointed Oldham as a delegate to Arkansas in order to secure that state's loyalty to the Confederacy.¹

Fake extract for design purposes only. After the Provisional Congress, the Texas legislature selected Oldham, along with Louis T. Wigfall, as a representative to the Confederate Senate. According to the rules of the Confederate Constitution, the men drew ballots for their terms of office, Oldham drawing a six-year term and Wigfall a four-year term. From the onset, Oldham criticized moving the capital to Richmond, Virginia. In his mind, in order successfully to maintain a defensive posture in war, the capital should remain geographically in the center of the Confederacy. Nevertheless, he took his seat in the Confederate Senate. Throughout his career in the Confederate government, Oldham would chair the Committee on Post Offices and the Committee on Commerce. In addition, he served on numerous other committees, including Indian Affairs, Finance, Judiciary, Naval Affairs, and several joint committees.²

In his memoir, Oldham details his political ideology and reveals great insight into the function of government, the role of leadership, and the necessity of cooperation between the state and federal governments. Oldham supported individual rights and liberties and their enjoyment within the confines of the state, where the state laws that functioned to preserve those rights were safeguarded from an encroaching federal government. More specifically, he believed that a free and republican form of government could exist over only a small geographic region, where local and state governments retained the sole power of legislation over the individual and local affairs. Thus, the federal government, in Oldham's mind, served "to regulate affairs of general concern." He believed that the federal government existed to protect persons and property, punish crimes, redress injuries, and defend the political society as a whole against foreign enemies. Only in this manner would it be possible for a free and representative government to exist over a vast territory with a variety of rival interests. The problem with the Confederacy, he argued, was that the Confederate government usurped too much power and operated in conflict with the general will and senti

1. *O.R.* 53:part 2, 635.

2. *JCCSA*, 2:14.

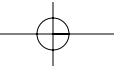
WILLIAMSON SIMPSON OLDHAM'S INTRODUCTION



The title of the book which I am writing will be "A History of a Journey from Richmond to the Rio Grande, from March 30th until June 26th, 1865: Or the last days of the Confederate States—with a review of the causes that led to their overthrow." By W. S. Oldham, a C. S. Senator from Texas.

I left Richmond on the 30th day of March, the day before Gen. Lee's lines were broken at Petersburg—was in Newman, Ga. when both his and the army under Gen. Johnston surrendered. I was in Alabama when Gen. Taylor surrendered his department—and reached the highlands west of the Mississippi, on the 26th day of May, on which Gen. E. Kirby Smith, surrendered that Department.¹ My progress through the country was slow. I met with all classes of the people—and I had every opportunity of witnessing the effect, which those closing events of the war had upon them—and to draw a contrast, between the state of things then existing, and that which existed in 1861 at the commencement of the war. From February 1861, until that time I had made two Journeys from W. Texas to Montgomery and back, one from Montgomery and back, one from Montgomery by the way of Atlanta, Chattanooga and Memphis, to Little Rock, as a commissioner from the Confederate States to the Convention of Arkansas, in March 1861. After the Confederate Government was removed to Richmond I traveled from Western Texas to Richmond and back five times at regular periods—once from Richmond to Mobile and back. Five or six times from Richmond to North Carolina—spent one summer at Raleigh and Thomasville, N.C. and another at Mobile. I had every opportunity of observing the changes which took place in the feelings, and sentiments of the people, as they gave expression to them—and being deeply interested I noted those changes. Perhaps no man in the South had the same opportunities of witnessing the effects of the measures of the Government, and those of military administration as I had.

I was a member of the Provisional Congress from Texas, and served



Williamson Simpson Oldham's Introduction 5

during the existence of that body. I was elected a Senator from Texas, and took my seat upon the day of the organization of the senate and served until the end of its last session. I thus had the means of being perfectly familiar not only with the Legislative proceedings of Congress, but with all Executive Subjects, which came before the Provisional Congress and the Senate for action. There were but three other gentlemen who served as members of those two bodies during the periods of their existence:—Mr. Barnwell of S.C., Mr. Sparrow of La., and Mr. Hill of Ga.² There were several members of the Provisional Congress who subsequently served as Representatives in the permanent Congress, but of course they had no knowledge of Executive subjects which came before the Senate.

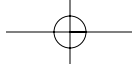
The startling events which transpired during the progress of my journey naturally suggested an enquiry into the causes that led to them. As I conceive those causes to be civil and military blunders and maladministration my object is to point out those errors—and trace the causes to the consequences. Such an exposition, necessarily requires a running review of the leading measures of civil policy, which dictated the laws for the organization of the army—the manner in which those laws were executed, as well as a review of kindred subjects, and also of the leading campaigns of the war. My object has not been to write a history of the war, and have therefore not entered into details—but have only referred to leading campaigns, and military movements that had a marked and decided effect upon the result of the war.

