

## The Confederate Surrender at Tiptonville and the Conclusion of the Island No. 10 Campaign

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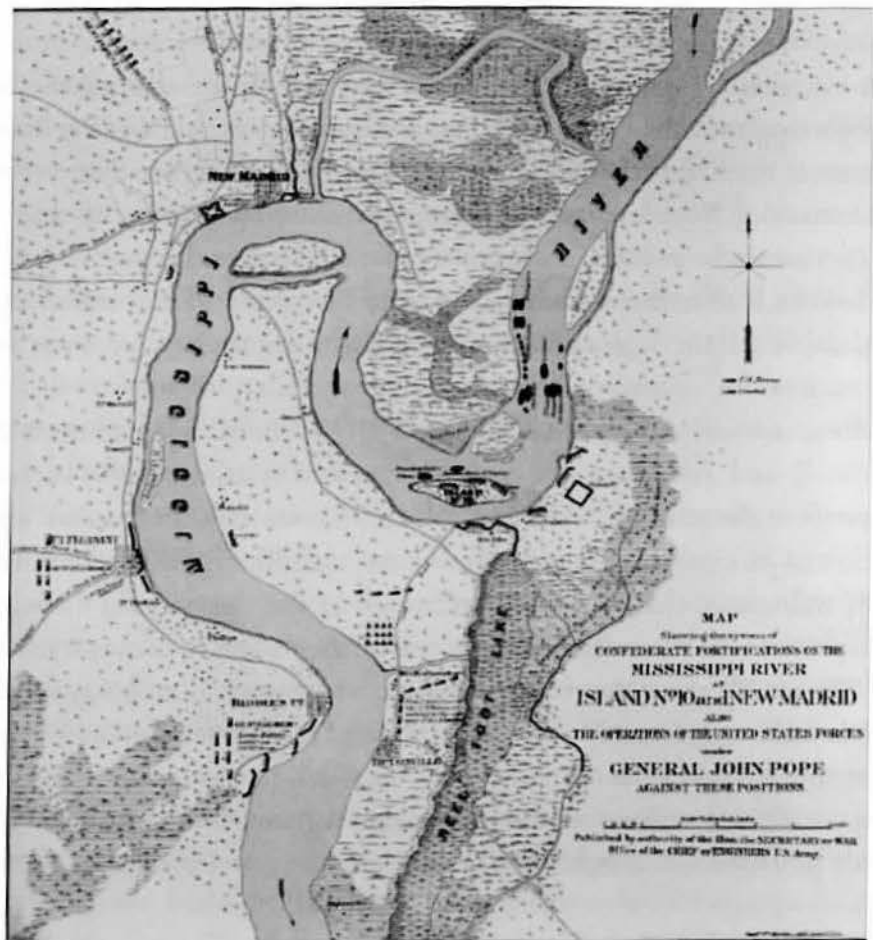
In the early morning hours of April 7, 1862, the skies above the headquarters of Brigadier General John Pope near New Madrid, Missouri flashed with lightning, rumbled with thunder, and rain poured down in sheets. Pope, unable to sleep, paced anxiously inside a modest single-story clap board house that served as the command center for the recently created Army of the Mississippi. Though the severity of the weather concerned him, he could wait no longer and gave the final order to proceed at daylight with the bombardment of the Confederate batteries on the Kentucky shore. After the long-range artillery softened the rebel defenses, two ironclad gunboats would steam down river and shell what remained of the enemy batteries at close range. When the batteries were silenced four transports loaded with a division of infantry, a company of sharpshooters, two companies of cavalry and a battery of light artillery would cross the river, form a perimeter and dig in. With a foothold on Kentucky soil, Pope could land his entire force and dislodge the enemy from Madrid Bend and Island No. 10. At least that was the plan, but no Army had ever attempted to traverse a rapid and high rising river over a mile wide, under enemy fire, and dislodge an entrenched foe of over an estimated 7,500 men. Pope, nonetheless, was confident of success.<sup>1</sup>

Pope later in the war became a contentious figure, but at that moment he was a rising star in the Union Army out to make his mark. He was born in Louisville, Kentucky on March 16, 1822, the son of a prominent Illinois judge who was a close friend of Abraham Lincoln. His uncle was a former Governor of Kentucky and United State Senator, and his lineage could be traced back to George Washington. He entered West Point in 1838 and after four years graduated seventeenth in his class. One of his fellow class mates in 1842 was Alexander P. Stewart, who served in the Confederate Army and opposed him in the Battle of New Madrid. After graduation he was assigned to the Topographical Engineers where he conducted land surveys along the Canadian border. During the Mexican War, he received two brevet

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Cozzens and Robert I. Girardi, eds., *The Military Memoirs of General John Pope* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 55-57; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), ser. I, vol. 8, 655-657 (hereafter cited as ORA). An engraved illustration of General Pope's headquarters is found in Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial History of the Civil War in the United States of America* (Hartford: Thomas Belknap Pub., 1878), vol. II, 248. Pope believed the Confederate forces to number over 7,500 men, but more likely they numbered about 5,000.

promotions for gallantry at the battles of Monterrey and Buena Vista. After the war, Pope returned to the Topographical Engineers and conducted various survey assignments in the American southwest. From 1851 to 1853, he served as chief engineer of the Department of New Mexico. For several years before the commencement of the Civil War, he engaged in surveying a route to California for the Pacific Railroad. In January of 1861, Pope was chosen as one of four military officers to escort President-elect Lincoln from Springfield to Washington.



*Map of New Madrid Area and Island Number 10 with  
Confederate Fortifications in Red and Union Forces in Black  
Library of Congress*

Due to his family connections, he was appointed brigadier general of volunteers on June 14, 1861 and was assigned a command under General John C. Fremont in the Western Department. On December 18, his division engaged in a skirmish and defeated General Sterling Price at Blackwater, Missouri, where it captured 1,200 rebel troops. As more troops arrived, Pope was assigned command of the Army of the Mississippi on February 24, 1862 by

Major General Henry W. Halleck.<sup>2</sup>

The typography of the Madrid Bend and Island No. 10 had very unique natural features that allowed the placement of formidable defensive positions to effectively thwart attack from upriver and impede river traffic. Brigadier General James Debary Trudeau, the Chief of Heavy Artillery at Madrid Bend, referred to the location as the “gates of the Thermopylae of the South” and that it was “indispensable” and must be occupied “strongly and permanently.” As the Mississippi twists and turns through Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee in the form of an inverted S, riverboats had to reduce speed and vigilantly avoid sandbars jetting from the shores. Four miles above Island No. 10, named for being the tenth major island along the Mississippi River after its confluence with the Ohio River, was the easternmost point of the first turn in the river. At the bottom of the first horseshoe curve was Island No. 10, where the river flowed south before encompassing the island and diverting northwest toward New Madrid. New Madrid was the northernmost point of the second horseshoe before the river flowed west and south to Point Pleasant, Missouri and then southeast to Tiptonville, Tennessee. The distance overland from Island No. 10 to Tiptonville was about five miles, yet by river it was twenty-seven miles.<sup>3</sup>

Deep and expansive swamps pervaded the lowlands of both shores of the Mississippi but those on the Kentucky and Tennessee side of the river served as an impassible barrier to overland attack north and east of Madrid Bend, which those in the region called “the Overflow.” To the east of Tiptonville was Reelfoot Lake, a shallow body of water one to nine miles wide and 30 miles long, that could only be crossed by flatboats or rafts through a cypress swamp. The only point of access to the peninsula was a lone wagon road over a narrow bridge of land south of Tiptonville along the river bank of the Mississippi. Island No. 10 was one mile long and 450 yards wide and situated less than a thousand yards from the Tennessee shore and could be easily reached by boat. The island ascended between ten and twenty feet above the river at low water and faced northeast to the oncoming Mississippi. Two-thirds of the island’s surface was heavily timbered and roughly 250 acres. In the center of the island was a farm and orchard.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 376-377; David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, eds., *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War: A Political, Social, and Military History* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2000), vol. 3, 1541-1542; ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 38-40, 566.

<sup>3</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 157; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1894-1927), ser. I, vol. 22, 819-820 (hereafter cited as ORN); Manning F. Force, *From Fort Henry to Corinth* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1881), 66-68; Alfred T. Mahan, *The Gulf and the Inland Waters* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1888), 29-30.

