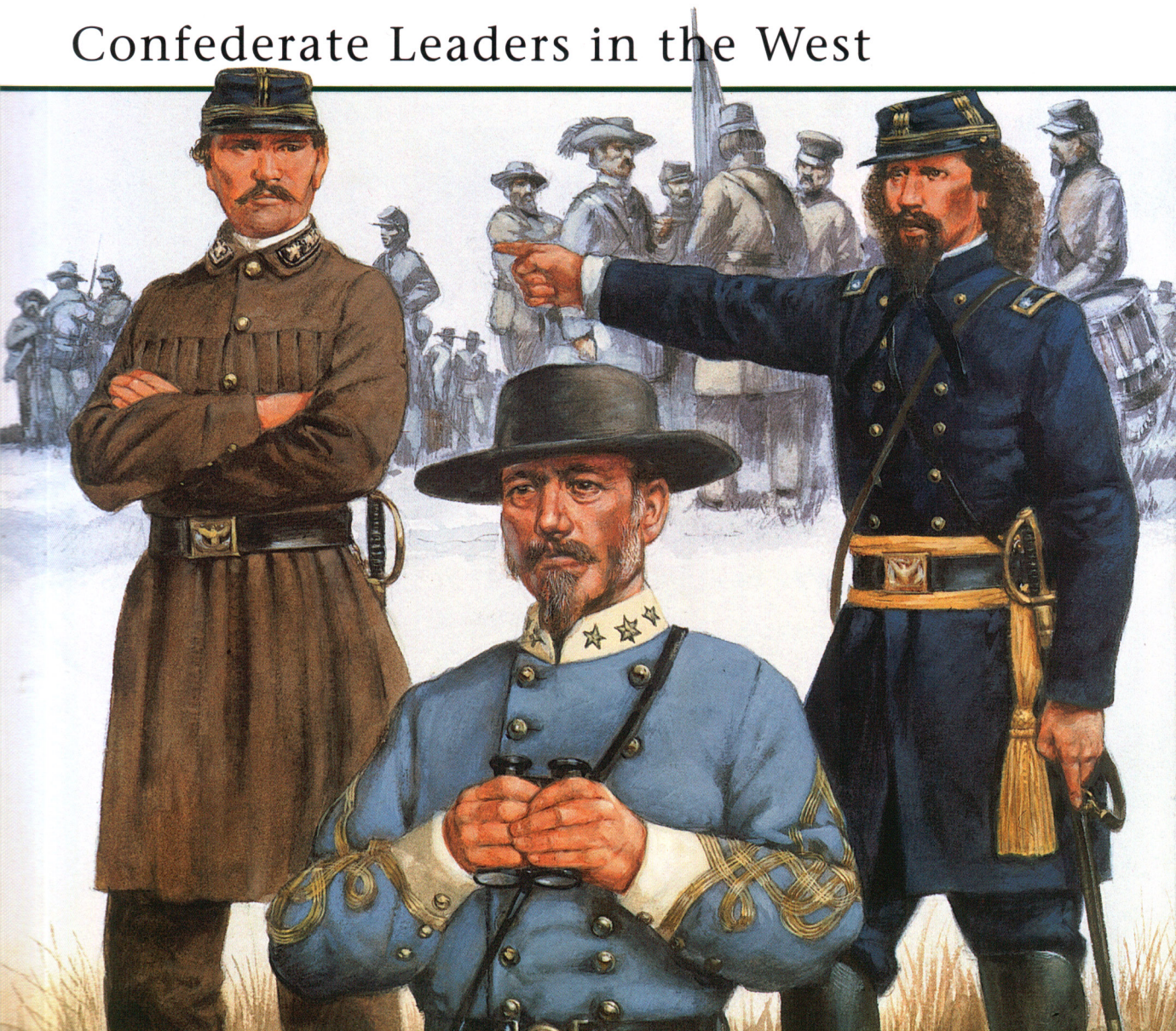


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American Civil War Commanders (4)

Confederate Leaders in the West



Philip Katcher • Illustrated by Richard Hook

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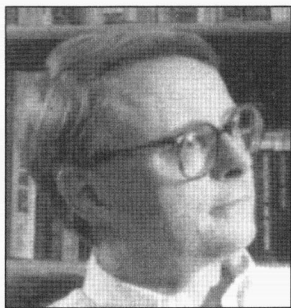
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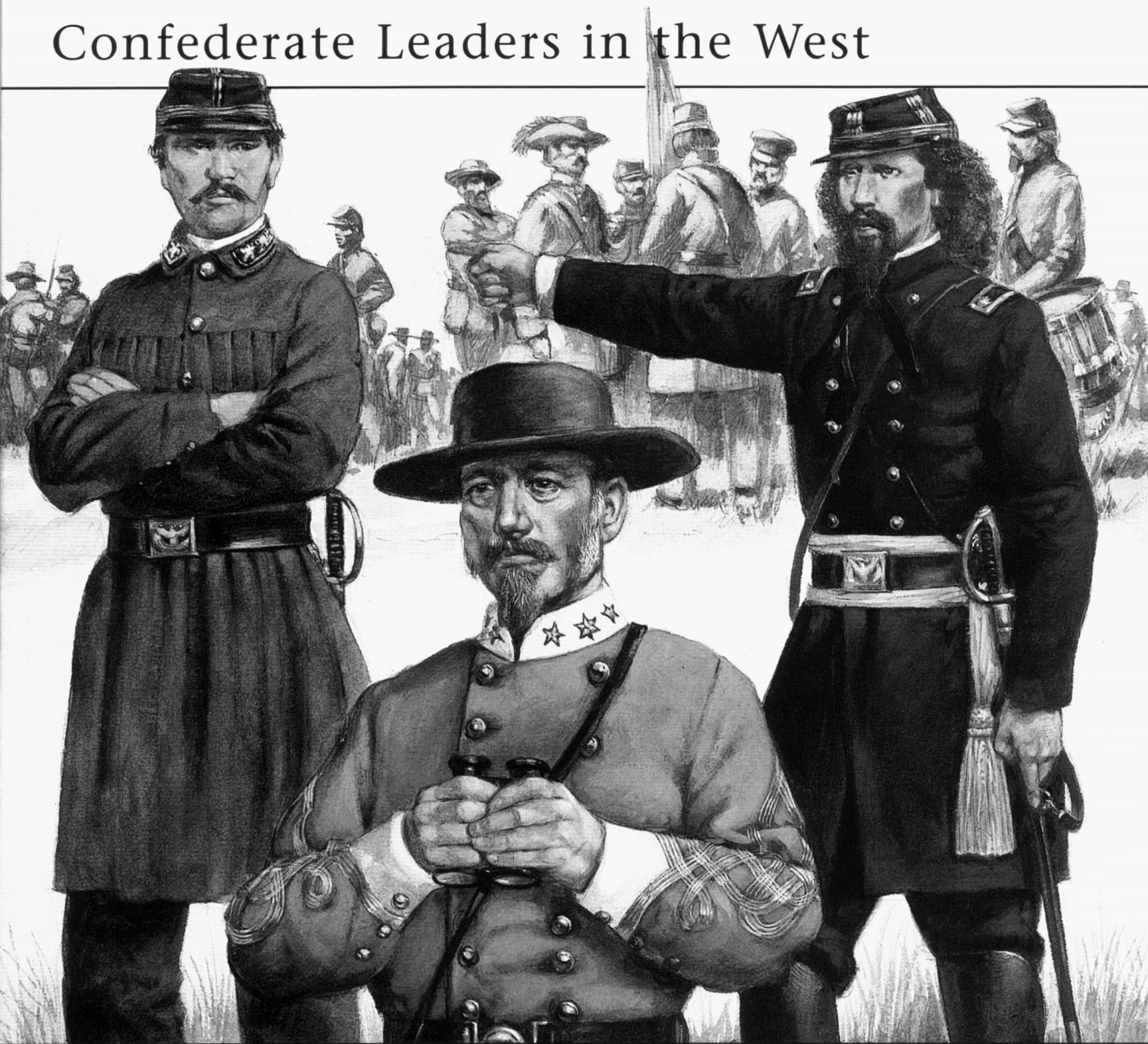
PHILIP KATCHER was born in Los Angeles, California, to parents involved in the film industry. He was educated at the University of Maryland and served in the US Army in Vietnam. He has also been an active participant in living history activities, especially in the 18th and 19th century periods. He has written a number of books on various periods of US military history and presently is editor/publisher of *Military Images Magazine*.



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American Civil War Commanders (4)

Confederate Leaders in the West



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Author's Note

For reasons of space it seems appropriate to divide the commanders covered in these two volumes (Elite 88 and the present title) between the "Eastern" and "Western" theaters of war, according to their first, most important or best-known operations. Inevitably, given the movement of some generals between the theaters, this has worked more neatly in some cases than others. Readers should regard the two books together as a single reference source.

As in the previous book, it should be acknowledged that there is obviously no space in this format for more than the most basic notes on the careers of some of the most important figures, such as Nathan Bedford Forrest. The author has tried to give a flavor of their characters and appearance, but for any seriously detailed analysis of their command service the reader is recommended to the existing biographies.

While American conventions of spelling and punctuation have been used throughout the text, readers may notice historical variations in passages directly quoted from 19th century sources.

Artist's Note

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AMERICAN CIVIL WAR COMMANDERS

(4) CONFEDERATE LEADERS

IN THE WEST



A woodcut made from the series of photos taken of Pierre Beauregard wearing Louisiana uniform in 1861. This appeared in the 27 April 1861 issue of *Harper's Weekly*.

INTRODUCTION

THE CONFEDERACY LOST ITS WAR in the West, and in no other theater did the conduct of individual commanding generals make so much difference to the outcome of operations. Firstly, the Union Army fielded its best generals in the West early in the war, and such figures as Ulysses S. Grant, William T. Sherman, and Philip Sheridan made their names there. Secondly, the group of Confederate generals who opposed them were of very varied talents. While there were some excellent general officers among them, too many attained levels of high command for which they were ill suited; the Confederate President Jefferson Davis remained a loyal friend, appointing them to their posts and retaining them long after he should have given way to public opposition. In many cases the generals concerned also regarded their own abilities more highly than they warranted.

Thirdly, many of the senior Confederate generals in the West quarreled with one another, and their consequent failure to co-operate often had damaging results. Jefferson Davis disliked Pierre Beauregard, Sterling Price, and Joseph Johnston, and the feeling was mutual. John Bell Hood plotted to replace Joseph Johnston, while William Hardee had no use for Hood and made every effort to get out from under his command. Leonidas Polk, Hardee, Daniel Hill and others plotted to replace their commander, Braxton Bragg, and at a fiery meeting Nathan Bedford Forrest flatly told that unappealing character that he would not obey his orders. Richard Taylor disliked Kirby Smith, and schemed to avoid having to continue serving under him. There was no "Western Robert E. Lee" whose qualities towered over those of his subordinates, giving him the authority to override their egos and keep them to their collective duty.

At the same time many generals of real quality, such as Forrest, Patrick Cleburne and Alexander Stewart, who lacked presidential connections and West Point education, were never appointed to posts of responsibility for which they were well qualified. Hardee, one of the most knowledgeable soldiers in the pre-war US Army, declined appointment to high command, although more qualified than many who accepted such posts.

The influence of the Eastern theater on Western generals was significant. At first Davis appointed Albert Sidney Johnston to oversee everything in the Western theater and, feeling that he had entrusted the task to the best man in the country, began to ignore the West and to concentrate on Eastern operations. After Johnston's death, Davis, a Mississippi native and deeply interested in affairs there, became very involved in the command structure and problems in that part of the

Confederacy. He actually traveled west to meet with his generals and tried to impose sort of order on the divisive squabbling that he found there. As a West Point graduate himself, however, Davis was greatly in favor of fellow cadets for high command positions, and often tended to advance them over non-professional soldiers of superior talents.

At the same time Robert E.Lee, as well as Davis, used the West as a dumping ground for generals whom they distrusted. Lee got rid of Magruder in that way, while Davis moved Beauregard to the West after that general's public criticism of the president following First Manassas. While these were good enough generals, they tended to block the promotion of local leaders who could have achieved more in that theater.



Portrait photograph of the handsome and elegant P.G.T. Beauregard in the uniform of an officer in the Louisiana State Army, taken in 1861. Note the style of fastening only the top button of the coat; if the image-conscious Beauregard chose to pose this way, we may be sure it was the height of fashion. (Military Images Magazine)

BIOGRAPHIES

BEAUREGARD, Pierre Gustav Touton (1818–93)

P.G.Touton-Beauregard (see **Plate A2**) was born on 28 May 1818, the son of a southern Louisiana sugar planter, in St Bernard Parish. At the age of 12 he was sent to boarding school in New York, where he first learned English. The school was run by two French veterans of Napoleon's army; the boy became fascinated with the military and determined, against family wishes and despite a chronic throat ailment, to attend West Point. There he took Beauregard as his family name, keeping the first part as a separate middle name. A good student, he was graduated second out of 45 members of the class of 1838 and assigned to the Corps of Engineers.

In 1841 he married the daughter of another Louisiana planter. When the Mexican War broke out he was named to Winfield Scott's staff, and was with the first troops to enter Mexico City. Thereafter he went on sick leave; when he returned he was assigned to Louisiana defenses on the Mississippi River. Beauregard's wife died in childbirth in 1850; but he soon remarried another French Creole lady, the sister of an important politician, John Slidell.

In January 1861, Beauregard was named superintendent of West Point, where he told a Louisiana cadet during the secession crisis: "Watch me; when I jump, you jump. What's the use of jumping too soon?" He was relieved from his post only a few days after being

appointed, but he did not actually jump from the US Army to the Louisiana Army until 20 February 1861. Annoyed to be offered only a colonel's commission, he joined a socially prominent militia company, the Orleans Guards, as a private. His brother-in-law spoke for him, however; on 26 February he met with Confederate President Jefferson Davis, and on 1 March he was commissioned the Confederacy's first brigadier-general, with command in Charleston, South Carolina. He gained national fame by his firing on Fort Sumter, and later by his command at First Manassas (Bull Run) in July. He was appointed a full general to rank from 21 July 1861.

Beauregard, however, was his own worst enemy. Quick to resent any perceived offense to his honor, and already disliking Jefferson Davis (who had been against his taking the West Point command), his claim that he could have taken Washington after First Manassas, but was prevented from doing so by Davis, reached the newspapers. Moreover, he continually criticized Davis' friend and appointee Commissary General Lucius Northrup. Davis sharply rebuked Beauregard, and Beauregard replied not to Davis but via a Richmond newspaper editor.

Davis decided that Beauregard would be of more help in the Western theater; and the

Beauregard – center, pointing to his left – takes command after Albert Sidney Johnston was mortally wounded at Shiloh, 6 April 1862. (*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*)



general arrived at Bowling Green, Kentucky, on 4 February 1862. As second in command at Shiloh (6–7 April 1862), he took over command of the Army of Tennessee when A.S. Johnston was mortally wounded and led the retreat back to Corinth, which he later abandoned as a stronger Union force approached it. Beauregard then left the army and went home without informing the War Department, claiming that he was ill. Davis took advantage of this extraordinary lapse to replace him in command with Braxton Bragg. When Beauregard recovered he was assigned command of coastal defenses in Georgia and South Carolina, where he did well, practising innovative approaches for defeating a superior enemy.

Recalled to command the defenses of Petersburg, he foresaw Grant's advance there before Lee did, and performed well in defending the city in mid-June 1864 until Lee could bring the Army of Northern Virginia around it. At Petersburg he greatly impressed his subordinate, the engineer and artilleryman E.P. Alexander, who later wrote: "Gen. Beauregard had more about him of what I would call military technique than any of our Confederate generals. He was very particular in the observance of all military routines, traditions, & methods, in keeping up scouting & secret service & in requiring reports & preserving office records. His records of the siege of Charleston, preserved by his special care & published by his surviving chief engineer, Maj. Johnson, would do credit to the staff of any European nation, and form the most admirable & valuable military narrative which the war produced. And the defense of Petersburg which Beauregard was now to make, is a real model of beautiful, exact & ship-shape play on the part of the commander, worthily backed by skillful administration in every department & by superb fighting by his troops."

Thereafter Beauregard was sent south, serving under Joseph E. Johnston until his surrender. After the war he served as president of a couple of railroads as well as supervising the Louisiana Lottery, and serving as the state's adjutant general. He died in New Orleans on 20 February 1893, and is buried in that city's Metairie Cemetery.

BRAGG, Braxton (1817–76)

Braxton Bragg (see **Plate D1**) was born in Warrenton, North Carolina, on 22 March 1817, to a father who was considered working class although he eventually owned 20 slaves. Bragg's ambitious father got him sent to West Point, from where he was graduated fifth in the 50-strong class of 1837.

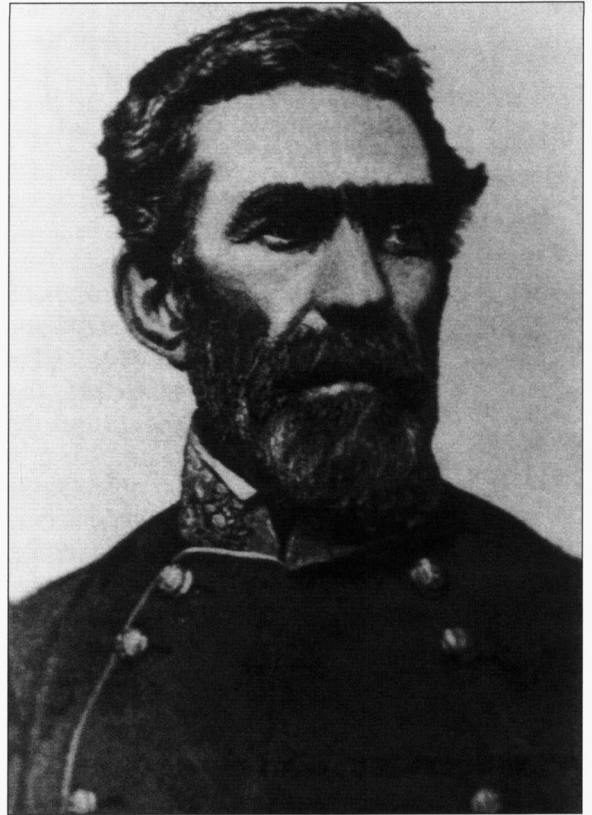
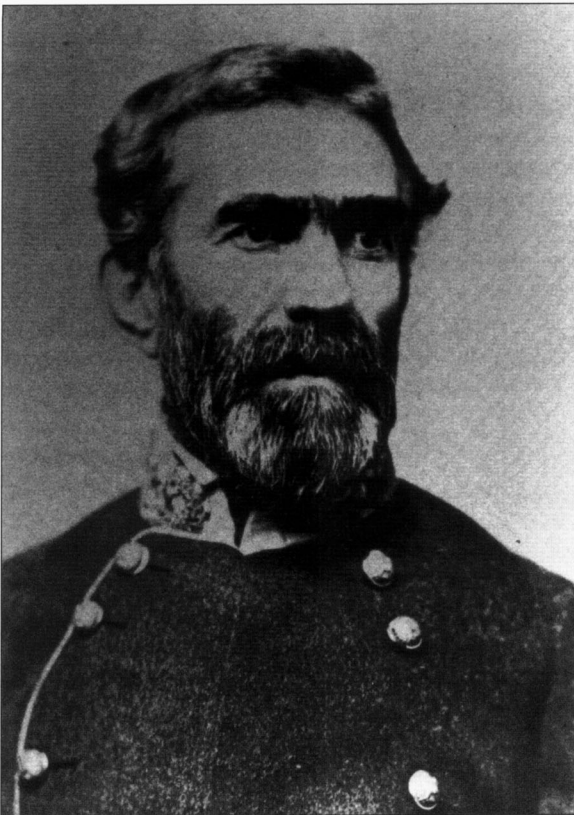
Bragg was assigned to the artillery and saw service in the Seminole and Mexican Wars, acquiring a reputation as sharp-tempered and disagreeable with his fellow officers and something of a martinet with his men. As a light artillery battery commander at the battle of Buena Vista (22–23 February 1847), he gained fame when commanding general Zachary Taylor ordered him to "Double-shot your guns and give them hell!" – a quotation which reached the general public as, "A little more grape, Captain Bragg." Despite their service together in this battle Bragg and Jefferson Davis did not get along, and Bragg fought every attempt Davis made when Secretary of War to improve the army's artillery. Bragg, then a lieutenant-colonel, finally went to Washington in December 1855 to convince Davis of his errors; when he verbally offered his resignation

in the course of this exchange, Davis quickly accepted it, earning Bragg's lasting hatred.

When Louisiana seceded Bragg was appointed the state's general-in-chief (much to Beauregard's disgust). On 7 March 1861 he was named a Confederate brigadier-general and sent to command at Pensacola. On 12 September he was promoted to major-general, with command of all of Alabama and West Florida. Concerned about the Federals in Kentucky and Tennessee, Davis sent Bragg and his troops north; they left Mobile on 27 February, arriving at Jackson, Tennessee, five days later. Bragg's command, designated second Corps, fought at Shiloh in April 1862. Even at this early date there was much dissatisfaction with Bragg among his troops. Private William Watson, 3rd Louisiana Infantry, recalled hearing a conversation among his peers in May 1862 in which "they were discussing the state of affairs and the action of General Bragg, and I heard something like propositions that the whole army should break up in a general row and march off in bands, taking their arms with them..."

In June 1862 Bragg was given command of the Army of Tennessee and led it into Kentucky, a move that he botched by wasting time installing a pro-Southern government instead of moving against the Federal forces. These were led by the equally lackadaisical Don Carlos Buell, who beat Bragg at Perryville (8 October 1862) but failed to exploit his success. It was Bragg who failed to reinforce early success against Rosecrans' Army of the Cumberland at Murfreesboro (Stones River, 31 December 1862–3 January 1863), and thereafter he was forced

Braxton Bragg: an opportunity to compare the accuracy of an engraving made from a good portrait photograph. In 1863 a British visitor wrote of him: "This officer is in appearance the least prepossessing of the Confederate generals. He is very thin. He stoops, and has a sickly, cadaverous, haggard appearance, rather plain features, bushy black eyebrows which unite in a tuft on the top of his nose, and a stubby iron-gray beard; but his eyes are bright and piercing." Note the curved cut of the front coat panel, and see Plate D. (*Military Images Magazine; Battles & Leaders of the Civil War*)



to leave Kentucky. Maneuvered out of Chattanooga on 7 September 1863, Bragg won a costly victory over Rosecrans at Chickamauga on 19–20 September, but once again failed to follow up, allowing the Federals to hang on to Chattanooga; Bragg besieged the town, holding strong positions on high ground. Grant arrived to relieve the garrison on 27 October, and on 24–25 November he drove Bragg off Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge.

