Six Miles from Charleston, Five Minutes to Fell:

THE BATTLE OF SECESSIONVILLE, **JUNE 16, 1862**

by James A. Morgan



Citations and Bibliography

Prologue

... the name change is "shrouded in legend."¹ The state legislature passed the "Defense Act of 1850°² "History... cannot be changed but to some extent, it can be reconstructed."³

Chapter One: Charleston's Back Door

... "deemed by the rebels, and rightly too, as a place requiring much attention."⁴ General George McClellan expressed this sentiment....⁵

... "a jigsaw puzzle of real estate."⁶

¹ Patrick Brennan, Secessionville: Assault on Charleston, (New York, 1996), 32.

² Ashley Halsey, Jr., "South Carolina Began Preparing for War in 1851," Civil War Times Illustrated, October 1963, 9.

³ E. Milby Burton, The Siege of Charleston, 1861-1865, 336.

⁴ New York *Times*, June 17, 1862, p. 1

⁵ Official Records of the War of the Rebellion (ORA), Volume 5, p. 39

⁶ Walter Brian Cisco. States Right Gist: A South Carolina General in the Civil War, (Ragged Edge Press, 1991), p. 75

It consisted of 14 vessels of war....⁷

... "chivalrous, genial, unassuming, and heroic."8

It was, to be charitable, ineffective. . . .⁹

... "as men-of-war they were in every respect of the most vulnerable class." 10 Tattnall himself once described his fleet.... 11

With the departure of the Union fleet from Hampton Roads....¹²

The Federals had successfully established a beach head....¹³

"I am in favor of abandoning all exposed points...."¹⁴

... "another forlorn hope expedition."¹⁵

McClellan simply did not see much of the communication....¹⁶

The whole tone of this communication bordered on desperation.¹⁷

... "relieves me much for I know where he is that all will be done that is right."¹⁸

... "let the Army take the benefit and the glory of it."¹⁹

... "a great panic among the land forces of South Carolina."²⁰

Inter-service and inter-personal rivalries....²¹

McClellan's interest focused...."22

Chapter Two: The Great Escape

... "smart, capable, and well-liked by the McKee family."²³

¹⁶ Browning, op. cit., pp. 42, 45-46.

^{... &}quot;to have somebody to do for me and to keep me."²⁴

⁷ James Spirek, Christopher Amer, "The Port Royal Sound Survey," p. 45.

⁸ Robert M. Browning, Jr. Success Is All That Was Expected: The South Atlantic Blockading Squadron During the Civil War, (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1991), p. 19.

⁹ David M. Sullivan. "The Confederate States Marine Corps in South Carolina, 1861-65." *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 86, no. 2, April 1985, p. 113.

¹⁰ Rear Admiral David Ammen, "Du Pont and the Port Royal Expedition," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War: From Sumter To Shiloh*, p. 677.

¹¹ Browning, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

¹² Ibid., p. 28.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 35-40.

¹⁴ ORA 6:394

¹⁵ H. David Stone, Jr. *Vital Rails: The Charleston & Savannah Railroad and the Civil War in Coastal South Carolina*, (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 2008), p. 70.

¹⁷ ORA 6:214; Browning, op. cit., p. 66.

¹⁸ John D. Hayes, Lillian O'Brien. "The Battle of Port Royal Ferry, S.C.," *New York Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. XLVII, No. 2, April 1963, p. 116.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 118.

²⁰ William T. Lusk. *War Letters of William Thompson Lusk, Captain, Assistant Adjutant General, United States Volunteers, 1861-1863*, pp. 113-14.

²¹ Browning, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.

²² ORA 6:225.

²³ Cate Lineberry. *Be Free or Die: the Amazing Story of Robert Smalls' Escape from Slavery to Union Hero*, 39.

²⁴ Ibid., 46.