<sup>4</sup> Alpheus Baker, “Island No. 10,” *Southern Bivouac*, September 1882-August 1883, 55; Edward Young McMorries, *History of the First Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry C.S.A.* (Montgomery: Brown Printing Co., 1904),

The campaign for Island No. 10 began on February 28, 1862 when General Pope marched his command from Commerce, Missouri toward New Madrid. After a few brief skirmishes he reached the outskirts of town on March 3, the same day that Federal troops occupied the abandoned rebel defenses at Columbus, Kentucky. Pope commenced digging trenches, gun emplacements and encircling the Confederate troops under recently promoted Major General John P. McCown. On March 12, Pope's siege weapons were in position and at daybreak the next day launched a barrage of cannon and mortar fire which lasted the entire day. McCown, out gunned and outnumbered seven-to-one, evacuated New Madrid to the east shore of the Mississippi River during the early morning hours of the fourteenth. A violent storm mired their progress but the Confederate withdrawal pressed on unnoticed until dawn. Through the heavy morning fog, a flag of truce carried by two Confederate deserters entered the Union lines to announce the end of the siege. The town and rebel defenses were soon occupied and the National flag raised upon the ramparts of the largest fortress. The routed foe left behind twenty-five pieces of heavy artillery, thirty-two batteries of field artillery, several thousand small arms and a substantial amount of ammunition. In their rush, they also abandoned over three hundred mules, enough tents for twelve thousand men and "immense quantity of other property." With the fall of New Madrid, the first objective of the campaign had been met and ended in a decisive victory.<sup>5</sup>

After the evacuation of New Madrid, the Confederates continued to strengthen their gun batteries on the Kentucky and Tennessee banks of the Mississippi and Island No. 10 in preparation for the Union Navy and to prevent Pope's army from crossing. The placement of the cannons, mortars and entrenchments were under the command of General Trudeau, a native of New Orleans, practicing physician and artillery instructor in the Louisiana Militia, and Brigadier General Lucius M. Walker, a native of Columbia, Tennessee, nephew of President James K. Polk and West Point graduate. By the end of March, they had constructed five batteries overlooking the eastern shore of the Mississippi with several earthworks and a square redoubt. On the island there were four batteries all positioned at the head of the island facing upriver. Included with the heavy artillery was a floating battery which mounted nine guns and an assortment of field pieces. There were also a few dozen dismantled guns that were inoperable or awaiting placement. The total number of functional artillery weapons available to strike oncoming Union gunboats was around fifty.<sup>6</sup>

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35; Larry J. Daniel and Lynn N. Bock, *Island No. 10: Struggle for the Mississippi Valley* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996), 4; "Surrender of Island No. 10," *New York Herald* (New York, NY), April 11, 1862.

<sup>5</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 103-104, 108, 126-127, 162-165, 572, 582-583, 609, 613-614, 778-779; Daniel and Bock, *Island No. 10*, 60-67; "The Evacuation of New Madrid," *New York Herald* (New York, NY), March 16, 1862.

<sup>6</sup> Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), 321-322; Bruce S. Allardice, *More Generals in Gray* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 225-227; ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 150-153; Joe Barbiere, *Scraps from the Prison Table at Champ*

With the west bank of the Mississippi River secured across from Madrid Bend and Island No. 10, Pope now required the means to safely transport his troops over to pursue and capture the enemy. He immediately began to remove the heavy artillery pieces from the fortifications about New Madrid and established batteries in "several prominent points along the river" to prevent reinforcements and disrupt the enemy's supply line. The rebels countered and erected gun emplacements across from the Union batteries and at every point where a large invasion force could successfully land. The Confederate and Union lines extended twenty miles south on both sides of the river from the tip of Madrid Bend to five miles beyond Tiptonville. To hinder Pope's progress, the Confederate fleet of six wooden gunboats under Commodore George N. Hollins, a 63-year-old veteran of the War of 1812 and career navy officer, shelled the Union batteries during the daylight hours. As a consequence, Pope's troops worked throughout the night to complete the batteries. The battery at Riddle's Point, a mile upriver from Tiptonville, had two guns planted on the morning of March 18 and was quickly spotted by sailors from Hollins fleet. The Commodore ordered his fleet to steam up and attack, where he was met with cannon balls launched from two 24-pound siege guns and a hail of bullets from entrenched sharpshooters. The result was devastating as one gunboat was seriously damaged and the others were marred in varying degrees. From that time on Hollins never attempted to attack the Union batteries and all supply boats only traveled at night. By March 20, Pope had built another battery downriver five miles and the communication link from Tiptonville was "effectually cut off."<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile above Island No. 10, Commodore Andrew Hull Foote's flotilla arrived on the morning of March 15 fighting turbulent waters. Captain Henry Walke of the U.S.S. Carondelet, wrote that the "strong and muddy current of the river had overflowed its banks and carried away everything moveable" and "houses, trees, fences, and wrecks of all kinds were rapidly being swept down-stream." Despite the treacherous conditions Foote launched an attack at 11 a.m. on March 17 with all five of his ironclads and ten anchored mortar boats upon the upper batteries of Island No. 10 and those on the east side of the river. When the guns ceased at 7 p.m., Foote's fleet fired over six hundred rounds with minimal damage. The Confederate casualties were two killed and ten wounded, while the Union lost fourteen officers and men

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*Chase and Johnson's Island* (Doylestown, PA: W. W. H. Davis, Printer, 1868), 63-65; Walter J. Buttgenbach, "Coast Defense in the Civil War: Island No. 10," *Journal of the United States Artillery*, 39:1, January-February 1913, 331-333; "Surrender Complete and Unconditional," *New York Herald*, April 15, 1862. Trudeau and Barbieri gave a count of forty-seven guns that were operational before April 7, while Buttgenbach stated there were fifty-two and the *New York Herald* published a detailed list of fifty-one mounted and twenty-seven dismantled of various caliber.

<sup>7</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 86-87; Myron J. Smith, Jr., *Civil War Biographies from the Western Waters: 956 Confederate and Union Naval and Military Personnel, Contractors, Politicians, Officials, Steamboat Pilots and Others* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2015), 117; Daniel and Bock, *Island No. 10*, 98-99; "Hot Work up the River," *New Orleans Daily Crescent* (New Orleans, LA), March 22, 1862; "The Gunboat Polk," *Memphis Daily Appeal* (Memphis, TN), March 21, 1862; ORN, ser. I, vol. 22, 741.

killed and wounded. After the bombardment, General McCown reported that the "conflict was terribly severe and long continued" though with very limited effect. Though the loss of life was minimal, Captain Edward W. Rucker stationed at the Battery No. 1, also known as the "Redan Fort," reported that the company flag was "shot down eleven times" and the "last time it was almost buried in the sand." Colonel Alexander J. Brown of the 55<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Volunteer Infantry observed from near Redan Fort that the "enemy's heavy shot and shell poured an almost incessant volume upon our meager earthworks, riddling the parapet in front of our guns, plowing up the earth in every direction and tearing down immense trees in a manner baffling description." For the next eighteen days, the Union and Confederate forces exchanged cannon fire from a distance but with negligible results. Even with the assistance of an observation balloon, the only time that such an aircraft was used in the western theater of the war, the Union mortar shells did little damage to the defenses of Island No. 10.<sup>8</sup>

On the same day as the Union bombardment of Island No. 10, General Pope requested Commodore Foote send two or three gunboats past the enemy batteries to assist his assault on Madrid Bend. It would be one of many messages sent to Foote over the next few weeks asking, if not begging, for naval support to cross the river. Foote, a fifty-six-year-old native of New Haven, Connecticut and a member of the United States Navy since 1822, declined on the ground that it was impractical and believed "it would result in the almost certain destruction of the boats." Not receiving the desired response, Pope consulted his superior General Halleck to intercede in the matter. Halleck inquired on Pope's behalf but his request yielded the same result. On March 27, a frustrated and irritated Pope proposed that since the gunboats were property of the United States that Foote turn two of them over to him and his soldiers would run the gauntlet. The next day Halleck sent Foote a telegram to give "all the assistance in your power by the use of your gunboats" to Pope. Foote called a council of war with his officers on March 29 during which Captain Walke volunteered for the dangerous undertaking. Foote thus ordered Walke to make the attempt on the "first fog or rainy night and to drift your steamer down past the batteries." It would take another six days to prepare the *Carondelet* for the task and the right weather conditions to occur.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Henry Walke, "The Western Flotilla at Fort Donelson, Island Number Ten, Fort Pillow and Memphis," in *Battle and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York: The Century Co., 1887), vol. 1, 439-442; ORN, ser. I, vol. 22, 693-696, 769-772; ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 126-130, 159-161, 620-621, 784-786; "Operations on the Mississippi," *New York Times* (New York, NY), April 1, 1862; Ben La Bree, ed., *The Confederate Soldier in the Civil War, 1861-1865* (Louisville: Prentice Press, 1897), 197.

<sup>9</sup> ORN, ser. I, vol. 22, 697-698, 703-705, 731-734; ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 625, 630, 634-636, 641, 645-646; "A Flag for Rucker," *Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 18, 1862; Cozzens and Girardi, *Memoirs of General John Pope*, 53; Daniel and Bock, *Island No. 10*, 119-123; Smith, *Civil War Biographies from the Western Waters*, 79-80; Walke, "Western Flotilla," 442.

Pope was not idle during Foote's indecisiveness and acted on the suggestion of General Schuyler Hamilton and Colonel Joshua W. Bissell to construct a channel bypassing the batteries on Island No. 10. The plan was to carve a large ditch twelve miles long, fifty feet wide and four and half feet deep through tangled swamps filled with massive trees to St. John's Bayou which entered the Mississippi River just east of New Madrid. The sawing and digging began on March 20 with a regiment of engineers and equipment sent from Cairo, Illinois. Within a few days the number of laborers swelled to over 700 men that worked tirelessly from dawn to dusk. Progress was slow but Bissell's men pierced through to St. John's Bayou on April 4. The men that performed this herculean task were so debilitated at its conclusion that Bissell reported that "his regiment was finished" and only a few dozen fit for further duty. Pope proclaimed it "a monument of enterprise and skill." Four transports and several heavy barges quickly passed through the canal before the river receded. Unfortunately for Pope, the water levels were too low for the gunboats to make the voyage.<sup>10</sup>

Three days before the canal was completed, a daring night reconnaissance was devised by Colonel Napoleon B. Buford and ordered by Commodore Foote on the nearest battery from the anchorage of Union fleet. The mission was led by Colonel George W. Roberts, a brawny 29-year-old attorney from Chicago and the commanding officer of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Illinois Volunteer Infantry. With a hand-picked detachment of fifty men from Company A of his regiment and five ten-men boat crews under the command of First Master John V. Johnston, the expedition set sail from the steam tug *Spitfire* at 11:00 p.m. As they darted toward the Kentucky shore a storm erupted. The five cutters, with muffled oars, silently rowed to within ten yards of the battery before a flash of lightning gave away their position. The enemy sentries called the alarm and fired two shots before scattering off into the night. Without returning fire, Roberts quickly landed his detachment and climbed over the ramparts. An advance guard of twenty men provided protection as the rest began to disable the guns. In less than thirty minutes, Roberts' men spiked all the guns within the parapets and returned to the cutters without firing a shot. By early the next morning, Roberts and his men had returned to the fleet and their gallant exploits praised by the Commodore and their colleagues in arms.<sup>11</sup>

The final preparations for the *Carondelet's* voyage to run the Confederate blockade were completed on the morning of April 4. The upper deck of the gunboat was covered with old planks from a sunken barge, coal bags, lumber and other disposed of materials to protect from shots dropping from above. Surplus chain cables from across the fleet were coiled over

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<sup>10</sup> Joshua W. Bissell, "Sawing Out the Channel above Island Number Ten," in *Battle and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York: The Century Co., 1887), vol. 1, 460-462; Cozzens and Girardi, *Memoirs of General John Pope*, 53; ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 85-90, 731-734.

