

Cartography by Hal Jespersen

GRANT RISING



MAPPING

The Career of a

GREAT

Commander

Through

1862


Narrative by James R. Knight

LS

Lombardy Studios

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Narrative by James R. Knight

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“A picture is worth a thousand words.”

- Napoleon Bonaparte

If the quote attributed to Napoleon above is correct, then a detailed map can tell an entire story. And the 46 maps in this book create much more than just another atlas of the American Civil War.

There are several things that make **Grant Rising** a different type of map book:

- New information not previously published in map form, including Grant’s early life and his pre-Civil War career.
- In addition to the traditional use of red and blue to distinguish opposing sides, different tints of these colors differentiate commands—essential to understanding command relationships in complex battles.
- Different color tints also help distinguish multiple units of the same side, making the action easier to understand.
- Lavish color maps with a shaded relief provide an excellent way to understand the shape of the terrain.
- 3 orders-of-battle are coded to the same command colors on the maps.
- Strategic overview maps place regional operations and battles in context.
- Concise text is supported by quotations from the participants and observers of the era.
- This is both a great reference source and a compelling account of Ulysses S. Grant’s remarkable story.

We are very grateful to Richard Bliss, Scott Pfeiffer, Cammon Randall, and Mark Schumann—and a special thanks to Dennis Donovan of The National Civil War Association (NCWA.org)—who all contributed to the entertaining videos and Kickstarter crowdfunding project that helped us finance this book. These videos can be viewed via the link to our Grant Rising Kickstarter page from the website www.grant-rising.com. We also want to acknowledge the expert assistance of Jimmy Jobe, retired Park Ranger at Fort Donelson National Battlefield, and Tom Parson, National Park Service Ranger at Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center and Shiloh National Military Park.

Hal Jespersen, Jim Knight, and I are pleased to present this book—the first of what we hope to be a unique series of studies that illustrate the military careers of several famous Civil War generals through maps, period illustrations, photographs, and memoirs.

– Dana Lombardy, Publisher

WITHOUT THE GENEROUS SUPPORT OF THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE, *GRANT RISING* WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE.

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Louisa Long Jaffe, LTC (ret) USAR/WAC, in memory of her great-grandfather, Thomas Wilson Long, a veteran of the Athens Guards, Co. K, 3rd GA Infantry Regiment

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“I was no clerk, nor had I any capacity to become one.”*Colonel Ulysses S. Grant*

After seven years as a civilian, Ulysses S. Grant's military career began again in April 1861—if only as only a civilian advisor at first—at a town meeting in Galena, Illinois. President Lincoln's call for 75,000 volunteers to serve for three months had just been published and Grant, because of his military experience, was asked to preside over a patriotic gathering to raise a company of men from the community. Grant agreed to help organize and train the unit and see it properly mustered in at Springfield, but declined an offer to command the company. He had already been a captain. With the new war beginning, he decided to accept nothing less than a colonel's commission and command of a regiment.

Grant took the new company to the Illinois state capital but was not offered a regiment as he hoped. He was, however, asked by Governor Yates to stay and assist in mustering in other Illinois units as they arrived. This Grant agreed to do, but it was frustrating to him to see regiments given to other men with political connections but no military experience while he worked in an office. Having been a quartermaster, he was familiar with army paperwork, but “I was no clerk,” he would later say.¹

In the middle of June, Grant finally got his first command. The 21st Illinois, which Grant mustered in at Mattoon, refused to go into service with their assigned colonel and Grant was sent to replace him. Where their former commander had been flamboyantly hopeless as a leader, Colonel Grant was calm, understated, and professional. Discipline was restored and the 21st began to shape up nicely. On July 3, Grant and his regiment marched west toward the Mississippi River and, within a few days, crossed the river and camped at Palmyra, Missouri.

Not long after arriving in eastern Missouri, Grant was ordered to break up a Confederate camp about 25 miles away. He arrived with his regiment only to find that the rebels had fled at his approach. That, Grant later wrote, taught him an important lesson. “It occurred to me at once that Harris [the Confederate commander] had been as much afraid of me as I had been of him. This was a view of the question I had never taken before; but it was one I never forgot afterwards.”²

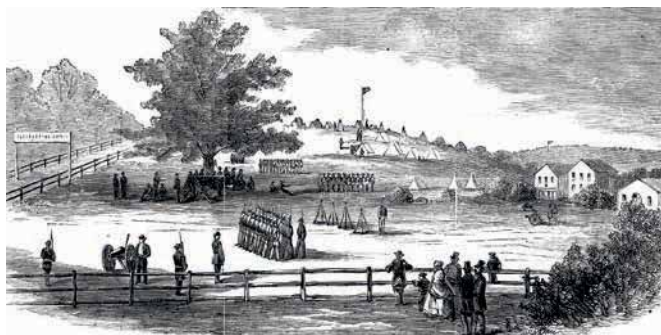
In early August, Grant read in a St. Louis newspaper that he had been made a brigadier general of volunteers. This was partly the work of the congressman from Grant's

district around Galena. Well connected with the Lincoln administration, Representative Elihu Benjamin Washburne would become Grant's defender in the political battles in Washington throughout the war. Newly promoted Brig. Gen. Grant spent most of August in the area west of Cape Girardeau and on September 3 set up his headquarters in Cairo, Illinois, as commander of the District of Southeastern Missouri. He arrived just as things got interesting in Kentucky.

By the middle of June, U.S. Army troops had evicted the elected governor and the pro-Confederate legislature and controlled the state government and much of Missouri. Kentucky, however, continued to serve as an important defensive barrier for the Confederates. As long as it remained officially neutral, Kentucky essentially guarded the entire state of Tennessee by keeping U.S. Army forces north of the Ohio River. Nobody in Richmond, Virginia—the Confederacy's new capital—wanted to see this situation changed until they were ready. Unfortunately, two of their generals would demolish the Kentucky buffer.

Without consulting anyone in Richmond, Confederate Brig. Gen. Gideon Pillow convinced his commander, Maj. Gen. Leonidas Polk, that they should invade western Kentucky. By September 3, Pillow had troops and artillery sitting on the bluffs overlooking the Mississippi River at Columbus. Kentucky's neutrality was ended. Word of the Confederate capture of Columbus came to Grant at Cairo the next day. Within 36 hours, without orders, he commandeered several riverboats and moved two infantry regiments and an artillery battery up the Ohio River and occupied Paducah, Kentucky, at the mouth of the Tennessee River.