Designed for four guns, the fort may never actually have had that many....²⁵ It soon would be back in Union hands.²⁶ No doubt they felt considerably less satisfaction at seeing him....²⁷ ... "I find I can make her very useful here as a blockading vessel."²⁸

For this, he received a formal appointment....²⁹

Chapter Three: Hunter and Benham Begin to Move

... placed the department under the command of General Hunter.³⁰
The Florida panhandle became the Western District....³¹
"Pulaski is ours. Sumter is avenged!"³²
Bache essentially left him alone to do this.³³
He did not endear himself to Stevens....³⁴
... "to seize the railroad crossing on Broad River and silence it by works."³⁵
... "make a dash at the railroad."³⁶
Colonel Benjamin Christ of the 50th Pennsylvania....³⁷
... "at least 800."³⁸
"Hurry on your troops"....³⁹
All-in-all, these men had covered some 33 miles in 27 hours.⁴⁰
Casualties were light on both sides....⁴¹
... "the whole line would have been broken up from Salkehatchie to Coosawhatchie."⁴²

Chapter Four: The Navy Secures the Stono

That would leave Parrott once again in temporary command....⁴³

- ³⁰ ORA 6:248
- ³¹ ORA 6:258
- ³² Browning, p. 92.
- ³³ Kent D. Richards. *Isaac I. Stevens: Young Man in a Hurry*, (Pullman, Washington State University Press, 2016), pp. 77-78.
- ³⁴ Ibid., p. 356 and fn 29, p. 418
- ³⁵ ORA 6:198
- ³⁶ ORA 14:985
- ³⁷ ORA 14:20-22
- ³⁸ ORA 14: 22-24
- ³⁹ ORA 14:525 ⁴⁰ ORA 14:21
- ⁴¹ ORA 14:21 41 ORA 14: 24, 27
- ⁴² ORA 14:24,
- ⁴³ ORN 13:5-7

²⁵ ORA 47/1:1019.

²⁶ Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion (ORN), 12:821

²⁷ ORA 14:500.

²⁸ ORN 13:10.

²⁹ Lineberry, *op.cit.*, p. 153.

He had to pass "within grape shot distance"....⁴⁴ He quickly withdrew....⁴⁵ ... "the first favorable moment without waiting for me."⁴⁶ This was, in fact, the case.⁴⁷ Commander Marchand described the burning....⁴⁸ One member of the *Adaer's* crew when Marchand took command....⁴⁹ ... "as a gentleman and meritorious person."⁵⁰ One historian has referred to him as....⁵¹ ... his "holy-horrored squadron...."⁵² Marchand inspected these....⁵³ Boutelle ordered two buoys placed....⁵⁴ "Before sunset"....⁵⁵ ... "took to their heels and ran for their lives."⁵⁶ Those men actually were the 60 or so. $...^{57}$ Distraught at the capture of the men, Stevens wrote to General Pemberton....⁵⁸ "The gate is now invitingly open to the army"....⁵⁹ "Our troops will not fight"....⁶⁰ And, in fact, looting and a general lack of discipline were evident....⁶¹

Chapter Five: Confederates Dig In

About 35,000 of those were present and available for duty....⁶² We can only imagine his consternation....⁶³ He replaced Gregg in command....⁶⁴ Having done this, he addressed an almost plaintive message....⁶⁵

⁴⁴ Craig L. Symonds (Ed). Charleston Blockade: The Journals of John B. Marchand, US Navy, 1861-62, (Newport, Naval War College Press, 1976), p. 165 ⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 166 ⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 171 ⁴⁷ ORN 13: 17-18 48 Symonds, op. cit., p. 168 ⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 3 ⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 133 ⁵¹ Browning, op. cit., p. 75 ⁵² Symonds, op. cit., p. 171 ⁵³ ORN 13:16 ⁵⁴ Ibid. ⁵⁵ Symonds, op. cit., p. 172 ⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 171 ⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 173 ⁵⁸ ORA 14:18 ⁵⁹ Symonds, op. cit., pp. 174-76 ⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 181 ⁶¹ Brennan, op. cit., fn 29, p. 321 ⁶² ORA 6:422 63 ORA 14:480 ⁶⁴ ORA 14:481 65 ORA 14:482

... "with no other protection than what the cavalry companies can afford, which is altogether insufficient." 66