During the war, in my character as a senator, I was not a factionalist or partisan—and although strongly opposed to the policy which was adopted always expressed my opposition in secret and did all in my power to strengthen the Government in the confidence and support of the people, and now actuated by the same spirit, while I indulge in free criticism of the actions and policy of men both civil and military, I have done it in all charity without impugning either their motives or their patriotism.

The Introduction will contain an exposition of the issue between the north and south (according to the southern view)—with a brief sketch, of the gradual alienation of the two sections, until they become involved in the war just closed.

I indulge freely in strictures upon the policy and conduct of the Government of the United States and its military authorities during the war—as well as upon the policy subsequently pursued.

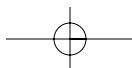
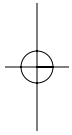
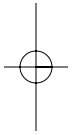
I indulge also with equal freedom of expression, my views in regard to the claims which that Government has to be a constitutional government of delegated but United and restricted powers.



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Upon the whole, the book is by one who took sides with the south with all his soul, because he believed she was right—who prefers exile to subjugation—and who desires no pardon.

W. L. O'Connell



1



Confederate Demise

Having business with the President which I deemed important to the people of Texas, I was detained in Richmond during the week succeeding the adjournment. I left the city, in company with Hon. H. C. Burnet, of Kentucky, and Hon. J. D. C. Atkins of Tennessee,¹ on the evening train of the Richmond and Danville railroad, on Friday, the 31st day of March, not over forty hours before the evacuation. I arrived in Danville on the next day in time for the train on the Piedmont road, for Greensboro, North Carolina. Mr. Burnet stopped with his family at Danville, and Mr. Atkins and I continued our Journey to Greensboro.

Before leaving Richmond I learned that General Grant had made a flank movement, on his left, with the apparent purpose of striking the South Side railroad, and that a corresponding move had been made by the Confederate army. It was rumored that, on the day and that preceding on which I left, heavy fighting had taken place on Hatcher's Run, near Dinwiddie Court House, but the results were not known. I afterwards learned that on the first day, Thursday, the Confederate troops were successful in holding their ground and in repelling the assaults of the enemy, but that the latter, after being heavily reinforced, had defeated our forces and driven them from their position. The result of those battles placed the South Side and Richmond and Danville railroads within his power. He could at will and without further resistance move upon, take possession of them, and cut off the supplies of our army. The army of Virginia was dependent upon those railroads, and particularly upon the Richmond and Danville road, for its daily subsistence. At the time it did not have two days rations on hand. The posses-

8 RISE AND FALL OF THE CONFEDERACY

sion of those roads by the enemy was fatal to the army of Virginia. It was without subsistence supplies, and was in possession of no source from which to draw them, and no avenue of escape was left. Affairs had been so managed as to identify the fate of the Confederacy with the fate of that army. Whether this was necessarily so, or was the result of error and bad management, remains to be considered.²

I arrived at Greensboro, North Carolina, on Saturday evening, and remained there until the next morning. A great improvement had been effected in the management and running of the trains over the Piedmont railroad from Danville to Greensboro since I had traveled over that road, in the previous December. It then took me forty-eight hours to make the trip from point to point, forty-eight miles.

During that trip, at the distance of every few miles, I met trains standing upon the road at stations and between them, with tenders without wood or water and boilers without steam, locomotives out of order, or cars broken down. Troops which had been ordered to Wilmington, North Carolina, to meet the threatened attack upon that city, which was hourly expected to be made, were scattered all along the road, awaiting transportation. It appeared to me, as well as to others, that there existed a negligence and want of skill at that time in the management of trains upon the road, which under the circumstances, seemed criminal. This road was then of the most vital importance to the country in aiding military operations. It was the only railroad line in our possession connecting Richmond with the States south and west. The army of Virginia depended upon it for subsistence. The attention of the President and Congress was called to the condition of the road by myself and others, and prompt and efficient measures were adopted to remedy the evil. I was gratified to witness the success of those measures. The road now appeared to [omission in manuscript] mont [sic] and by railroad thence to Brenham or Washington, Texas, where I expected to find my family but it was only a dream. My difficulties had not so commenced, as will be hereafter seen, and that I was just entering upon the exciting and perplexing and in many respects interesting portion of my journey.