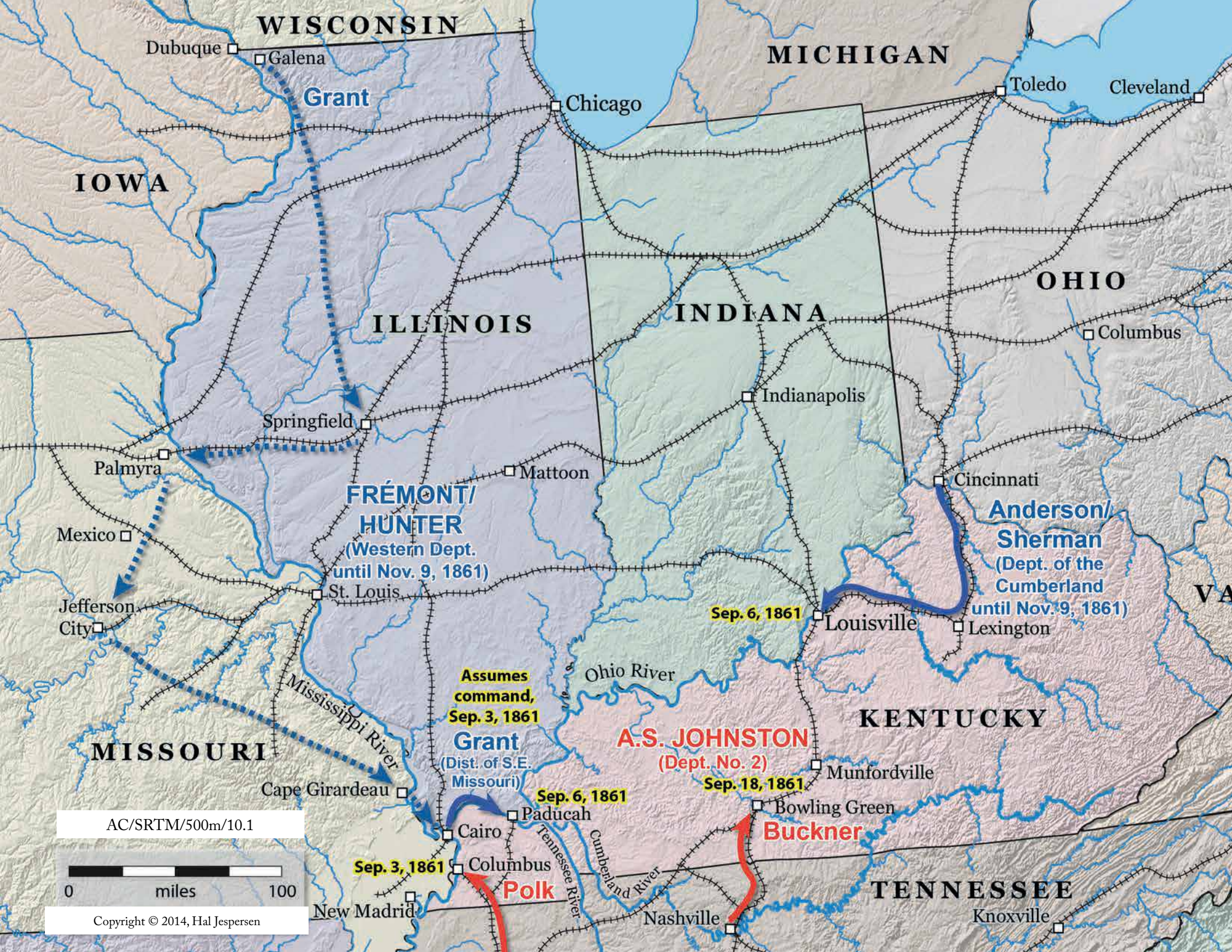
Along with Grant's move to Paducah, Brig. Gen. Robert Anderson also crossed the Kentucky state line from Cincinnati and occupied Louisville. Twelve days later, Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, the new Confederate department commander, sent troops north from Nashville and occupied Bowling Green. Kentucky became a battleground, just like Missouri, but major operations would not occur for the next five months.



Federal volunteers training to become soldiers. HW

¹ Grant, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, 134.

² Grant, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, 164.



“Despite continuing confusion and contention over which service would supply and pay the officers (the navy) and crew (the army), and provide the ordnance and fittings for the boats (both), this hybrid fleet soon achieved an extraordinary record on the western rivers. This success was owing mainly to the personalities and leadership qualities of two men: Andrew H. Foote and Ulysses S. Grant.”

*James M. McPherson*¹

One look at a map of the country between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River showed that strategic operations in the West would be dominated by four major rivers—the Ohio, Cumberland, Tennessee, and Mississippi—and their tributaries. By early September 1861, the Confederates were already busy building forts to control the Tennessee and the Cumberland at the Tennessee state line, and their capture of Columbus, Kentucky, enabled Confederate military forces to effectively block traffic on the Mississippi about 20 miles below Cairo, Illinois. To counter this, the U.S. Army began building a navy.

Barely a month after hostilities began, the U.S. Navy sent Captain John Rodgers (sometimes spelled Rogers) to Cincinnati, Ohio, to assist Maj. Gen. George McClellan in buying and converting commercial riverboats into gunboats. Rodgers quickly found three suitable boats and sent the contract to the Navy Department. He then received the following message:

*The Department can not recognize or sanction any contract for boats. They are not wanted for naval purposes. If they are required for the Army, those whose business and duty it is to procure them will make requisitions on the War Department.*²

The message was clear—the Navy would not pay for Army gunboats.

By August, the *Conestoga*, the *Tyler*, and the *Lexington* were purchased with Army money, converted, and moved down river to Cairo. Along with these “timberclad” wooden gunboats—called that because of their added thick oak “armor” designed to protect the crews from small arms fire—there were a large number of other commercial craft sitting idle because the war had interrupted traffic down the Mississippi. These unarmed civilian riverboats could be pressed into service as cargo and troop transports. It was this ad hoc “Brown Water” fleet that enabled Grant to move so quickly to take Paducah in early September.

While all this was going on, the U.S. Army’s next generation nautical weapon was under construction. In early August, The War Department awarded a contract to James B. Eads of St. Louis to build seven ironclad gunboats, designed by naval architect Samuel M. Pook. With their low silhouette and shell-like superstructure, they came to be called “Pook’s Turtles.” They were designated “City Class” boats and named after the towns along the Ohio and Mississippi.

Building these gunboats was a massive undertaking. A City Class boat was 175 feet long, 51 feet wide, carried 13 guns and 240,000 pounds of iron armor, and displaced 512 tons. Designed to operate on the shallow inland rivers, they drew only six feet of water, could travel at about six knots, and burned a ton of coal per hour. Building these seven ironclads required 35 boilers, 21 steam engines, 18 million feet of white oak lumber, and 800 tons of iron plating. In an early example of what the manufacturing might of the

North could do, the first of these boats would be in combat in just five months.³ The Confederates had nothing on the rivers that could match them.

With this new project underway, the Navy sent one of its most experienced officers to oversee it. When the war began, Captain (later Flag Officer) Andrew Hull Foote was in charge of the Brooklyn Navy Yard. On August 30 he was ordered to St. Louis and given command of what was called “Naval operations upon the Western waters.”⁴ With thirty-nine years of service all over the world, Foote was a sailor’s sailor. He would see the City Class project to completion and take the first boats into combat in early February. Foote would also be a strong supporter of Grant’s offensives during the coming Federal campaigns when his fleet of gunboats and transports provided mobility, firepower, and a lifeline of supplies and reinforcements.

The crews for the gunboats came from river men who knew boats and soldiers who could service the guns. To command them, however, Foote brought in professional naval officers: Lt. Cmdr. Seth L. Phelps commanded the *Conestoga*; Cmdr. Henry Walke the *Tyler*; and Cmdr. Roger M. Stembel the *Lexington*. The *Tyler* and the *Lexington* escorted Grant’s force to Belmont and Phelps in the *Conestoga* made reconnaissance trips up the Cumberland and the Tennessee, almost within sight of both Confederate forts. Finally there was the *Essex*, commanded by Cmdr. William “Dirty Bill” Porter. It was a hybrid—at first a timberclad gunboat, but later refitted with iron armor.