Evans was accepted on March 26 and reported to the Academy on July 1.67

... "to proceed with the gunboats and feel the battery" near there.⁶⁸

Several companies of troops in the area....⁶⁹

... "absent without leave."70

The move also got Calhoun away from Rhett....⁷¹

... "get your artillery where you can't get it off."72

The shells actually missed....⁷³

Colonel Johnson Hagood took note of the affair....⁷⁴

... "but also provided access to a water route to the Confederate rear."⁷⁵

... and thus he deserved "the gratitude of the state."⁷⁶

... "one or the other must be removed."77

The importance of defending both Charleston and Savannah....⁷⁸

Understandably, he did not want any action they might take....⁷⁹

Brigadier General Evans had just over 1,300 troops in that immediate area.⁸⁰

Displeased, Pemberton responded with a terse note. \dots^{81}

Chapter Six: Establishing the Beach Head

The result was chaos."82

Historian Clayton R. Newell neatly summed up the problem....⁸³

This may be the reason....⁸⁴

With that in mind....⁸⁵

The record does not indicate whether Cannon ever did this.⁸⁶

⁶⁶ ORA 14:482 ⁶⁷ Ancestry.com, USMA Registry of Cadet Applications, 1844 68 ORN 13:28 ⁶⁹ ORA 6:531 ⁷⁰ ORA 14:382 ⁷¹ ORA 14:515-16 ⁷² ORA 14:514 ⁷³ Browning, op. cit., p. 100; ORN 13:37 ⁷⁴ Johnson Hagood. *Memoirs of the War of Secession*, (Columbia, The State Co., 1910), p. 87 ⁷⁵ Brennan, op. cit., pp. 33-34 ⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 285 77 ORA 14:504 ⁷⁸ ORA 14:523-24 ⁷⁹ ORA 14:513-14 ⁸⁰ Jason H. Silverman. et al., Shanks: The Life and Wars of General Nathan G. Evans, CSA, (Boston, Da Capo, 2002), p. 95 ⁸¹ ORA 14:470-71, 474 ⁸² Brennan, op. cit., p. 41 ⁸³ Clayton R. Newell. Lee Vs. McClellan: The First Campaign, (Washington, Regnery, 1996), p. 251 ⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 137 ⁸⁵ ORN 13:12 ⁸⁶ ORN 13:129-31

... "the attack upon Charleston and the forts in that harbor."87 Two days later, Commander Marchand submitted a plan of his own to Du Pont.⁸⁸ Moreover, he felt that the Army's own quartermaster general's office....⁸⁹ He finished by saying....⁹⁰ ... "a remarkable breach of protocol."91 Writing from the *Wabash* that same day....⁹² ... "Benham is a great humbug."93 During that short excursion....⁹⁴ By that afternoon, Stevens's Yankee soldiers disembarked onto Battery Island.95 Evans received orders to defend his lines....⁹⁶ Even before noon, the temperature reached 100 degrees....⁹⁷ They fell out at such a rate....⁹⁸ Medics issued alcohol and quinine as stimulants....99 The weather and the "indifferently armed" Rebel horsemen both contributed to that.¹⁰⁰ This slowed down their movements....¹⁰¹ They finally began arriving at their destination around 8:00 a.m...¹⁰²

Chapter Seven:

The Day of Trial is Upon Us

"... and that the day of trial is upon us."¹⁰³ At that point, the total force he had available....¹⁰⁴ As one editorialist opined....¹⁰⁵ Commodore Du Pont wrote to his wife on June 13....¹⁰⁶ He intended to deploy four 42-pounder carronades....¹⁰⁷ Carronades, on the other hand....¹⁰⁸

87 ORA 14: 983-86 88 ORN 13:13-14 ⁸⁹ ORA 14:344-46 90 ORN 13:25-26 ⁹¹ Brennan, op. cit., p.43 92 ORN 13:27-28 ⁹³ John D. Hayes (Ed). Samuel Francis Du Pont: A Selection From His Civil War Letters, Volume 2, The Blockade, 1862-1863, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1969), p. 113 ⁹⁴ Symonds, op. cit., pp. 189-90 ⁹⁵ Browning, *op. cit.*, p. 101 96 Stone, op. cit., p. 101; ORA 14:534-37 ⁹⁷ Stone, op. cit., p. 99 ⁹⁸ D. Eldredge. The Third New Hampshire And All About It, (Wentworth Press, 2016), p. 166 ⁹⁹ Brennan, op. cit., p. 66 ¹⁰⁰ ORA 14:551 ¹⁰¹ Symonds, *op. cit.*, p. 200 ¹⁰² Brennan, op. cit., p. 67 ¹⁰³ Charleston *Mercury*, June 5, 1862, p. 1 ¹⁰⁴ ORA 14: 529, 567 ¹⁰⁵ New York *Tribune*, June 9, 1862, p. 1 ¹⁰⁶ Du Pont Letters, p. 113 ¹⁰⁷ Charleston *Mercury*, June 9, 1862, p. 2 ¹⁰⁸ Warren Ripley. Artillery and Ammunition of the Civil War, (Promontory Press, 1973), pp. 367, 375