At the latter engagement, Bragg rode among his routed troops trying to rally them. Captain Samuel Foster, of Granbury's Texas Brigade, noted in his diary: "He got down off his horse, and as the men ran past him, he called out to them not to disgrace themselves, but stop and [save] their country – fight for their families &c and says I (your General) am here. Just then one large man came past him who had thrown his gun away and stepped up behind Genl Bragg and carr[ied] him around the waist and says, 'And heres your mule', and went on." His men had had enough of Bragg. Robert Patrick, a clerk in the 4th Louisiana, noted in his diary on 20 January 1863: "Bragg is not fit for a general and I have always contended that, and the most he is fit for is the command of a brigade and he would make a damned poor brigadier. ... If Jeff Davis will just let Bragg alone, I think he will do us more damage than the enemy, and I believe that he is cowardly too. I know one thing, that he is a perfect tyrant, and I never saw a tyrant yet but what was a coward."

Having lost the confidence of his men and subordinate generals, many of whom (such as Leonidas Polk) actively plotted against him, Bragg gave up command to Joseph E. Johnston at his own request. He was then called to serve Davis directly in Richmond as his military adviser. When Robert E. Lee was appointed General in Chief of the Confederate armies in January 1865, Bragg went to North Carolina to serve under Joseph Johnston until his surrender.

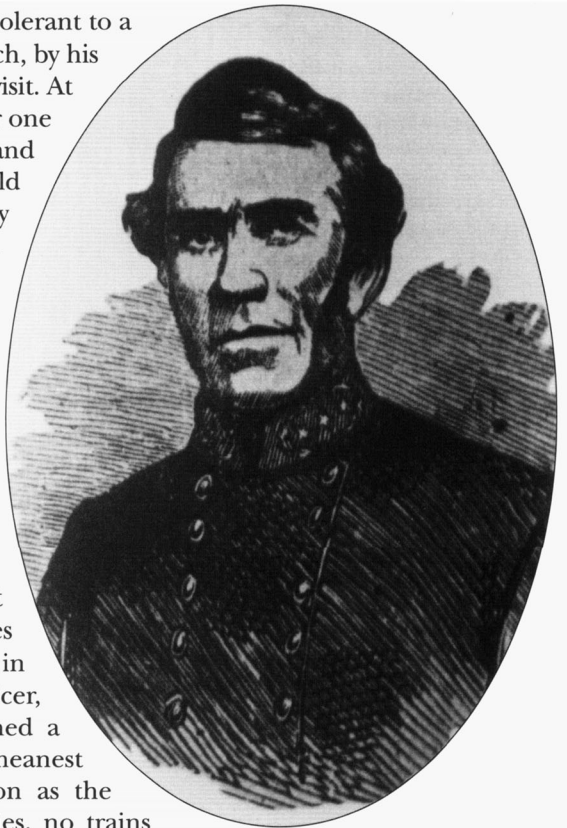
Basil Duke said that among Confederate generals, "none other was criticized so generally and so bitterly. Some others inspired little affection and even a certain portion of enmity; but he was widely and intensely disliked. Many general officers, of less force and ability than he had, have been popular with their soldiers and those immediately under them, but if there was any such feeling for him it utterly lacked manifestation, and the very reverse was often shown. ... He was lacking in the quick, fertile, and accurate conception and broad comprehension which makes the successful strategist; he was not an able tactician. So far from inspiring, as nearly all great captains have done, confidence and love in those who followed them, General Bragg aroused sentiments the very reverse. His temper was austere and even morose, his manner was repellent, his very look and bearing suggested in others distrust of his judgement, and doubt of successful achievement."

Richard Taylor suggested that a poor digestion may have contributed much to Bragg's difficult personality: "Possessing experience in and talent for war, he was the most laborious of commanders, devoting every moment to the discharge of his duties. As a disciplinarian he far surpassed any of the senior Confederate generals; but his method and manner were harsh, and he could have won the affections of his troops only by leading them to victory. He furnished a striking illustration of the necessity of a healthy body for a sound intellect. Many years of dyspepsia

had made his temper sour and petulant; and he was intolerant to a degree of neglect of duty, or what he esteemed to be such, by his officers. A striking instance of this occurred during my visit. At dinner, surrounded by his numerous staff, I inquired for one of his division commanders, a man widely known and respected, and received this answer: 'General – is an old woman, utterly worthless.' Such a declaration, privately made, would have been serious, but publicly, and certain to be repeated, it was astonishing. ... It may be said of his subordinate commanders that they supported him wonderfully, in despite of his temper, though that ultimately produced dissatisfaction and wrangling. Feeble health, too, unfitted him to sustain long-continued pressure of responsibility, and he failed in the execution of his own plan."

One of Bragg's subordinates, BrigGen Arthur Manigault, was in the small minority who at least respected Bragg: "I have always regarded him as one of the best organizers of an army and disciplinarians that I ever met with, and he possessed many of the qualities essential to a commander. Full of energy, indefatigable in his labors, firm and impartial as an administrative officer, he was no respecter of person or rank, and punished a delinquent, be he the general next below him, or the meanest soldier in the ranks, the one with as little hesitation as the other. A terror to all quarter-masters and commissaries, no trains ever stopped on the way, or were out of place, and seldom was there any grumbling about the quantity or quality of food. And in like manner from the Lieutenant-general down to the company subaltern, all knew that to disobey an order or to be delinquent in any way, was sure to bring the iron hand down upon his head. I think that the army under his command, all things considered, was in a higher state of efficiency whilst he ruled than ever before or after. At first he was an exceedingly unpopular officer; all feared, none liked him, but it was not long before they found him out. Leaving out the higher grades of officers, such as held prominent commands, with whose electioneering plans for political capital and the sinister ambitious views he interfered with or exposed, he was as a general thing much more loved than any other in like position. The rank and file of the army became much attached to him, and in spite of his misfortune parted with him with regret. He was not, however, a great general; made many mistakes, some of which he was not responsible for; was always overmatched in numbers, and when pitted against Grant, his inferiority was too evident. His campaign around Chattanooga, after the victory of Chickamauga, showed great deficiency both as a tactician and strategist. The least said about it, the better for his reputation. Personally, I learned to like him, although at first much prejudiced against him; but he certainly was excited by the purist patriotism, and one of the most honest and unselfish officers of our army."

After the war Braxton Bragg worked as an engineer in Alabama and Texas, where he died on 27 September 1876. He is buried in Mobile, Alabama.



A wartime picture of Bragg, clean-shaven, as he appeared to the Southern public. The coat appears to be fastened in the 'female' direction, but the portrait, as so often, has been reversed left to right during the process of engraving from the original photograph. (Southern Illustrated News)

Simon Bolivar Buckner wears the gray uniform with black trim of a Kentucky militia general, which he designed himself. Early photographers took this to be the first Confederate uniform and painted it onto images of other Confederate generals. (Military Images Magazine)



BRECKINRIDGE, John Cabell (1821-75)

John C. Breckinridge (see Plate E2) was born on 15 January 1821 near Lexington, Kentucky. A graduate of Centre College (1839), he studied law at Transylvania University and passed the bar to practice law in Lexington in 1845. Breckinridge was a major in the 3rd Kentucky Volunteers in the Mexican War; afterwards he used his war record to go into politics, entering the Kentucky Legislature in 1849 and the US House of Representatives in 1851. He became vice-president under James Buchanan in 1856, but was actually elected to the US Senate from Kentucky in 1859 while still holding that office. He ran for president in 1860, but drew far fewer votes than Abraham Lincoln.

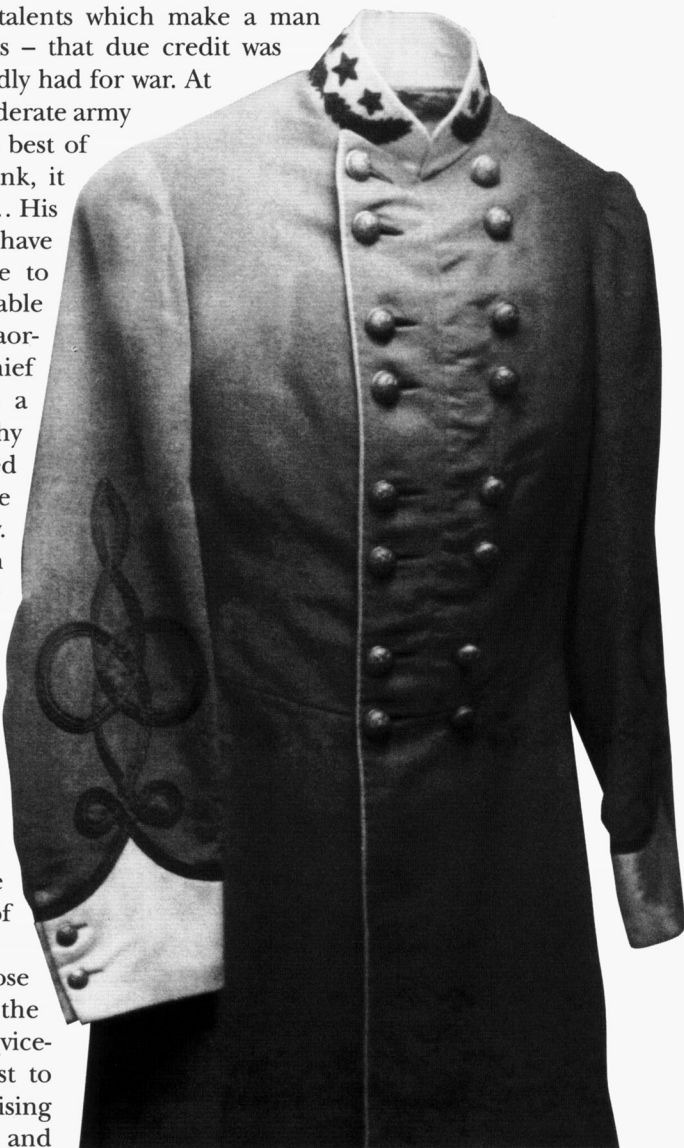
On 2 November 1861, after Kentucky joined the Confederacy, he became a Confederate brigadier-general. John Jackman, a private in his brigade, noted in his diary that, "He is the most eloquent speaker I ever heard ." Breckinridge was promoted to major-general on 14 April

1862. At Shiloh that month he commanded the Reserve Corps, and later successfully commanded the defenses of Vicksburg. His attack on Baton Rouge failed, but he served well at Murfreesboro (Stones River, 31 December 1862–3 January 1863) and Chickamauga (19–20 September 1863), as well as under Joseph Johnston during the 1863 Vicksburg campaign. At Missionary Ridge (25 November 1863) he was responsible for picking a poor defensive position that was easily crushed; Bragg later claimed that the hard-drinking Breckinridge had been inebriated throughout the battle. In 1864 he was given command of the Department of Southwest Virginia, serving in the July 1864 “raid on Washington”. He was named Secretary of War on 4 February 1865, too late to do much to influence the by then obvious outcome of the war, although he served competently in the post.

Basil Duke later noted that: “His ability as a statesman, his political astuteness, and extraordinary power as an orator were universally recognized and acknowledged, and it may be because of that – because he had exhibited so conspicuously the talents which make a man eminent and distinguished in civil affairs – that due credit was not given him for the talent he undoubtedly had for war. At any rate, while his reputation in the Confederate army was good, and he was ranked among the best of those who held high but subordinate rank, it was not what I think it should have been. ... His courage and resolution were superb. I have never, I think, witnessed an indifference to danger so absolutely calm and imperturbable as I have seen him display under very extraordinary exposure to personal peril. His chief defect as a soldier – and, perhaps, as a civilian – was a strange indolence or apathy which at time assailed him. He illustrated in his official conduct the difference between energy and persistent industry. When thoroughly aroused he acted with tremendous vigour, as well as indomitable decision; but he needed to be spurred to action, and without some special incentive was often listless and lethargic. Nature seemed to have formed him to deal with emergencies. ... I never saw a man more loath to give or take offense, or one so patient with the, perhaps, over-zealous suggestions of younger subordinates, and the occasional petulance which seems an inevitable concomitant of volunteer military service.”

Breckinridge was one of those who chose to flee the country after the fall of the Confederacy, since his previous status as vice-president laid him more open than most to prosecution for treason. After a hair-raising escape to Cuba he traveled to England, and

A fine surviving example of a Confederate brigadier-general's regulation dress coat, in gray faced and edged white, with gold braid Austrian knots on the sleeves and three wreathed gold stars on the collar. This coat belonged to BrigGen James Pettigrew, who in fact served in the Eastern theater. (Gettysburg National Military Park)



from there to Canada, returning to Kentucky in 1869 after the Universal Amnesty. Although frequently asked to return to politics, he shunned the spotlight, practicing law until his death on 17 May 1875 in Lexington, where he is buried.

BUCKNER, Simon Bolivar (1823–1914)

Simon Bolivar Buckner (see **Plate B3**) was born in 1823 in Hart County, Kentucky, the son of a veteran of the War of 1812. He entered the US Military Academy, and was graduated eleventh in a class of 25 in 1844. He served in the Mexican War, where he was slightly wounded and twice brevetted. Thereafter he was an instructor in infantry tactics at West Point until he resigned in 1855. He moved to Chicago, where his wife had inherited valuable real estate, and entered business there. He also entered the Illinois militia, gaining the rank of major. After returning to Louisville, Kentucky, he continued his interest in the militia, forming the Kentucky State Guard (some 4,000 pro-slavery volunteers) and commanding it with the rank of brigadier-general.

Strongly pro-Confederate, Buckner declined an offer of a brigadier-general's commission in the US Army. Nevertheless, he was shocked when Polk's troops invaded neutral Kentucky; on 21 September 1861 he wrote to Jefferson Davis' government in Richmond pleading for the withdrawal of the Confederate forces, pointing out that there was no military advantage in the move and a number of political disadvantages. Even so, a day later he became a Confederate brigadier-general. Buckner was third in command at Fort Donelson in February 1862 when his superiors – John Floyd and Gideon J. Pillow – abandoned their posts and fled; he surrendered the fort to Grant, a pre-war personal friend. After exchange, Buckner commanded a division in the Army of Tennessee in the Kentucky campaign, fighting at Perryville (8 October). In December 1862 he was sent to command the defenses of Mobile, Alabama. He was given command of the Department of East Tennessee in May 1863, commanding a corps at Chickamauga (19–20 September 1863). After that he was sent to the Trans-Mississippi Department where he was named a lieutenant-general, chief of staff to E. Kirby Smith.

Buckner set great store by social poise, favoring those who demonstrated grace and style rather than rough and tactless people – something of a handicap to command in the rural West of the Confederacy. A strong opponent of Braxton Bragg, he appears to have been the author of a petition signed in October 1863 by almost all of Bragg's corps and division commanders requesting his replacement.

After the war Buckner moved to New Orleans, returning to Kentucky three years later to become editor of the *Louisville Courier*. In 1887 he was elected state governor, and ran unsuccessfully for vice-president in 1896. He died on his estate near Munfordville, Kentucky, on 8 January 1914, the last surviving Confederate to have been a major-general or above. He is buried at the State Cemetery, Frankfort, Kentucky.

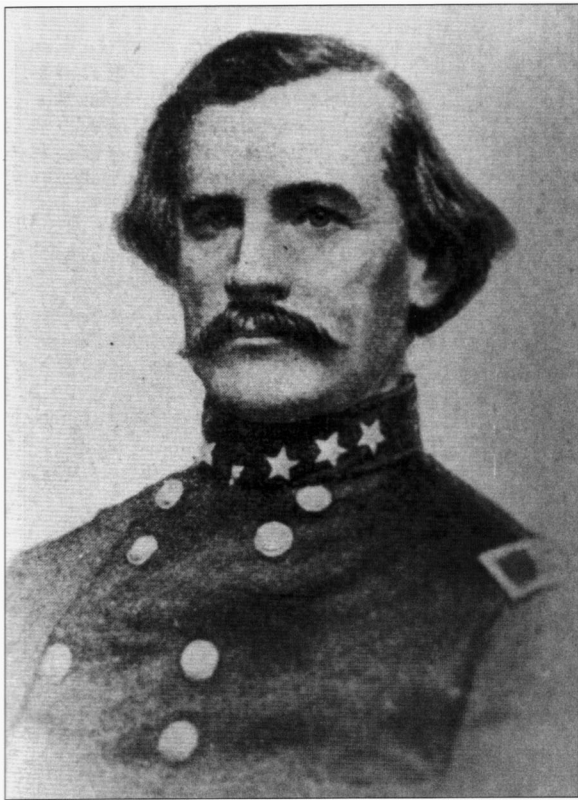
CHEATHAM, Benjamin Franklin (1820–86)

Benjamin Franklin Cheatham (see **Plate F3**) was born on 20 October 1820 in Nashville, Tennessee, into a wealthy family. He served as a captain of the 1st Tennessee Volunteers in the Mexican War, and at Buena Vista (22–23 February 1847) he formed a dislike of Jefferson

OPPOSITE

A portrait of Benjamin Franklin Cheatham made from a pre-war photograph, to which a Northern photographer had added his idea of a Confederate uniform. (*Photographic History of the Civil War*)

“Old Frank” Cheatham in a wartime photograph recording a less idealized image; an eye-witness recalled his “red bulldog face and close cropped, savage moustache.” Note the buttoned-back lapels, and the buttons set on in pairs, which identify his rank as brigadier-general. Cheatham had a reputation as a brave, hard-drinking, foul-mouthed officer, if not a particularly skilled commander. Nevertheless, he must have been popular with his men: some 30,000 people turned out for his funeral in Nashville in September 1886. (*Military Images Magazine*)



Davis and his 1st Mississippi Rifles for claiming glory that he felt belonged to his regiment. After the war he went to California to open the Hotel de Mexico in Stockton, handling patrons attracted by the 1849 gold rush. There he became a local political power; on one occasion he even held the town's sheriff at gunpoint to make him release a prisoner for a mob to lynch. After several years he returned to Tennessee to take up farming, and became a major-general of state militia.

When Tennessee seceded Cheatham was named a brigadier-general in the state army, and was second on the list of the same rank in the Provisional Army of Tennessee in May 1861. On 9 July 1861, he was named a Confederate brigadier-general. He was promoted major-general to rank from 10 March 1862, as a result of his part in the battle of Belmont (7 November 1861). Cheatham's service was in the Army of Tennessee, in which he commanded first a brigade and later a division. He handled his command poorly at Murfreesboro (Stones River, 31 December 1862–3 January 1863), where some said he was drunk; he was at first late to attack, and then sent his brigades in piecemeal, only redeeming himself somewhat by personally leading a charge late in the day.

Despite this, Cheatham was given command of a corps in the Army of Tennessee, dating from fall 1864 when John B.Hood took over that army. Cheatham's and Alexander Stewart's corps failed to cut the Columbia–Nashville Turnpike when the Federal armies were falling back towards Franklin in November 1864, and Hood blamed Cheatham for that failure, despite his own lack of involvement in making the move. Again it was repeated throughout the army that Cheatham had been drunk at the time, and another rumor had him spending the wasted time with a local beauty.

Cheatham was a true frontiersman, with a profane vocabulary that he did not hesitate to use. One of his soldiers described him as "one of the wildest men I ever heard speak"; and a British visitor later noted in amusement, "It is said that he does all the necessary swearing in the 1st *corps d'armée*, which General Polk's clerical character incapacitates him from performing." Despite his tongue and his fondness for the bottle, he was known as a regular church attendee; John Jackman, a Kentucky Brigade private, noted in his diary on 4 April 1864, "Nearly always see Gen'l B.F.Cheatham at church."



Private Philip Stephenson, Washington Light Artillery, recalled "Old Frank" as "the personification of your bluff, cursing, swearing trooper – a sort of Blücher. A good soldier and fighter, and as a rule reliable to execute orders, but too fond of whiskey and a brawler when drinking. A middle sized, sturdy man of middle age with a red bulldog face and close cropped, savage mustache. Easy going, fond of his men, familiar with and careful with them and they fond of him!"

Stephenson told a story of how after the battle of Belmont, Cheatham, "in liquor of course," cursed an Irish private who replied, "Sure an if you wasn't a general, ye would not do that!" Cheatham pulled off his coat and said, 'There's the general and here's old Frank Cheatham. Come on!' and the man took him at his word! Nothing was done with him, I believe."

After the war Cheatham ran unsuccessfully for the US House of Representatives in 1872, but served as Tennessee's superintendent of state prisons. He was appointed postmaster for Nashville, dying in that post on 4 September 1886. He was buried in Mount Olivet Cemetery in that city, and his funeral was attended by some 30,000 people, including many of his old command.

CLEBURNE, Patrick Ronayne (1828-64)

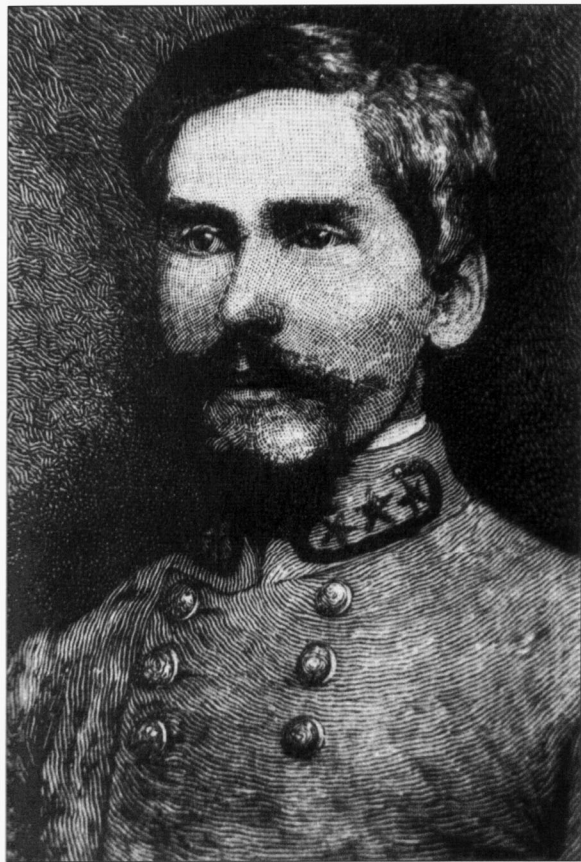
Patrick Cleburne (see Plate F2) was born in Bridgepark Cottage on the River Bride, ten miles west of Cork, Ireland, on 17 March 1828. His law partner before the war and aide-de-camp during it, L.H.Mangum, later wrote: "Patrick was fond of boyish adventures, but he avoided companionship and preferred his dog, his horse, his rod or his gun to other company. Even in those early days he was noted for his high sense of honor and his keen sense of disgrace. In literary taste he was fond of history, travels, and poetry, but whether it was due to some peculiar mental inaptitude or to the disgust created within him by the pedagogue who had delted out the classics by the rule of iron, he was very deficient in Latin and Greek."

Apprenticed to an apothecary, Cleburne failed to pass the Latin and Greek examination to become one himself, and so feared this failure would bring shame on his family that he enlisted in the 41st Regiment of Foot in February 1846, believing that the regiment was shortly to be sent overseas. Within three years he became a lance-corporal and then a corporal. Later he discovered that a relative was a captain in the same regiment, although of a different company. Although this relative promised him that he would eventually be commissioned in the regiment, he decided to purchase his way out of the British Army in 1849.