<sup>11</sup> ORN, ser. I, vol. 22, 706-708, 773-777; ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 123-125; "Spiking the Enemy Guns," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), April 4, 1862; Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events* (G. P. Putnam Co., 1862), vol. 4, 354-355; Smith, *Civil War Biographies from the Western Waters*, 203.

vulnerable parts of the vessel that were not covered by iron plating. The pilothouse was wound up to the windows with 11-inch hawser and cordwood barriers were put about the boilers as well as hot water hoses to repel those who attempted to board. The escape-steam pipes were also redirected to the wheelhouse to prevent exhaust sounds from being vented through smoke stacks. A flatboat filled with hay and coal was later attached to the exposed port side of the ship to protect the magazine. Captain Walke later noted "that the brave old *Carondelet* looked like a farmer's team preparing for market." Walke informed Foote late that afternoon he was going to make the attempt that night.<sup>12</sup>

At twilight, the skies were clear and a bright moon appeared. Walke had concerns that the gunboat's silhouette would be observed under such moonlight and it was decided that the best time to depart would be after the moon set. Earlier in the day, First Master William R. Hoel of the U.S.S. *Cincinnati*, one of the most experienced river pilots in Foote's fleet, along with twenty-three sharpshooters under Captain John A. Hottenstein of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Illinois Volunteer Infantry boarded the *Carondelet*. At 8:00 p.m., Hoel took the wheel and castoff. With the hay filled flatboat properly lashed on and the crew making last minute preparations, Walke peered to the west as the moon dipped closer to the horizon. At 10:00 p.m., the wind picked up and dark ominous clouds blustered overhead. The heavens soon opened up and the rain poured down. Walke recalled, the "dark clouds now rose rapidly over us and enveloped us in total darkness." On the east side of the river, Captain Alpheus Baker of the 1<sup>st</sup> Alabama Volunteer Infantry wrote of that night, "I never saw the sky so suddenly darkened in my recollection and almost immediately there was a dreadful hurricane." A beat to quarters was drummed, the gun ports pulled down and all the lights were extinguished. The *Carondelet*, considered to be the slowest vessel in Foote's fleet, drifted quietly by the submerged and spiked guns of the first enemy battery and then was given the "all speed ahead." She was a difficult ship to steer during fair conditions, but the rapidness of the river and the severity of the storm made it no easier to maneuver.<sup>13</sup>

When the ship came upon the second battery on the Kentucky bank of the river, the smokestacks belched fire from the build-up of soot and the bolts of lightning that lit up the sky. The *Carondelet* was sighted and blasts of flame from the enemy battery soon ensued. John G. Morrison, a sailor aboard the *Carondelet*, wrote in his diary the next day, "they opened fire on us with shot and shell and musketry and they flew around us at an awful rate." With the gun ports closed, the ship's cannon remained silent as it passed the batteries on the riverbank and came

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<sup>12</sup> Henry Walke, *Naval Scenes and Reminiscences of the Civil War in the United States, on the Southern and Western Waters during the Years 1861, 1862 and 1863* (F. R. Reed & Co., 1877), 123-134; Walke, "Western Flotilla," 442.

<sup>13</sup> Walke, *Naval Scenes*, 123-134; Walke, "Western Flotilla," 442-444; Volume 1: 30 July 1861 – 5 August 1862, 4 April 1862, *Civil War Diary of John G. Morrison*, New York State Military Museum and Veteran Research Center, Saratoga Springs, New York.



upon those on the island. "The other batteries hurled tons of shot and shell at the bold craft," a member of the 1<sup>st</sup> Alabama stationed at Battery One (Rucker's Battery) recalled after the war, but the gunboat was not struck once. The Union fleet and mortar boats upriver responded by engaging the rebel guns on Island No. 10. The shells came fast and furious about the *Carondelet*, most passing over the upper deck by "five to thirty yards." The last major deterrent they had to overtake was the floating battery, known by the bluecoats as the "great war elephant," which fired over a half dozen rounds but only hit the flatboat full of hay. The exchange of fire lasted uninterrupted for thirty minutes as the ship pushed up the first bend of the river and steamed northward for New Madrid. It was estimated by *New York Times* newspaper correspondent Franc B. Wilkie that forty-seven shots were fired at the vessel, of which none found their mark. As she approached the town at midnight, the Union batteries mistook the *Carondelet* for an enemy vessel and fired a few rounds across her bow before she was recognized. She ran aground near New Madrid but after shifting the guns worked herself free and arrived unscathed at 1:00 a.m. to cannon salutes and the joyful cheers and embraces of Pope's troops.<sup>14</sup>

The overwhelming success of the *Carondelet* encouraged General Pope to request another gunboat from Foote's fleet to descend the river on the night of April 5. On the same day of Pope's request, possibly through his influence, a petition signed by all the officers of the U.S.S. *Pittsburg* was presented by Lieutenant Egbert Thompson to Commodore Foote offering to participate in such a mission. Foote dragged his feet and would not commit to sending another gunboat. Once again Pope went further up the chain of command, this time to Assistant Secretary of War Thomas A. Scott who forwarded Pope's appeal to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Wells. Foote responded cautiously that preparations had not been foreseen for a second ship and that "a gunboat could not run the blockade tonight without an almost certainty of being sunk in the attempt," yet Foote reluctantly changed his mind and conceded. At 1:25 a.m. on April 7, under very similar conditions as those on the night of April 4, the *Pittsburg* steamed up and made its run. Edward Leaman, the ship's surgeon, reflected in a letter to the editor of the *Ohio Statesman* that "it was as dark as Erebus" and that the "very floodgates of heaven seemed open to drown the rebels and leave us in darkness." A Confederate signal gun was fired soon after they passed the First Battery and then a rapid and sustained cannon fire ensued. After an hour the gun ports were opened, deck lights lit and a single gun fired to indicate safe arrival. The *Pittsburg* arrived near New Madrid at 3:00 a.m. Seventy-three rounds were recorded to have been fired at the gunboat, but not one struck the ship. In a mirror image

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<sup>14</sup> Walke, *Naval Scenes*, 123-134; Walke, "Western Flotilla," 444-445; Diary of John G. Morrison, Vol. 1, 4 April 1862, New York State Military Museum; Baker, "Island No. 10," 60; McMorries, *History of the First Regiment*, 37; Barbara Brooks Tomblin, *The Civil War on the Mississippi: Union Sailors, Gunboat Captains, and the Campaign to Control the River* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2016), 74-76.

of what occurred nearly forty-eight hours earlier, the *Pittsburg* was safely anchored at New Madrid.<sup>15</sup>

It was not long after the *Carondelet* passed the Confederate defenses at Island No. 10 that the question arose on how such well-positioned fortifications could so easily be evaded. Some concluded that the severe weather and extreme darkness of the night explained the failure of the rebel batteries. Captain Walke believed that the muzzles of the cannons were tilted downward to keep the rain out and by the time the gunboat was noticed the guns could not be positioned correctly to fire. One of the ship's pilots overheard a Confederate officer shout "elevate the guns" as they passed, which may seem to validate Walke's theory. It may also explain why the vast number of shells flew over the ship as rebel artilleryists over compensated during the chaos of battle. The last line of defense, the floating battery, was blasted loose from its moorings on the morning of April 3 during a Union salvo and drifted downstream two miles. Thus, the guns of the "great war elephant" were too distant and ineffective. Another more controversial theory was that the morale in the ranks may have played a part in the inaccuracy of the Confederate heavy artillery. The troops of Irish descent, particularly those assigned to the Belmont Battery on Island No. 10, may have intentionally misdirected their fire. The gunners of the Belmont Battery were former laborers from Chicago who were impressed into Confederate service while employed in Memphis. They were disgruntled by the lack of pay and the conditions by which they had to perform their duties. A day before the *Carondelet* made its momentous voyage, they refused to man the battery until their grievances were addressed. A correspondent for the *Buchanan County (Iowa) Guardian* wrote that prisoners he interviewed on April 16 stated that "when the gunboats ran the blockade many of the guns were purposely elevated so as to carry over." Nonetheless, the reporter added "this may have been only an invented excuse for their miserable gunnery."<sup>16</sup>

With the two gunboats downriver from Island No. 10, Pope's grand vision to cross the Mississippi and capture the rebel forces was now within his grasp. A day before the arrival of the *Pittsburg*, Pope selected several officers from his staff to perform a reconnaissance of the enemy batteries on Madrid Bend, where he intended to land his army. To assist in this mission, he sent a request with instructions to Captain Walke to transport his officers to the opposite shore and to test the Confederate defenses. Walke readily complied and at 9:00 a.m. the *Carondelet* lifted anchor from New Madrid and sailed south carrying a couple of dozen sharpshooters under Captain Hottenstein. Within five miles of New Madrid, the first rebel battery at Watson's Landing opened up with their three guns. The impact was nominal as

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<sup>15</sup> ORN, ser. I, vol. 22, 712-719; "The Pittsburg Running the Blockade at No. 10," *Daily Ohio Statesman* (Columbus, OH), April 22, 1862; Baker, "Island No. 10," 56.