They still had the three other pieces....¹⁰⁹

Commander Drayton reported....¹¹⁰

"No casualties occurred except a few scratches...."¹¹¹

These, he noted in his journal. . . . 112

... "the enemy and a small party of our men lay near each other all night at Legare's."¹¹³

They were the first Union troops to land....¹¹⁴

He claimed that honor....¹¹⁵

The Federals then withdrew some distance....¹¹⁶

Commodore Du Pont reported....¹¹⁷

... "a cap clotted with blood and a cavalry sabre lying near it." 118

The Confederates, on the other hand, explained this short encounter....¹¹⁹

... apparently within sight of Chichester's three lost carronades.¹²⁰

Captain James Harvey Cline of the Roundheads....¹²¹

Capers described the Federal fire as "severe"....¹²²

With that, Capers gathered up his prisoners and ordered his force to retire.¹²³

Late in the year, following transport to Annapolis, Maryland, they were exchanged.¹²⁴

Keenan's signals to Howard and Howard's to the ship's gunners....¹²⁵

The *Mercury* reported....¹²⁶

Brennan writes that the rain, in fact, did not begin....¹²⁷

The unfortunate Private Clarke died the following morning.¹²⁸

If so, it mostly likely had been spiked or otherwise disabled.¹²⁹

Understanding the threat from the Union Navy's guns....¹³⁰

¹¹⁵ Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer*, June 19, 1862, p. 1

¹²³ W. Chris Phelps, *Charlestonians in War: The Charleston Battalion*, p. 84; ORA 14:29-30

¹²⁴ Charleston *Daily Courier*, June 4, p. 1; William G. Gavin. *Campaigning With the Roundheads: The History of the Hundredth Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteer Infantry Regiment in the American Civil War 1861-1865,* (Bristol, Higginson, 2008), p. 84

¹⁰⁹ Charleston *Mercury*, June 9, 1862, p. 2

¹¹⁰ Charleston *Mercury*, September 22, 1862, p. 1; ORN 13: 75-76

¹¹¹ Charleston *Mercury*, June 9, 1862, p. 2

¹¹² Symonds, op. cit., p. 197

¹¹³ Charleston *Mercury*, September 22, 1862, p. 1

¹¹⁴ William Todd, *The Seventy-ninth Highlanders, New York Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865,* (Albany, Press of Brandow, Barton and Co., 1886), pp. 5, 138

¹¹⁶ Brennan, op. cit., pp. 69-70

¹¹⁷ Du Pont Letters, p. 102

¹¹⁸ Todd, p. 139

¹¹⁹ Eugene W. Jones, Jr. *Enlisted for the War: The Struggles of the Gallant 24th Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers, Infantry, 1861-1865,* (Hightstown, Longstreet House, 1997), p. 28; Charleston *Daily Courier,* June 9, 1862, p. 1)

¹²⁰ Ellison Capers, *Capers Letters*, June 5, 1862

¹²¹ Brennan, op. cit., p. 78

¹²² Capers Letters, June 5, 1862

¹²⁵ ORA 14:28

¹²⁶ Charleston *Mercury*, June 4, 1862, p.2

¹²⁷ Brennan, op. cit., p. 84

¹²⁸ Todd, pp. 140-41

¹²⁹ Charleston *Daily Courier*, July 8, 1862, p. 1

¹³⁰ Charleston *Mercury*, June 5, 1862, p. 1

Chapter Eight:

Does It Ever get Dry in This Country?