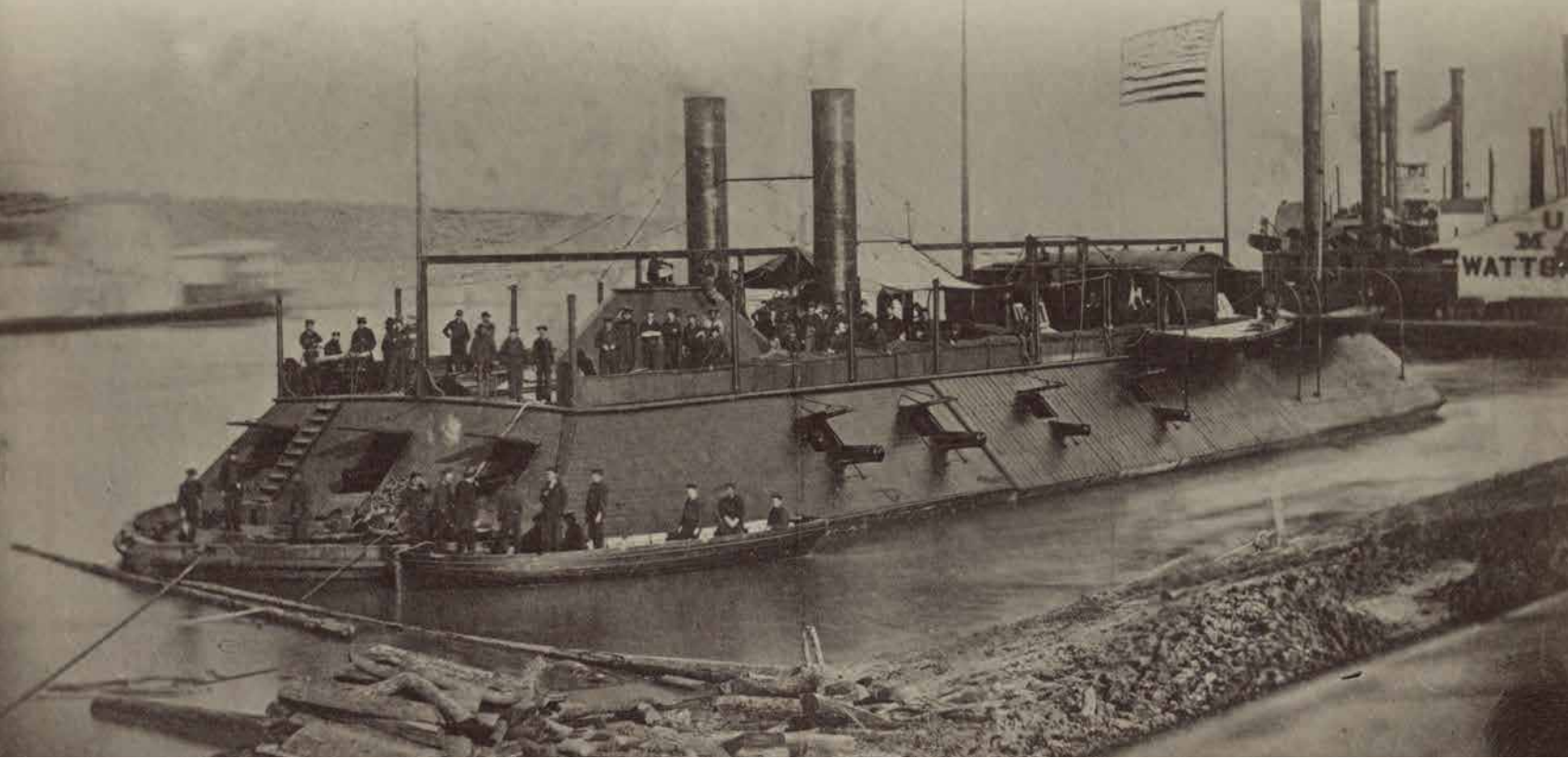
The seven City Class ironclad boats were crewed when they were commissioned, beginning in January. At the beginning of November 1861 the U.S. Army’s “Brown Water Navy” timberclads were masters of the Ohio and Mississippi, down to Columbus, Kentucky, and of the Tennessee and Cumberland up to Fort Henry and Fort Donelson.

¹ James M. McPherson, *War on the Waters: The Union and Confederate Navies, 1861–1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 71–72.

² Commander Rodgers’s orders, reprimand, and correspondence can be found in U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), series 1, vol. 22, 280–285. Hereafter OR-N.

³ Kendall D. Gott, *Where the South Lost the War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2003), 23–28.

⁴ Foote’s orders are found in OR-N series 1, vol. 22.



TOP: The **Cairo** was one of seven new Federal ironclad gunboats specifically built for river operations. It participated in the capture of Nashville and battle of Memphis, but was sunk by Confederate torpedoes (today called mines) during Grant's Yazoo River expedition against Vicksburg. LoC



LEFT: U.S. Navy Captain (later Commodore) John Rodgers converted civilian riverboats to military use—but the Army had to pay for them. LoC

RIGHT: In addition to the five City Class ironclad gunboats listed in the Western Flotilla that attacked Forts Henry and Donelson, the **Cairo** and **Mound City** fought at Island Number 10 and in the Vicksburg campaign. The **Essex** was initially a modified timberclad gunboat called the **New Era** and was refitted as an ironclad gunboat and renamed in late 1861.

WESTERN FLOTILLA AT HENRY AND DONELSON

Flag Officer
Andrew H. Foote *(w)*

USS *St. Louis*
(ironclad)
Lieutenant
Leonard Paulding

USS *Carondelet*
(ironclad)
Commander
Henry Walke

USS *Louisville*
(ironclad)
Commander
Benjamin M. Dove

USS *Pittsburgh*
(ironclad)
Lieutenant
Egbert Thompson

USS *Tyler*
(timberclad)
Lieutenant Commander
William Gwin

USS *Conestoga*
(timberclad)
Lieutenant Commander
Seth L. Phelps

USS *Lexington*
(timberclad)
Lieutenant
James W. Shirk

USS *Essex*
(ironclad)
Commander
William Porter

USS *Cincinnati*
(ironclad)
Commander
Roger N. Stembel

NOTES

USS *Lexington*, USS *Essex*, and USS *Cincinnati* fought only at Fort Henry.



UNITED STATES NAVAL PENNANT

NOTES
Flagship: USS *St. Louis*
(w) by the name of an officer indicates that he was wounded.

JANUARY–MARCH 1862

“If General McClellan does not want to use the army, I would like to borrow it for a time.”

Abraham Lincoln, January 10, 1862¹

Although most of Missouri, Kentucky, and part of western Virginia were secured for the USA, and important Federal outposts along the South’s coastline established, Lincoln’s armies made no successful incursion into the eleven Confederate states in the first eight months of the Civil War. The South appeared secure behind a defensive line that ran from northern Virginia across the Appalachians to the Cumberland Gap and across southern Kentucky to the Mississippi River, then across northern Arkansas to Indian Territory—more than 1,000 miles. To win the war, Federal forces had to break through that line and conquer the CSA. At the beginning of 1862, President Lincoln was determined to go on the offensive—and it would start in spectacular fashion in the West.

One area of the South was of special interest for Lincoln. Eastern Tennessee was pro-Union in sentiment and appealed to Washington for aid from the suppression of its population by the Confederate government. From the time Brig. Gen. Don Carlos Buell took command of the Department of the Ohio in Louisville in November, Lincoln pressed for a movement toward the Cumberland Gap in Kentucky, and, finally in early January, he got it.

On January 19, a Federal force of about 4,000 men under Brig. Gen. George H. Thomas met a slightly larger Confederate force under Maj. Gen. George B. Crittenden and Brig. Gen. Felix K. Zollicoffer at Mill Springs, Kentucky. During the battle, Zollicoffer was killed and the Confederates pushed back over the Cumberland River and scattered into the Kentucky wilderness. Mill Springs was the first significant U.S. victory since the humiliating defeats at Bull Run and Ball’s Bluff.

From his Department of the Missouri headquarters in St. Louis, Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck put two offensives in motion. On February 6, a 15,000-man force under Grant and a gunboat fleet under Andrew Hull Foote moved south. Foote took Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and ten days later, Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River fell to Grant. The entire Confederate line in southern Kentucky collapsed—in only ten days, Ulysses S. Grant and his command had redrawn the strategic map of much of the Western Theater. On February 24, Nashville surrendered to Buell’s troops without a fight, and, on March 7 and 8, in Halleck’s other offensive, Maj. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis’s Federal forces defeated

Maj. Gen. Earl Van Dorn’s Confederates at Pea Ridge in northwest Arkansas.