<sup>16</sup> Walke, "Western Flotilla," 444; ORN, ser. I, vol. 22, 709; "The Surrender of Island No. 10," *Chicago Tribune*, April 11, 1862; "Correspondent of the Guardian," *Buchanan County Guardian* (Independence, IA), April 29, 1862.

Seaman Morrison jotted in his diary, "we took no notice" and returned fire "with compliments in kind." The gunboat traveled another ten miles to just above Tiptonville locating a half dozen batteries consisting from one to three guns and earthworks less than a mile apart along the entire shore. While at Tiptonville, Captain Walke taunted the Confederate troops by lobbing shells into their camps. After "no signs of animation were visible, we turned round and proceeded upstream to take the batteries in detail" as Morrison recalled. When they returned to the battery at Watson's Landing the *Carondelet* fired all four of its broadside guns at close range. The overpowered defenders scrambled into the woods, except for one brave soul who continued to shoot from behind a large tree long after his compatriots retreated. For twenty minutes he kept returning fire until the gunboat came within a hundred yards and the sharpshooters entered the fray. Wounded in the face, he at last dropped his two rifles and dashed for safer ground. Captain Louis H. Marshall, of Pope's staff, then led a raiding party that spiked the cannons and destroyed the gun carriages. The *Carondelet* returned to New Madrid at 8:00 p.m. with the intelligence Pope required for the next day.<sup>17</sup>

Since the evacuation of New Madrid on the night of March 12, the Confederate troops at Madrid Bend gradually prepared for the Yankee invasion. General McCown, a 46-year-old native of Sevierville, Tennessee, West Point graduate and veteran of the Mexican War, had been in command of Island No. 10 since February 26 but had focused his energies on the batteries upriver. A few guns were moved opposite of Point Pleasant on March 9 when Pope's troops captured the village four days earlier and constructed a battery. On March 20, Major General Leonidas Polk ordered McCown to send field artillery and cavalry to points where enemy troops were assembling on the Missouri side of the river to deter scouting parties from crossing. A week later, McCown began removing guns from the lower batteries on the Tennessee shore to probable landing spots from Madrid Bend to Tiptonville. Polk also informed McCown that "it is of highest importance to hold Island 10 and Madrid Bend to the last extremity." The next day, General P. G. T. Beauregard reiterated Polk's urgency and wrote McCown, "the country looks to you for a determined defense of your position." Though Beauregard appeared to bolster McCown's confidence, it was disingenuous as he had no confidence in McCown's ability as a commander. McCown's impulsive and botched evacuation of New Madrid, exaggerated reports of enemy troop strength and rumored drunkenness on duty sealed his fate. Beauregard removed McCown from command on March 26 and replaced him with Brigadier General William W. Mackall.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Cozzens and Girardi, *Memoirs of General John Pope*, 55; Walke, *Naval Scenes*, 143-146; Walke, "Western Flotilla," 445; Diary of John G. Morrison, Vol. 1, 6 April 1862, New York State Military Museum.

<sup>18</sup> Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 199-200; ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 138-141, 169, 758, 769-772, 774-775, 793-794, 803-804; Alfred Roman, *The Military Operations of General Beauregard in the War Between the States, 1861-1865: Including a Brief Personal Sketch and a Narrative of His Service in the War With Mexico, 1846-48* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1884) 356-358; "Items," *Arkansas True Democrat* (Little Rock, AR), May 1, 1862.

Mackall was a forty-five-year-old Maryland native who served meritoriously and gallantly in the Seminole and Mexican Wars and was the assistant adjutant general of the United States Army before the start of the war. He was on the staff of General Albert Sidney Johnston when he was promoted to command Island No. 10. Mackall reached Tiptonville at 10:00 a.m. on March 31 and assumed command that afternoon. Before McCown departed he told Mackall that the Union "gunboats could do no injury," the canal being dug by Bissell's men "would fail" and that the Confederate "position was safe until the river fell." Mackall inspected the defenses on Island No. 10 and Madrid Bend on the first and second of April, where the regimental officers gave him a much more despondent assessment. He later reported to Beauregard that the "men were broken down by hard labor, dispirited by two recent evacuations, and impressed with the idea that the post was untenable and its defense hopeless."<sup>19</sup>

The rapid decline in morale within the ranks was amplified by the ceaseless bombardment by Foote's flotilla, a growing hostility toward regimental officers, and the irregularity of pay and correspondence from home. The training of the men and lack of equipment were substandard, if non-existent. Captain Baker of the First Alabama wrote that of the one thousand men in his regiment "some had no arms, others flint and steel rifles that had killed squirrels in the days of Daniel Boone" and that "about twenty-five had good percussion muskets." A member of the 46<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Volunteer Infantry, which had a similar issue with outdated weapons, recalled "being drilled very little" and that his company was "employed throwing up fortifications." Another detrimental factor was the infectious diseases that ravaged the Confederate defenders. A measles outbreak was first reported by McCown a day after the evacuation of New Madrid and were soon followed by epidemics of the mumps, typhoid fever and other camp diseases. Just about every church and private residence on Madrid Bend and Tiptonville served as a temporary infirmary. A steamer docked on the Tennessee shore opposite Island No. 10 had the sick "lying on the floor across the cabin, head to wall and feet to feet, with a space of twelve to eighteen inches between each" and the "coughing, wheezing and groans were distressing." "Many died and were buried at Island No. 10 before the surrender," Private Edward Y. McMorries of the First Alabama remembered after the war. A week before the invasion, Colonel Edward D. Blake, Acting Assistant Inspector General, found "about 2,000 effective men and about 1,557 men on the sick report" in Mackall's command.<sup>20</sup>

The morning after the *Carondelet* steamed by Island No. 10, General Mackall was in complete disbelief. When the news was delivered to him at 9:00 a.m. by Colonel Baker, Mackall

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<sup>19</sup> Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 203-204; ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 132.

<sup>20</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 133, 135-137, 780-781, 804-805; H. Blair Bentley, "Morale as a Factor in the Confederate Failure at Island Number Ten," *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers*, vol. 31 (1977), 117-131; Edwin H. Rennolds, *A History of the Henry County Commands which Served in the Confederate States Army* (Jacksonville, FL: Sun Publishing Co., 1904), 181-182; McMorries, *History of the First Regiment*, 39-40.

replied "O[h], no colonel that is a mistake." Though Baker had not witnessed the event, he was certain his source was reliable and reiterated that it had indeed occurred. "He shook his head and smiled incredulously" about such an assumption, Baker noted afterwards. It was not until later in the day that he trusted the reports and decided to take further steps to prepare for a possible Union assault. Under the cover of darkness on April 5 he sent the 11<sup>th</sup> Arkansas Infantry to Watson's Landing, the nearest battery to New Madrid. Mackall believed the first landing would likely be at that location. The regiment began its march at 8:00 p.m. and occupied the battery and rifle pits at 2:00 a.m. the next morning. Without tents and in the rain the men slept until awoken by Union land batteries a little after dawn. A few hours later the *Carondelet* made a brief appearance and fired upon the battery and the 11<sup>th</sup> Arkansas. An artillery duel went back and forth from the shores of Kentucky and Missouri for most of the day. The *Carondelet* reappeared before dusk and disabled the guns at close range. Major James T. Poe penned in his diary that day "the artillerists were compelled to leave their guns and retreat for life" and the men of the 11<sup>th</sup> Arkansas followed and dashed through the large plantation of Daniel Watson to safety. As they looked over their shoulders, they observed a landing party spiking the guns.<sup>21</sup>

On the night of the sixth, Mackall called upon all available infantry units to rally at the center of Madrid Bend with the intention of having a concentrated force within a four or five-mile march to any possible landing point. Mackall estimated his troop strength to be at around 2,500 with 400 of those men unarmed. Captain Baker gave a higher count of 3,500 effectives with 1,500 being sick or without arms. The men, Baker stated, "were in high spirits at the prospect" of finally meeting the enemy. As the dispersed regiments of Mackall's army prepared and began to depart in the early morning hours of the 7<sup>th</sup>, the *Pittsburg* made its successful run past Island No. 10. The initial dispatch that Mackall received claimed that the gunboat had been "gallantly repulsed and driven back," but it was soon proven to be incorrect. The driving rain storm, that allowed the Union gunboat through to New Madrid, greatly impeded the advancement of the Confederates. The soldiers were bogged down on muddy roads and in a few instances, troops became lost in the darkness. By dawn on April 7, Mackall's army had yet to consolidate and the bluecoats were massing to board transports on the opposite shore.<sup>22</sup>

Once General Pope received the full analysis of the strength of the upper batteries from his staff aboard the *Carondelet*, he gave notice to Captain Walke of his intentions to strike at Watson's Landing as quickly as possible after the arrival of the *Pittsburg*. He again requested the

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<sup>21</sup> Baker, "Island No. 10," 60-61; James T. Poe, *The Raving Foe: The Civil War Diary of Major James T. Poe, C.S.A. and the 11<sup>th</sup> Arkansas Volunteers* (Eastland, TX: Longhorn Press, 1967), 31-32; Anthony C. Rushing, *Ranks of Honor: A Regimental History of the 11<sup>th</sup> Arkansas Infantry Regiment and Poe's Cavalry Battalion C.S.A., 1861-1865* (Little Rock: Eagle Press of Little Rock, 1990), 23-24; Lake County Historical Society, *History and Families, Lake County, Tennessee, 1870-1992* (Paducah: Turner Publishing Co., 1993), 150.