... "the wind blowing a gale and the rain coming down in torrents."¹³¹ ... "I say, does it ever get dry in this country?"¹³² Commodore Du Pont wrote to his wife....¹³³ One Connecticut boy wrote on June 19....¹³⁴ A Confederate soldier described the rainstorms....¹³⁵ A Union artilleryman wrote of the soggy campsites....¹³⁶ ... "Whew! How sour and mouldy everything about our tents smelled."¹³⁷ Perhaps a New Hampshire infantryman summed it best....¹³⁸ ... "was letting one of the truly golden opportunities of the campaign slip from his grasp"¹³⁹ ... "unable to ascertain the exact intentions or design of the enemy."¹⁴⁰ The weather clearly affected the operations of both armies.¹⁴¹ ... the expected attack would likely happen any day.¹⁴² Colonel Hagood sardonically noted that "things were pretty generally haphazard"¹⁴³ "there was considerable unpleasantness among them...."144 "In addition, the brigade mustered a battery of field artillery...."¹⁴⁵ Stevens urged caution and pointed out....¹⁴⁶ ... "this work is important and its speedy completion necessary."¹⁴⁷ Commander Marchand wrote on June 7....¹⁴⁸ Woodford had died in 1887....¹⁴⁹ They had nicknamed their unit "The Fremont Regiment"....¹⁵⁰ He soon decided that discretion was the better part of valor...¹⁵¹ ¹³¹ Brennan, op. cit., p. 88 ¹³² Hagood, op. cit., p. 90 ¹³³ DuPont Letters, p. 102 ¹³⁴ Charleston *Courier*, July 9, 1862, p. 1 ¹³⁵ Ibid., June 9, 1862, p. 1 ¹³⁶ Herbert W. Beecher. *History of the First Light Battery Connecticut Volunteers*, 1861-1865 (New York, A.T. De La Mare Printing and Publishing Co., 1901), p. 140 ¹³⁷ Brennan, op. cit., p. 101 ¹³⁸ Eldredge, p. 167 139 Ibid. ¹⁴⁰ ORA 14:551 ¹⁴¹ Todd, p. 145 ¹⁴² Charleston *Mercury*, June 9, 1862, p. 2 ¹⁴³ Hagood, p. 91 ¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 93 ¹⁴⁵ Jones, p. 33 ¹⁴⁶ Hazard Stevens, The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens, vol 2, p. 393 ¹⁴⁷ ORA 14:553 ¹⁴⁸ Symonds, *op. cit.*, p. 202 ¹⁴⁹ Stephen Walkley, *History of the Seventh Connecticut Volunteer Infantry, Appendix pp. 11-12*; Hartford Courant, January 25, 1905; Jones, op. cit., pp. 31-32. ¹⁵⁰ Ernest Mettendorf, Between Triumph and Disaster: The History of the 46th New York Infantry, 1861-1865, p. 7 ¹⁵¹ ORA 14:33; Brennan, op. cit., p. 114

Neither General Stevens nor Captain Stevens reported any casualties....¹⁵² Unfortunately, the 17th South Carolina mistook some of their own....¹⁵³ Professor Thaddeus Lowe had shipped one of his "aerostats"....¹⁵⁴ Stevens wrote to General Benham on June 6....¹⁵⁵ One New Yorker wrote home....¹⁵⁶ Sol Legare Island therefore became the only place....¹⁵⁷

Chapter Nine: The First Heavy Blows

"The Rebel batteries on James Island...."¹⁵⁸ "Don't allow your command, especially the batteries, to waste ammunition...."¹⁵⁹ In that last reflection, at least, he certainly was correct.¹⁶⁰ Captain Lusk of General Stevens's staff expressed a common view....¹⁶¹ "The Parrott guns of the squadron are completely used up...."¹⁶² General Benham began by asking Commander Drayton....¹⁶³ The Confederates pre-empted it with an attack of their own on June 10.164 ... "drive the gunboats from the landing."¹⁶⁵ This advance must have taken quite some time....¹⁶⁶ ... Commander Marchand described it as "a night attack."¹⁶⁷ Three men of the 97th Pennsylvania were killed....¹⁶⁸ Wright wrote to Commander Drayton on June 11....¹⁶⁹ "The gunboats then"....¹⁷⁰ He later explained this in a report. $...^{171}$ On June 9, Representative Charles A. Wickliffe of Kentucky....¹⁷² Informing him that there could be no reinforcements until after Richmond fell....¹⁷³