Sailing thereafter for America, Cleburne took a job as a druggist's clerk in Cincinnati, Ohio, moving after six months to Helena, Arkansas. There he became part owner of a drugstore while reading law, and was admitted to the bar in 1856. A former member of the (Protestant) Church of Ireland, he became a vestryman at St John's Episcopal Church in Helena, a member of the Sons of Temperance, and of a Masonic lodge. In 1856 Cleburne and a friend, Thomas Hindman, were involved in a political debate that spun out of control when the two were attacked on the street by gunmen. Cleburne was shot in the back, but turned and returned fire, killing one of the shooters and driving the

OPPOSITE

The Protestant Irishman Patrick Cleburne, late corporal in Her Majesty's 41st of Foot, was in a minority among soldiers of the period in that he used neither liquor nor tobacco. Captain Irving Buck described him: "Physically General Cleburne was of a striking appearance although he would not come in the category of 'handsome men.' He was six feet in height, of spare build, with broad shoulders and erect carriage. In his large gray eyes the gleam of sympathy and the spark of humor were most often seen and they grew dark and stern in danger or battle." Archer Anderson, who was in his command at Chickamauga, wrote: "In person he was about five feet nine or ten inches in height, slender in form, with a wiry, active appearance. His forehead was high and broad, high cheek bones, cheeks rather hollow and face diminishing towards the chin, the upper part being more massive than the lower. His hair, originally black, became tinged with gray, as was his delicate moustache and imperial. Eyes of clear steel gray in color, were cold and abstracted usually, but it needed only the flame of battle to kindle them in intensity... ." An engraving done from a period photograph. (*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*)



other three into the rear of a store; there they hid until Cleburne collapsed, when they ran. Cleburne and his friend both recovered from their wounds. He also helped organize a volunteer militia company, the Yell Rifles, in 1859, and in January 1861 he participated in taking over the Little Rock Arsenal.

On the outbreak of the Civil War, Cleburne joined the Confederate Army as a private, but he was quickly elected captain and, in May 1861, colonel of the 15th (originally the 1st) Arkansas Regiment, under William Hardee's overall command. He and Hardee became close friends, and Hardee helped Cleburne learn his drill system as well as his other duties. Cleburne, called "Old Pat" by his men, was made a brigadier-general on 4 March 1862. Wounded in the face while leading a charge at Richmond, Kentucky (30 August 1862) during Bragg's and Kirby Smith's advance into that state, Cleburne returned in time to participate in the battle of Perryville on 8 October, where he was again wounded. He was made a major-general on 13 December 1862; Bragg said that Cleburne was "cool, full of resources and ever alive to success." Cleburne himself joked to a British visitor that he owed his rank "mainly to the useful lessons which he had learnt in the ranks of the British

Army, and he pointed with a laugh to his general's white facings, which he said this 41st experience enabled him to keep cleaner than any other Confederate general." (The regiment had white facings.) In fact, Patrick Cleburne became the best general in the Western theater, distinguishing himself at Murfreesboro (Stones River, 31 December 1862–3 January 1863) and receiving a vote of thanks from Congress for his actions at the close of the Chattanooga campaign a year later.

On the other hand, Pte Philip Stephenson recalled that Cleburne was "as bad a judge of a horse, for he never was mounted on a decent animal. At a review on one occasion he almost upset the gravity of us all in the ranks in spite of discipline and our respect for him, by lumbering along far in the wake of the rest of the dashing cavalcade, on his clumsy old plough horse of an animal. It had stumbled and almost thrown him, and he couldn't catch up again."

Cleburne owned no slaves and, being foreign born, he had no sentimental attachment to or vested interest in the institution. He therefore easily recognized that Southern African-Americans presented an opportunity as well as a *causus belli*, and in January 1864 he proposed arming them and forming them into military units. Joseph Johnston simply told him that the idea was too political and that Cleburne should not propose it; another general at the meeting where the idea was discussed said that it was treasonable, and demanded that Cleburne put it in writing. Cleburne duly gave him a letter, which the general sent to the government in Richmond. This document was quickly covered up by

shocked officials; but even holding the opinion ruined Cleburne's chances for further and deserved promotion.

Cleburne's soldiers later told the story that on the way to the ill-fated town of Franklin, Tennessee, in November 1864 the general passed a bare-footed captain limping along. "Come here and pull off my shoes," Cleburne called out to the man. He protested, but Cleburne insisted, saying, "I am on horseback and can get along better than you can." He made the officer take them and put them on, and then rode off into battle in stocking feet on a cold, wintry day. On foot after two horses had been shot under him, Cleburne was killed near the old gin-house at Franklin by a single bullet through the heart, while leading one of many charges during Hood's impetuous and costly attack of 30 November. He is buried at Helena, Arkansas.

Basil Duke later wrote: "Gen. Patrick R. Cleburne has been sometimes termed the Stonewall Jackson of the West [a nickname Jefferson Davis gave him], and, while it cannot be claimed that he possessed the genius of Jackson, the appellation is unquestionably extremely apposite. He had the same dauntless temper and patient, unflagging energy, the same conscientious, almost fanatical devotion to duty, and an equally combative inclination as a soldier. ... I cannot remember that I ever saw an officer who was so industrious and persistent in his efforts properly to drill and instruct the men under his command. He took great interest in everything connected with tactics, and personally taught it all, and was occupied from morning until night in superintending squad, company, and battalion drill, guard mounting, inspection and, indeed, everything mentioned in the books or that he could conceive of. ... He was unlike Stonewall Jackson in one particular; when angered, annoyed or astonished, he would swear, and, although his oaths were brief, they were intensely energetic. His speech ordinarily had little of the Irish accent, and was slow, clear, and precise, but in his moments of excitement or dissent the brogue became broad and clear... .

"He was extremely temperate and simple in his mode of life, reserved and studious; and was an ardent botanist. No braver or more resolute man ever lived, but he was warm-hearted and generous to a degree and devoted in his friendships. He was skillful, I believe, in the use of all arms, but was extraordinarily so with the pistol... ."

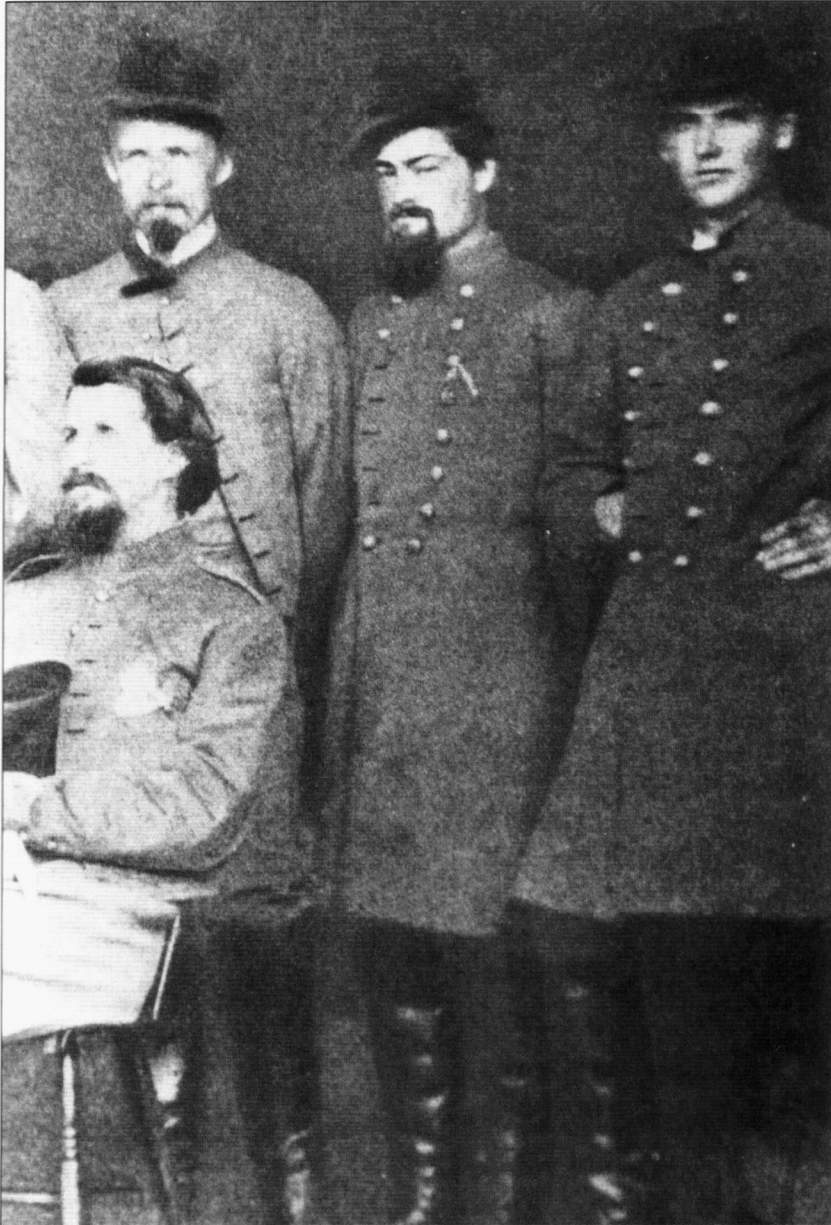
John Bell Hood, who had few good words to say about any of his subordinates, later wrote that Cleburne "was a man of equally quick perception and strong character, and was, especially in one respect, in advance of many of our people. He possessed the boldness and the wisdom to earnestly advocate, at an early period of the war, the freedom of the negro and the enrollment of the young and able-bodied men of that race."

DUKE, Basil Wilson (1838-1916)

Basil Wilson Duke (see Plate E3) was born in Scott County, Kentucky, on 28 May 1838. After attending Centre College and Transylvania Law School, he began practicing law in St Louis, Missouri. When the crisis over the 1860 election arose, he joined a pro-Southern organization known as the "Minute Men," which he later described as "of a semi-political and military character." Armed with a motley collection of old muskets and modern handguns, the group planned to capture the

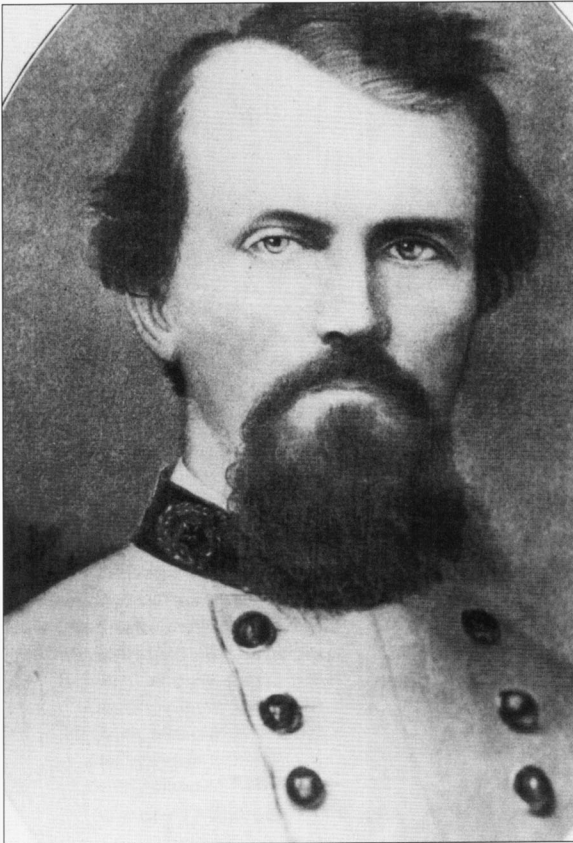
arsenal in the city. As one of a small group of representatives of this group, Duke went to Montgomery, Alabama – then the Confederate capital – on 6 April 1861. He met with Jefferson Davis and the Secretary of War, obtaining an order permitting them to take the arsenal and allowing them weapons to do so. The group arranged for weapons in Louisiana and then returned to St Louis. After meeting with the pro-Southern governor, he was warned that a pro-Union grand jury in St Louis had indicted him for treason, and he was advised to leave the area.

Duke then returned to Kentucky, where he served temporarily as acting adjutant in the 2nd Arkansas Regiment and saw duty as a scout, before joining the Lexington Rifles, his brother-in-law John Hunt Morgan's company, in which he was elected first lieutenant. When



Basil Duke, standing center, with a ribbon tied to the third button of his frock coat, was photographed while a prisoner at Fort Delaware after being captured with his brother-in-law, John Hunt Morgan. This Kentucky cavalry officer left many valuable personal impressions of his fellow Confederate generals. (Photographic History of the Civil War)

A contemporary portrait of Nathan Bedford Forrest. General Dabney Maury first saw him in April 1862: "In stature he was over six feet, with a physical development of great strength and activity. His eyes were light gray, his cheek bones were high, his hair brown and straight, his complexion generally pallid. But those who have seen him in the heat of battle can never forget the martial beauty and grandeur of the man. A bright hectic color then glowed in his cheeks and his eyes gleamed with the light of his fierce spirit, and I have heard men say, who were by him then, that nothing could surpass or eradicate the impression of his aspect." (*Photographic History of the Civil War*)



the company became a part of the 2nd Kentucky Cavalry he became lieutenant-colonel, and eventually the regimental colonel. Duke later described his regiment as made up of "reckless, dare-devil youngsters, always eager for adventure and excitement, who if they had not 'charity for all', certainly bore little 'malice to none.'"

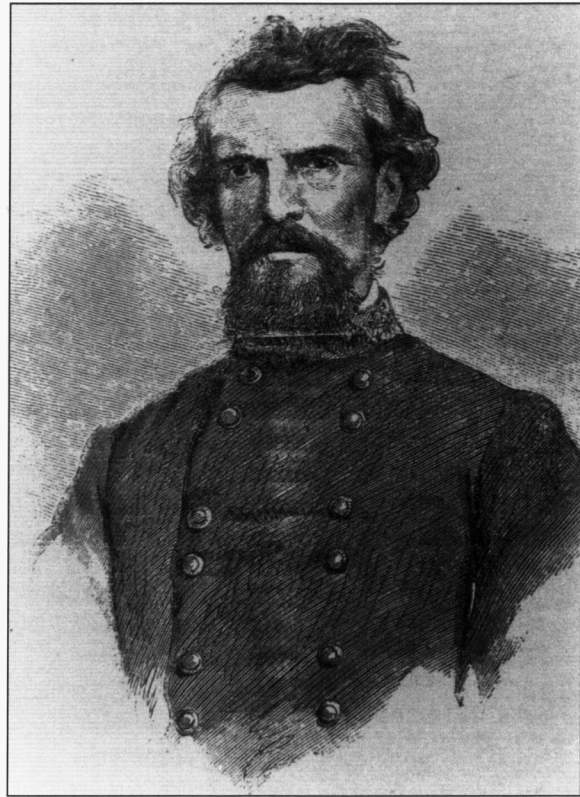
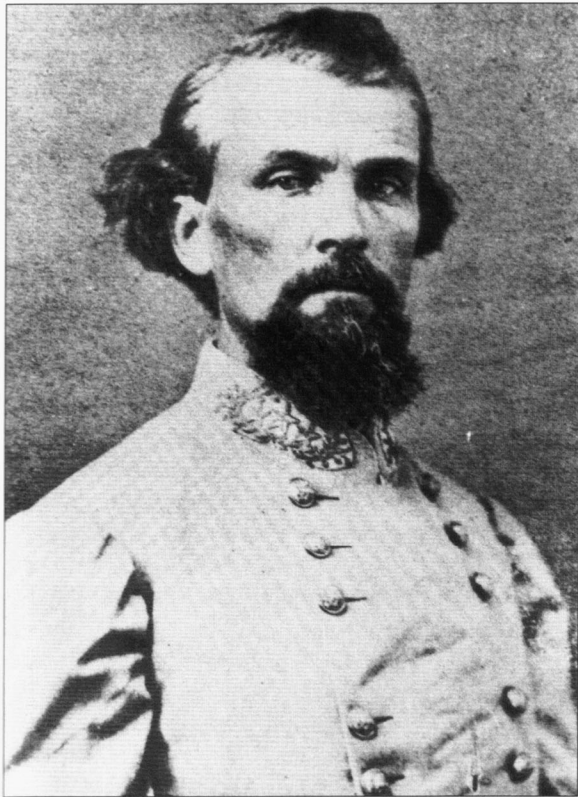
Duke was captured with Morgan in Ohio, but was exchanged, and appointed a brigadier-general on 15 September 1864; he was given command of Eastern Kentucky and Western Virginia. His brigade escorted Jefferson Davis as he fled into Georgia, being the last uniformed unit to accompany the president before his capture. After the war Duke practiced law, and went into state politics. He died in New York City on 16 September 1916, and is buried in Lexington, Kentucky.

FORREST, Nathan Bedford (1821-77)

Nathan Bedford Forrest (see **Plate H2**) was born in Bedford County, Tennessee, on 13 July 1821, to a poor family. Formally schooled for only six months, he was only barely literate for the rest of his life; yet by the outbreak of the Civil War he had made a large fortune as both a slave dealer and a planter. Unusually for a man from such a background, he did not drink, smoke or chew tobacco, although he did have a notoriously fierce temper, and burst into profanity when provoked.

On the outbreak of war he enlisted as a private in the 7th Tennessee Cavalry, but then paid for his own mounted battalion, of which he was elected lieutenant-colonel in October 1861. His was the only command

to escape from Fort Donelson when it was surrendered to Grant in February 1862, his men following him through a cold swamp that had been left unguarded. In April 1862 he was elected colonel of the 3rd Tennessee Cavalry, and was given command of a cavalry brigade in Bragg's Army of Tennessee two months later. Although he lacked any formal military training and disdained to study professional literature, as a leader of raids in the enemy's rear Forrest showed an innate genius, and some argue that he was the greatest cavalryman that America has ever produced. He was commissioned brigadier-general on 21 July 1862 after capturing the Union garrison at Murfreesboro – Gen Thomas Crittenden's 1,200-strong brigade and an enormous quantity of stores; he then pushed on towards Nashville, burning railroad bridges and diverting two divisions from the Federal Army of the Ohio. Basil Duke later recalled that John Hunt Morgan once asked Forrest how he had done so well at Murfreesboro: "Oh," Duke quoted Forrest as saying, "I just took the short cut and got there first with the most men." In December 1862 he led 2,500 riders on a three-week raid across Grant's lines of communication in West Tennessee; and the following summer he participated in the Chattanooga campaign.



ABOVE LEFT **Philip Stephenson of the Washington Light Artillery** described Forrest as “a handsome man with a face, figure, movement, and bearing that no one, once seeing was apt to forget. Six feet one or two inches in height, erect, perfectly proportioned, not an ounce of surplus flesh, yet not thin, sinewy. ... The lightest eyes I ever saw in any man, large, light grey, under heavy dense black eyebrows, looking out at you with stony calmness from beneath a broad and massive brow overhung with great masses of thick wavy coal black hair. This singular combination of the almost white eyes and the dense black shading of hair and brows and beard produced a most striking effect, which was unusually attractive.”

(Military Images Magazine)
ABOVE RIGHT **A woodcut made from a photograph of Forrest taken in Corinth, Mississippi, and published in Harper's Weekly of 18 February 1865.**

One incident will have to suffice to give an idea of his character. Unhappy with Lieutenant A.Wills Gould, one of his artillery officers, Forrest ordered the man transferred. The enraged Gould confronted Forrest at his headquarters, pulling out a pistol and firing it directly into Forrest's side. Forrest, although badly wounded, managed to grab Gould's arm with one hand, while with the other pulling out a penknife that he opened with his teeth, and stabbed the lieutenant in the stomach. Gould pulled away and ran; a hastily summoned doctor made a quick examination and told Forrest that his wound was mortal, whereupon Forrest jumped up to exclaim that no man would kill him and live. Dashing outside, he grabbed a pistol from a saddle holster and crossed the street to a tailor shop where Gould had collapsed from his wound. When the general entered the shop, Gould got up and made for the back door; Forrest followed, firing and missing, although he hit a spectator. Gould reached an empty lot where he again collapsed into the weeds. Bystanders had by then grabbed the general and convinced him that the lieutenant's wound was fatal: it was, and he died several days later, after an emotional reconciliation with the general. Forrest himself recovered after about ten days' rest.

After a raging quarrel with Bragg, Forrest asked for an independent command; Jefferson Davis promoted him to major-general on 4 December 1863 and gave him a free rein, with a command based in north Mississippi and west Tennessee. Between February and October 1864 he outwitted and outfought much larger Federal forces, earning the sobriquet of “that devil Forrest” from the frustrated Gen Sherman. He beat Gen W.Sooy Smith at Okolona on 20 February; raided into

Kentucky as far as Paducah in March, and on 12 April captured Fort Pillow, where he stained his reputation by, if not ordering, then at least ignoring his men's massacre of white Tennessee Union men and African-American soldiers. On 10 June 1864 he routed Gen Samuel D.Sturgis' much larger force at Brice's Cross Roads; and returned to the Army of Tennessee as cavalry commander after Hood replaced Johnston in July. On 14–15 July, now with 10,000 men under his command, he forced Gen A.J.Smith to withdraw from Tupelo; and on 21 August he raided Federal headquarters at Memphis, forcing Gen C.C.Washington to flee in his nightclothes. He then moved east and north and, in concert with Joseph Wheeler, harassed Sherman's lines of communication between Atlanta, Nashville and the Ohio river. In late October–November he captured US Navy vessels on the Tennessee river near Johnsonville, where he threatened a large Federal depot and bluffed the defenders into burning their own stores, while he took and destroyed 26 cannon, four gunboats, 14 transports and 20 barges. Forrest was then ordered to march eastwards to join John B.Hood in the Franklin and Nashville campaign. He was promoted to lieutenant-general, ranking from 28 February 1865; but his war ended when he was decisively beaten by the young Union cavalry general James H.Wilson at Selma, Alabama, in April 1865. During the war Forrest had been wounded four times and had 29 horses shot under him, and it was said that he killed about 30 men with his own hand.

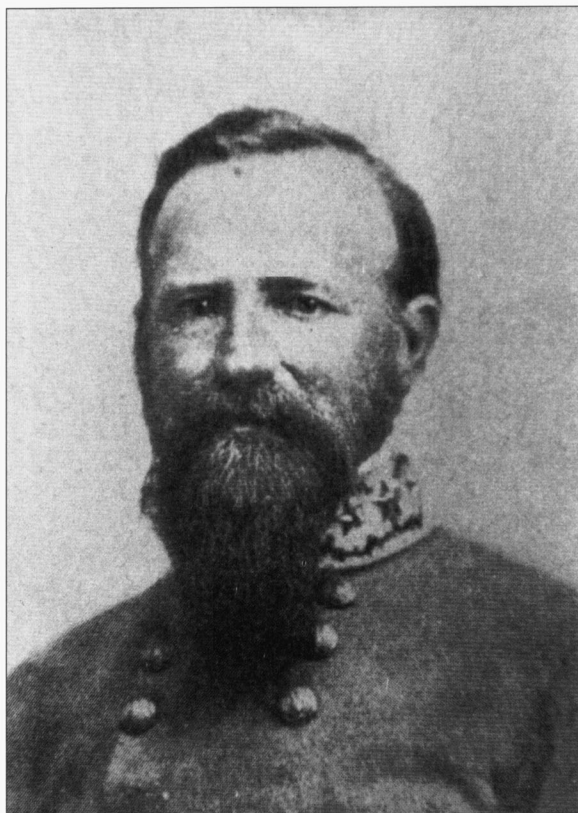
Brigadier-General Arthur Manigault later assessed Forrest: "As a Cavalry leader ... he was by far the most able and combined many qualities, such as skill, courage, judgment, and the power of organizing and disciplining troops, which would have made him conspicuous anywhere. His defective education and social disadvantages were his great drawbacks. Had he been more fortunate in these respects, he would in all probability have been the most conspicuous and useful general in the Army of the Confederate States."