<sup>22</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 132-133, 157-158; Baker, "Island No. 10," 61.

assistance of Walke to “go down as day dawns and silence the batteries” and to “hold near the shore until the troops disembark.” When word came of the *Pittsburg’s* successful passage, Pope sent out a series of orders to begin the invasion. The four transports which had been hidden from the enemy’s view on the canal since April 4 were brought down the St. John’s Bayou to New Madrid. The Fourth Division of the Army of the Mississippi, under the command of Brigadier General Eleazar A. Paine, was given the task to cross first and create a foothold on the Kentucky shore. He received Pope’s directive at 4:00 a.m. to “load your command on the steamboats as soon as possible and await further orders.” Major William L. Lothrop, the chief of artillery of the batteries across from Watson’s Landing at Point Pleasant, was told to be prepared to fire his siege cannons at daybreak.<sup>23</sup>

At 5:30 a.m. Paine’s division, which consisted of the 10<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 22<sup>nd</sup> and 51<sup>st</sup> Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiments, Yates’ Sharpshooters, Captain Charles Houghtaling’s Battery and Companies H and I of the 1<sup>st</sup> Illinois Volunteer Cavalry, started from their camp northeast of New Madrid in a downpour to the awaiting transports. Prior to departing, each infantryman was issued sixty rounds of ammunition and two days rations. A soldier from the 8<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, who witnessed the progression to the river shore, documented the military splendor three days later for a Madison newspaper. It read:

The infantry, with its long line of brave soldiery, with bright bayonets, and guns to a ‘right shoulder shift,’ extended as far back as the eye could reach – and the steady tread of their feet kept time to the beating of the drums as they marched on. Then came the cavalry, with its gallant steeds, and more gallant riders, armed with bright sabers and carbines: then the long line of artillery, with its huge cannon: and then followed the long train of transportation wagons, loaded with commissary stores and camp equipage, drawn by ‘long eared horses’ – six to each wagon.

As they impatiently waited to embark, the rain had lightened enough to where the men could see the *Carondelet* sailing downriver.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> ORN, ser. I, vol. 22, 717-718; ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 666-667; Ephraim A. Wilson, *Memoirs of the War*, by Captain Ephram A. Wilson, of Co. “G” 10<sup>th</sup> Illinois Veteran Volunteer Infantry (Cleveland: W.M. Bayne Printing Co., 1893), 86.

<sup>24</sup> “From the 16<sup>th</sup> Illinois,” *Daily Gate City* (Keokuk, IA), April 18, 1862; “The Situation at New Madrid,” *New York Times*, April 7, 1862; Wilson, *Memoirs of the War*, 86; George W. Driggs, *Opening of the Mississippi or Two Years’ Campaigning in the South-West* (Madison, WI: William J. Park & Co., 1864), 85. Houghtaling’s Battery was later known as Battery C, 1<sup>st</sup> Illinois Light Artillery Regiment and Yates’ Sharpshooters were part of the 64<sup>th</sup> Illinois Volunteer Infantry.

The Kentucky shore was barely visible from the rain and morning haze when Captain George A. Williams of the 1<sup>st</sup> United States Infantry, commanding the artillery units directly opposite of Watson's Landing, began the final battle of the campaign. The Confederate batteries immediately returned fire. Captain Walke shoved off from the levee above New Madrid at 6:30 a.m. without the *Pittsburg* as the gunboat was "not ready for service." The *Pittsburg*, whose men had rarely slept in over twenty-four hours, was slow to act and Lieutenant Thompson was in "fear of an accident" if rushed. Once the *Carondelet* came into view, Captain Williams' battery ceased shooting as Walke positioned his gunboat to strike from a closer range. The *Carondelet* was hit twice by the rebel guns but unleashed a barrage from its rifled cannon that sent "shell hissing and spluttering around their heads in every direction." The *Pittsburg* joined the foray after about forty-five minutes by hurling shells from long range across the bow of the *Carondelet* infuriating Captain Walke. Within an hour the guns at Watson's Landing were silenced and the enemy retreated inland. Walke then raised and lowered the ship's flag twice to signal General Pope the crossing could begin and the gunboats would cover the transports. At the same time, a squad of men left the *Carondelet* and went ashore to spike the cannons that had not already been destroyed from the day before. Seaman Morrison recalled that six guns in two separate emplacements had been disabled and the retreating rebels had torched a residence not far from one of the batteries. While ashore a Union spy from the 11<sup>th</sup> Missouri Volunteer Infantry, which had been stationed at Point Pleasant, came forth and informed the officer in command that the enemy was in full retreat toward Tiptonville. He was rushed to the *Carondelet* where Walke sent the spy by a rowboat to inform Pope. Both gunboats then proceeded downriver to Tiptonville to intercept the retreating enemy. It was a little after 9:00 a.m.<sup>25</sup>

The Fourth Division, consisting of roughly 3,500 men, boarded the steamers *Emma*, *Trio*, *W. B. Berry* and the *Hetty Gilmore* and impatiently awaited further orders. Standing before this fleet of ships belching smoke, Pope gave General Paine last minutes instructions and wished him success. At 10:30 a.m., the *Emma* departed first with Paine, the 10<sup>th</sup> Illinois Infantry, the cavalry and wagonloads of entrenching tools. The remaining three transports carried the 16<sup>th</sup>, 22<sup>nd</sup> and 51<sup>st</sup> Illinois Infantry Regiments, the sharpshooters and light artillery battery. The *Emma* cautiously hugged the Missouri shoreline for a few miles before making a turn toward Watson's Landing. Halfway across the Mississippi, the ship was hailed to stop and

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<sup>25</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 88; Cozzens and Girardi, *Memoirs of General John Pope*, 55; ORN, ser. I, vol. 22, 717-718, 726-727; Walke, "Western Flotilla," 445; Diary of John G. Morrison, Vol. 1, 7 April 1862, New York State Military Museum; Walke, *Naval Scenes*, 149-151. Captain Walke was so angered that when Lieutenant Thompson came to congratulate Walke, he responded "Damn you, I don't congratulate you, you skulked behind my boat and fired shells over my deck" and "if you ever do such a thing again I will turn my batteries on you and blow you out of the water." See David S. Stanley, *Personal Memoirs of Major General D. S. Stanley, U.S.A.* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1917), 90.

await a dispatch. In the meantime, the spy who had been rowed ashore from the *Carondelet* finally found his way to Pope and told him of the rebel abandonment of Madrid Bend. Pope could not believe his ears and was overheard by a correspondent of the *New York Tribune* jubilantly saying "I will have every mother's son of them!" He immediately sent his Aid-de-Camp Major C. A. Morgan to inform Paine that, "you will probably find no force to oppose you" and to "march to Tiptonville." The news quickly spread onboard the ship and was met with "cheers and shouts of joy." With the troops in high spirits the *Emma* proceeded to its destination in Kentucky.<sup>26</sup>

The men of the Tenth leapt ashore at noon to find a scene of devastation. The Confederate earthworks were extensive and well-constructed, but the shellfire from the guns of the *Carondelet* and *Pittsburg* had wreaked complete havoc upon them. The ten-foot-high redoubts, several feet thick, were peppered with deep holes and all the cannon had been dismounted and spiked. The largest gun was hit by a shell that blasted away its trunnion, a howitzer was struck in the muzzle and pools of blood found near another. The surrounding trees, gardens, houses and fences showed the same destructive results. In the distance rebel stragglers scattered across the cornfields for the woods. Scouts were rapidly dispatched and after a chase of over a mile and half several were captured. The steamship was emptied and the entrenching tools, which were not needed, stacked upon the breastworks. The *Emma* then got up steam and headed back to New Madrid to collect another regiment. While en route she passed the transport conveying the 16<sup>th</sup> Illinois on its way to Watson's Landing.<sup>27</sup>

General Paine, a stern looking man of forty-eight years of age, was a native of Geauga County, Ohio but was a resident of Monmouth, Illinois when the war began. He was an 1839 graduate of the United States Military Academy, a former representative of the Illinois state legislature and personal friend of Abraham Lincoln. After the 16<sup>th</sup> Illinois disembarked, Paine impressed a captured rebel as a guide and set out for Tiptonville. The 10<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Illinois, organized as the First Brigade, was commanded by Colonel James D. Morgan and led the advance. Paine departed with Morgan and left instructions for the Second Brigade, under Colonel Gilbert W. Cummings, to follow with the artillery and the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 51<sup>st</sup> Illinois. Pickets were pushed forward and the flanks covered as the First Brigade moved as rapidly as possible on the waterlogged roads. One soldier recalled the trail to Tiptonville as being the "crookedest, muddiest, and hardest road to travel that the valley of the Mississippi can boast

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<sup>26</sup> "From Gen. Pope's Column," *Chicago Tribune*, April 12, 1862; "Marching to Attack the Enemy," *Daily Missouri Republican* (St. Louis, MO), April 11, 1862; Wilson, *Memoirs of the War*, 86; Cozzens and Girardi, *Memoirs of General John Pope*, 55-56; Albert D. Richardson, *The Secret Service, the Field, the Dungeon, and the Escape* (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Co., 1865), 233; ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 670.