¹⁵² Stevens, op. cit., p.398; ORA 14:33 153 ORA 14:34 ¹⁵⁴ ORA, Series 3, 3:267 ¹⁵⁵ ORA 14:986 ¹⁵⁶ Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, June 19, 1862, p. 1 ¹⁵⁷ Frederick S. Haydon. *Military Ballooning During the Early Civil War*, pp. 378-80, 388-97 ¹⁵⁸ Symonds, *op. cit.*, p. 203 ¹⁵⁹ ORA 14:556 ¹⁶⁰ ORN 13:88 ¹⁶¹ Lusk, *op. cit.*, p. 152 ¹⁶² ORN 13:88 ¹⁶³ ORA 14:350 ¹⁶⁴ ORA 14:350-52 ¹⁶⁵ Hagood, *op. cit.*, p. 91 ¹⁶⁶ ORA 14:37 ¹⁶⁷ Symonds, *op. cit.*, p. 205 ¹⁶⁸ORA 14: 35-38; Brennan, op. cit., pp. 129-36 ¹⁶⁹ ORN 13:94 ¹⁷⁰ Symonds, op. cit., p. 206 ¹⁷¹ ORA 14:42 ¹⁷² Edward A. Miller, Jr. Lincoln's Abolitionist General: The Biography of David Hunter, (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1997), pp. 104, 108 ¹⁷³ ORA 14:350

"If you can safely leave," he wrote...."174

... "was much put out and said he would withdraw all the troops from James Island."¹⁷⁵

This letter was passed to the Confederates via a flag of truce. \dots ¹⁷⁶

Moreover, as the captain was found to be a Mason. . . . 177

Finally, he instructed Shanks Evans....¹⁷⁸

... "I hardly see how the removal of Pemberton can be avoided."¹⁷⁹

From this point, as Patrick Brennan poetically noted...."180

Chapter Ten: The Council of War

This battery and Battery Williams....¹⁸¹

The one in Battery Stevens had been used in the earlier bombardment....¹⁸²

One Reb was killed when a shell passed through....¹⁸³

... "and it was popularly supposed that the wind of the ball had taken the breath from his body." 184

Apparently, they fell back quickly enough to avoid alerting Colonel Lamar's pickets.¹⁸⁵

... "a fight at long taw," as one writer put it.¹⁸⁶

... and the Federals certainly did their best to irritate the Rebel camps as well.¹⁸⁷

... "He will exercise the command thereof until further orders."¹⁸⁸

Several days prior to this, Pemberton had ordered....¹⁸⁹

... but they all apparently were worth it to General Pemberton.¹⁹⁰

... "put out of sight the anomalous position you are placed in."¹⁹¹

There is no mention of Evans in connection with the First District.¹⁹²

Perhaps to lay any confusion to rest....¹⁹³

On July 17, Shanks took command....¹⁹⁴

- ¹⁷⁹ ORA 14:560
- ¹⁸⁰ Brennan, *op. cit.*, p. 310
- ¹⁸¹ Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-47
- ¹⁸² Ibid.
- ¹⁸³ Brennan, *op. cit.*, p. 152
- ¹⁸⁴ Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 146
- ¹⁸⁵ Eldredge, op. cit., p. 171 ¹⁸⁶ Charlester Marsure, June
- ¹⁸⁶ Charleston *Mercury*, June 18, 1862, p. 1
- ¹⁸⁷ Brennan, op. cit., p. 161 ¹⁸⁸ ORA 14:566
- ¹⁸⁹ ORA 14:558
- ¹⁹⁰ Hagood, op. cit., p. 93
- ¹⁹¹ James A. Morgan, III. A Little Short of Boats: The Battles of Ball's Bluff and Edwards Ferry, October
- 21-22, 1861, (El Dorado Hills, Savas Beatie, 2011), pp. 5-6
- ¹⁹² ORA 14: 575-76
- ¹⁹³ ORA 14: 581 ¹⁹⁴ ORA 14: 586