On the Atlantic coast, combined Army and Navy operations in North Carolina captured Roanoke Island on February 8 and New Bern on March 14. All of these Federal victories were hailed in the North’s newspapers, and political pressure finally motivated Maj. Gen. George McClellan to start the long-anticipated Federal offensive in the East.

McClellan’s plan was to move a 120,000-man army from Washington down the Potomac River, across the Chesapeake Bay, and land them at Fort Monroe near Hampton, Virginia. Before that could be done, however, a historic naval battle was fought.

On March 8, several U.S. warships moored in Hampton Roads were attacked by the new Confederate ironclad gunboat *CSS Virginia* (converted from the captured *USS Merrimack*) and one Federal ship was sunk and another burned. The next morning, the *Virginia* returned to wreak more havoc among the Federal blockade ships, but it was met by a new U.S. ironclad, the *USS Monitor*, which had arrived in the night. After four hours, the world’s first combat between ironclad ships ended in a draw, neither one being able to sink the other.

The day following the *USS Monitor* and *CSS Virginia* duel, McClellan’s immense fleet set off down the Potomac and, by March 17, the troops landed near Fort Monroe. McClellan commanded by far the largest army ever assembled in North America and was only 70 miles from the Confederate capital of Richmond.

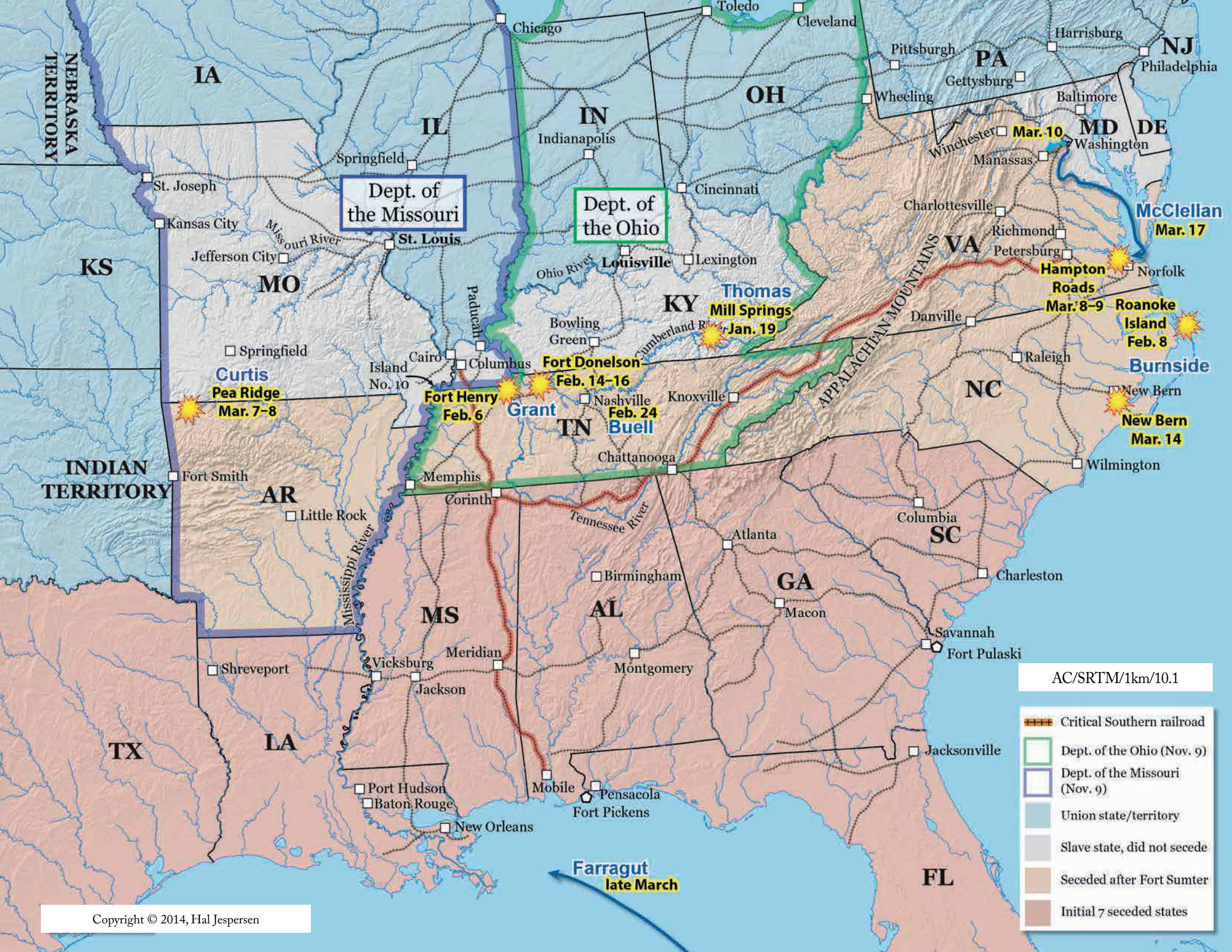
While this was going on in Virginia, the U.S. Navy was also at work in the Gulf of Mexico. In early April, Flag Officer David Glasgow Farragut took his fleet into the mouth of the Mississippi River. On April 24, he ran 13 warships past Forts Jackson and St. Phillip and on April 29 New Orleans—the largest city in the South—surrendered.

In the first months of 1862, Federal forces launched successful attacks against many areas of the South. Several U.S. commanders received national recognition for the roles they played—and one of those leaders was Ulysses S. Grant.



Grant would rise to national prominence after his victory at Fort Donelson. Lacking an image of the general, Harper’s Weekly created this one for its readers. HW








¹ Quote from Don E. Fehrenbacher and Virginia Fehrenbacher, eds, *Recollected Words of Abraham Lincoln* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 332.



Dept. of the Missouri

Dept. of the Ohio

AC/SRTM/1km/10.1

-  Critical Southern railroad
-  Dept. of the Ohio (Nov. 9)
-  Dept. of the Missouri (Nov. 9)
-  Union state/territory
-  Slave state, did not secede
-  Seceded after Fort Sumter
-  Initial 7 seceded states

“Strategy and tactics are the business of the General commanding the department.”*Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck to Brig. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant¹*

As 1862 opened in the West, the strategic situation had changed little during the past four months. Albert Sidney Johnston’s line extended across southern Kentucky, from the Cumberland Gap in the east, through Bowling Green, to Forts Donelson and Henry in Tennessee, and on to Columbus, Kentucky, on the Mississippi River. Opposing him were the Federal forces headquartered at Cairo, Paducah, and Louisville. Many small units of both armies operated all along this line, raiding and reconnoitering in search of information about the enemy.

Accurate numbers on the enemy’s strength was essential for planning purposes, but this vital information was often unknown and routinely overestimated by both sides—sometimes by wide margins. At the beginning of 1862, Johnston officially had on paper almost 70,000 Confederate soldiers as shown in the areas of Tennessee and Kentucky on the map, but they were spread out over a wide area and could not easily reinforce one another. Some of these Confederate soldiers also were not armed, and, although on the rolls, were not present for duty.²

Since September, Johnston made sure that erroneous and inflated reports about his forces made their way across the lines to the Federals. Despite Johnston’s disinformation campaign, in January Don Carlos Buell estimated Confederate strength in central and western Kentucky and western Tennessee at 80,000—just slightly higher than the actual number of 68,700 identified on this map. Johnston, however, believed that Buell’s strength alone was about 80,000 men when in reality Buell’s effectives were closer to half that number.