When I reached Newman, Ga., thirty-five miles from Atlanta, I met Hon. Mr. Collier, a representative in the Confederate Congress from Tennessee, who was residing there with his family as a refugee from his home. By him I was informed that a large Yankee force had returned to Selma, and were then moving against Montgomery, Ala. and that my route by railroad was blocked. He invited me to stop and stay with him in Newman until my way should again become open. I accepted his invitation and left the train.³

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Mr. Collier was a resident of Winchester, Tennessee, from which place, although but a private citizen, he had been compelled to fly and seek refuge for himself and his family in Georgia. He had bought a large house formerly kept as a hotel, and was residing in it with his family as a dwelling. While staying with him, I witnessed many evidences of his hospitality, kindness, goodness of heart, and patriotism. Although refugees from home, engaged in no business of profit, his house was daily filled by refugees and soldiers. Being a representative in Congress from Tennessee, nearly every soldier from that state, passing through Newman called upon him, and this caused many from other states to do so, while many who were strangers called at his house, supposing it to be a hotel. All were received cheerfully. His kind and noble hearted wife devoted her time from morning until night in attending to her household affairs, and seemed never to weary, in providing for the wants of the guests with which her house was filled. I was frequently amused at persons offering to pay a bill upon leaving. When told that the house was not a hotel, and there was no bill to pay, they seemed unable to comprehend that fact and were unable to account for the hospitality of a refugee, which had been for the two years previous denied them by men at home.

Mr. Collier is a lawyer by profession, and by devotion to his business had made himself an excellent and most successful practitioner. Before the war he was a Whig in politics and I believe was opposed to secession until Mr. Lincoln's proclamation in April 1861, calling for seventy-five thousand men to make war upon the southern states. He then took the field actively in favor of the secession of Tennessee. For the first time I met him during the month of May of that year and heard him and others make secession speeches in Shelbyville.⁴

After going to Georgia, the second election for members to the Confederate Congress, took place, and without seeking the position, he was elected without opposition. Being the representative from the town and district in which I was born and raised, I became intimate with him in Richmond. Although neither showy nor brilliant, he proved to be one of the soundest, most clear headed, and practical business members of the Congress.

His wife was the daughter of one of my oldest and best friends, Doctor Wallace Estill. In 1836, I left her a little girl in Winchester, I now found her a wife and the mother of a large family of children, some of them grown up.

One morning while remaining in Newman, the town was startled by a dispatch that Montgomery had been captured by the Yankees, and were moving towards Opelika then and that they had passed Opelika, one

4



Leaving Demopolis

Politicians, Women, a Hog, and a Biting Dog

While at Demopolis we staid with Hon. Francis S. Lyons, the Representative in the Confederate Congress, from that district.¹ Since leaving La Grange we had traveled a section of country in which no correct information could be obtained. We had heard ten thousand rumors, but we placed no reliance upon any of them as we had long since learned that truth unalloyed could not travel twenty five miles. We had been very much perplexed as to the course we ought to pursue in consequence of the many contradictory statements and conflicting rumors we had heard. And to be relieved of all uncertainty had as much as anything else, induced us to turn and go to Demopolis and risk, the danger.

We found Col. Lyons at home, with his family awaiting the arrival of the Yankees, with the determination to submit to whatever fate that might be in store for him. He was able to relieve us of all doubts as to the true condition of things and what we might reasonably expect if we fell into the hands of the Yankees. From him we learned for the first time that the agreement for a truce and surrender of the army under Gen. Johnston to Sherman with the guaranty of protection to civilians, had been repudiated by President Johnson and the unconditional surrender of our forces demanded. That under this demand the army had been surrendered and not under the first agreement. That Gen. Taylor had surrendered his Department soldiers arms and public property, in compliance with the demand of Gen. Canby and not under any agreement, made by other commanders, that the surrender of both Johnston and

APPENDIX I



Major Battles

Antietam. See **Sharpsburg.**

Arkansas Post (Arkansas). January 9-11, 1863. Because Confederate forces were disrupting Union movements and shipping along the Mississippi River, Union forces and ironclads decided to overrun rebel trenches and bombard the post. The Union victory was of little strategic importance, but the loss of ordnance was considerable for the Confederacy. (*O.R.*, 17:724, 732, 742, 775; 24:14; 53:466, 690, 866; Frank Vandiver, *Ploughshares into Swords: Josiah Gorgas and Confederate Ordnance*, 182.)

Bethel (Virginia). June 10, 1861. The troops engaging in the first land battle in Virginia were under the principal command of Ebenezer Pierce of the Union and John B. Magruder and D. H. Hill of the Confederacy. A strong Confederate defensive stand against a Union frontal attack resulted in a Confederate victory as Union forces were repulsed and retreated from battle. (*O.R.*, 2:91-104.)