¹⁷⁴ ORA 14:46

¹⁷⁵ Du Pont Letters, p. 118

¹⁷⁶ Charleston *Mercury*, June 21, 1862, p. 2

¹⁷⁷ Brennan, op. cit., p. 144

¹⁷⁸ ORA 14:559

As historian Patrick Brennan wrote....¹⁹⁵

They gathered aboard the ship....¹⁹⁶

Stevens replied that he considered only "a bare possibility" of success.¹⁹⁷

Wright then turned to Benham and said, "There, General, you have my opinion."198

Stevens wrote to Hunter on the same day, saying the same thing.¹⁹⁹

... "no advance should be made"...²⁰⁰

... "a reconnaissance upon the fort."²⁰¹

... "the three officers above named [Stevens, Wright, and Williams] were scarcely in favor of the movement." $^{\rm 202}$

Chapter Eleven: One of the Decisive Engagements of the War

A newspaper account by "EYE-WITNESS"....²⁰³ This order seemed to have been given....²⁰⁴ Colonel Lamar later somewhat sheepishly admitted....²⁰⁵ ... "had fallen asleep upon the parapet" about 3:30.²⁰⁶ By 3:30, Brig. Gen. Stevens's division....²⁰⁷ The cannoneers even muffled the wheels of their guns....²⁰⁸ ... "the muskets to be loaded but not capped."²⁰⁹ A detachment from Company E of the New York engineers....²¹⁰ One of the companies, serving as artillery....²¹¹ Other Roundhead detachments waited on picket duty....²¹² Stevens reported hearing the fighting at Secessionville....²¹³ He notified Col. Hagood who later wrote in his *Memoirs*....²¹⁴ In addition to all of this, Brig. Gen. Evans claimed....²¹⁵

- ²⁰⁰ ORA 14:42 ²⁰¹ ORA 14:45
- ²⁰² ORN 13:107
- ²⁰³ORA 14:95; Charleston *Mercury*, June 24, 1862, p. 1
- ²⁰⁴ ORA 14:52
- ²⁰⁵ ORA 14:96
- ²⁰⁶ Hagood, *op. cit.*, p. 94
- ²⁰⁷ ORA 14:63
- ²⁰⁸ Beecher, *op. cit.*, p. 144 ²⁰⁹ Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 403
- ²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 402
- ²¹¹ ORA 14:83
- ²¹² Gavin, *op. cit.*, p. 97
- ²¹³ ORA 14:103
- ²¹⁴ Hagood, op. cit., p. 93
- ²¹⁵ ORA 14:91

¹⁹⁵ Brennan, *op. cit.*, p. 156
¹⁹⁶ Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 400
¹⁹⁷ ORA 14:48-49
¹⁹⁸ Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 400

¹⁹⁹ ORA 14:44

He made a similar claim in his Ball's Bluff report the previous October.²¹⁶ At some point closer in, they gave a loud cheer... 217 Colonel Lamar said that when he first saw them....²¹⁸ ... "ordered the 8-inch columbiad to be loaded with grape."²¹⁹ According to one newspaper report....²²⁰ ... "give them canister freely, which he did."²²¹ As Patrick Brennan wrote....²²² There those men became cannoneers....²²³ Not long after the men of the Charleston Battalion had settled into their work...²²⁴ He turned command over to Colonel Gaillard....²²⁵ ... "on his knees cursing like a pirate" from the pain.²²⁶ Colonel Hawley estimated that he was 120 yards from the battery wall.²²⁷ ... "fell back and broke through our regiment."228 In the midst of this, one Connecticut soldier was killed....²²⁹ ... "chains, glass bottles, scrap iron, (and) horseshoes."²³⁰ One New Yorker picked up a piece of a hammer from the ground and said....²³¹ Others mentioned chains, nails, glass and....²³² They passed through the remnants of the Massachusetts formation...²³³ ... "dropping amongst the cotton ridges in front of the fort."²³⁴ ... "practically atomized," as one historian put it.²³⁵ One reporter wrote....²³⁶ Colonel John Jackson's Granite State boys moved on the left....²³⁷ As the *Mercury* later reported....²³⁸ When Lt. Jeter opened fire with his "brass howitzer"....²³⁹ ²¹⁶ Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 67 ²¹⁷ Stevens, op. cit., p. 404 ²¹⁸ ORA 14:94 ²¹⁹ Ibid. ²²⁰ Charleston Mercury, June 18, 1862, p. 1 ²²¹ ORA 14:94 222 Patrick Brennan. "The Battle of Secessionville: Yankee Debacle at Charleston, South Carolina." Blue & Gray Magazine, February 1999, p. 45 ²²³ Phelps, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-90 ²²⁴ Charleston Mercury, June 18, 1862, p. 1 ²²⁵ ORA 14:94 ²²⁶ Beecher, *op. cit.*, p. 152 ²²⁷ ORA 14:1006-07 ²²⁸ ORA 14:69 ²²⁹ Brennan, Secessionville: Assault on Charleston, (Boston, Da Capo, 1996), p. 189 ²³⁰ Beecher, op. cit., p. 147 ²³¹ Todd, op. cit., p. 161 ²³² ORA 14:73 ²³³ Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 154 ²³⁴ ORA 14:72 ²³⁵ Phelps, op. cit., p. 91 ²³⁶ Charleston Daily Courier, June 18, 1862, p. 1 ²³⁷ Brennan, op. cit., p. 219 ²³⁸ Charleston *Mercury*, June 18, p.1 ²³⁹ Capers Letters, June 17, 1862