Forrest returned to plantation life after the war, further tarnishing his reputation by becoming the first leader of the Klu Klux Klan. Named president of the Selma, Marion & Memphis Railroad, he died on 29 October 1877 at Memphis, where he is buried.

GARDNER, Franklin (1823–73)

Franklin Gardner (see Plate C1) was born in New York City on 29 January 1823. His family moved to Iowa, and from there he was appointed to West Point, being graduated in the class of 1843; he later earned two brevets for gallantry in the Mexican War. Gardner never officially resigned from the US Army, although he accepted a commission as lieutenant-colonel of infantry in the regular Confederate Army on 16 March 1861. He was apparently motivated wholly by personal

Franklin Gardner, born in New York and raised in Iowa, was the defender of Port Hudson on the Mississippi river during the longest siege ever conducted on American soil; he surrendered on 9 July 1863 only after the fall of Vicksburg made his own position untenable. (Photographic History of the Civil War)



principle; his brother served in the Union army and his father worked for the US government during the war.

Gardner actually served as commander of a cavalry brigade at Shiloh (6–7 April 1862), being named brigadier-general ranking from 11 April. He returned in an infantry brigade command in the Kentucky campaign, and was appointed major-general on 10 June 1863. He commanded the defenses of Port Hudson in 1863, sustaining the longest siege on American soil, and finally surrendering on 9 July only after he learned that Vicksburg had fallen, making his post untenable. Robert Patrick of the 4th Louisiana noted in his diary on 4 January 1863, “Major-general Gardner is in command here now and he is a very strict disciplinarian. He says that no man shall be allowed to go outside of the lines under any pretext... .” Even so, Gardner was unjustly suspected by some of Union sympathies on account of his Northern birth.

Exchanged in August 1864, he was sent to the Department of Mississippi, where he remained until the Confederate surrender, although Bragg had tried unsuccessfully to get him assigned to the Army of Tennessee as a corps commander. After the war he was a planter near Lafayette, Louisiana, where he died on 29 April 1873, and is buried.

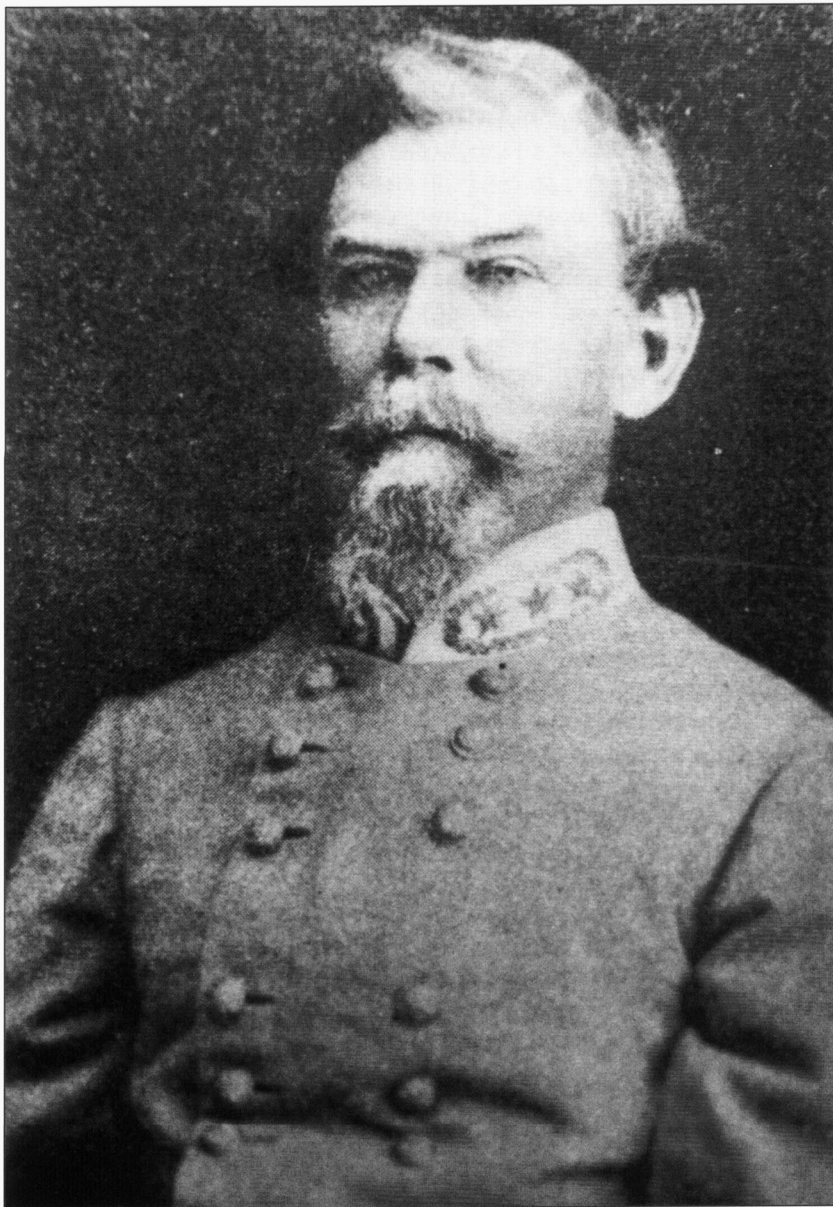
HARDEE, William Joseph (1815–73)

William J. Hardee (see **Plate C3**) was born in Camden County, Georgia, on 12 October 1815; his grandfather had fought in the Revolutionary War and his father in the War of 1812. Graduating 26th in the West Point class of 1838, he was sent on to the French cavalry school at Saumur for further study. On his return he taught his regiment the tactics he had learned there, being promoted to captain. Captured with his company on the onset of the Mexican War, he was soon exchanged and given a position in Scott’s army in its drive on Mexico City, receiving two brevets for gallantry.

Hardee was later appointed commandant of cadets at West Point. He was best known for his standard drill manual, *Rifle and Light Infantry Tactics*, first published in 1855, which was to some degree a translation from a contemporary French Army manual. He revised this work in 1860 to reflect the adoption of a longer rifle-musket by the US Army, although most Northern wartime editions were reprints of the original manual. In fact the linear tactics that Hardee proposed became virtually obsolete with the introduction of accurate, long range weapons, and U.S. Grant later admitted that he never actually read the manual closely.

Hardee resigned his commission on 31 January 1861, and accepted a commission as colonel commanding the 1st Georgia Infantry (Regulars) on 7 February, immediately organizing the defenses of Savannah as well as heading a board to pick the uniform and equipment of the state’s forces. He was then given command of Fort Morgan on Mobile Bay by the Confederate government. With danger looming in the West, he received a Confederate brigadier-general’s commission on 17 June 1861, and command of the troops in Arkansas. Hardee was promoted to major-general on 7 October 1861, and sent to the Army of Tennessee before the battle of Shiloh the following April. Private William Watson, 3rd Louisiana Infantry, expressed an enlisted man’s view when he wrote that Hardee “was a bold leader and a skillful tactician. ... He was particularly noted here for making surprise attacks, skillfully planned,

William Hardee, author of the pre-war US Army manual of infantry drill and tactics (and immortalized by the broad brimmed service hat named after him), photographed here in Confederate general officer's uniform. The buttons set in threes indicate major-general's rank. (*Photographic History of the Civil War*)



upon the enemy's right wing as they advanced their works, so that when any heavy cannonading was heard on our left the remark would be, 'Oh, it is old Hardy [sic] driving back their right wing.'

Hardee ended up as a wing commander in the Kentucky campaign and at Murfreesboro (Stones River, 31 December 1862–3 January 1863). Promoted to lieutenant-general ranking from 10 October 1862, he thereafter held a corps command. He was offered army command, but declined it, having a real dread of responsibility. He later wrote, "I am glad the responsibility does not rest with me, it is weighty and I would not bear it if I could."

Hardee's men trusted him. Private Philip Stephenson, Washington Light Artillery, later wrote: "He was 'Old Reliable,' the standing favorite of all officers, with us all. Men may come and men may go, but 'Old

Reliable' stood by us forever. That was our feeling. ... He was immovable when on the defensive, headlong like a thunderbolt when on the aggressive, always self-possessed, resourceful, daring in the midst of cautiousness, prudent in the very height of an onset, in short, an all around soldier and man. ... True, he always exacted rigid discipline, but no man was more in sympathy with his men." However, his superior Bragg fell out with him over tactics at Murfreesboro, writing to Richmond that Hardee "is a good drill master, but no more, except that he is gallant. He has no ability to organize and supply an army, and no confidence in himself when approached by an enemy."

During the 1863 campaign a British visitor noted that Hardee "is a widower, and has the character of being a great admirer of the fair sex. During the Kentucky campaign last year, he was in the habit of availing himself of the privilege of his rank and years, and insisted on kissing the wives and daughters of all the Kentuckian farmers." Hardee later met and courted the 25-year-old heiress to a wealthy Alabama planter, and married her in February 1864. After a short honeymoon, he returned to his corps command.

When John B.Hood, whom he mistrusted, took over the Army of Tennessee, he requested and was given the command of Savannah, which shocked his men. Philip Stephenson believed that "Hardee was the staff the whole army had leaned upon after Johnston left. ... In Hardee's departure was the beginning of the destruction of the Army of Tennessee." Once in Savannah Hardee set up defenses, and later successfully evacuated them on the approach of Sherman's army. Thereafter he opposed Sherman's advance through the Carolinas until his eventual surrender in April 1865. Apparently not all of his subordinates approved of Hardee. Major-General Lafayette McLaws wrote home from Savannah in October 1864, "How any one can be patriotic under the leadership of Hardee is beyond my comprehension."

At the end of the war Hardee told a reporter: "I accept this war as the providence of God. He intended that the slave should be free, and now he is free. ... I was one of the hot Southerners who shared the notion that one man of the South could whip three yankees; but the first year of the war pretty effectually knocked that nonsense out of us, and, to tell the truth, ever since that time we military men have generally seen that it was only a question of how long it would take to wear our army out and destroy it. We have seen that there was no real hope of success, except by some extraordinary accident of fortune, and we have also seen that the politicians would never give up till the army was gone. So we have fought with the knowledge that we were to be sacrificed with the results we see to-day, and none of us could tell who would live to see it."

Basil Duke later wrote: "General Hardee was a thoroughly educated and exceedingly accomplished soldier. No one in the old army, perhaps, was more perfectly versed in either the more important or the minutest details of professional knowledge. I believe that it is admitted that he had no superior as a corps commander, and his capacity for handling troops on the battle field and his skill as a tactician were unsurpassed. ... I believe that he possessed almost every quality which is necessary to make an able general, unless it may have been self-confidence. His grasp of a strategic question or situation was clear and comprehensive, and as an army leader he was prompt, bold, and alert. I have sometimes heard

General Hardee characterized as a martinet. This is not just to him. He believed in careful discipline and was sometimes strict in enforcing its essentials. But he was never harsh, and was not only solicitous for the comfort of his men, but entertained the kindest feeling for them.”

After the war Hardee became a planter at Selma, Alabama, where he was buried after his death on 6 November 1873.

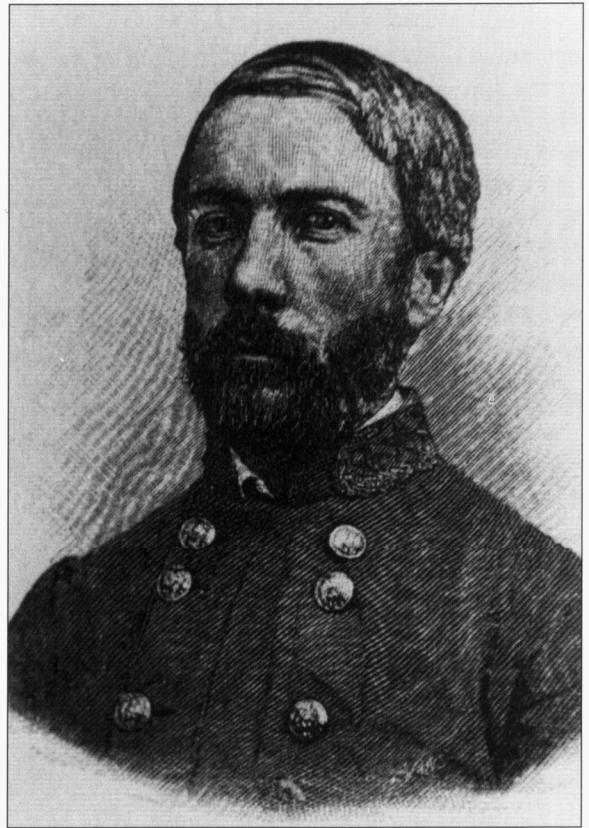
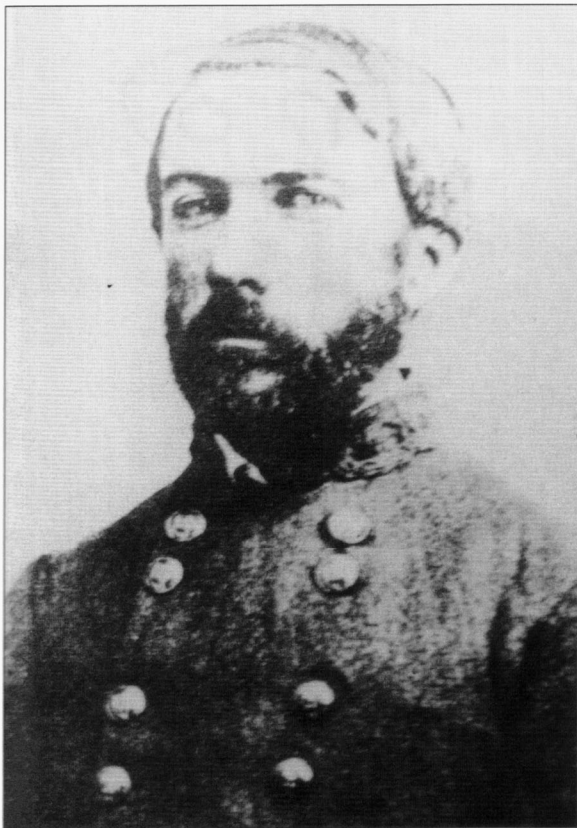
HILL, Daniel Harvey (1821–89)

Daniel H. Hill (see **Plate C2**) was born in York District, South Carolina, on 12 July 1821. He was a sickly child, and suffered all his life from a frail constitution and a chronic spinal condition. His father died when he was four, and the family of a widow and 11 children lived in poverty on a farm growing corn and cotton. Hill later remarked, “I had no youth.” Appointed to West Point, he graduated 28th out of 56 cadets in the class of 1842, where one friend noted his “honor, courage, and frankness.” He subsequently earned two brevets for gallantry in the Mexican War, during which he served in the 4th Artillery Regiment. On 2 November 1848 he married a North Carolina socialite; he resigned from the army on 28 February 1849, and became professor of mathematics at Washington College and Davidson College. In 1859 he was appointed superintendent, professor of mathematics and artillery, and president of the board of directors of the newly created North Carolina Military Institute.

Hill also published a mathematics textbook which was most noted for its anti-Northern bias, basing questions on such ideas as “The field of battle of Buena Vista is 6½ miles from Saltillo. Two Indiana volunteers ran away from the field of battle at the same time, one ran a half a mile an hour faster than the other, and reached Saltillo 5 minutes and 54⅙ seconds faster than the other.” The book had only limited national sales. Hill, a Presbyterian elder, also published two religious studies, *A Consideration of the Sermon on the Mount* and *The Crucifixion of Christ*.

Hill was named colonel of the 1st North Carolina Infantry Regiment on its formation. Sent to the Richmond area, he commanded at the first action of note, Big Bethel (10 June 1861), and was promoted to brigadier-general on 10 July. He was appointed major-general on 26 March 1862, and served in the Army of Northern Virginia until 14 July that year, when he was given the job of negotiating a prisoner exchange. Subsequently Hill was sent to command the Department of North Carolina. Lee wrote to President Davis a short time later, “I fear General Hill is not entirely equal to his present position. An excellent executive officer, he does not appear to have much administrative ability. Left to himself he seems embarrassed and backward to act.” Davis then had him returned to command of his old division in the Army of Northern Virginia. “Old DH” fought well through the 1862 Maryland invasion, although his physical health began to decline, noticeably adding to his depression thereafter.

On 1 January 1863, Hill submitted his resignation to the War Department, but he was called to Richmond and there given command of the Department of North Carolina, which included Virginia south of Richmond, to replace E. Kirby Smith. Hill and Robert E. Lee quarreled about how many and which troops Hill needed in this command. He was promoted to lieutenant-general on 11 July 1863, and given a corps



A portrait photograph and an engraving of D.H.Hill as a brigadier-general. Sickly all his life, Hill rose from a childhood of grinding rural poverty to become a published mathematician and a Presbyterian elder as well as a lieutenant-general; unsurprisingly, he was not known for a sunny disposition or a generous tolerance of his fellow officers. General Moxley Sorrel described him as “a small, delicate man, rather bent, and cursed with dyspepsia, which seemed to give color to his whole being.” (Military Images Magazine; Battles and Leaders of the Civil War)

command in the Army of Tennessee, fighting in the Chattanooga campaign that autumn.

Always noted for his harsh criticisms of Confederate cavalry and artillery generally, as well as of his superiors and fellow generals, Hill was one of the most vocal opponents of Braxton Bragg. Bragg accused Hill of being the reason for the lack of complete success in the Chickamauga campaign: “Genl Hill is despondent, dull, slow, and tho gallant personally, is always in a state of apprehension, and upon the most flimsy pretexts makes such reports of the enemy about him, as to keep up constant apprehension, and require constant reinforcements. His open and constant croaking would demoralize any command in the world. He does not hesitate at all times and in all places to declare our cause lost.” As a result Jefferson Davis refused to submit his last commission for confirmation to the Confederate senate and, on 13 October 1863, the president authorized Bragg to remove him from command. Bragg quickly took advantage of this authority, and that was largely the end of Hill’s military career. He saw a little service at Petersburg beginning in May 1864; he was then sent to command the District of Georgia, and ended the war as a division commander in the Army of Tennessee in North Carolina.

Arthur Manigault noted of Hill that he “had always borne the unenviable reputation... of having his own way and doing things only as pleased him, and, were it otherwise, throwing obstacles in the way... .” General Moxley Sorrel said of him: “He seemed not to know peril and was utterly indifferent to bullets and shell, but with all these qualities

was not successful. His backbone seemed a trifle weak. He would take his men into battle, fight furiously for some time and then something weakened about him. Unless there was some strong character near by... his attack would be apt to fail and his first efforts go unrewarded."

After the war he was president of the University of Arkansas and the Georgia Military and Agricultural College, dying of cancer in a relative's home in Charlotte, North Carolina, on 24 September 1889.

**HOOD, John Bell
(1831-79)**

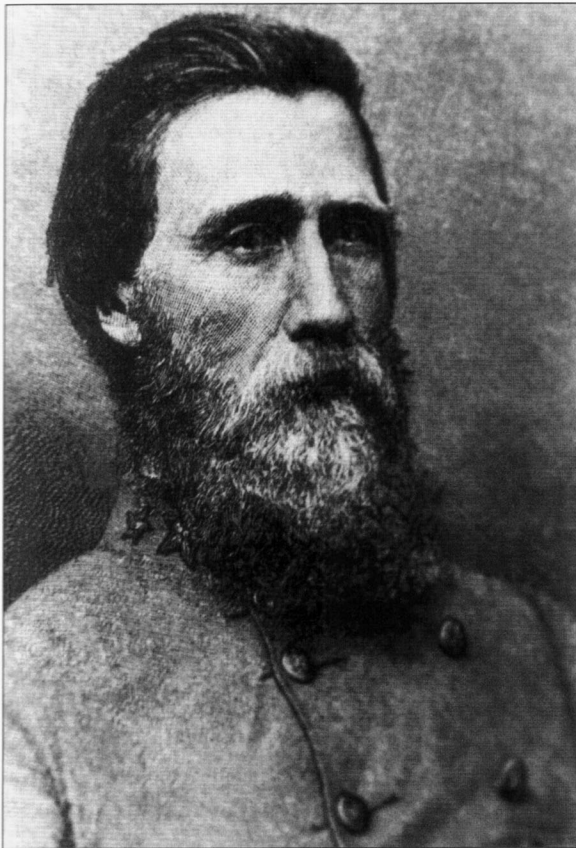
John Bell Hood (see Plate F1) was born in Owingsville, Kentucky, on 1 June 1831, the son of a wealthy doctor. When growing up he was known as a hothead who often got into fights. From West Point, where he acquired the nickname "Sam", he was graduated 45th out of 52 cadets in the class of 1853. He served in the infantry in California and Texas, and came to consider himself a citizen

of that state. When the 2nd Cavalry was formed in 1855 Hood was given a first lieutenant's commission in that crack regiment. On the outbreak of war he resigned his commission on 17 April 1861, to accept a regular Confederate Army commission as captain, commanding a company of the 1st Confederate Cavalry Regiment. Sent to Kentucky to recruit, he then went to Richmond, where he was made a major in charge of a cavalry camp of instruction.

Hood was given command of the 4th Texas Infantry on 1 October 1861. He was promoted to Texas Brigade command, ranking as a brigadier-general from 3 March 1862, for reasons that are not clear today. However, his behavior during the Peninsula campaign of spring 1862 marked him out as a fighter. Stonewall Jackson wrote the War Department on 27 September 1862 asking that Hood be promoted, and



Wartime photograph of John Bell Hood, and an engraving made from it. Despite the *gravitas* lent to his appearance by the full beard, he was only in his early thirties. Stephenson of the Washington Light Artillery wrote of him: "He was over six feet and of splendid proportions. His hair and beard were of a light yellow and worn long. The eyes were large and bold, but of a singular light grey... . He usually wore an 'undress uniform,' but was always scrupulously neat and even elegant in attire." On the other hand, one of his staff officers noted that Hood was a "tall, rawboned country-looking man" who "looked like a raw backwoodsman, dressed up in an ill-fitting uniform." Here he displays the unwreathed collar stars so often worn by general officers. (*Military Images Magazine; Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*)



he was named major-general ranking from 10 October 1862, being given a division to command under James Longstreet.

Courageous to a fault, John Hood failed in important aspects of higher command. He never really grasped that his new job was not primarily one of personal, inspired battlefield leadership, but one of administrative and logistical care. His men were often found poorly supplied and disciplined, while he continued to fight at the head of his division. He was badly wounded in the left arm storming Devil's Den at Gettysburg on 2 July 1863; although the arm was saved there was permanent nerve damage, probably to his elbow, that cost him the use of his hand. Returning to duty, he lost his right leg at Chickamauga in September 1863; its shattered bones had to be amputated at mid-thigh. The wound was thought mortal at first, and rumors of his death abounded; however, he was brought back to Richmond where he did recover by late October. Veterans of his old Texas brigade chipped in to buy him a cork leg, and he was able to get around on it with crutches; he found that he could ride if strapped into the saddle, and his soldiers started calling him "Old Pegleg." On his return to duty he was appointed lieutenant-general on 1 February 1864, since Jefferson Davis had decided to replace D.H.Hill's name on the list with Hood's, and the latter was given a corps command.