When Federal forces began their offensives in late January and early February, they used most of Buell’s men and about 15,000 of Grant’s command from Cairo. Even if Johnston had known that the exact numbers of Federals he was initially facing were actually fewer than his department’s total paper strength, he still faced a dilemma. Threats to the river forts by Grant and to Bowling Green by Buell had to be met, but were there additional Federal attacks coming? Johnston could not defend everywhere, but after Fort Henry fell, Johnston’s positions in southern Kentucky were untenable. More Confederate troops rushed to hold Fort Donelson and protect Johnston’s withdrawal across the Cumberland River.

At least Johnston did not have to deal with a divided command structure. In November 1861 Henry W. Halleck took command of the Department of the Missouri at St. Louis

and Don Carlos Buell became head of the Department of the Ohio in Louisville. Both men were West Point graduates who served in the pre-war army. Their immediate boss was George B. McClellan, the army’s commanding general. They also answered to Secretary of War Edwin McMasters Stanton and President Lincoln.

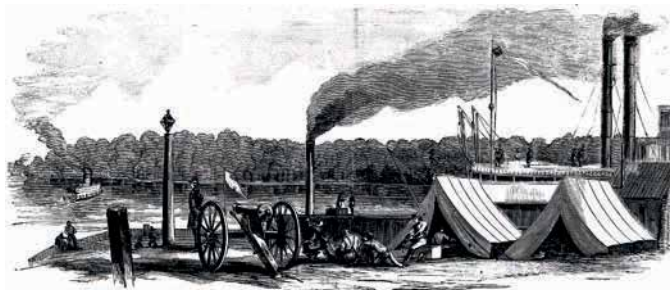
Stanton and Lincoln sent instructions for Halleck and Buell to communicate with each other and act in concert, but Halleck mostly complained about the poor quality of his troops and listed the many problems he faced in Missouri. After several months, all Halleck could report to Stanton and Lincoln was that “I know nothing of General Buell’s intended operations.”³

Halleck was also prodded to move by his subordinates, including Ulysses S. Grant. Halleck did not appreciate receiving advice from a subordinate (hence the quote above from Halleck to Grant), but Halleck finally gave Grant permission to visit him in St. Louis. Grant outlined his desire to move up the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers—exactly the plan that Halleck envisioned for a major offensive. Unfortunately, the meeting in St. Louis was a

disaster. Halleck dismissed Grant’s ideas, was disrespectful, and sent him away.

Halleck did not know Grant personally before their meeting, but he was unimpressed with Grant’s unkempt appearance and suspicious of unfounded rumors that Grant had a drinking problem. As he would prove many times again in the future on the battlefield, Grant did not admit defeat to Halleck’s rebuff. Grant asked the commander of his “brown water navy” Andrew Foote to lobby Halleck for the move against the two Confederate forts, and this pressure, along with Lincoln’s growing impatience and a surprise telegram, finally persuaded Halleck to give Grant authorization to advance.

The long-awaited Federal offensive in the West now began, although Buell and Halleck did very little to cooperate or support one another’s forces.

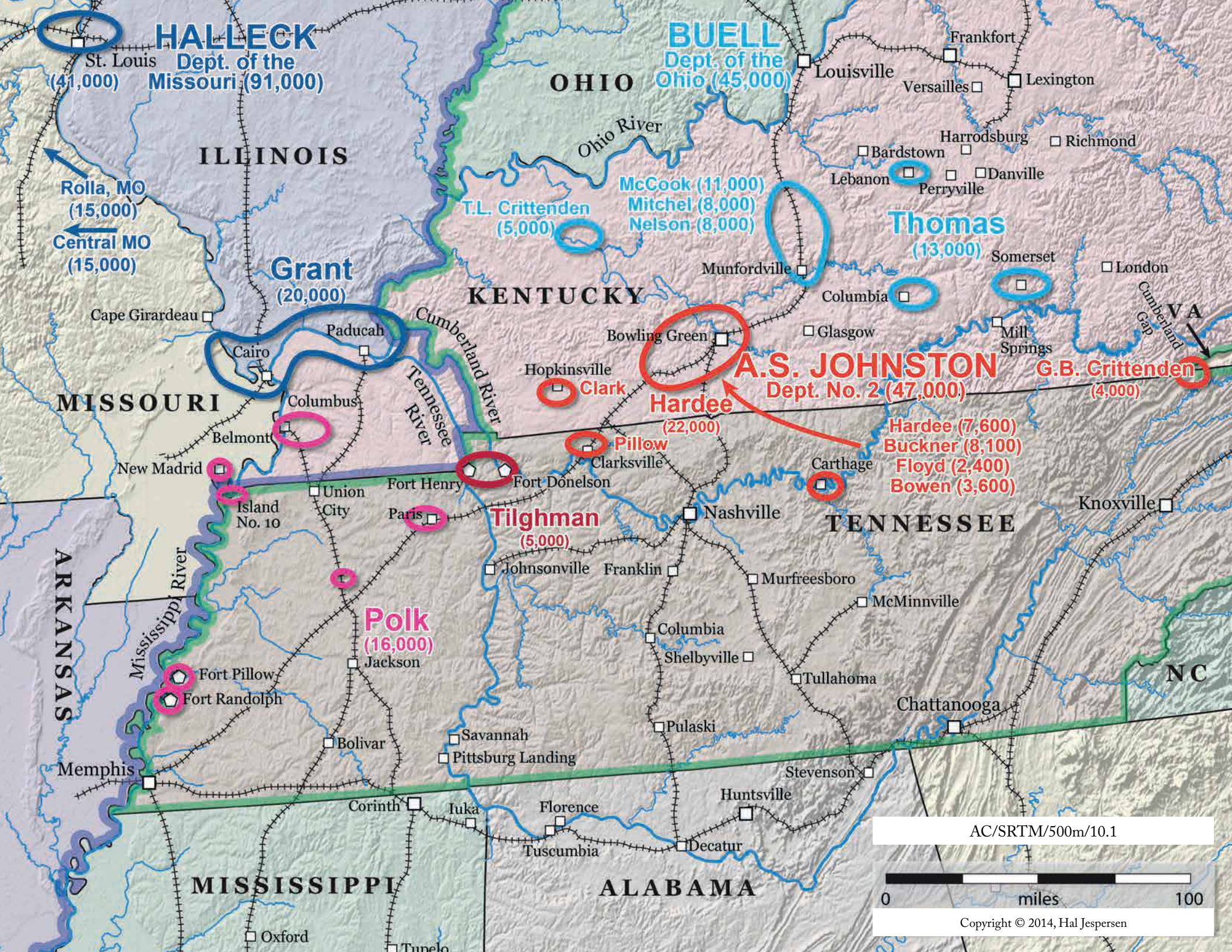


Federal troops guard the Ohio River at their base in Cairo, Illinois. HW

¹ Jack Hurst, *Men of Fire* (New York: Basic Books, 2007), 98.

² Benjamin Franklin Cooling, *Forts Henry and Donelson: the Key to the Confederate Heartland* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987), 40.

³ John F. Marszalek, *Commander of All Lincoln’s Armies: A Life of General Henry W. Halleck* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 115.