<sup>27</sup> "From Gen. Pope's Column," *Chicago Tribune*, April 12, 1862; "Marching to Attack the Enemy," *Daily Missouri Republican*, April 11, 1862; "Memphis Tenn., April 15, 1862," *Arkansas True Democrat*, April 24, 1862; Diary of John G. Morrison, Vol. 1, 7 April 1862, New York State Military Museum; ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 109-110.



of." They had not been on the march long before escaped slaves approached the columns of men offering information and requesting protection. Most plantation and home owners sought refuge in the swamps as the men in blue came into view. About two miles from the landing they came across an abandoned rebel encampment and in the neighboring forest enemy pickets were spotted by Lieutenant Theodore Wiseman of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Illinois. Leading three companies, he stormed forward with revolver raised in hand and captured twenty-five unsuspecting rebels.<sup>28</sup>

When the Second Brigade disembarked, Colonel Cummings followed the First Brigade for four or five miles until he reached a fork in the road that went southeast to Island No. 10. Paine directed him to reconnoiter toward the island and cut off any retreat, but to keep near the First Brigade and to quickly unite if it encountered a large enemy in force. The 22<sup>nd</sup> and 51<sup>st</sup> Illinois progressed down the road apprehending more Confederate stragglers that confirmed the evacuation of Island No. 10. The Second Brigade continued to advance until 2:00 p.m. before being ordered to halt and return to the main column. Cummings sent two companies under Lieutenant Colonel Henry E. Hart to probe further toward the island and report back with their findings. The First Division of the Army of the Mississippi, known as the Ohio Brigade, under the command of Brigadier General David S. Stanley was gathering at Watson's Landing when Cummings diverted his force east. The 27<sup>th</sup>, 39<sup>th</sup>, 43<sup>rd</sup> and 63<sup>rd</sup> Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiments, along with Battery F of the 2<sup>nd</sup> United States Regulars debarked and were ordered by Pope to wait for the Second Division under Brigadier General Schuyler Hamilton. Hamilton's Division consisting of the 59<sup>th</sup> Indiana, 5<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Iowa, and 26<sup>th</sup> Missouri Volunteer Infantry Regiments, as well as the 11<sup>th</sup> Ohio Independent Battery, were boarded upon transports at New Madrid as Paine closed in on the fleeing army. The shouts of "Number Tenward" were heard from the ships as they approached the landing.<sup>29</sup>

Following the river, the First Brigade was in full pursuit nipping at the tail of Mackall's rearguard and "oftentimes in sight." A small force of rebel cavalry was observed but fled when pickets approached. Somewhere between eight and nine miles from New Madrid, a line of battle was formed by the Confederate rearguard in a cornfield along the roadside. Paine sent the 10<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Illinois to drive them off, but when they came within range of musket fire the rebels "ran like sheep." The "cursing of the cowardly rebels could be heard on all sides," wrote

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<sup>28</sup> Dieter C. Ullrich and Berry Craig, *General E. A. Paine in Western Kentucky: Assessing the "Reign of Terror" of the Summer of 1864*, 9-10; "From Gen. Pope's Column," *Chicago Tribune*, April 12, 1862; ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 109-110; "Army Correspondence," *Ottawa Free Trader* (Ottawa, IL), May 3, 1862.

<sup>29</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 91-92, 98, 109-110, 112; Clyde C. Walton, *Private Smith's Journal: Recollections of the Late War* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Co., 1963), 30 [incorrectly dated as March 8]; "1862 Journal of the 51<sup>st</sup> Ill. from the time of entering field - April 7, 1862," accessed April 30, 2020, <https://51stillinois.org/journal1862.html>; John Quincy Adams Campbell, *The Union Must Stand: The Civil War Diary of John Quincy Adams Campbell, Fifth Iowa Volunteer Infantry* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 35.

Corporal Andrew S. Anderson of the 16<sup>th</sup> Illinois. The bluecoats followed in pursuit and after a short distance Paine's skirmisher were fired upon and again two regiments formed into line of battle but the rebels fell back. About five miles from Tiptonville, the men stopped for a brief dinner as Paine examined his next move. Lieutenant Colonel Hart returned and informed Cummings that a gunboat and four transports were moored on the Tennessee shore across from Island No. 10 with a hundred or more men camped nearby. They captured five prisoners before the gunboat fired over their head and they rushed back to the main column. After an hour, Paine's division was again on the move. Three miles from Tiptonville the Confederates formed a line of battle but as the Union pickets fired a volley they quickly withdrew. One rebel soldier was killed and one wounded in the exchange of fire. For the next few miles there were frequent skirmishes and before dusk the men clad in butternut again lined up and prepared for battle. Paine deployed his lead regiment one final time and before a musket was raised the rebels departed east toward Reelfoot Lake. After a fourteen-mile march Paine's First Brigade entered Tiptonville at 9:00 p.m. where they found a corduroy road that exited the town and a bridge which the rebels constructed to make their escape. They camped on the same ground that the Confederates previously occupied a few hours earlier. Some of Paine's troops would spend the night in the pitched tents left behind. The Second Brigade was positioned a mile and half northeast of the town "resting on an impenetrable swamp which extended along the enemy's rear."<sup>30</sup>

Two hours earlier, at about 7:00 p.m., General Pope arrived at Watson's Landing to set up his headquarters. He had a strong sense that victory was not far off. Before departing New Madrid, he wrote General Halleck "everything will be over by 12 tonight." He had successfully crossed an army of close to 10,000 men over a mile-wide rapidly flowing river before a well-entrenched enemy in less than eight hours. Not far from the landing, he found the two divisions of Stanley and Hamilton setting up camp in the cornfield of Daniel Watson's plantation. An hour earlier they had "stacked arms & gathered up stalks for beds." Pope however, had other intentions for the men that evening and orders were given to "fall in" and "prepare to march." With Stanley's division in the lead, the troops trekked into the darkness toward Tiptonville. The road conditions which were dreadful in daylight were far more onerous at night. Corporal Benjamin F. Helms of the 59<sup>th</sup> Illinois Volunteer Infantry documented in his diary, that "one would fall down & ½ dozen would pile over him in the mud, [but] all would jump & howl 'Bully for Cox' or any other man." At 10:00, after a march of five or six miles both divisions halted, stacked arms and camped without fire, tents and blankets on a cold and frosty night. Within the hour, the Third Division under Brigadier General John M. Palmer had

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<sup>30</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 109-110, 112; "From Gen. Pope's Column," *Chicago Tribune*, April 12, 1862; "From the 16<sup>th</sup> Illinois," *Daily Gate City*, April 18, 1862; "Surrender Complete," *New York Herald*, April 15, 1862; "1862 Journal of the 51<sup>st</sup> Ill. - April 7, 1862," <https://51stillinois.org/journal1862.html>; Wilson, *Memoirs of the War*, 89-91.

traversed the Mississippi and set up camp near Watson's Landing. Before Pope ended his day, he ordered to Colonel Washington L. Elliott of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Iowa Cavalry to cross with two companies and take possession of the abandoned batteries on the Tennessee shore opposite Island No. 10.<sup>31</sup>

Soon after the bombardment of Watson's Landing at daybreak, General Mackall called a council of war. His intuition told him to withdraw his entire force from Madrid Bend and Island No. 10 before the Union army landed. Beginning with the youngest officer and making his way to the most experienced, he explained his reasoning for this strategy and how it could be accomplished. Without much discussion or debate, the decision was unanimous to vacate the bend and island immediately. At 8:00 a.m. orders were received by the gathered regiments on Madrid Bend under the command of Brigadier General Edward Gantt to prepare four days rations, leave all baggage behind and march toward Tiptonville. Mackall sent his staff engineer, Captain Victor von Scheliha, to oversee the destruction of all fortifications and batteries along the Tennessee shore and Island No. 10. At 10:00 a.m., the rebel army began to move southeast away from the river to avoid detection of Union gunboats spotted near Tiptonville. The "march was slow with many halts," Captain Baker remembered twenty years after the war. Another soldier wrote, we were "marched and counter-marched from point to point to meet expected attacks" though did not fully engage the enemy. By 3:00 p.m., the regiments from Madrid Bend were two miles from Tiptonville where they met General Mackall and the remaining infantry regiments of his army. In an effort to skirt the advancing Federals, Mackall attempted to take lesser used roads to the south and east of Tiptonville. As night came cavalry scouts thundered up to Mackall and reported that the rearguard was being closely pursued in large numbers. Two parallel lines of battle were quickly formed two hundred yards apart facing west with the massive swamps of Reelfoot Lake to their rear. The bluecoats deployed for combat but did not attack. As Mackall gazed at the amber glow on the horizon, General Paine's First Brigade maneuvered into Tiptonville and cut off their escape. His men remained in battle positions well into the night.<sup>32</sup>

The men stationed along the Tennessee shore and on Island No. 10 were unaware of Mackall's retreat nor of the success of Union invasion until late in the afternoon of the seventh.