Hood went behind Joseph Johnston's back to complain of his conduct during the Atlanta campaign. "I have done all in my power to induce General Johnston to accept the proposition you made to move forward," he wrote to Bragg – then serving as Davis' military adviser – on 13 April 1864. "He will not consent, as he desires the troops to be sent here and it is left to him as to what use should be made of them."

On 12 May 1864, Hood, who had attended St Paul's Episcopal Church in Richmond with Davis while recovering from his amputation, was baptized into that church by the Right Reverend LtGen Leonidas Polk. One of his staff officers, a Roman Catholic, was less than impressed with the ceremony: "There stood the battered old hero (barely thirty years old). There the warrior Bishop Polk. And there stood your humble servant with a flaring tallow candle in one hand and a horse-bucket of water in the other."

When Joseph Johnston was relieved, Hood was given the temporary rank of general on 18 July 1864, and command of the Army of Tennessee. Brigadier-General Arthur Manigault wrote that "Hood's exhibition of generalship whilst with the army, and up to the time of his promotion to its command, had proved him unfitted for the command of a corps, so that it is not surprising that as their leader, the army received the announcement with a very bad grace, and with no little murmuring. Shortly after assuming the command, and it became evident what his plan of

operations was to be, and system of attacks, it was seen that if continued, a very few more engagements would destroy the whole army, and that the lives of men were being thrown away to no purpose, he not having eye or head to take advantage of the successes which the army twice gained by its valor, which Joseph Johnston or Stonewall Jackson would have seized with avidity, and have brought about a very different result.”

In a short time Hood convinced many of his men that he could be a good leader. Philip Stephenson recalled him as “easily approached, of frank, open demeanor and lenient rule, of magnificent and striking presence. ... He won the hearts of all men right and left.” Buckner, however, found Hood an easy target for his urbane wit, later saying that “Hood never gets out of any scrape unless he can fight out.”

Disappointed in an attempt to win the hand of a flirtatious South Carolina debutante, and in constant pain from his wounds, in action Hood demonstrated little ability to command an army. He wasted his troops in fruitless attacks at Peachtree Creek (20 July), Atlanta (22 July) and Ezra Church (28 July), and finally abandoned Atlanta (31 August). He tried to lure Sherman out of the city by threatening his communications, but failed; and as Sherman headed into Georgia in mid-November, Hood marched north into Tennessee towards Nashville. His soldiers had mixed feelings about this campaign. Robert Patrick of the 4th Louisiana noted in his diary when it started, “I fear this campaign will prove a failure though I will continue to hope for the best. I have no confidence in Hood’s abilities. He is a good, rough fighter, but when that is said, all is said. He hasn’t the knowledge of military affairs that Johnston possesses.”

Although his advance was rapid, Hood slept while he had a chance to capture retreating Federals at Spring Hill (29 November), blaming Cheatham for his own failure. The next day he attacked MajGen John M.Schofield’s fortified positions at Franklin, in a series of unimaginative charges without artillery preparation – some said, in order to punish his army. At Franklin, Hood inflicted some 2,300 Federal casualties but lost about 6,300 men – among them, generals Patrick Cleburne, Hiram Granbury, S.R.Gist, John Adams, Otto Strahl and John Carter killed or mortally wounded. He also forfeited what little confidence his men had had in him; Texas Capt Samuel Foster noted in his diary after that fight, “Gen. Hood has betrayed us (The Army of Tenn). This is not the sort of fighting he promised us at Tuscumbia and Florence Ala. when we started into Tenn. This was not a ‘fight with equal numbers and choice of the ground’ by no means. And the wails and cries of widows and orphans made at Franklin Tenn Nov 30th 1864 will heat up the fires of the bottomless pit to burn the soul of Gen J B Hood for murdering their husbands and fathers at that place that day. It can’t be called anything else but cold blooded Murder.”

Hood, however, totally misread the mood of his men, later writing in his memoirs that the campaign and battle created “the improved *morale* of the Army, which had resulted from a forward movement of one hundred and eighty miles – occasioned the extraordinary gallantry and desperate fighting witnessed on that field.”

General Schofield retreated to prepared works at Nashville, and Hood followed, although his men were poorly equipped, clad, and fed. George Thomas, the unflappable Union commander, bided his time

under impatient pressure from Washington; and when he finally struck on 15–16 December 1864 he virtually destroyed Hood’s army in what has been called the completest tactical victory of the war, and forced it into headlong retreat into Georgia. Nashville completely drained Hood; Stephenson saw him on the retreat: “One look at Hood’s face and bearing was enough to show us he was not equal to the occasion. We knew we could get no help from him. He made no attempt to rally the men who were in a mob all around him, to halt them, regulate their march, or anything!” Hood requested his relief, and the request was honored in January 1865. He never commanded again, and surrendered himself at Natchez, Mississippi.

Richard Taylor noted that, “Like Ney, ‘the bravest of the brave,’ he was a splendid leader in battle, and as a brigade or division commander unsurpassed; but, arrived at higher rank he seems to have been impatient of control, and openly disapproved of Johnston’s conduct of affairs between Dalton and Atlanta. Unwillingness to obey is often interpreted by governments into incapacity for command.”

After the war Hood moved to New Orleans, and in a single tragic episode he, his wife, and one of their children died of yellow fever in August 1879. He is buried in that city’s Metairie Cemetery.

Part of the Confederate defenses of Atlanta, Georgia, to which Joseph Johnston withdrew in July 1864; one of Jefferson Davis’ worst mistakes was to replace him as commander of the Army of Tennessee with John B. Hood, whom Grant forced to abandon the city. The photograph, by George N. Barnard, was taken near the Potter House. (US National Archives)



A portrait of Albert Sidney Johnston done from a pre-war photograph, "mirrored" from left to right, and featuring a vague impression of a uniform; this appeared in the 28 September 1861 issue of *Harper's Weekly*. Just three weeks previously this 58-year-old veteran of the early Indian Wars, the Texan War of Independence and the Mormon expedition had ridden into Richmond to offer his sword to the Confederacy after riding through the wilderness all the way from Los Angeles. Shortly before his death at Shiloh he was described by Philip Stephenson as "tall, straight, powerfully made, dignity yet grace in every movement, gravity and care, yet sweetness in his face. His pictures do not put him forth at all."

JOHNSTON, Albert Sidney (1803–62)

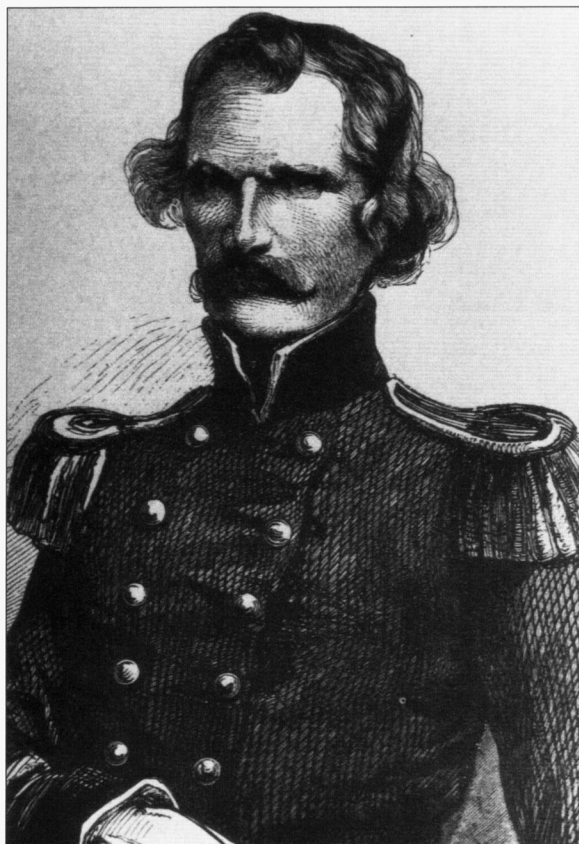
A.S. Johnston (see **Plate A1**) was born in Mason County, Kentucky, on 2 February 1803. While attending Transylvania University he became close friends with fellow student Jefferson Davis. Afterwards Johnston was appointed to the US Military Academy, where he roomed with Leonidas Polk, graduating second in the class of 1826 and serving as adjutant of the Corps of Cadets. Appointed to the 2nd Infantry Regiment, he served in several Indian campaigns before he resigned his commission to care for his wife, who was dying of tuberculosis, in April 1834. Thereafter he moved to Texas to farm, arriving in the midst of the war against the Mexican central government. He was appointed a colonel and adjutant general of the Army of Texas on 5 August 1836; promoted to brigadier-general, he was given command of the army on 31 January 1837. He later resigned this post, suffering from a wound received in a duel, and was appointed Texas' secretary of war. He resigned this post later, only to return as colonel of a Texas volunteer regiment (which saw no action) for six months during the Mexican War. After his men went home, Johnston remained with Zachary Taylor's army in northern Mexico, working closely with Jefferson Davis, then colonel of the Mississippi Rifles.

Johnston was appointed a paymaster, ranking as major, in the US Army on 31 October 1849. In 1855 Davis, then US Secretary of War, got Johnston appointed colonel of the new 2nd Dragoon Regiment, stationed in Texas. He then led a US Army expedition into Utah to

pacify the Mormons, who had recently massacred a group of non-Mormon emigrants in the Mountain Meadows. Remaining in Utah for almost two years, Johnston was given command of the Department of the Pacific. He was serving in this post when war broke out, and resigned his commission on 10 April 1861. His first thought was to remain in California and return to civilian life. The firing on Fort Sumter, however, led him to join the Confederate Army. He headed off by horseback from Los Angeles, across the Mojave Desert, arriving in Richmond on 5 September.

Davis was delighted to have him, noting later, "He came and by his accession I felt strengthened, knowing a great support had thereby been added to the Confederate cause. ... I hoped and expected that I had others who would prove generals; but I knew I had one, and that was Sidney Johnston." Davis appointed him a full general and on 10 September assigned him to command essentially the whole of the Western theater except for coastal defenses. With complete trust in Johnston, Davis felt that the West was safe and turned his attention to Eastern affairs, neglecting Western requirements.

It was a huge command and had very few resources. Confederate government policy was to defend every inch of ground, and the violation



of Kentucky neutrality made this even more difficult. Short of men and weapons, Johnston pushed what he had forward along the front, ordering raids to keep the Federals off balance. In the meantime he concentrated his forces at Corinth, Mississippi; then turned to attack U.S. Grant's troops at Pittsburg Landing before the Army of the Ohio could come up to reinforce him. In that first day of the battle of Shiloh (6 April 1862) Johnston failed to oversee the deployments he wanted, so that his right flank, which was supposed to lead and sweep along the Tennessee river, fell behind. While supervising the front line fighting Johnston was shot in the leg; not wanting to shake morale by leaving the field wounded, he continued until he fell fainting from his horse through loss of blood, and died several hours later. He is buried in the State Cemetery at Austin, Texas.

Basil Duke later wrote: "His manner and bearing, while kind and courteous, were inexpressibly majestic, and seemed the unmistakable index of a lofty character. He exercised control and leadership without effort, and under all circumstances displayed the inborn faculty of command." Duke went on, "A general who could plan and successfully execute one such campaign [Shiloh] might surely be expected, with opportunity, to accomplish other things of like nature; and we are justified, therefore, in believing that had General Johnston lived to the close of the war his Confederate record would have been inferior to none." Richard Taylor agreed, feeling that, "With him at the helm, there would have been no Vicksburg, no Missionary Ridge, no Atlanta. His character was lofty and pure, his presence and demeanor dignified and courteous, with the simplicity of a child; and he at once inspired the respect and gained the confidence of cultivated gentleman and rugged frontiersman."

JOHNSTON, Joseph Eggleston (1807–91)

Joseph E. Johnston (see **Plate B1**) was born in Farmville, Virginia, on 3 February 1807, a distant relation to Patrick Henry, and son of a Revolutionary War cavalry veteran. He was graduated 13th out of 46 in the West Point class of 1829, in which Robert E. Lee – a close friend – was graduated first. He served in the Seminole and Mexican Wars, being an aide-de-camp to Gen Winfield Scott, and as the lieutenant-colonel in a light infantry regiment. He was wounded four times in the Mexican War, brevetted to the rank of colonel, and gained a reputation as a personally unlucky soldier. Scott noted that "Johnston is a great soldier, but he had an unfortunate knack of getting himself shot in nearly every engagement."

Joseph Johnston was, nevertheless, always a very cautious individual. Although he was an excellent shot, friends recalled that he never pulled the trigger when hunting unless he were absolutely sure of hitting and killing his target; hence, he rarely brought home any game. Moreover, another friend noted that Johnston "hated to be beaten, even in a game of billiards."

After the Mexican War he reverted to his permanent rank of captain of Topographical Engineers, later becoming lieutenant-colonel of the 1st Cavalry Regiment. Joseph Johnston was a US brigadier-general serving as quartermaster general when the Civil War broke out, and he resigned his commission on 22 April 1861. At the time the US Secretary of War recalled that Johnston felt that secession "was ruin in every sense of the

Joseph E. Johnston as he appeared during the war. The collar insignia lacking the regulation wreath around the stars was so common among the highest ranking Confederate generals that it must have been commonly accepted. Secretary of the Navy Steven Mallory described Joseph Johnston: "Of medium height, about five feet eight, and weighing about 150 pounds, he had a well-formed and developed figure; a clean, elastic step; an erect, manly, graceful carriage; and an impressive air of command. Bronzed by the sun and hardened by exposure, he seemed in the best condition to meet any demand on his physique; while his grave, handsome face and bright eye, telling of intellectual power and cultivation, were frequently lighted up by a flashing, sunny smile, which betrayed, in spite of an habitual expression of firmness and austerity, a genial nature and a ready appreciation of humor." *(Photographic History of the Civil War)*



word, but he must go." This suggests that his head was never fully in "the cause", whatever his Virginian heart told him. He was commissioned a brigadier-general in the regular Confederate Army in May 1861 and given command in the Shenandoah Valley. He eluded Federal forces there to join Beauregard's troops at Manassas in July 1861, and allowed Beauregard, his subordinate, to continue command in that battle (First Bull Run, 21 July). He was appointed a full general to rank from 4 July, and given command of the Confederate forces in Northern Virginia.

Rank was always a problem for Joseph Johnston. He felt that since he had been a brigadier-general in the pre-war US Army, even though in a staff position rather than a line command, he should have been the senior general in the Confederate Army. However, Jefferson Davis felt

(continued on page 41)



3

1

2

1: General Albert Sidney Johnston

2: General Pierre Beauregard

3: Major-General Sterling Price



B 1: General Joseph E. Johnston

2: Major-General Earl Van Dorn

3: Lieutenant-General Simon B. Buckner



1: Major-General Franklin Gardner

2: Lieutenant-General D.H.Hill

3: Lieutenant-General William Hardee



3

2

1

D

1: Major-General Braxton Bragg

2: Brigadier-General John Hunt Morgan

3: Lieutenant-General Leonidas Polk



1: Lieutenant-General John Pemberton

2: Major-General John Breckinridge

3: Brigadier-General Basil Duke



1: General John Bell Hood

2: Major-General Patrick Cleburne

3: Major-General Benjamin Cheatham



1: Major-General John B. Magruder

2: Lieutenant-General Edmund Kirby Smith

3: Lieutenant-General Richard Taylor



H 1: Lieutenant-General Alexander Stewart

2: Lieutenant-General Nathan Bedford Forrest

3: Major-General Joseph Wheeler

that Johnston's substantive line rank was still a lieutenant-colonel in the pre-war army, and hence placed him fourth among the generals on the regular Confederate Army list. Johnston and Davis got into a letter-writing battle over this disagreement, which not only took their minds off more important tasks but caused a real rift between the two. Davis was also greatly irritated when Johnston retreated from his position around the old First Manassas battlefield: first, because Davis could see no need for it; second, because Johnston did not inform him prior to the move; and third, because Johnston pulled back so quickly that he destroyed tons of precious matériel that was both difficult for the Confederacy to replace and bound to be much needed for future operations.

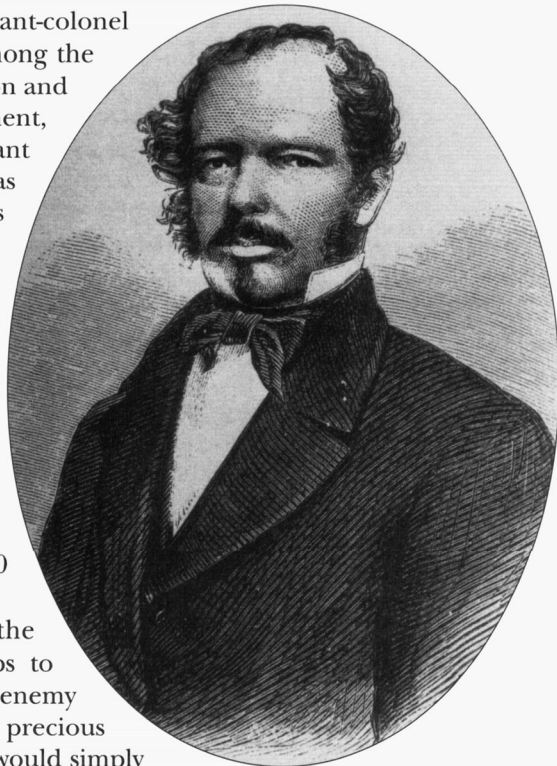
Joseph Johnston's men also found him to be a strict disciplinarian. First Sergeant W.H. Andrews, 1st Georgia Regulars, recalled that "Gen. Johnston is death on drinking and the soldiers say he can smell it 400 yards with the wind against him."

When McClellan's Federal army landed on the Peninsula in April 1862, Johnston moved his troops to defend Richmond, but fell back to a point where the enemy could see the city's church steeples, again giving up precious supplies in the process. Davis so feared that Johnston would simply give up the city that he wrote him, "If you will not give battle, I will appoint someone to command who will." Johnston, his pride stung, then turned and struck at McClellan's left in the indecisive battle of Seven Pines (Fair Oaks, 31 May–1 June), in which he was once again wounded. During his recuperation he was replaced by Robert E. Lee, and when he reported as fit for duty on 12 November 1862 he was sent to command the Department of the West.

A British visitor to his headquarters there noted that, "He lives very plainly, and at present his only cooking utensils consisted of an old coffeepot and frying pan – both very inferior articles. There was only one fork (one prong deficient) between himself and staff, and this was handed to me ceremoniously as the 'guest.'"

Major-General Lafayette McLaws, who served under Johnston on the Peninsula, wrote home on 25 April 1862: "General Johnston will never speak on official matters but to the person interested, dislikes to have a crowd about him, never mentions military matters away from his office. Often rides off alone, never will have more than two with him. Has not much to say to even his best friends, and does not appear to care about dress, although he always dresses neatly & in a uniform coat – if you have business with him it is yes or no, without talking more than a proper understanding of the subject."

E.P. Alexander, who also served with Johnston on the Peninsula, was most impressed by the general's physical strength. He recalled how once "while undressing we got to talking of sabre exercises. Gen. J. partially undressed & with arms & chest nearly bare took a sabre & gave us some illustrations, & though I have seen many much more powerful cavalrymen like Gen. Hampton, Aleck Haskell, Col. Von Borcke, &c., yet I've never seen a sabre whistle & sing like that one."



A portrait of Joseph E. Johnston done from a pre-war photograph; this engraving appeared in the 5 October 1861 issue of *Harper's Weekly*. Johnston was so sensitive about his baldness that he almost always wore a hat, even at the dinner table.

Johnston performed in a lackluster manner during the siege of Vicksburg, in which his opening a line into the city was the only Confederate hope. Nevertheless, after Bragg was relieved following Missionary Ridge (second day of Chattanooga, 25 November 1863), Johnston was given command of the Army of Tennessee. The departure of that unpopular commander ensured him at least an open minded reception from its officers, and he rebuilt the army's morale by personally inspecting every unit in it, and making sure the men were finally well fed and clad.

Johnston then conducted a skillful series of fairly bloodless delaying maneuvers against Sherman while retreating on Atlanta in May-July 1864. Even these constant retreats did not sap his men's morale; Philip Stephenson recalled, "Our faith was pinned to Johnston. Our confidence in him was unbounded and we felt that if he said, 'turn and fight,' the conditions were all right and the victory was sure." On average he held Sherman's advance to a rate of about one mile a day for two-and-a-half months; but when Johnston ended up inside the city's defenses, Jefferson Davis, who wanted a more aggressive defense against Sherman, replaced him with Hood on 17 July.

Arthur Manigault thought that, "The removal of General Johnston from the command of the Army of Tennessee was one of those hasty and ill-judged steps on the part of Mr. Davis, which, I believe, contributed

The site of Joseph Johnston's surrender of the Army of Tennessee, as well as Confederate forces in the Carolinas, to Gen William T. Sherman in April 1865. (Photographic History of the Civil War)



materially to the downfall of the Confederacy, and possibly it caused it. I have always thought that had General Johnston been permitted to retain the command, Sherman never would have gained Atlanta.”

All ranks felt the same way, putting their utmost faith in Johnston. “Gen. Johnston [sic] has so endeared himself to his soldiers, that no man can take his place,” the Texan Capt Samuel Foster noted in his diary on hearing that Hood was replacing him. “We have never made a fight under him that we did not get the best of it. And the whole army has become so attached to him, and to put such implicit faith in him, that whenever he said for us to fight at any particular place, we were in feeling like Gen Johnston knew all about it and we were certain to whip. He never deceived us once. It is true we have had hard fighting and hard marching, but we always had something to eat, and in bad weather, or after an extra hard march we would have a little whiskey issued. He was always looking after our comfort and safety. He would investigate our breastworks in person, make suggestions as to any little addition or improvement that would make them safer or more comfortable. Gen Johnston could not have issued an order that these men would not have undertaken to accomplish – For the first time, we hear men openly talk about going home by tens (10) and by fifties (50). They refuse to stand guard, or do any other camp duty, and talk open rebellion against all Military authority – All over camp, (not only among Texas troops) can be seen this demoralization – and at all hours in the afternoon can be heard Hurrah of John Johnston and God D—n Jeff Davis.”

The 4th Louisiana clerk Robert Patrick noted in his diary on 12 May 1864, “I consider Gen. Johnston the best General in the Confederacy, not even excepting Robt. E. Lee... .”

Despite President Davis’s feelings about Johnston, Lee brought him back to command armies in the Carolinas when trying to stop Sherman’s drive north through those states in February 1865. It was too late to change the outcome of the war by this point, and Johnston told Davis this when the president passed by his forces fleeing from Richmond. Davis gave Johnston permission to negotiate a surrender, which he did on 26 April 1865.