HALLECK
Dept. of the Missouri (91,000)

BUELL
Dept. of the Ohio (45,000)

Grant
(20,000)

KENTUCKY

Thomas
(13,000)

Rolla, MO (15,000)
Central MO (15,000)

A.S. JOHNSTON
Dept. No. 2 (47,000)

G.B. Crittenden
(4,000)

Hardee
(22,000)

Hardee (7,600)
Buckner (8,100)
Floyd (2,400)
Bowen (3,600)

MISSOURI

Clark

Pillow

Tilghman
(5,000)

TENNESSEE

Polk
(16,000)

ARKANSAS

NC

MISSISSIPPI

ALABAMA

AC/SRTM/500m/10.1



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CONFEDERATE FIRST NATIONAL FLAG



10TH
BATTLE FLAG



TENNESSEE

FORT DONELSON ARMY OF CENTRAL KENTUCKY

Brigadier General Simon B. Buckner (February 16)
Brigadier General John B. Floyd (February 13–16)
Brigadier General Gideon J. Pillow (February 9–13)
Brigadier General Bushrod R. Johnson (February 9)

18TH TENNESSEE BATTLE FLAG



32ND TENNESSEE BATTLE FLAG



Left Wing: Brigadier General Bushrod R. Johnson***

1st Brigade

Colonel
Adolphus Heiman

*27th Alabama
10th Tennessee
42nd Tennessee
48th Tennessee
51st Tennessee*
53rd Tennessee*

2nd Brigade

Colonel
Thomas J. Davidson
Colonel
John M. Simonton
Colonel
John Gregg

*8th Kentucky
1st Mississippi
23rd (Previously 3rd) Mississippi
7th Texas*

3rd Brigade

Colonel
Joseph Drake

*26th Alabama (two companies)
15th Arkansas
4th Mississippi*

4th Brigade

(Fort Donelson garrison)
Colonel
John W. Head
Colonel
James E. Bailey

*30th Tennessee
49th Tennessee
50th Tennessee
1st Tennessee Battalion
P. K. Stankiewicz's (Taylor's)
Tennessee Battery*

5th Brigade

Colonel
Gabriel C. Wharton

*51st Virginia
56th Virginia*

6th Brigade

Colonel
John McCausland

*36th Virginia
50th Virginia*

7th Brigade

Colonel
William E. Baldwin

*20th Mississippi
26th Mississippi
26th Tennessee*

Right Wing: Brigadier General Simon B. Buckner

2nd Brigade

(attached to 3rd Brigade)

*2nd Kentucky
14th Mississippi
41st Tennessee*

3rd Brigade

Colonel
John C. Brown

*3rd Tennessee
18th Tennessee
32nd Tennessee*

Cavalry Brigade

Lieutenant Colonel
Nathan B. Forrest

*3rd Tennessee
9th Tennessee Battalion
Cos. D/G/K, 1st Kentucky
Melton's Kentucky
Cos. E/F, 11th Tennessee*

Artillery Units

*Culbertson's Tennessee Battery
French's Virginia Battery
Grave's (Cumberland)
Kentucky Battery
Green's Kentucky Battery
Guy's (Goochland)
Virginia Battery
Jackson's Virginia Battery
Maney's Tennessee Battery
Parker's Battery**
Porter's Tennessee Battery
Ross's (Maury's)
Tennessee Battery*

BATTLE OF FORT DONELSON • FEBRUARY 11–16, 1862



34-STAR UNITED STATES NATIONAL FLAG

31ST ILLINOIS
BATTLE FLAG



2ND IOWA
BATTLE FLAG



20TH OHIO
BATTLE FLAG



ARMY IN THE FIELD DISTRICT OF CAIRO Brigadier General Ulysses S. Grant

NOTES

(*w*) by the name of an officer indicates that he was wounded.

When new, Federal regimental battle flags appeared like the 20th Ohio (above far right). After months of campaigning, most flags faded to the appearance of the 31st Illinois (above).

*51st Tennessee was under-strength and its few men served with artillery units at Donelson.

**State unknown. This unit had no guns, and used Ross's guns when those men went to serve the water batteries.

***Brigadier General Gideon J. Pillow in command as of February 15.

‡ These two Federal units were also noted as "not brigaded."

‡ Birge's regiment of Western Sharpshooters fought at Donelson and Shiloh, and were renamed 14th Missouri (West-ern Sharpshooters) by the battle of Corinth.

Italicized Confederate units fought at both Fort Henry and Fort Donelson.

1st Division: Brigadier General John A. McClernand

1st Brigade

Colonel
Richard J. Oglesby

8th Illinois
18th Illinois
29th Illinois
30th Illinois
31st Illinois
Batteries D/E, 2nd Illinois
Light Artillery
Cos. A/B, 2nd Illinois Cavalry
Co. C, 2nd United States Cavalry
Co. I, 4th United States Cavalry
Carmichael's Illinois Cavalry Co.
Dollins's Illinois Cavalry Co.
O'Hartnett's Illinois Cavalry Co.
Stewart's Illinois Cavalry Co.

2nd Brigade

Colonel
William H. L. Wallace

11th Illinois
20th Illinois
45th Illinois
48th Illinois
Battery B (Taylor's), 1st Illinois
Light Artillery
Battery D (McAlister's), 1st
Illinois Light Artillery
4th Illinois Cavalry

3rd Brigade

Colonel
William R. Morrison (*w*)
Colonel
Leonard F. Ross

17th Illinois
49th Illinois

3rd Division: Brigadier General Lew Wallace

1st Brigade

Colonel
Charles Cruft

31st Indiana
44th Indiana
17th Kentucky
25th Kentucky

2nd Brigade

(attached to 3rd Brigade)

46th Illinois
57th Illinois
58th Illinois
20th Ohio (in reserve)

3rd Brigade

Colonel
John M. Thayer

1st Nebraska
58th Ohio
68th Ohio
76th Ohio
Company A, 32nd Illinois‡
Battery A, 1st Illinois
Light Artillery‡

2nd Division: Brigadier General Charles F. Smith

1st Brigade

Colonel
John McArthur

9th Illinois
12th Illinois
41st Illinois

3rd Brigade

Colonel
John Cook

7th Illinois
50th Illinois
52nd Indiana
(fought under Lauman)
12th Iowa
13th Missouri
Batteries D/H/K, 1st Missouri
Light Artillery

4th Brigade

Colonel
Jacob G. Lauman

2nd Iowa
7th Iowa
14th Iowa
25th Indiana
Birge's Western Sharpshooters‡

5th Brigade

Colonel
Morgan L. Smith

11th Indiana
8th Missouri

District of Cairo Rear Guard

(did not participate in the Fort Donelson campaign)

Bird's Point, Missouri

Cairo, Illinois

4th Brigade, 1st Division:

Colonel
James D. Morgan

10th Illinois
16th Illinois
22nd Illinois

Brigade:

Brigadier General
Eleazer A. Paine

51st Illinois,
four artillery batteries

BATTLE OF FORT DONELSON

February 15, 1862: Confederate Breakout

“When I left the National line ... I had no idea that there would be any engagement on land unless I brought it on myself.”

Brig. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, on the morning of February 15, 1862¹

February 14—Valentine’s Day—had not gone well for Grant. He had hoped that the gunboats would silence the water batteries, control the river, and prevent a Confederate escape by steamboats. Instead, the Federal gunboats were badly shot up and retreated.

Now, in the cold early morning light of Saturday, February 15, Grant and some of his staff set out from his headquarters to the river landing to confer with Flag Officer Foote, who had been wounded during the gunboat battle and was confined to his flagship. Grant left orders for his three division commanders to hold their positions and not to bring on any action until he returned. As they were leaving, scattered firing could be heard to the southeast, but Grant was not concerned. The same thing had happened the last two mornings, and this sounded no different.²

Grant’s plan wasn’t the only one that failed on the 14th. The Confederate aborted breakout attempt got a late start and then turned back before the Federal troops even noticed. That night, the Confederate generals decided to try again, but this time to start at sunup. In the frigid darkness, Buckner moved his division of two brigades from the right to the center, leaving only Col. John W. Head’s 30th Tennessee Regiment to hold the earthworks in front of C. F. Smith’s Federal division. Gideon Pillow, meanwhile, formed up five brigades on the Confederate far left in Dover. Just after sunup—and just as Grant was leaving for the steamboat landing—the Confederate attack began.

John McClernand’s division held the Federal right that morning, but the prior evening a brigade under Col. John McArthur had been detached from Smith’s division and sent to help extend the Federal far right flank. Not sure exactly where they were, McArthur led his men through the darkness and into position just to the right of Richard Oglesby’s brigade. It would be one of McArthur’s regiments—Col. Isaac Pugh’s 41st Illinois—that took the first blow the next morning.