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<sup>31</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 670, 118-119; "Watson's Landing, South Side Mississippi," *Chicago Tribune*, April 9, 1862; Benjamin F. Helms, *The Civil War Diary of Corporal Benjamin F. Helms, Company I of the 59<sup>th</sup> Indiana Regiment, from January 18, 1862 to January 5, 1865* (Malibu, CA: privately printed, n.d.), 9; "From Gen. Pope's Division," *Pomeroy Telegraph*, April 25, 1862; "The Diary of James T. McClure, 8<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin," accessed May 6, 2020, <https://mcclurediary.wordpress.com/diaries/the-diary-of-james-t-mcclure-8th-wisconsin/>. The monthly returns of the Army of the Mississippi for March 31, 1862 listed Paine's Division at 3,447, Stanley's Division at 3,330, and Hamilton's Division at 2,972 (ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 94). Samuel S. Cox was an anti-war Democrat from Ohio.

<sup>32</sup> Baker, "Island No. 10," 62; Poe, *The Raving Foe*, 32-33; "N. B. Nesbitt, Huntingdon, Tenn.," *Confederate Veteran* 4 (1896): 295; ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 133, 135; Rushing, *Ranks of Honor*, 24; Rennolds, *History of the Henry County Commands*, 182.

Captain Scheliha did not depart for the island until it was too late. He and his escort encountered the pickets of Paine's Second Brigade on the roadway to the island and found it impossible to reach the separated batteries. He galloped back toward Tiptonville where he told Mackall of his futile attempt to destroy the fortifications and batteries. Lieutenant Colonel W. D. S. Cook, who was placed in command of the Island No. 10 by Mackall that morning, had received some sketchy reports from couriers and stragglers but had no direct orders to abandon the post. At 4:00 p.m., he left Captain William Y. C. Humes in charge and crossed to the main shore to speak with the chief of artillery of the land batteries Captain Andrew Jackson Jr. After discussing their predicament, Cook and Jackson agreed that a sizable enemy force was between them and Mackall's army and evacuation should begin early that evening. Two signal flares were to be fired by Jackson at the designated time to initiate the spiking of guns and abandonment of the island. Cook remained on the mainland and organized the withdrawal of his command to Stone's Ferry at the southern point of Reelfoot Lake. While Cook plotted a course of the retreat, Lieutenant Colonel Hart's detachment made their presence known to the Confederate camps across from Island No. 10. Fearing that a larger force was to follow, Lieutenant Samuel W. Averett scuttled the floating battery *New Orleans* that was anchored off shore with all guns and ordinance onboard. When Jackson received word from Averett of the demise of the *New Orleans*, he gave the order to the officers of the batteries to spike the guns and prepare to evacuate. His entire command was on the move toward Stone's Ferry at 6:30 p.m. By some misunderstanding, Jackson never fired the signal rockets before he departed.<sup>33</sup>

Lieutenant Colonel Cook was at the head of his regiment on the road to Stone's Ferry when he was made aware of Jackson's error. He first sent a member of the Signal Corp to contact Captain Humes and then rode back to the landing opposite of the island and ordered the steamer *De Soto* to remove the men. However, there was a delay as there were no engineers to operate the boilers. Cook tolerantly remained until the boat landed at the island and then galloped off into the night back to his command. Whether it was another miscommunication or not, Humes decided to negotiate a surrender by sending the *De Soto* with two of his junior officers to Commodore Foote's flagship three miles upriver along the Missouri shore. Lieutenants George S. Martin and E. C. McDowell boarded the U.S.S. *Benton* at about 10:00 p.m. and spoke with Foote on the capitulation of the island. The Confederate envoys requested permission to "evacuate and carry off their arms, etc." Foote firmly countered with "unconditional surrender." Martin and McDowell responded they would have to return and consult with Humes. Foote ordered Lieutenant Seth L. Phelps to accompany them back to Island No. 10. The captain of the *De Soto* refused to return to the island fearing the rebels would scuttle his ship. A nearby tugboat was used to transport the men back. Hume readily agreed to the terms and at 1:00 a.m. on the eighth, Foote telegraphed Secretary of the Navy

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<sup>33</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 133, 158, 176.

Gideon Wells that Island No. 10 surrendered. The gunboats *St. Louis* and *Mound City*, along with two transports carrying the 15<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry and 27<sup>th</sup> Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiments under Colonel Buford, were sent to take possession of the island and stores of the mainland. Unable to find a safe landing in the darkness, the ships waited until dawn to disembark.<sup>34</sup>

In an abandoned cabin in Tiptonville, General Paine, Colonel Morgan and others in his staff were resting on the floor, when at 2:00 a.m. a knock was heard at the door. The adjutant of General Mackall, Captain Henry B. Davidson, and Captain Scheliha were led in and introduced to Paine. Moments earlier both officers walked to the Union lines under a flag of truce and were ushered under guard to Paine's cabin. In broken English, Scheliha (a former Prussian officer) proclaimed "I am here to surrender Generals Gantt and McCall [Mackall], with about 4,500 men," as Chaplain William H. Collins of the 10<sup>th</sup> Illinois vividly recalled of the event. Scheliha concluded by stating, "I have been in arms all my life and I never thought it would come to this." Paine responded, "such is the fortune of war." A messenger was sent to General Pope at Watson's Landing where he received the victorious news at 4:00 a.m. and awaited a transport for Tiptonville.<sup>35</sup>

Unaware of the surrender, Colonel Elliott and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Iowa Cavalry advanced upon the mainland batteries. They took possession of the batteries, encampments and "immense quantities of stores and supplies" before sunrise. At roughly the same time, the 15<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin under Colonel Hans Christian Hag arrived by transport to guard the captured stores left by the rebels. The combined forces captured over 300 prisoners and seized several steamships and wharf boats at the landing opposite Island No. 10. While foraging through one of the rebel camps, a member of the 15<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin stumbled upon a sergeant and five men of Company I of the 1<sup>st</sup> Alabama, Tennessee and Mississippi Infantry Regiment attempting to flee with their unit's standard. Calling them out, they surrendered to the soldier without a fight and a large silk flag with the inscription "Mississippi Devils - Presented by the Ladies" was confiscated. Three other flags were captured by Heg's men and others by Elliott's. Both officers would claim

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<sup>34</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 158, 176, 720; ORN, ser. I, vol. 22, 777; "Surrender of Island No. 10," *Chicago Tribune*, April 11, 1862; "From Cairo," *Daily Missouri Republican*, April 4, 1862; "The Surrender of Island No. 10," *Ottawa Free Trader*, April 19, 1862; James Mason Hoppin, *Life of Andrew Hull Foote: Rear-admiral United States Navy* (New York: Harper & Bros, 1874), 290-291. Hoppin's biography on Commodore Foote has the transcribed telegram with the time and date of Martin and McDowell boarding the *Benton*, which he claimed was three hours before his surrender message of 1:00 a.m. Captain Humes stated after the surrender that he was unaware of Lieutenant Colonel Cook's order to evacuate the island.

<sup>35</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 89, 109-110; Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, "Biographical Sketch of Maj. Gen. James D. Morgan," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1904* (Springfield, IL: Phillips Bros., 1904), 227-228.

long after the war's conclusion that men from their commands were first to occupy the enemy fortifications and plant the "Stars and Stripes."<sup>36</sup>

As the morning haze gave way, the *St. Louis* and *Mound City* found a place to moor and the men of the 27<sup>th</sup> Illinois climbed the carved earthen steps to the batteries on the island. Humes unceremoniously surrendered the twenty-three guns and the detached companies under his command. Only three of the cannons were spiked. A correspondence for the *Chicago Times*, who landed with Buford, described the island as follows:

There is scarcely a spot ten feet square that is not plowed by the heavy shell of the mortar boats. Certainly, the whole garrison could not have escaped such a searching and galling fire. The heaviest cottonwood are thrown down as if struck by a tornado. The men were forced to seek shelter by burrowing into the ground. Excavations were made to the depth of five or six feet, which were covered over with a roof composed of logs, soil and turf. These underground habitations were numerous throughout the island.

Foote reported to the Secretary of the Navy that "seventeen officers, 368 privates, 100 of their sick, and also 100 men employed in transports are in our hands, unconditional prisoners of war." One of the prisoners was found to be the brother of a soldier in the 27<sup>th</sup> Illinois.<sup>37</sup>

The divisions of Stanley and Hamilton were on the move not long after daylight. As they marched towards Tiptonville, they observed the debris and destruction left behind by the retreating rebels. "Blankets, shotguns, knapsacks, canteens, gun carriages and caissons – scattered in the greatest confusion" and the "farm houses were plundered and gutted," wrote a journalist who accompanied Hamilton's division. When the troops were within a half dozen miles of Tiptonville at about 10:00 a.m., a commotion was heard at the front of the column. Those in the rear thought it was a skirmish but as they marched onward loud cheers arose. The word that Island No. 10 had capitulated to Commodore Foote's flotilla was met with jubilant cries of joy. A few more miles down the road, cheering commenced once again which "made the woods ring." The surrender of the whole Confederate army brought forth a euphoric response from the men. Corporal Helms wrote in his diary of the elated response, "then rang in

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<sup>36</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 89; Lyman B. Pierce, *History of the Second Iowa Cavalry* (Burlington, IA: Hawk-Eye Steam Book and Job Printing Establishment, 1865), 16-17; Benjamin F. Shambaugh, ed., "William Peters Hepburn," *Iowa Biographical Series* (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1919), 59; "The Surrender of Island No. 10," *Ottawa Free Trader*, April 19, 1862; Hans Christian Heg, *The Civil War Letters of Colonel Hans Christian Heg* (Northfield, MN: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1936), 76-77.