Secretary of the Navy Steven Mallory later wrote: “The Confederate armies included many educated and efficient men in high grades, gentlemen of Christian faith and practice, and of military genius, experience, and capacity; but, in the judgment of those who served under him, there was none who could be more truthfully designated as a soldier *sans peur et sans reproche* than ‘Old Joe.’” When Gen James Longstreet was later asked who was the best Confederate general, he replied, “I am inclined to think that General Joe Johnston was the ablest and most accomplished man that the Confederate armies produced. He never had the opportunity accorded to many others, but he showed wonderful power as a tactician and a commander. I do not think that we had his equal for handling an army and conducting a campaign.”

After the war Johnston was elected to the US House of Representatives, before being named the US Commissioner of Railroads. Marching bareheaded in the funeral procession of William T. Sherman, Johnston caught cold which developed into pneumonia, and died on 21 March 1891. He is buried in Green Mount Cemetery, Baltimore.



MAGRUDER, John Bankhead (1807–71)

John B. Magruder (see Plate G1) was born in Port Royal, Virginia, on 1 May 1807. He was graduated in the West Point class of 1830, and the following year he married a Maryland lady with whom he had three children. He received three brevets for gallantry in the Mexican War, where he served in the artillery. Stationed later along the Canadian border, he lived up to his nickname of “Prince John” : when asked the cost of some item that he served as part of a formal dinner that he hosted for visiting British officers, he turned to his servant and said, “Cost? I have no idea. How much was this, after all?”

He resigned his captain’s commission on 20 April 1861, and received a Confederate brigadier-general’s commission on 17 June. He was promoted to major-general on 7 October, and was in command on the Peninsula when McClellan’s Federal army landed there in April 1862 for a drive on Richmond. Digging in along old British trench lines at Yorktown, Magruder bluffed the Federals by making a large show of bringing in train after train of the same men looking like reinforcements. McClellan dug in for a formal siege, but before they could open it Magruder, now under Joseph Johnston’s direct command, retreated on Richmond.

His troops held part of the Confederate capital’s defenses when Robert E. Lee, the new commander there, attacked in the Seven Days’ Battles (26 June–2 July 1862). Major-General McLaws, who served with Magruder on the Peninsula, wrote home on 25 April that “General Magruder is fond of dress and parade and of company. Conceals nothing, and delights to have a crowd about him, to whom he converses freely upon any and all subjects. He never moves from his head quarters without having five or six

aides & a dozen or more orderlies... General Magruder can talk twenty four hours incessantly.”

Lee was unimpressed by what he judged as Magruder’s lack of aggressive behavior, and had “Prince John” reassigned to command the District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. There he recaptured the important Texas port of Galveston, and held off the Federals.

After the Confederate surrender, Magruder joined the forces of the French puppet emperor of Mexico, the Austrian Archduke Maximilian, and was commissioned a major-general in his service. When Juarez’s forces finally defeated the foreign interventionist troops and their imperial allies, Magruder returned to the US to make his home in Houston, Texas. He died there on 18 February 1871, in genteel poverty, and is buried in Galveston.

John Bankhead Magruder – “Prince John” – poses here in an elaborate version of Confederate full dress, with a number of personal affectations such as epaulettes, aiguillettes and a laced pouch belt in the European style. His later commission as a major-general in the service of the Mexican Emperor Maximilian no doubt gave him even more scope for indulging his dandified tastes. (Author’s collection)

MORGAN, John Hunt (1825–64)

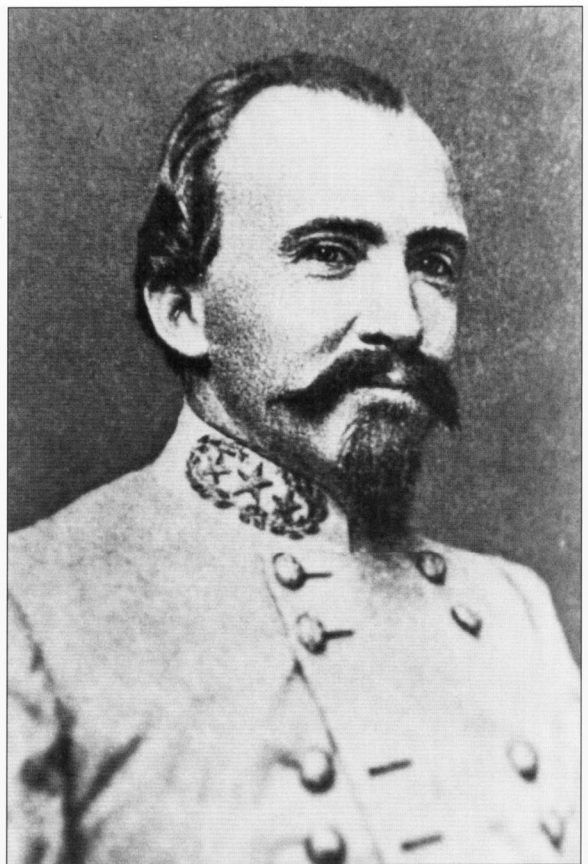
John Hunt Morgan (see Plate D2) was born in Huntsville, Alabama, on 1 June 1825. Educated at Transylvania College, he enlisted for a year's service as first lieutenant in the 1st Kentucky Mounted Volunteers in the Mexican War, and saw action at Buena Vista. After mustering out in 1847 he failed in an attempt to secure a regular US Army commission, and moved to Lexington, where he worked as a businessman and, at one point, as a slave dealer. He organized a local volunteer militia company, the Lexington Rifles, in 1857, and gained a local reputation as a serious gambler. Morgan's first wife died in 1861, just before he enlisted his company into Confederate service.

When the war broke out Hunt took his company to Bowling Green, Kentucky, to join Simon Buckner's state forces, and was named colonel of the 2nd Kentucky Cavalry on 4 April 1862. An effective leader, he was promoted brigadier-general on 11 December that year. Thereafter he was noted for carrying out a series of raids towards the Ohio and Indiana borders, which earned him a vote of thanks from the Confederate Congress. Morgan took time off from his duties on 14 December 1862 to marry 21-year-old Martha Ready.

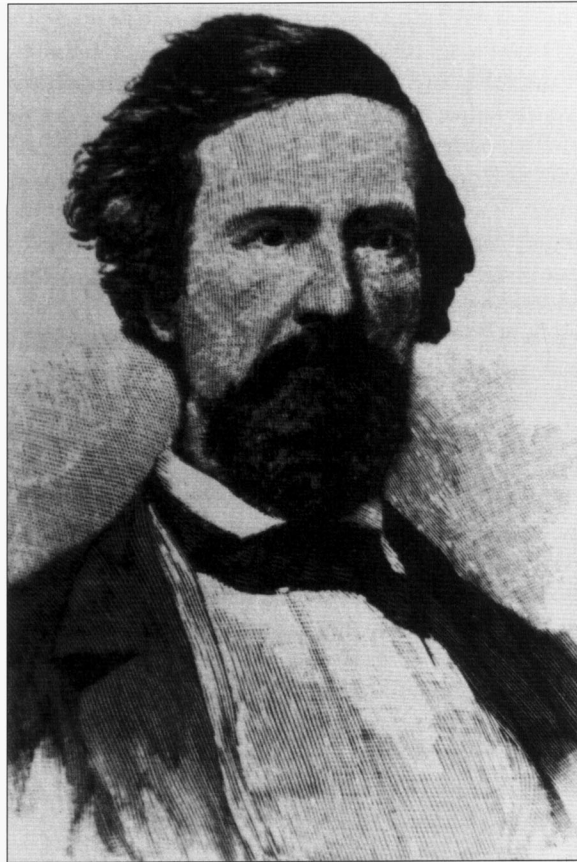
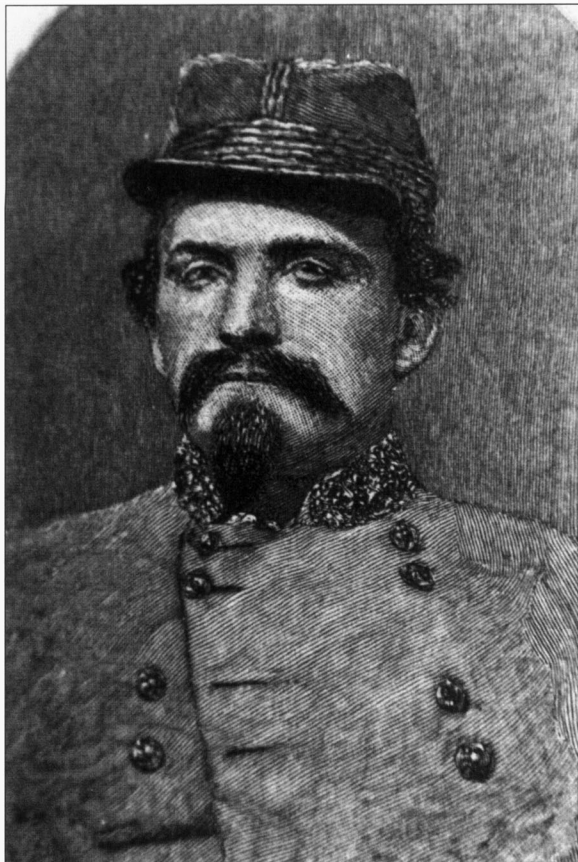
Morgan realized the value of the telegraph before many of his contemporaries; he recruited a telegraph operator who accompanied the unit during their raids, so that from time to time he could tap into a line and intercept Union messages, giving the command intelligence on the location of enemy pursuit parties. The group would also capture telegraph stations, and Hunt's operator would go on line impersonating the station operator to feed false information to the Federals. As Basil Duke recalled, "He would sometimes on such occasions compel the captured operator to telegraph at his dictation, meanwhile observing very carefully the man's manner of working the instrument. Then having apparently caught his style or 'handwriting,' he would take the instrument himself."

Morgan's fame grew when Sally Ford, a popular novelist, published *Raids and Romance of Morgan and His Men* in Mobile, Alabama, in 1863; the novel was banned as seditious in Memphis and St Louis.

Morgan and his band were captured near New Lisbon, Ohio, on 26 July 1863, and he was locked up with several of his officers in the Ohio State Penitentiary. The group managed to tunnel their way out, however, escaping on 27 November and returning to Southern lines. Thereafter Morgan was given command of the Department of Southwestern Virginia in April 1864. In this command, while bivouacked at Greenville, Tennessee, on 3 September 1864, he was attacked by a detachment of Federal cavalry. Trying to escape, he was shot down and killed in the garden of the house in which he had been sleeping. He is buried in Lexington, Kentucky.



Brigadier-General John Hunt Morgan in the uniform he apparently wore for his wedding (see Plate D). Again, note the style of wearing the coat with only the top pair of buttons fastened. Although heavily retouched this is in fact a photograph. (*Photographic History of the Civil War*)



ABOVE LEFT A woodcut engraving of John Hunt Morgan in the full dress uniform worn at his wedding in December 1862. This Alabama-born leader of Kentucky cavalry raiders was killed in September 1864, one of 77 of the 425 Confederate general officers to die or suffer mortal wounds in battle; another 19 died of other causes. Considering that many of the total never held field commands, the actual proportion of killed among those who saw combat must have been at least one in four. (*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*)

PEMBERTON, John Clifford (1814–81)

John C. Pemberton (see Plate E1) was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on 10 August 1814, and was graduated 27th out of 50 graduates of West Point's class of 1837. In the Mexican War he was brevetted to captain for gallantry, as well as receiving a presentation sword from the citizens of Philadelphia and a vote of commendation from the Pennsylvania legislature. Ulysses S. Grant recalled that in Mexico it was ordered that junior officers were not allowed to ride on horses during marches, but most officers received verbal permission to ride since walking in the rough terrain was difficult for officers used to ride. Pemberton, however, "would walk, as the order was still extant not to ride, and he did walk, though suffering intensely the while. ... He was scrupulously particular in matters of honor and integrity."

Although Northern born, Pemberton was always pro-Southern and a strong supporter of states' rights. Richard Taylor recalled meeting Pemberton, then a young US Artillery officer, on the Canadian border in the mid-1840s, and being surprised by the strength of his opinion on states' rights, "unusual among military men at the period." This feeling was encouraged when he married Martha Thompson, a native Virginian, in 1846.

When the Civil War broke out, Pemberton resigned from the US Army on 24 April 1861 to offer his services to Virginia, which commissioned him a lieutenant-colonel in the state's army. He was named a brigadier-general on 17 June; and in November he was appointed to the same rank

OPPOSITE **A woodcut of John Pemberton done from a post-war photograph captures the sadness of a man who did his duty out of stern principle, but was unfairly mistrusted after he was forced to surrender Vicksburg to Gen U.S. Grant in July 1863. Pemberton was a Northerner, born in Philadelphia, who chose to support the South out of a strong belief in states' rights. (Battles and Leaders of the Civil War)**

in the Confederate Army and given command of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. He was promoted to major-general to rank from 14 January 1862, after Lee left to go to Western Virginia. However, the Northern-born Pemberton's brusque and reserved manner did not sit well with the touchy, hot-headed local South Carolina officials. The governor himself wrote Jefferson Davis saying that Pemberton was "confused and uncertain about everything," and asking for his removal.

Beauregard was brought in to replace Pemberton, who was assigned to command the Department of Mississippi and Eastern Louisiana and, after Van Dorn's defeat at Corinth (3–4 October 1862), he was promoted to lieutenant-general to rank from 10 October. As such, the defense of Vicksburg, the last major stronghold on the Mississippi, fell on his shoulders. On 25–29 December 1862 he fought off Gen Sherman's attacks at Chickasaw Bluffs north of Vicksburg. Probing and naval operations continued during the winter, but by the end of April 1863 Gen Grant was ready to close in, fighting his brilliant three-week campaign on the Big Black River. Joseph Johnston, the overall theater commander, was driven out of Jackson, Miss, by much stronger Federal forces on 14 May, and after an action at Champion's Hill on the 16th, Pemberton was forced to withdraw within the Vicksburg defences with 30,000 men on 19 May. Johnston advised that the city be abandoned, but President Davis wanted it held. While Gen Sherman maneuvered to prevent any relief attempt by Johnston, Grant besieged Vicksburg, bombarding it from land batteries and river vessels. On 4 July 1863 – a day which Pemberton picked in the mistaken hope that it would make Grant generous over the terms – Pemberton surrendered his hungry fortress.

After Pemberton's surrender there was much talk in the South of his Yankee birth, and claims that he had joined the cause only to betray it. Richard Taylor pointed out that this was unlikely: "Certainly he must have been actuated by principle alone; for he had everything to gain by remaining on the Northern side." Even so, after his exchange Pemberton was generally distrusted, and no place requiring a lieutenant-general could be found for him. He resigned that commission in 1864 to revert to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of artillery, serving as an artillery inspector in Virginia until the end of the war. Afterwards he farmed near Warrenton, Virginia. Still later he returned to Pennsylvania; he died at Penllyn on 13 July 1881, and is buried in Philadelphia's Laurel Hill Cemetery.

POLK, Leonidas (1806–64)

Leonidas Polk (see **Plate D3**) was born into a wealthy plantation family in Raleigh, North Carolina, on 10 April 1806. After attending the University of North Carolina he entered the US Military Academy class of 1827, where he became friends with fellow cadet Jefferson Davis. There Polk was greatly affected by Chaplain Charles McIlvaine, converting to the Episcopal faith, and after a year's military service Polk resigned to enter a seminary; he was ordained in 1830. Eight years later he was called as missionary bishop of the Southwest, an area including Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, and the Indian Territory. He bought land in Louisiana, which served as his main economic support, and traveled widely establishing churches. As the diocese grew too large for one bishop, he was named Bishop of



Leonidas Polk, from a (reversed) woodcut that appeared in *Harper's Weekly* on 25 October 1862. A fellow priest and friend described him: "Of good stature and an erect military carriage, broad shouldered and deep in the chest, with a well-poised, shapely head, strong but finely-cut features, one white lock overhanging his wide forehead, clear complexion, and keen but frank and kindly blue eyes, the first glance recognized him as a man to be obeyed; a closer scrutiny revealed him as a man whom noble men might love, and meaner men might fear."

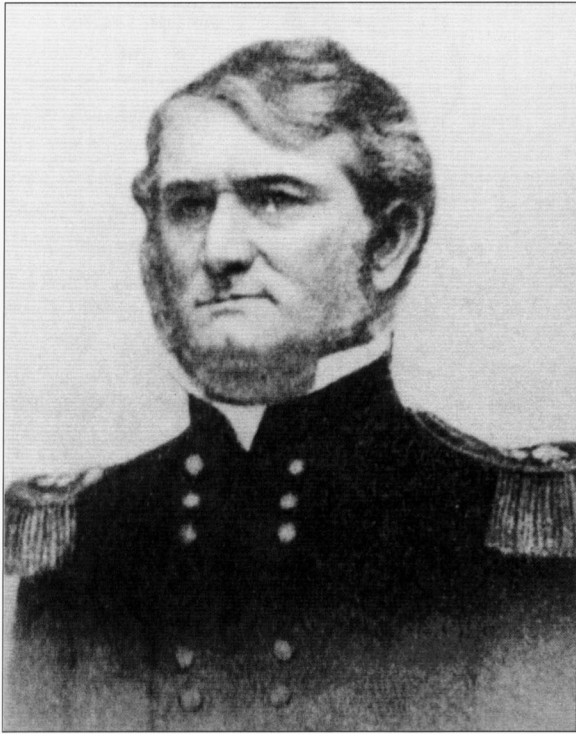
The site of Polk's death in action near Marietta, Georgia. (*Photographic History of the Civil War*)

Louisiana in 1841. A run of bad luck caused him to lose his land, and he moved to New Orleans.

At the outbreak of the Civil War he decided to offer his military training to the Confederacy. His old friend Jefferson Davis quickly commissioned him a major-general from 25 June 1861, although he had virtually no military experience and should more properly have been given, at best, a field grade in a line regiment first. However, he was promoted to lieutenant-general ranking from 10 October 1862, and organized the Army of Mississippi, which later became part of the Army of Tennessee. On the plus side, Polk knew the people and land of the Mississippi Valley, which he was given to defend. However, he soon made an error in violating Kentucky neutrality in the fall of 1861 by moving troops into Columbus, Kentucky. At first he was ordered to withdraw, but the Richmond government then changed its mind, despite an order from the state legislature on 12 September calling on the Confederates to leave.

Replaced as theater commander by Albert Sidney Johnston, Polk was given a corps, which he led at Shiloh, Perryville and Murfreesboro in 1862, at Chickamauga in 1863, and in the early Atlanta campaign of 1864. Bragg reported that Polk was one of the causes of the failure of the Chickamauga campaign, noting that he was "gallant and patriotic," but "luxurious in his habits," adding, "He has proved an injury to us on every field where I have been associated with him." As a friend of President Davis, however, Polk was safe from any criticism, and was retained in his command.





During the early Atlanta campaign, at Pine Mountain, near Marietta, Georgia, on 14 June 1864, he was reconnoitering Federal positions with Joseph Johnston and William Hardee when a Federal cannon opened fire on the group, killing Polk instantly. Philip Stephenson, an eyewitness, recalled that one shot passed by; then “a second shot came, struck Polk in the left arm, tore through his heart, and through his body. It then struck a tree and exploded.”

A fellow priest and friend felt that Polk was little acquainted with the classics and only knew American canon law. Still, “In conversation he was wonderfully charming. In preaching and writing he was clear and vigorous, but at times diffuse. His habit of mind was to grasp at the root-principles of things, and the clearness of his thoughts was always apparent, though his style of composition lacked the graceful facility of expression, the fertility of illustration, and the facility of arrangement which belong to the accomplished scholar.”

Polk was described by one of his aides, Henry Watterson: “Wrapped in his old gray hunting-shirt,

with slouched hat and sabre, he sat on his horse and received the leaden compliments of the enemy with complacent yet not indifferent good humor. ... In battle he was a daring old man... He was kind and considerate of his own men; he was approachable and self-denying in his own person; and he did not know the name of fear. ... He was every inch a gentleman, without mannerism or assumption – simple and innocent, yet dignified and imposing.”

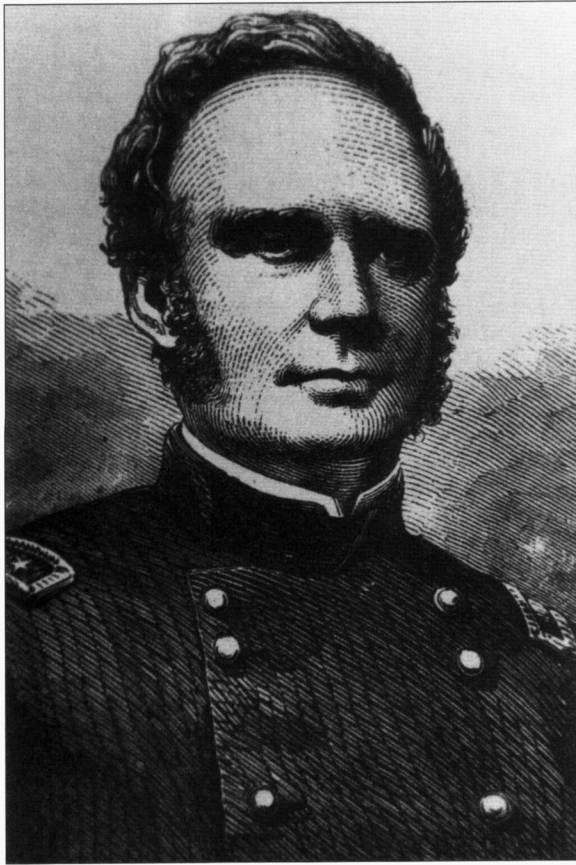
Polk was first buried in Augusta, Georgia, but his remains were later re-interred in Christ Church Cathedral, New Orleans.

PRICE, Sterling (1809–67)

Sterling Price (see Plate A3) was born in Prince Edward County, Virginia, on 20 September 1809, the son of a moderately wealthy planter. He was graduated from Hampden-Sydney College, later studying the law. He moved to Chariton County, Missouri, to practice law in 1831, and also went into business as a merchant and tobacco planter. He saw service in a campaign that drove the Mormons out of Missouri. Going into politics, he served in the state legislature and US Congress, quitting to serve as colonel of the 2nd Missouri Volunteers in the Mexican War. He was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers during that war, and served as military governor of New Mexico. This was unfortunate, since he was a poor administrator; his neglect caused the inhabitants to rise in a revolt which he led his troops to suppress. He also led them into the Mexican province of Chihuahua, against War Department instructions. His lack of ability to follow orders would be demonstrated again during his Confederate service.

Leaving the Army after the war, Price returned home to serve as governor of Missouri from 1853 to 1857. He opposed secession,

Here a photographer has painted a Union general's uniform onto an earlier photograph of Polk. Philip Stephenson described him as being “a man of most noble presence, six feet in height, well proportioned, straight, soldierly, and dignified in bearing, clear cut, handsome features, clean shaven, except little tufts of grey side whiskers. His straight broad brow was overhung on one side by one lock of his thick wavy silvery hair.” (*Photographic History of the Civil War*)



This engraving of Sterling Price from the 12 October 1861 issue of *Harper's Weekly* shows him in the uniform of a US Army brigadier-general; in fact he had held this rank in the Missouri Volunteers during the Mexican War, before returning to politics. Personally likeable despite his vanity and blustering, and careful of his men, "Old Papa" had limited talents as a general, which were exposed during his attempted invasion of Missouri in spring 1864.

although he endorsed a resolution calling for secession if Kansas were admitted to the Union as a free state. He also opposed the pro-Union force that put down the pro-Southern Missouri forces, and ended up in command of the pro-Southern state militia after the war broke out. Price was praised by fellow Southerners as having "native good sense" rather than professional military training. On the other hand Jefferson Davis, who considered Price "the vainest man he had ever met," believed in West Point training, so the two were bound to clash.