Gideon Pillow had many detractors, but he was no coward and he knew how to inspire men on the field.³ He came out of his lines with 14 regiments—at least 8,000 men—and proceeded to batter McClernand’s division. McArthur’s brigade was hit first but soon Rich-

ard Oglesby’s brigade was engaged as well. Within an hour, both were giving ground and the Federal line began to fold back. Sweeping around the Confederate left, Nathan Bedford Forrest led the cavalry in attacking targets of opportunity on the Federal flanks. He would have two horses shot from under him and find 15 bullet holes in his overcoat after the battle.⁴

By mid morning, McClernand’s division was in trouble and requests for help to headquarters went unanswered because Grant was still absent. Finally, McClernand appealed directly to Lew Wallace and his new division for help. Wallace sent a brigade with five regiments under Col. Charles Cruft that slowed but did not stop the retreat. Buckner now launched an attack from the Confederate earthworks against the flanks of Oglesby’s and W. H. L. Wallace’s brigades. Several Federal regiments were out of ammunition and McClernand’s division was coming apart.

By noon, the Federal right had been rolled back for over a mile and McClernand’s division was badly disorganized. Lew Wallace finally

stopped the Confederate advance by moving the rest of his division—eight regiments—to block the Wynn’s Ferry Road. Other units began to form on this line and Wallace turned back three Confederate assaults. By 2 p.m., the Federal retreat finally stopped.

Pillow was all over the field that morning, rallying his troops and pressing the attack. His attack had shattered the right wing of the Federal army and opened the way for the garrison’s escape. He seemed on the verge of a great victory but then two things happened. First, Gideon Pillow made a disastrous decision, and second, Ulysses S. Grant arrived on the field.



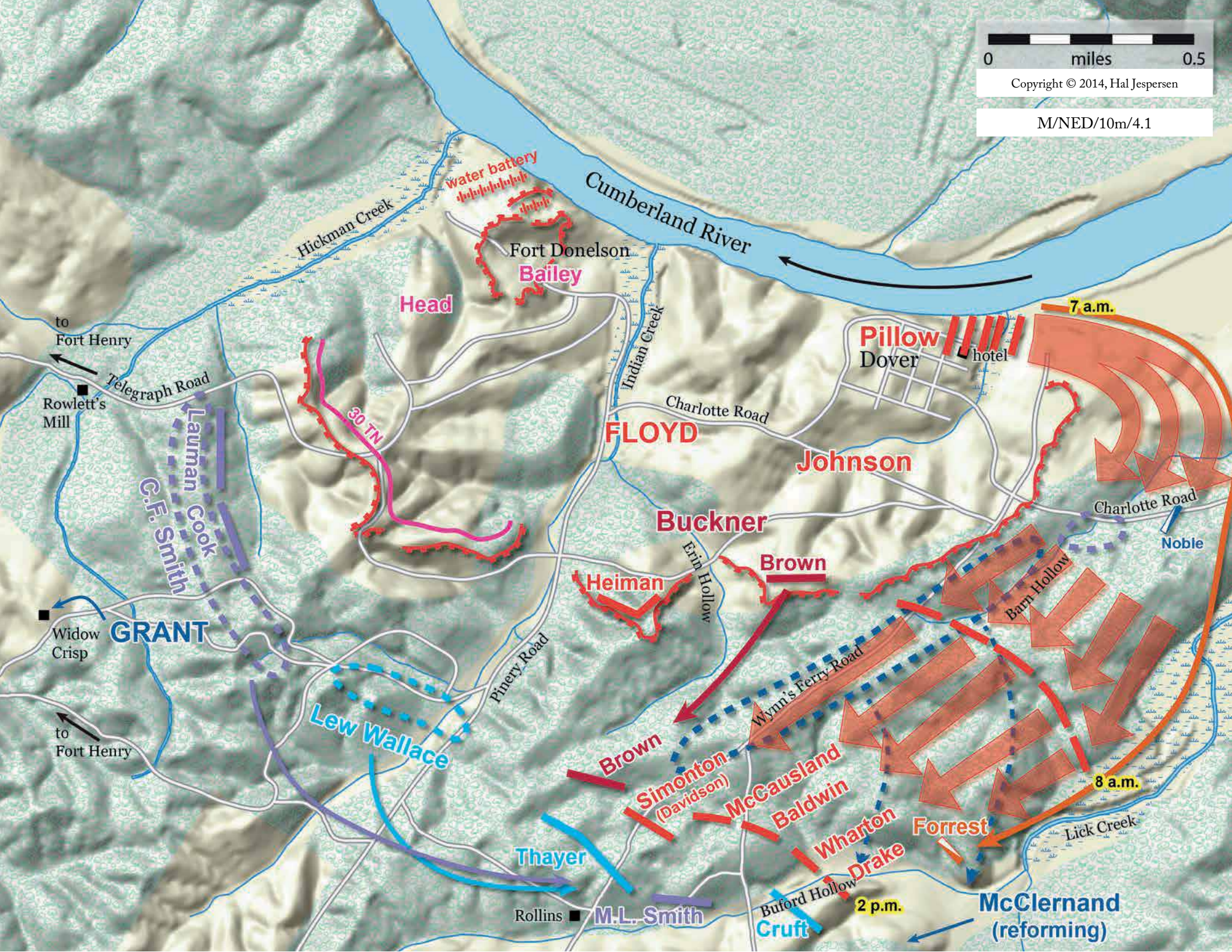
Taylor’s and McAlister’s artillery—Batteries B and D, 1st Illinois Light Artillery—tried to stop the Confederate breakout from Fort Donelson. Nathan Bedford Forrest led a charge that captured Battery D. HW

¹ Grant, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, 204.

² Gott, *Where the South Lost the War*, 194.

³ Pillow’s reputation as an erratic and pompous amateur soldier went back to his service in Mexico. He and Simon Buckner were also personal and political enemies. After the surrender, Buckner told Grant that Pillow feared being taken prisoner more than anything. Grant supposedly replied: “Oh, if I had got him, I’d let him go again. He will do us more good commanding you fellows.” Cooling, *Forts Henry and Donelson*, 212.

⁴ Hurst, *Men of Fire*, 293.



water battery

Cumberland River

Fort Donelson
Bailey

Head

Pellow
Dover
hotel

7 a.m.

FLOYD

Johnson

Buckner

Brown

Heiman

GRANT

Barn Hollow

Lew Wallace

Brown
Simonton
(Davidson)

McCausland
Baldwin

Wharton
Drake

Forrest

8 a.m.

Thayer

M.L. Smith

Cruft

2 p.m.

McClernand
(reforming)

to Fort Henry

Telegraph Road

Rowlett's Mill

Widow Crisp

to Fort Henry

Charlotte Road

Charlotte Road

Noble

Pinery Road

Erin Hollow

Wynn's Ferry Road

Lick Creek

Buford Hollow

BATTLE OF SHILOH

April 6, 1862: 11 a.m. to 2:30 p.m.

“We are in for it now!”

Colonel James Tuttle, commanding the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, Army of the Tennessee¹

By mid day, Albert Sidney Johnston’s entire army was engaged or approaching the front line, which was more than four miles long. Sherman’s and McClernand’s second line had broken and the Federal right was falling back again. A desperate Federal counterattack² temporarily stalled the attackers. Fresh Confederate troops arrived and some began to sweep around the Federal right flank. The decimated remains of Sherman’s and McClernand’s divisions fell back into Jones and Sowell Fields.

On the Confederate right, Chalmers and Jackson’s brigades routed David Stuart’s small brigade.³ Two brigades from Breckinridge’s reserve had come up and were forcing Hurlbut’s two brigades back through a peach orchard to the north edge of Sarah Bell’s old cotton field. Here, however, the Federal line began to stiffen.