... "enfilade battery near Clark's house."240

... "neither he nor his men knew anything about the guns or the ammunition."²⁴¹ Shouting "Remember Butler" as they charged into the battery....²⁴²

... "many of their shells exploded among our own troops" in the fields around the Tower Battery. $^{\rm 243}$

... "some (of the Navy's shells) came much nearer our own men than those of the enemy." $^{^{\prime\prime}244}$

Others fired so quickly and carelessly....²⁴⁵

Obviously not wanting to be cut off....²⁴⁶

The troopers acted as a rear guard.... 247

... "and by 10 a.m. the entire force was back in camp."²⁴⁸

Confederate Lt. Iredell Jones honestly and soberly wrote....²⁴⁹

Chapter Twelve: Your Gun Deserves to Be Mounted on a Golden Pivot

... "Lieutenant, your gun deserves to be mounted on a golden pivot."²⁵⁰

... "one of the decisive engagements of the war."²⁵¹

... "I believe that the whole eastern line would have fallen in forty-eight hours."²⁵²

... "in that way they would have successfully turned our flank."253

Lieutenant Iredell Jones wrote....²⁵⁴

As Milby Burton has written....²⁵⁵

Captain Alfred Rockwell wrote....²⁵⁶

... "if the attacking column had not set up a cheer ... but had advanced silently" and surprised the sleeping rebs.²⁵⁷

They captured over 200 Springfield and Enfield rifles and muskets....²⁵⁸

This broke down to 107 killed, 487 wounded, and 89 captured or missing.²⁵⁹

- ²⁵⁸ ORA 14:104
- ²⁵⁹ ORA 14:51

²⁴⁰ ORA 14:1014

²⁴¹ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 36

²⁴² Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 56

²⁴³ Copp, op.cit., p. 136

²⁴⁴ ORN 13:104

²⁴⁵ Copp, *op. cit.*, p. 141

²⁴⁶ ORA 14:84; Brennan, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-38

²⁴⁷ ORA 14:85

²⁴⁸ Stevens, op. cit., p. 411

²⁴⁹ SHS, vol. 12, "Letter from Fort Sumter," p. 6

²⁵⁰ Rockford *Chronicle*, Rockford, Alabama, Apr 21, 1916

²⁵¹ Hagood, op. cit., p. 96

²⁵² ORA 14:594

²⁵³ Capers Letters, June 17, 1862

²⁵⁴ SHS, *op. cit.*

²⁵⁵ Burton, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99

²⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 166

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

The corresponding Confederate numbers....²⁶⁰ Perhaps most importantly for historians....²⁶¹ ... "Remember James Island! Remember James Island!"²⁶²

Appendix B: The Brothers: "Him on the one side and me on the other."

The information in this appendix is taken from the article by J. Tracy Power and the book by Terry A. Johnston. See the online bibliography.

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²⁶¹ ORA 14:979-83

²⁶⁰ ORA 14:90

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