Bull Run. See **First Manassas.**

Chancellorsville (Virginia). April 30-May 6, 1863. Joseph Hooker led Union forces against Confederate commanders Robert E. Lee and Thomas J. Jackson in Spotsylvania County, Virginia. The battle's outcome was questionable. The Union gained a tactical victory in terms of attrition (Confederate casualties were 12,764 or 21 percent, while Union casualties at 17,000 were only 13 percent). Nevertheless, a Union retreat across the Rappahannock River before Lee fully engaged his forces resulted in a symbolic victory for the Confederacy that further

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demoralized the North. Thomas J. Jackson lost his life in this campaign, shot by mistake by his own men. (*O.R.*, vol. 25; *CCS*, 157-58.)

Chickamauga (Georgia). September 18-20, 1863. Union forces led by William S. Rosecrans and George H. Thomas fought Confederate troops led by Braxton Bragg and James Longstreet. A mistake in orders caused a tactical error on Rosecrans's part, allowing the Confederates to break the Union lines and drive Rosecrans to Chattanooga. Confederate forces occupied the outskirts of the city, controlling rail transportation and water routes. (*O.R.*, 29:251, 743, 746; vol. 30; *CCS*, 174-76.)

Cold Harbor (Virginia). May 31–June 12, 1864. Union forces were led by Ulysses S. Grant and George G. Meade; Confederate forces, by Robert E. Lee. Although the Confederates were vastly outnumbered, tactical mistakes by Grant ended in Confederate victory. (*O.R.*, vol. 36; *CCS*, 194.)

Dinwiddie Court House. See **Five Forks.**

Elk Horn Tavern (Arkansas). March 6-8, 1862 (also known as Pea Ridge). Union forces were commanded by Samuel R. Curtis, and Earl Van Dorn controlled the Confederate forces. This was a significant Union victory. Confederate leaders Ben McCulloch and James M. McIntosh were killed in action. Although Van Dorn scored an initial victory and controlled Elk Horn Tavern, he was eventually routed by Curtis, and Confederate troops were forced to retreat. This victory gave the Union control of Missouri for two years. (*O.R.*, vol. 8; *CTR*, 34; James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*, 404-5.)

First Manassas (Virginia). July 16-22, 1861 (often called the battle of Bull Run). Involving approximately 30,000 men on each side, this was the largest battle to date in American history. Union forces were controlled by Irvin McDowell, while Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard and Joseph E. Johnston commanded the Confederate forces. The battle ended with a Confederate victory, which convinced Lincoln that the conflict would take longer than initially expected. McDowell was relieved and replaced by George B. McClellan. (*O.R.*, vol. 2; *CCS*, 26-38.)

Five Forks (Virginia). March 31–April 1, 1865. Philip H. Sheridan commanded Union troops, and George E. Pickett led Confederate troops. The initial battle was a Confederate victory, with Pickett's force

Appendix I. Major Battles 13

of cavalry and infantry driving Sheridan's cavalry back into Dinwiddie Court House. The final Union victory proved to be the catalyst that threatened the supply line of Robert E. Lee and led to the evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond. The Confederate lines were broken on April 2, 1865. (*O.R.*, vol. 46.)

Fort Bisland (Louisiana). April 12-13, 1863. Confederate forces were under the command of Richard Taylor, while Nathaniel P. Banks took charge of Union troops. Taylor avoided a Confederate slaughter when, upon learning that Union reinforcements were moving to cut off any possible retreat, he evacuated the majority of the men, supplies, and arms from the fort. (*O.R.*, 15:296-98, 322-23, 328-40, 346-55; 53:463-67.)

Fort Donelson (Tennessee). February 11-16, 1862. Union troops led by Ulysses S. Grant faced Confederate troops under the command of John B. Floyd, Gideon Pillow, and Simon B. Buckner along the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers. Grant's victory was one of the most critical losses for the Confederacy, securing Kentucky for the Union, ensuring a point of Union penetration into Tennessee, and contributing greatly to the shift in Confederate morale. (*CCS*, 44-49.)

Franklin (Tennessee). November 30, 1864. John M. Schofield led Union troops against Confederate forces under the leadership of John Bell Hood. Hood and his men were in rapid pursuit of Union troops after the battle of Spring Hill, catching up to them at Franklin. Union troops formed a strong defensive line with reinforcements and countered Hood's attempt to flank. Some of the most savage fighting of the war took place at this battle, with heavy consequences for the Confederate Army, which lost 6,261 men to the Union's 2,326. In addition, six Confederate generals were killed and six more wounded, a heavy blow for the South. (*O.R.*, vol. 45; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 811-13.)

Fredericksburg (Virginia). December 11-15, 1862. Ambrose E. Burnside commanded the Union forces against Confederate troops led by Robert E. Lee. Union forces crossed the Rappahannock in a series of futile frontal assaults that led to staggering casualties for the Union, 13,353 compared to only 4,576 for the Confederacy. (*O.R.*, 18:479; vol. 21.)

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