John McArthur’s brigade had been sent by W. H. L. Wallace and fell in on Hurlbut’s left on the east side of the Hamburg–Savannah Road, opposite a small pond and the beginning of the old wagon road. To Hurlbut’s right, Prentiss had managed to rally about 1,200 men from his destroyed division. Wallace’s other two brigades extended on Prentiss’s right. Just over 10,000 men and 33 artillery pieces held this center and left of the Federal line which came to be called the “Hornet’s Nest” (also sometimes spelled Hornets’).⁴

Grant, with a crutch strapped to his saddle, was moving across the battlefield, visiting each of his division commanders in turn and encouraging them to hold firm. Help was on the way, he told them. Not long after he arrived that morning, Grant had sent an aide with an order for Lew Wallace, stationed at Crump’s Landing, four miles to the north, to bring his 7,500-man division down to Pittsburg Landing.⁵

The Confederate commander was also roaming the battlefield. Unlike Grant, Albert Sidney Johnston had the luxury of a second-in-command, P. G. T. Beauregard, who initially remained some distance in the rear, performing many of the necessary administrative duties for the army, which left Johnston at liberty to go to the front.

As the Confederate line advanced, Beauregard moved his command post forward and attempted to rally hundreds of troops who were stragglers or malingers. Beauregard also helped direct the fight on the Confederate left, which involved Hardee’s and part of Polk’s corps. Johnston directed the Confederate right, with Bragg’s corps and two of Breckinridge’s three brigades. To accomplish his goal of forcing the Federal forces away

from Pittsburg Landing, he must either break through here or turn this eastern end of the Hornet’s Nest line from the river.

By noon, Johnston and his staff were watching as Breckinridge’s troops began their assault through the Peach Orchard against Hurlbut and Prentiss’s line, only to be thrown back. For the next two hours, several more attempts were made, but all failed to break the Federal line. By 2 p.m., Breckinridge was unable to rally his men for another try, so Johnston led them himself, at least part of the way. A few minutes later, Tennessee

Governor Isham Harris, serving as an aide, returned from delivering a message and found Johnston and his staff on a slight rise, about 300 yards from the Federal line, observing the action. Johnston suddenly began to sway in his saddle and Harris and his aides realized the general had been wounded.

Johnston’s staff moved him down into a sheltered area and began frantically searching for the wound since the general’s personal physician had been left behind to care for some wounded men. Johnston was hit just below his right knee, with the bullet tearing an artery. His high riding boots partially concealed the wound. No one thought to apply a tourniquet, which the general carried in his pocket, and within minutes, Albert Sidney Johnston bled to death.⁶ He remains to this day the highest-ranking American soldier ever killed in action.

By 2:30 p.m., sporadic fighting raged all along the line, as the Confederate left pushed forward and the Federal left held on grimly. At the edge of a peach orchard in Sarah Bell’s field, the Confederate army commander, who wanted to be near the action, lay dead.



The Confederate’s initial surge at Shiloh was stopped at a position nicknamed the “Hornet’s Nest” because of the intense volume of fire coming from this new Federal defense line. B&L

¹ Daniel, *Shiloh*, 206. Tuttle’s men, of W.H.L. Wallace’s division, were in position along the north edge of Duncan Field, on the western end of the so-called Sunken Road (recent studies have shown that the road was not three feet deep). His comment came as he watched the Confederates form up to attack his position.

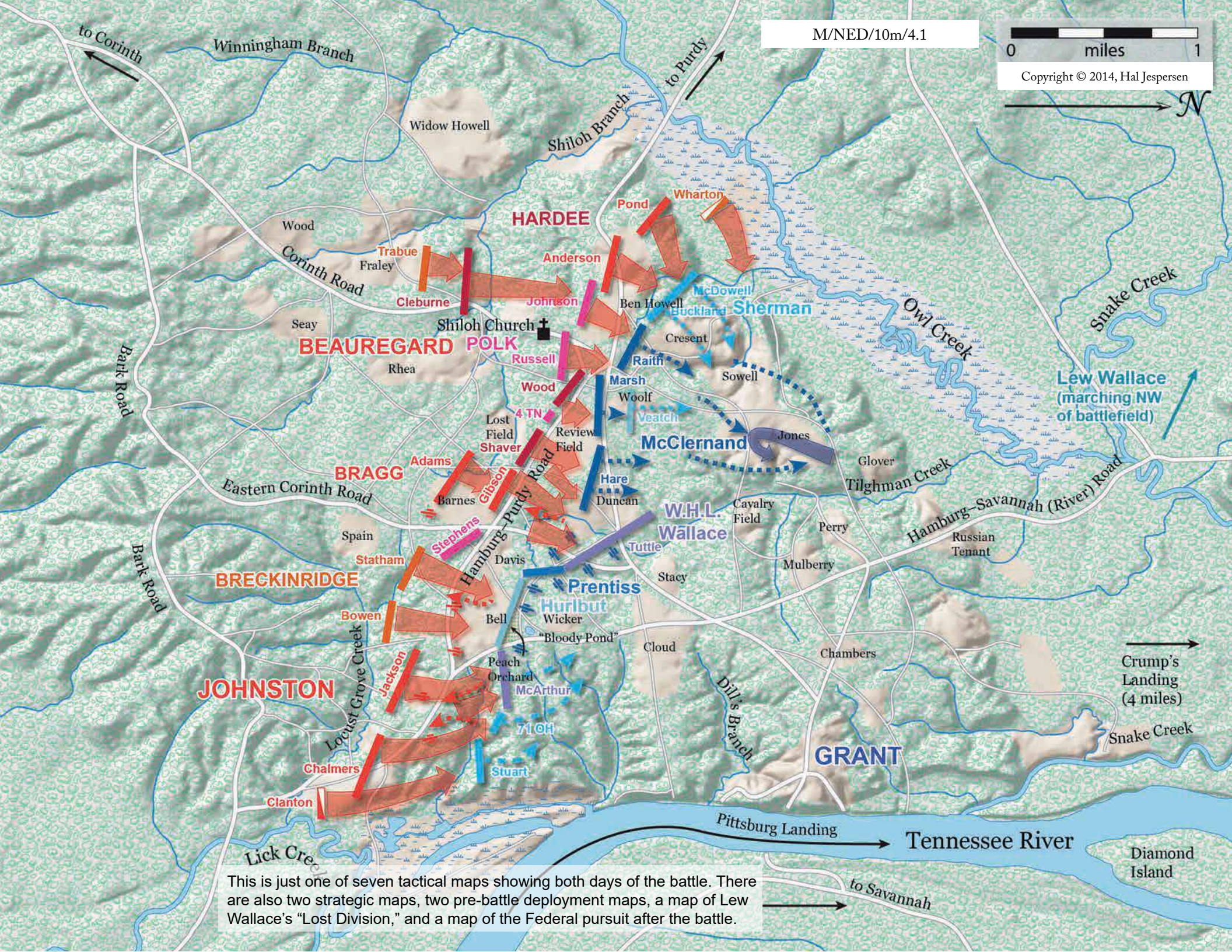
² About 11:30 a.m. Daniel, *Shiloh*, 188.

³ Stuart was wounded and turned over command to Colonel Thomas Smith, but as he was absent, Lieutenant Colonel Oscar Malmberg took temporary command of the brigade.

⁴ Daniel, *Shiloh*, 206.

⁵ Cunningham, *Shiloh*, 160. Lew Wallace said that he received the order at 11:30 a.m.

⁶ Jack D. Welch, *Medical Histories of Confederate Generals* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1995), 118–119.



This is just one of seven tactical maps showing both days of the battle. There are also two strategic maps, two pre-battle deployment maps, a map of Lew Wallace's "Lost Division," and a map of the Federal pursuit after the battle.