Price fought for the Southern cause at Wilson's Creek (10 August 1861) and later captured Lexington, Missouri. However, he was forced to retreat into Arkansas, where he served at Elkhorn Tavern (7 March 1862) under Earl Van Dorn. Although that battle was a Confederate failure, Price, known as "Old Pap" or "Old Papa Price," was commissioned a Confederate major-general ranking from 6 March 1862. Private William Watson, 3rd Louisiana Infantry, thought he was "zealous, plodding, cautious, and exceedingly careful and attentive to the wants of his men, and was very popular."

Price went to Richmond in April 1862 to discuss the possibility of being transferred with his troops to Arkansas. In a stormy meeting during

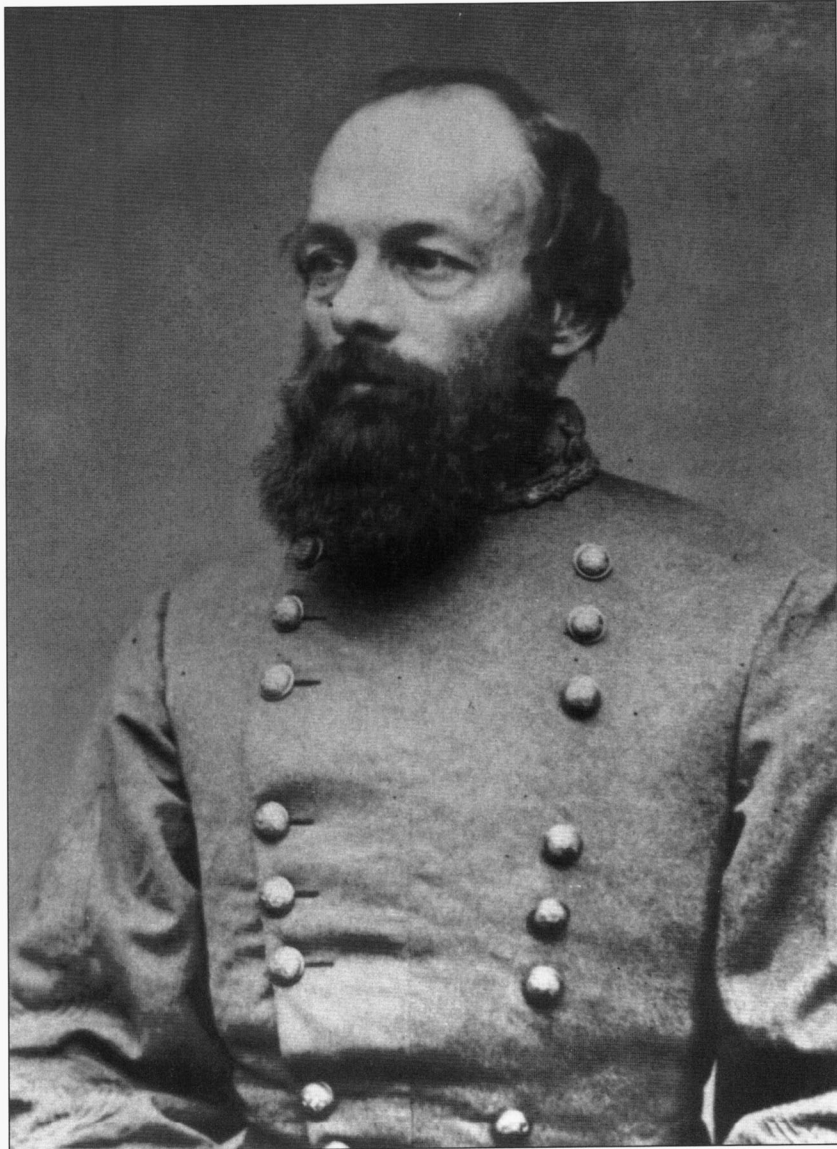
which this request was denied, Price shouted "Well, Mr President, if you will not let me serve you, I will nevertheless serve my country. You cannot prevent me from doing that. I will send you my resignation, and go back to Missouri and raise another army there without your assistance, and fight under the flag of Missouri, and win new victories for the South in spite of the Government."

Davis quickly replied, "Your resignation will be promptly accepted, General; and if you go back to Missouri and raise another army, and win victories for the South, or do any service at all, no one will be more pleased than myself, or more surprised." "Then I will surprise you, sir!" Price snapped back.

Price quickly submitted his resignation; but Davis had cooled down and realized Price's political importance in Missouri. He refused the resignation, writing Bragg to allow Price's Missourians to go back to the west bank of the Mississippi when possible. Thereafter Price commanded an independent force dedicated to retaking Missouri. He failed, however, at Iuka and Corinth in October 1862 and at Helena, Arkansas, in July 1863. He was successful in defense during the Camden expedition in 1864; but his final drive to liberate Missouri in September–October that year failed when he was unable to penetrate Federal defenses around St Louis. Defeated at Westport (23 October 1864), he was forced to retire into Texas.

After Price's disastrous raid into Missouri in 1864, Trans-Mississippi commanding general E. Kirby Smith wrote to Jefferson Davis: "Genl Price's

Major-General Edmund Kirby Smith, who was promoted to that rank in October 1861 after First Manassas, where he had made a decisive intervention and had been wounded. His later career did not vindicate the high opinion which he formed of himself as a result of this episode. (*Military Images Magazine*)



demonstration of loyalty, he resigned his commission on the secession of his home state. He then joined the regular Confederate Army as the lieutenant-colonel, 1st Confederate Cavalry Regiment, in Texas in April 1861. Going to Virginia, he served in the Shenandoah Valley as a brigadier-general, ranking from 17 June 1861. On 21 July he brought his brigade into battle at the right moment to sway the tide of First Manassas (Bull Run), and survived a bullet wound in the chest. The fame Smith gained from this episode of lucky timing went to his head, and he began to see himself as a military genius; he was unwilling to take orders with which he disagreed or to co-operate with others.

Recovering by September 1861, he married a Virginia girl on the 24th of that month. For his gallantry he was promoted major-general on 11 October 1861 and, after a honeymoon, he was assigned to command the Department of East Tennessee. Smith served in Bragg's

summer 1862 Kentucky invasion, winning an important action against an outnumbered Federal force at Richmond, Kentucky, on 30 August. On 9 October 1862 he was appointed a lieutenant-general, and was sent to command the Trans-Mississippi Department. After the fall of Vicksburg in July 1863, Smith became essentially the military ruler of the area, with only intermittent ties to the Richmond government. To recognize the importance of this role he was commissioned a full general on 19 February 1864.

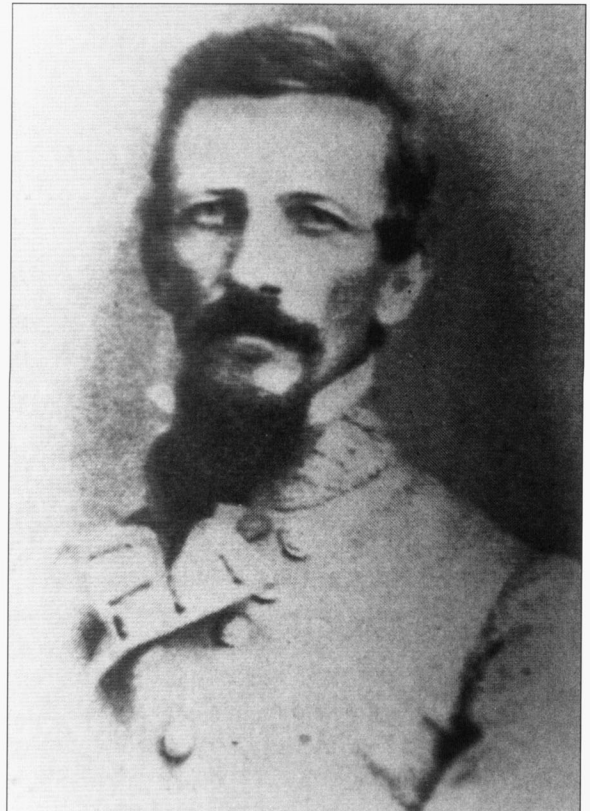
When it became obvious that the war was lost, Smith fled to Mexico, leaving his subordinates to actually surrender his forces on 26 May 1865. After the defeat of Maximilian's regime he returned to serve as president of the Pacific and Atlantic Telegraph Company. Later he was appointed president of the Western Military Academy in Nashville, and subsequently, chancellor of the University of Nashville. From 1875 until his death he was professor of mathematics at the University of the South, founded by Leonidas Polk as an Episcopal college. Edmund Kirby Smith died at Swanee, Tennessee, on 28 March 1893, and is buried there.

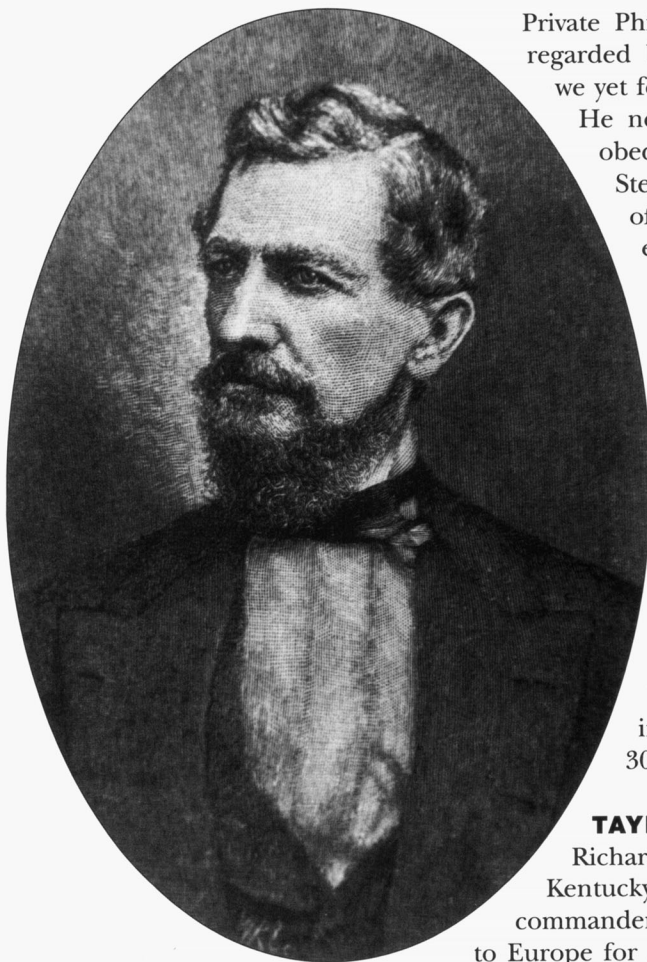
STEWART, Alexander Peter (1821-1908)

Alexander P. Stewart (**see Plate H1**) was born in Rogersville, Tennessee, on 2 October 1821. He was graduated 12th out of 56 in the West Point class of 1842; and after short service in the artillery, he was called back to the Academy to teach mathematics. He resigned his commission only three years later to become professor of mathematics and natural and experimental philosophy at Cumberland University, moving later to Nashville University. During his time there Stewart, a devout Presbyterian, organized one of the first chapters of the Young Men's Christian Association.

Stewart disapproved of slavery but believed in a state's right to secede, although he voted against the secession of Tennessee. On the outbreak of the Civil War he set up camps of instruction for the Army of Tennessee, having been named a major in the artillery of the state forces to rank from 17 May 1861. In August 1861 he was given command of Stewart's Tennessee Heavy Artillery Battalion, which was posted at Columbus, Kentucky. In November he was ordered to report, without his battalion, to Albert Sidney Johnston's headquarters in Bowling Green, Kentucky; and on 8 November 1861 he was commissioned a Confederate Army brigadier-general and given a command in Polk's Corps. Fighting well, and earning the nickname "Old Straight" from his men, Stewart was promoted to major-general ranking from 2 June 1863. On 23 June 1864 he succeeded to command of the corps after Polk's death, and was promoted to lieutenant-general. In this appointment and rank he fought until the Army of Tennessee surrendered in North Carolina.

A rare wartime photograph of the imperturbable Alexander Stewart as a major-general; in June 1864 he would be promoted lieutenant-general and given command of Polk's corps on the latter's death in action. (Photographic History of the Civil War)





This engraving of Alexander Stewart was made from an earlier photograph, probably after the war. A prominent scholar and active Christian, "Old Straight" lived to be 86 years old. (*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*)

Private Philip Stephenson later wrote: "Although never regarded by the men as having qualities of greatness, we yet felt that he was a man growing before our eyes.

He never seemed to make a mistake! Painstaking, obedient of orders, cool and courageous, that was Stewart. As a man he was dignified but considerate of his men, and we liked him, gave him both our esteem and confidence. His high Christian character commanded our respect. His greatest peculiarity as a soldier was, perhaps, his imperturbable temper. Nothing could startle Stewart. In battle, and defeat especially, this trait became heroism. By no sign did he ever give evidence of excitement, uneasiness, confusion, anxiety. To look at his calm tranquil face in a time of peril or doubt was to get inspiration, regain confidence and courage."

After the war Stewart returned to teach at Cumberland University before leaving to go into business in St Louis in 1870. He was named chancellor of the University of Mississippi in 1874. He resigned that post in 1886 and died in Biloxi, Mississippi, on 30 August 1908. He is buried in St Louis.

TAYLOR, Richard (1826-79)

Richard Taylor (see Plate G3) was born near Louisville, Kentucky, on 27 January 1826, the son of Mexican War commander and US President Zachary Taylor. He was sent to Europe for an education, returning to be graduated from Yale University in 1845. He saw military service as his father's secretary during the Mexican War, but took up life as a sugar planter in Louisiana after the war. Entering politics, he served in the state legislature from 1856 until the outbreak of the Civil War.

Despite his lack of military training, Taylor was appointed colonel of the 9th Louisiana Infantry when the war started. Sent to Virginia, he was promoted brigadier-general commanding the Louisiana Brigade under Stonewall Jackson on 21 October 1861. Taylor was complimented for the march discipline in his brigade, and was promoted to major-general on 28 July 1862. He was then sent to command the District of West Louisiana, part of the Trans-Mississippi Department. There he led the troops that repelled the Federals under Gen Nathaniel Banks in the Red River Campaign of March-May 1864, defeating them at Sabine Cross Roads (8 April). However, his commander E. Kirby Smith would not let Taylor follow up on that success, and he asked to be relieved or sent to another command.

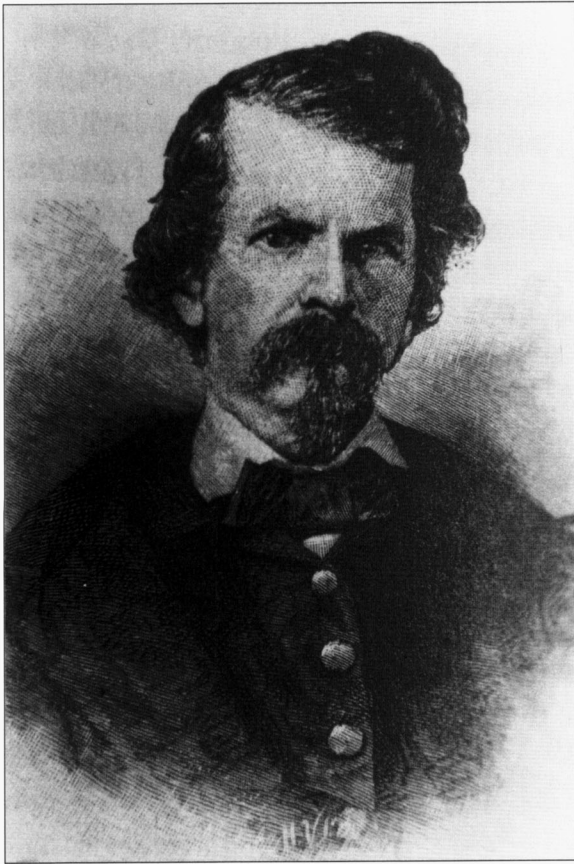
His request was honored, and he was assigned to command the Department of Alabama and Mississippi, being promoted to lieutenant-general to rank from 8 April 1864. In May 1865 he surrendered the last uniformed body of troops east of the Mississippi River. Taylor died in New York City on 12 April 1879, and is buried in Metairie Cemetery, New Orleans.

A post-war photograph of Richard Taylor in civilian dress. The victor in the Red River campaign of 1864, he was the son of Zachary Taylor, the Mexican War commander and 12th President of the United States. Like Basil Duke, he left historians valuable personal memories of his fellow officers. (*Military Images Magazine*)



VAN DORN, Earl (1820–63)

Earl Van Dorn (see Plate B2) was born near Port Gibson, Mississippi, on 17 September 1820; his father was a judge and his great-uncle was President Andrew Jackson. Sent to West Point after an early education in Baltimore, Maryland, he was almost expelled for demerits, but was graduated 52nd of 56 in the class of 1842 (two places above James Longstreet). Soon after graduation he was married to a 16-year-old Alabama girl, but the family insisted that she remain at home while he was off on duty, and the two spent relatively little time together. Even after the Mexican War, when he returned home after being wounded and brevetted captain, he found domestic life a bore, writing “everything is so silent. I feel too much the passing wing of time... .” Van Dorn joined



Earl Van Dorn, the rash and flamboyant Mississipian whose appetite for female company was his undoing. One of his soldiers described him later: "He looked to me more like a dandy than a general of an army. He was small, curly or kinky headed, exquisitely dressed, [and] was riding a beautiful bay horse, evidently groomed with as much care as his rider, who was small looking and frenchy." According to a description of 1862, "his features were regular, his forehead rather high, eyes black and fiery; lips thin and compressed, the chin was large and the jaw-bone prominent." (Battles and Leaders of the Civil War)

his unit on the frontier, where he was wounded three more times during the Indian Wars of the 1850s.

On the outbreak of the Civil War he resigned his cavalry major's commission and became senior brigadier-general of Mississippi State Forces, in which role he worked closely with their commander, Jefferson Davis. He assumed command of state forces when Davis became president, and passed into the regular Confederate Army as the colonel of the "paper" 2nd Confederate Infantry Regiment, although he was transferred to the 1st Confederate Cavalry regiment on 20 April 1861. A reputation for being "a splendid horseman, an enviable fist-fighter, and a good shot with a six-gun" preceded him.

On 5 June 1861, Van Dorn was promoted to brigadier-general in the provisional army. His first service was in Texas, taking the surrenders of several US Army posts there. He was then sent to Virginia as a major-general ranking from 19 September 1861, but was soon transferred to command of the Trans-Mississippi region. There he was badly beaten by Gen Samuel R. Curtis' smaller Federal force at Elkhorn Tavern (Pea Ridge, 7–8 March 1862) during an offensive into northwest Arkansas. Thereafter Van Dorn was ordered to bring his men to Corinth, Mississippi,

to join the force which Joseph Johnston was concentrating there. After the battle of Shiloh (6–7 April) Gen Beauregard retreated from Corinth in May 1862; Van Dorn and Sterling Price attacked Grant there on 3–4 October 1862, but were beaten. Although his troops escaped envelopment through the laxity of Gen Rosecrans, Van Dorn was replaced in command by John Pemberton.

The local public were pleased by Van Dorn's removal: not only had he failed to win victories, but he had imposed martial law, much against local wishes. In addition to this his personal life was considered scandalous. He was generally known as a rake as well as an excellent poker player; he was, moreover, hot tempered. When a newspaper story appeared to glorify Nathan Bedford Forrest at Van Dorn's expense, he accused Forrest of "treachery and falsehood" and drew his sword to fight right then and there. Forrest started to draw as well, but then thrust his blade back in the scabbard, saying, "General Van Dorn, you know I'm not afraid of you, but I will not fight you." Such a fight, he said, would be a bad example to the men. Despite these flaws, Van Dorn received command of Pemberton's cavalry. He was sent to raid Grant's supply lines to the north during his advance on Vicksburg in late 1862, and succeeded in capturing the stores depot at Holly Springs on 20 December.

On 7 May 1863, Earl Van Dorn was shot in the back of the head at his headquarters in Spring Hill, Tennessee, by Dr George B. Peters, a locally prominent doctor, real-estate speculator and slave trader, who claimed

that the general had “violated the sanctity of his home.” Van Dorn’s weakness for the ladies, which had trapped him into his early marriage, had finally been the death of him; it was generally known that the general had often called on the young and pretty Mrs Peters when her older husband was absent. Peters was later tried for murder, but acquitted. Van Dorn is buried in Port Gibson, Mississippi.

Private William Watson, 3rd Louisiana Infantry, later felt that Van Dorn “would have done well to command a brigade of cavalry or a flying column of mounted infantry, but he was too rash and thoughtless to have charge of an army.”

WHEELER, Joseph (1836–1900)

Joseph Wheeler (see Plate H3) was born in Augusta, Georgia, on 10 September 1836. He was graduated in the West Point class of 1859, and assigned to the Mounted Rifles. Resigning his commission on



Major-General Joseph Wheeler had his coat front cut in an unusual arc, as also seen in Braxton Bragg’s surviving coat. Despite the *gravitas* of this portrait, and the ageing effect of the heavy beard, this daring leader of cavalry raiders, wounded three times during the war, was less than 30 years old when it ended. Recalled to US Army service for the Spanish–American War, his service in Cuba in 1898 alongside such officers as John J. Pershing was a remarkable instance of military continuity bridging the generations. (Military Images Magazine)

22 April 1861, he received a commission as a Confederate first lieutenant of artillery. On 4 September 1861 the 25-year-old Wheeler was named colonel of the 19th Alabama Infantry, fighting with that unit at Shiloh in April 1862. He then transferred to the cavalry, becoming chief of cavalry of the Army of Mississippi on 13 July 1862; he was promoted brigadier-general on 30 October, and major-general ranking from 20 January 1863, while still well short of his 27th birthday.

Always active, Wheeler was wounded three times and had 16 horses shot under him. His raids into the enemy rear areas were dramatic, but made little impact on the outcome of the Western campaign. When the Army of Tennessee reached South Carolina he was replaced as the army's cavalry chief by Wade Hampton. Wheeler was captured in Georgia in May 1865, and sent to a prisoner of war camp at Fort Delaware, Delaware. Released on 8 June that year, he went to New Orleans, moving a short time later to Wheeler, Alabama. He was elected to Congress in 1881; and was called back to US Army service at the age of 62 in 1898, being named a brigadier-general and commander of cavalry in the Cuban campaign during the Spanish–American War. He retired as a brigadier-general in the regular US Army on 10 September 1900. Joseph Wheeler died in Brooklyn, New York, on 25 January 1906, and is buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

Typical scene of destruction on a stretch of railroad after a cavalry raid, such as those led by Nathan Bedford Forrest, John Hunt Morgan and Joseph Wheeler. The torn-up tracks have been piled on the timber ties; when these were set alight, the heat destroyed the temper of the iron rails. (US National Archives)



THE PLATES

A1: General Albert Sidney Johnston

A2: General Pierre Beauregard

A3: Major-General Sterling Price

Private Philip Stephenson saw A.S. Johnston (**A1**) at Corinth in 1862, and later described him: "A martial figure, although dressed in citizen's clothes, the black broad cloth suit so common for gentlemen those days – tall, straight, powerfully made, dignity yet grace in every movement, gravity and care, yet sweetness in his face. His pictures do not put him forth at all. A black felt 'slouch' hat shaded his features, especially because he walked head down as though buried in deep thought." Confederate generals often started the

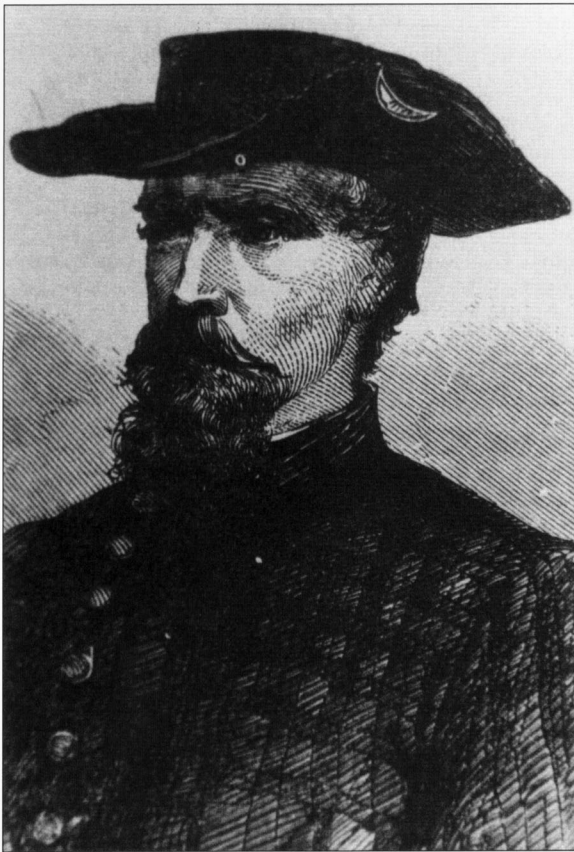
war either in their old US Army uniforms or in civilian clothes, since it took some months before a regulation Confederate uniform could be designed, and some further time before tailors could learn the specifications and produce such uniforms.

Beauregard's elaborate uniform (**A2**) is taken from the original; the red cap was apparently his own idea. He has just received the straw hat which he holds, with three stars indicating general officer's rank – he wore it when off duty. Beauregard was quite concerned with military dress and made such additions as he felt improved the look of the uniform.

Sterling Price (**A3**) was noted as being tall and massively built. He was known for his vanity, and Pte William Watson

A post-war portrait of Joseph E. Johnston. Federal staff officer George Nichols, who saw Johnston when he surrendered in 1865, wrote that he was "a man of medium height and striking appearance. He was dressed in a neat, gray uniform, which harmonized gracefully with a full beard and mustache of silvery whiteness, partly concealing a genial and generous mouth, that must have become habituated to a kindly smile. His eyes, dark brown in color, varied in expression – now intense and sparkling, and then soft with tenderness, or twinkling with humor. The nose was Roman, and the forehead full and prominent. The general cast of the features gave an expression of goodness and manliness, mingling a fine nature with the decision and energy of a capable soldier." (*Military Images Magazine*)





Three portraits of John Hunt Morgan that typify the range of images of popular heroes that were presented to the American public during the war.

LEFT The woodcut of Morgan wearing a checked shirt and a hat with a half-moon badge appeared in the 16 August 1862 issue of *Harper's Weekly*, over the caption, "Our portrait of him was made by a prisoner who was lately several days in his hands."

RIGHT A highly retouched but genuine period photograph, which gives the rather wily-looking Morgan a noble, almost an ethereal character. (*Military Images Magazine*)

FAR RIGHT The third image is a woodcut, clearly engraved from a photograph, which was published in *Harper's Weekly* of 24 September 1864, after Morgan's death.

of his command described him in 1862 as "dressed in the full uniform of a general, with a cocked hat and feathers." He here wears the regulation Confederate general's uniform with buff (in practice, white) facings, four rows of gold lace in the sleeve knots, and three stars within a wreath on each side of the collar. The dark blue trousers have gold side stripes down the leg. The *chapeau bras* (Pte Watson's "cocked hat") was officially worn for dress occasions by generals and staff department officers, but very few were actually ordered or worn by Southern officers.

B1: General Joseph E. Johnston

B2: Major-General Earl Van Dorn

B3: Lieutenant-General Simon B. Buckner

Joseph Johnston is shown in the regulation Confederate general's uniform which he habitually wore (**B1**). Often, however, he simply wore three gold stars without a wreath on each collar, a departure from regulation that was so widely seen (Robert E. Lee did the same) that it was obviously an accepted practice, even though it officially identified the wearer as a colonel.

When Van Dorn (**B2**) arrived at Price's army in 1862 he was described as wearing "a blue uniform coat, a cap of the same color, embroidered with gold lace, dark pants, and heavy cavalry boots." This was probably his old US Army uniform, with a gold-laced Confederate officer's cap added as the only indication that he had changed sides.

Simon Buckner (**B3**) wears a frock coat of his own design (the original is in the Museum of the Confederacy, as is the

cap shown here), which Gen Polk admired as being comfortable-looking as well as positively rebellious in appearance. Buckner was quite interested in military finery; he had designed a gray uniform trimmed with black for his pre-war Kentucky State Guard. As he was photographed in that uniform, many Northern photographers thought that this was the first regulation Confederate uniform, and often retouched it onto images of other Confederate generals, such as T.J. (Stonewall) Jackson, which they then sold to the public.

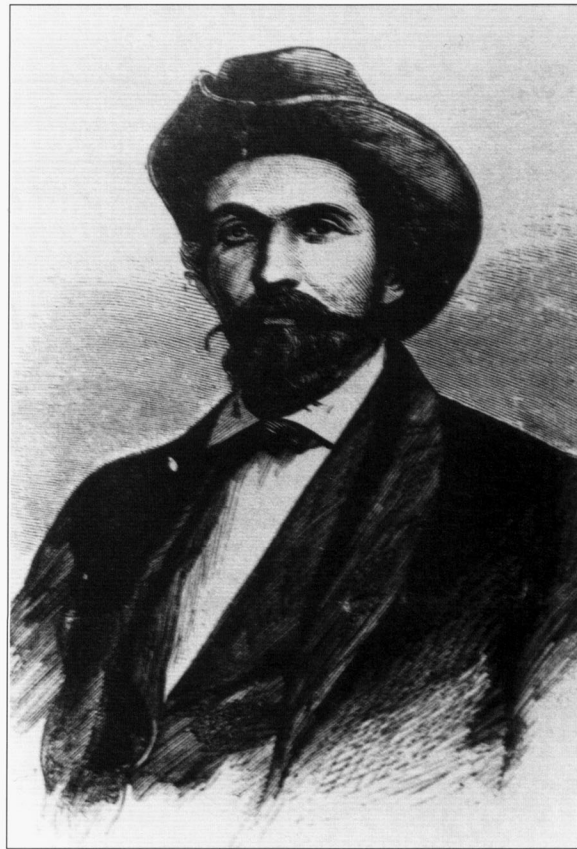
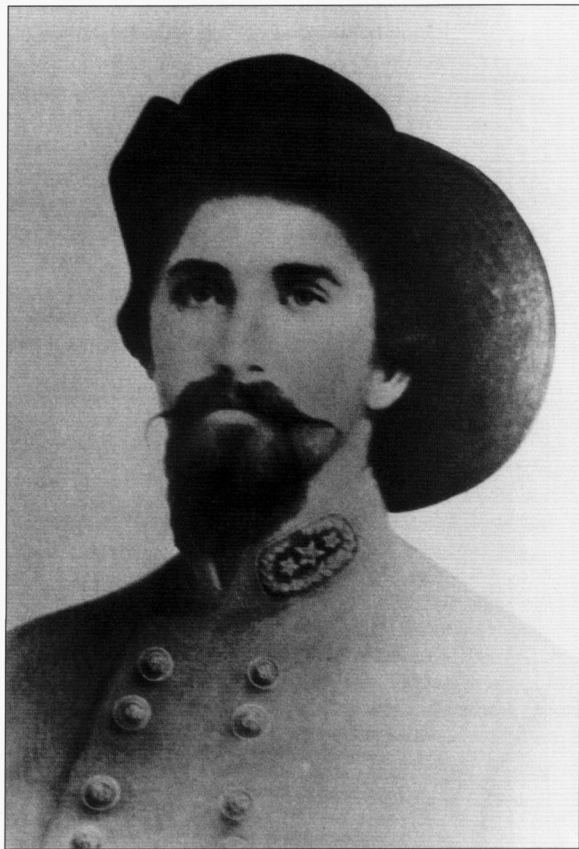
C1: Major-General Franklin Gardner

C2: Lieutenant-General D.H. Hill

C3: Lieutenant-General William Hardee

Franklin Gardner's coat, now in the Museum of the Confederacy, had separate metal stars applied within an embroidered yellow wool wreath, and less than regulation lace on the cuffs (**C1**). The insignia, although not exactly according to regulations, appears to have been common: Earl Van Dorn, among several other Western theater Confederate generals, was photographed in a uniform coat with exactly the same metal stars and yarn wreath on his collar. This variation was probably the production of a specific tailor patronised by these generals, quite likely in Mobile, Alabama. The buttons on Gardner's coat were Louisiana state issue, although the coat itself, which he wore while commanding at Port Hudson, was made by this Mobile tailor.

D.H. Hill (**C2**) was a stickler for discipline and regulations, and is illustrated wearing a largely regulation Confederate



general's dress. He would have brought his uniform from the Northern Virginia area when he was sent to his North Carolina command, and hence it would reflect Eastern theater preferences rather than the Western styles he would have seen later in the war.

Private Philip Stephenson wrote of William Hardee (C3) that "in the latter part of the war he used to wear a brown jeans hunting suit." Jeans cloth, a mixture of cotton and wool threads, was cheaper to produce in a South that did not have a large sheep population, so much wool had to be imported. Moreover, jeans cloth is cooler and more comfortable in summer than pure wool. At least one Western Confederate general had a regulation uniform made of jeans cloth, including his vest.

- D1: Major-General Braxton Bragg**
D2: Brigadier-General John Hunt Morgan
D3: Lieutenant-General Leonidas Polk

On 14 December 1862, John Hunt Morgan was married to Tennessee belle Martha Ready in the biggest social event of the Western theater. Leonidas Polk (D3) was the celebrant at the ceremony and wore his bishop's rochet (a white, shoulder to toe vestment with wide sleeves, the fluted cuffs gathered at the wrists with black silk bands) under his chimere (a long, black, sleeveless vest-like gown), as shown here. Polk brought his vestments with him in his camp luggage and celebrated at services such as baptisms a number of times during his military service.

Braxton Bragg (D1), shown here in his surviving original coat now in the Museum of the Confederacy, was present at the ceremony, as were William Hardee, Benjamin Cheatham and all the headquarters staff of the Army of Tennessee. The generals and staff officers were all noted as wearing their best; two regimental bands supplied the music for the formal dinner and dance that followed the ceremony, which took place at a private home. Bragg was photographed wearing this coat and the regulation dark blue trousers with twin gold lace stripes down each leg. Morgan's coat (D2) also survives to this day, as does a photograph of him with his young bride at about the time of the marriage, in which he is wearing this coat, cap, and trousers.

- E1: Lieutenant-General John Pemberton**
E2: Major-General John Breckinridge
E3: Brigadier-General Basil Duke

John Pemberton is shown in the dress of a lieutenant-colonel of artillery (E1), which was his substantive rank in the regular Confederate Army, and the one he held after his surrender of Vicksburg. The uniform was essentially the same as the general officer's save for the three, instead of four rows of gold lace used on the kepi and the coat sleeve knots, and the artillery's red facings. The Confederate Army lacked an ordnance corps, and artillery officers were assigned to that duty. Regulation trousers were blue, but by 1863 gray were much more common. In fact it was then that army officials asked buying agents in Europe to buy gray instead of blue trousers for the army, since gray looked better.

Perhaps because John Breckinridge (E2) did not come from a regular US Army background, he was obviously not especially interested in wearing regulation military dress in the field. Private John Jackman, from his brigade, noted seeing Breckinridge on 22 May 1863: "He was dressed in citizen suit, with a broad rimmed felt hat on." Basil Duke noted that Breckinridge wore "a big slouched Southern hat, with a gold cord around it..." In action he preferred a dark blue "Kentucky jeans" uniform coat or, in warmer weather, what he called a "battle shirt" made by his wife from blue checked material.

Basil Duke (E3) was described as wearing blue jeans trousers, a white linen shirt, and a dusty, wide-brimmed hat when he was captured in Ohio in 1863, and such would be a typical mounted raider's garb in the field. Duke was later photographed in prison in Delaware in a regulation coat, but that was apparently sent to him there. The boots are, however, something he would have worn on a raid.

F1: General John Bell Hood

F2: Major-General Patrick Cleburne

F3: Major-General Benjamin Cheatham

John Bell Hood is shown wearing his custom-made overcoat over his dress coat; both items are today in the collection of the Museum of the Confederacy (F1). There was no such thing as a regulation Confederate Army greatcoat, and indeed the army's quartermasters found themselves hard pressed to supply greatcoats at all, since they took up so much precious material. Most officers and some men had greatcoats made at home or by local tailors to their own

specifications, such as this example worn by Hood. The coat he wears under the greatcoat is essentially regulation, save that it is all gray, with a narrow white piping under the gold Austrian knot on each sleeve; the rank stars were embroidered on a white oval patch and then sewn to the gray collar. It has nine buttons down each row, placed in threes to indicate a major-general's rank. Hood was photographed in a variety of uniforms, including a single-breasted sack coat with a laydown collar, and his wreathed stars insignia sewn on a lapel such as worn here by General Cleburne.

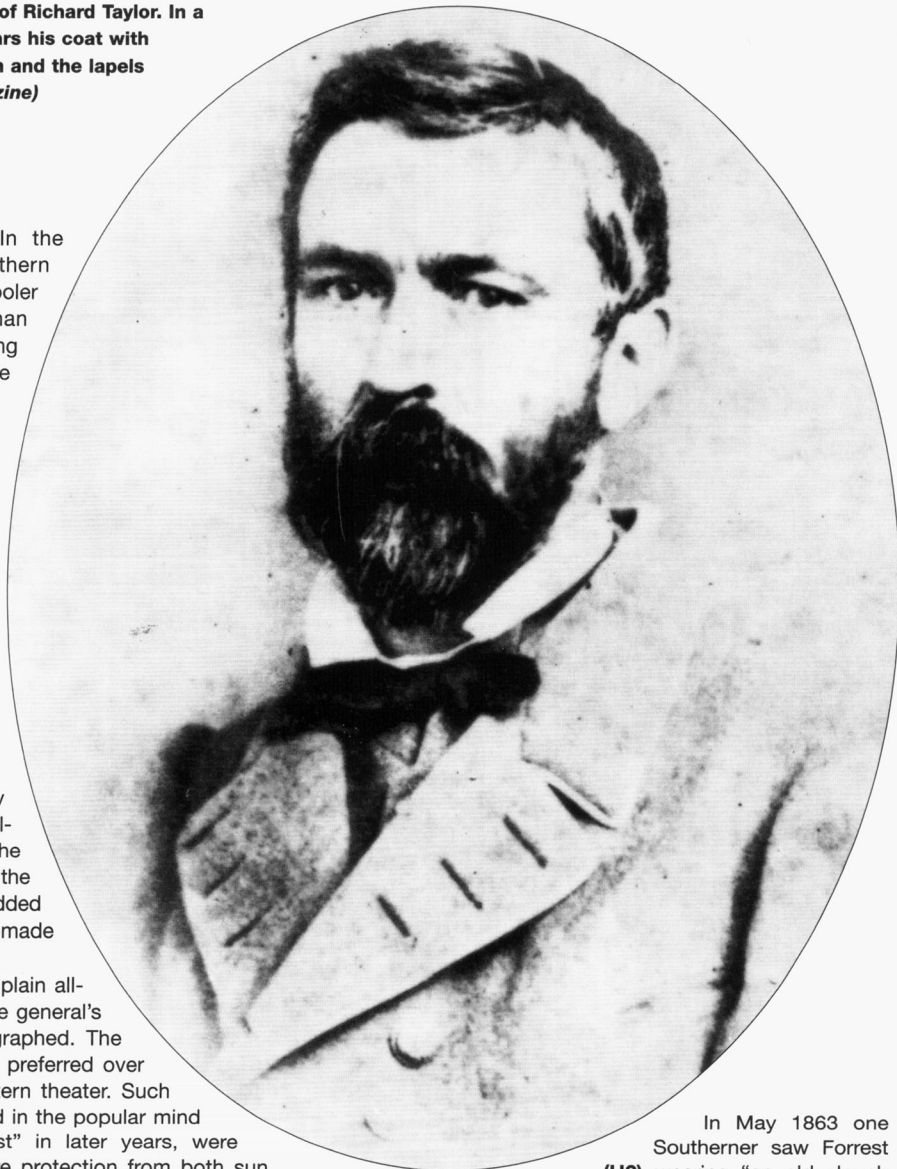
The day Patrick Cleburne (F2) was killed at Franklin he was described by an eyewitness as having a military cap, and "a new gray uniform, the coat of the sack or blouse pattern." This informal style of coat, also worn by Union generals, was highly popular as a comfortable field dress. Cleburne was also wearing a white shirt and vest when he was killed. His swordbelt, with its rare Arkansas belt plate, survives in the Museum of the Confederacy.

Benjamin Cheatham (F3) wears a standard variation on Confederate general's uniform, with the lapels buttoned

John Pemberton, in the light-colored civilian suit standing in front of the chair, formally surrenders Vicksburg to Gen Ulysses S. Grant - whose hands are typically thrust into his pockets; the meeting took place at the Stone House within the Confederate defenses on 4 July 1863. Pemberton's officers wear full Confederate uniform. This drawing appeared in the 8 August 1863 issue of Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.



A wartime portrait photograph of Richard Taylor. In a popular style of the day he wears his coat with the standing collar folded down and the lapels opened. (*Military Images Magazine*)



back to expose the vest. In the sweltering heat of a Southern summer this was a much cooler way to wear the coat than buttoned over the front, placing two layers of cloth over the wearer's chest.

- G1: Major-General John B. Magruder**
- G2: Lieutenant-General Edmund Kirby Smith**
- G3: Lieutenant-General Richard Taylor**

"Prince John" Magruder is shown in an elaborate version of a dress uniform, apparently blue (G1), which is taken from an early war period photograph reproduced elsewhere in this book. In the photograph he also wears a personally acquired pouch belt and aiguillettes, but though always a fop he was unlikely to wear these in the field. His fancy kepi, with the added badge in front, was custom-made for him in France.

E. Kirby Smith (G2) wears a plain all-gray version of the Confederate general's coat, in which he was photographed. The broad brimmed hat was much preferred over the regulation cap in the Western theater. Such hats, which became associated in the popular mind with the American "Wild West" in later years, were comfortable and provided more protection from both sun and rain.

Richard Taylor (G3) is shown as he would have appeared at a parade or review, in a simplified version of the regulation dress with the easier-to-obtain and more popular gray trousers instead of dark blue. Although Taylor saw service in the Mexican War on his father's staff, he was not a professional soldier by training and hence less concerned with niceties of uniform than many other Confederate generals.

- H1: Lieutenant-General Alexander Stewart**
- H2: Lieutenant-General Nathan Bedford Forrest**
- H3: Major-General Joseph Wheeler**

Alexander Stewart is shown with his frock coat open at the throat to expose his black tie and white shirt (H1); this was a common way to wear the frock coat, especially in undress situations. When a soldier wore a waist-length jacket or even a sack coat he generally fastened the throat button and left the rest unbuttoned.

In May 1863 one Southerner saw Forrest (H2) wearing "an old slouch hat and plain, well-worn gray coat and pants...." Philip Stephenson saw Forrest in 1864 "in full uniform, faded but complete, except the head gear. He wore a home made bell-crowned, low, black, beaver hat, wide brimmed. Not very pretty. In fact it could not be becoming to anybody, especially as the nap or fur was on it. It was thick though and warm...." Forrest was habitually armed with a 0.36in Colt Navy revolver that he used with deadly effect during his raids, along with a version of the US M1860 light cavalry saber; he also had revolvers holstered to his saddle.

Young Joseph Wheeler (H3) wears a version of the regulation dress coat; his original coat is now in the Museum of the Confederacy. This style of frontal cut is also noted on Braxton Bragg's coat; while stylish, it must have been impractical, since it would not allow the wearer to button it back easily. Wheeler, as befits a cavalry officer, also carries a cavalry saber rather than a general's and staff officer's regulation sword.

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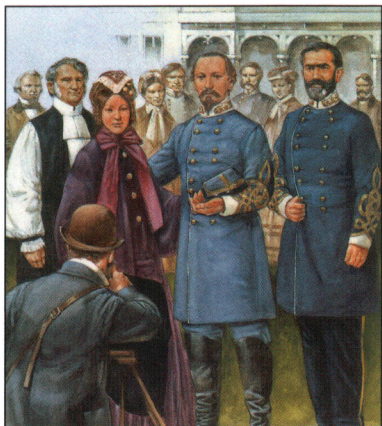
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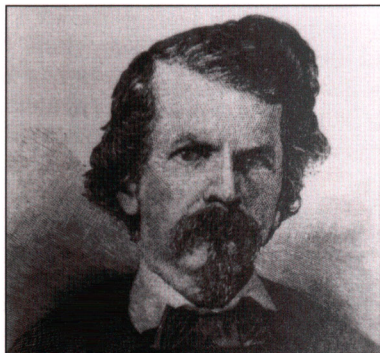
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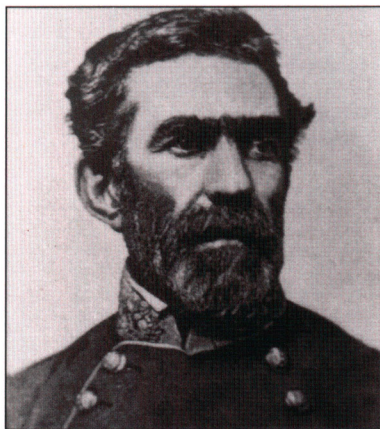
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Confederate Leaders in the West

In the Western theater of war the Confederacy had the misfortune to face, with inferior resources, some of the outstanding Union leaders early in their careers. The Southern commanders were of varied backgrounds and talents: some had been sent West in disfavor, others were foolishly quarrelsome, and after A.S. Johnston's death at Shiloh there was no single figure with the authority to dominate them. Some were nevertheless of the highest class and earned ungrudging respect. This book details the careers, personalities and appearance of 24 generals of the Army of Tennessee and the other Confederate commands in the West.

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