<sup>37</sup> "The Surrender of Island No. 10," *Chicago Tribune*, April 11, 1862; "Correspondence of the Guardian," *Buchanan County Guardian*, April 29, 1862; "The Surrender of Island No. 10," *Ottawa Free Trader*, April 19, 1862; ORN, ser. I, vol. 22, 720-721.

the air 3 cheers & caps were tossed in the air & all confusion." At noon, Stanley's and Hamilton's divisions arrived in Tiptonville to a chorus of voices celebrating the victory.<sup>38</sup>

The formal surrender began at 10:00 a.m. on Tuesday morning of April 8. As agreed upon hours earlier during the negotiations of capitulation, Paine marched his men to the Confederate lines less than a mile away. Captain Houghtaling's Battery led the formation, followed by the cavalry and the First Brigade. They halted before the hastily built barricades that the rebels constructed during the night and waited for the Second Brigade under Colonel Cummings. When the Second Brigade arrived a short time later Paine's division formed into a line of battle, the First Brigade in front and the Second to the rear of rebel army. The artillery was placed in the middle and their barrels pointed at the center of the rebel line. Captain Ephram A. Wilson, of Company G of the 10<sup>th</sup> Illinois recaptured in his memoirs what happened next.

Thus, the two armies were drawn up face to face in a battle array. Not a word was said from either side for some minutes, but a silence as still as death itself hung like a pall over all, when at last it was broken by the enemy throwing up their hands in token of their willingness to surrender. Their officers at once caused their arms to be stacked, a strong guard was placed around their encampment, and they, poor fellows, were from that moment prisoners of war.

In a large cornfield that was part of Elizabeth E. Meriwether plantation just north of Tiptonville, the campaign for Island No. 10 had come to an orderly and peaceful end.<sup>39</sup>

The rebel prisoners were dressed in a wide variety of shades and colors but the majority wore coats of butternut brown and jeans. The small arms they relinquished covered the gamut from fine Henry repeater rifles to homemade pikes known by the Yanks as "Arkansas tooth picks." Lieutenant Matthew H. Jamison of Company E of the 10<sup>th</sup> Illinois noted there were "muskets and revolvers and every description of shotgun that had been made up to that time; one of these a giant shotgun that only a giant could carry or wish to fire." The weapons that were not deemed serviceable or worth retaining by the quartermaster were offered as souvenirs for those who wanted them. Though the Union victors may not have been impressed with their uniforms or armaments, they were nonetheless inspired by the character of the men. Captain Wilson found them to be "a fine-looking body of men and boys as you would often see." Lieutenant Jamison was grateful not to have fought the men in battle and recalled that "I feel that I am stating the exact truth in saying that those backwoodsmen whom our company

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<sup>38</sup> "Surrender Complete," *New York Herald*, April 15, 1862; Helms, *Civil War Diary*, 9-10.

<sup>39</sup> Wilson, *Memoirs of the War*, 96; ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 111-113; "The Historic Siege of Island No. 10," *Lake County Banner* (Tiptonville, TN), June 9, 1939.

corralled as prisoners at our outpost could, man for man, have wiped the ground with us on a fair field and no favor." Some encountered old friends like General Stanley who discovered Captain Davidson, a classmate from West Point, amongst the detainees.<sup>40</sup>

At 10:30 General Pope landed at Tiptonville on the steamship *Trio* along with his staff. On his arrival, he was informed of the formal laying down of arms by General Mackall's army. He appeared perturbed that Paine had not delayed the event so he could partake in the victory he devised. Before departing to meet Paine, he jotted down a dispatch to General Halleck declaring 2,000 men had been captured and that Paine's troops were scouring Madrid Bend and "many more prisoners will be taken in the course of the day." He concluded, "everything has worked smoothly and well" and sent the message back with the *Trio* to New Madrid. He then directed mop-up operations to collect arms and property and guard the prisoners until the transports crossed the river. Stanley's Division was recruited by Pope to search for rebel stragglers from Tiptonville to Island No. 10, but not many were found.<sup>41</sup>

Meanwhile at Stone's Ferry, fragments of General Mackall's army that had not surrendered were gathering to escape across Reelfoot Lake. Throughout the night ferryboats had been transporting small groups of men and horses to the eastern side of the lake. When Lieutenant Colonel Cook and his regiment arrived at the landing early that morning, he found a large bottleneck of troops eager to make the journey across. The scene he witnessed was one of confusion and chaos. There a thousand or more soldiers at the landing and the only means to cross were "three ferry-flats and a number of canoes and skiffs." Captain Clement L. Hudson of the cavalry had commandeered all the ferryboats to remove the horses. Annoyed infantrymen stood on the shore and in the waters of dense cypress brake, some up to their armpits, waiting for their opportunity to cross. Tempers came to boil when a soldier from the 12<sup>th</sup> Arkansas Infantry threatened to sink one of the ships with an ax if the cavalrymen did not remove the horses. After a heated exchange, Cook pulled rank and ordered the cavalry to leave the horses until the infantry was across. The damage caused by the weight of the horses sank one of the ferryboats and fears of being captured heightened further. Some of the men hurriedly constructed rafts of timber and attempted the crossing by paddling semi-submerged in the frigid water. Others separated into small groups and trudged through the swamps northeast in an

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<sup>40</sup> Matthew H. Jamison, *Recollections of Pioneer and Army Life* (Kansas City: Hudson Press, 1911), 180; Richardson, *The Secret Service*, 233; Wilson, *Memoirs of the War*, 86-97; Stanley, *Personal Memoirs*, 91.

<sup>41</sup> "From Gen. Pope's Column," *Chicago Tribune*, April 12, 1862; ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 99-100, 675; "From the 43<sup>rd</sup> Regiment," *Belmont Chronicle* (St. Clairsville, OH), April 17, 1862. Pope gives the time of his message to Halleck to be 9:00 a.m. but other sources put the time to be after the surrender at 10:00 a.m. The correspondent from the *Chicago Tribune* who was with Pope lists the time at 10:30 a.m.



effort to reach the interior. About five hundred men made their escape before Union troops came upon them.<sup>42</sup>

When Paine was made aware of the rebel exodus, he immediately sent for Captain Houghtaling's Battery with two cannons, his mounted bodyguard and staff and led them off in a "sweeping gallop" to Stone's Ferry. As they came upon the camp of 51<sup>st</sup> Illinois, Paine gave them the order to follow. The distance was five miles on terribly bad roads but the trip was made in an "incredible short space of time." Houghtaling's men captured two companies of rebel soldiers before they reached the lake and a single mounted soldier guarded them until the infantry's arrival. When Paine was within site of the Stone's Ferry, he placed his guns to overlook the landing and directed the infantry to scour the woods for prisoners. A member of the 51<sup>st</sup> Illinois wrote home, "we found two new six pounders, and loads of clothing, commissary stores and ammunition strewed all round and along the roads" and "arms of all kinds were found under logs, behind fences and in every place to get them out of sight." With the prisoners and collected armaments in tow, Paine returned to Tiptonville.<sup>43</sup>

In the course of sweeping Madrid Bend of stray rebels, an encampment of women was discovered on a tree covered hill not far from a deserted bivouac. There were "12 or 15 of them of different ages, but all young, and more or less fair to look upon" reported an unidentified soldier. About the camp were hoopskirts, petticoats and "unmentionables" hung on branches of nearby trees, along with boots, spurs and a few pantaloons strewn amongst the tents. When asked why they were camped there, they replied they were friends of the imprisoned officers and were left in charge of their baggage. Of course, to the more sophisticated eye these ladies had been practitioners of 'world's oldest profession' and conducting business with the male inhabitants for quite some time. According to the same unnamed man, "these feminine voyageurs were real campaigners" and were "willing to extend their gentle favors to the National officers as to their late protectors."<sup>44</sup>

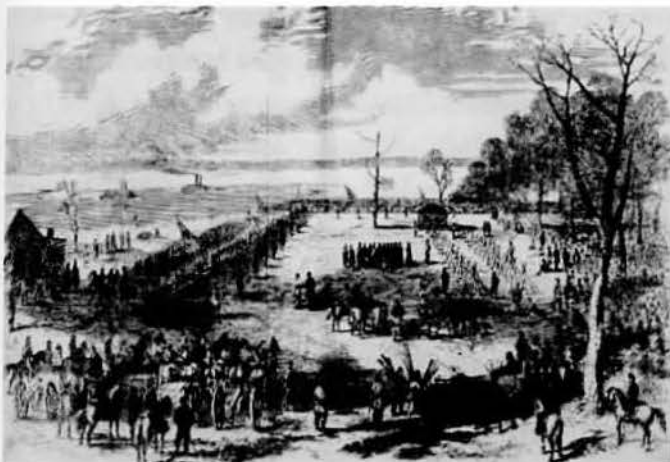
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<sup>42</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 177; Rushing, *Ranks of Honor*, 26; "Capture of Island No. 10," *Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 12, 1862; Lonnie J. White, "Federal Operations at New Madrid and Island Number Ten," *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers*, vol. 17 (1963), 66.

<sup>43</sup> "Army Correspondence," *Ottawa Free Trader*, May 3, 1862; Ullrich and Craig, *General E. A. Paine in Western Kentucky*, 17-18; Commandery of the State of Illinois - Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, *Military Essays and Recollections* (Chicago: The Dial Press, 1899), vol. III, 433.

<sup>44</sup> "Capture and Occupation of Island No. 10," *Plymouth Weekly Democrat* (Plymouth, IN), April 17, 1862; "The Operations at New Madrid and Island No. 10," *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, PA), April 15, 1862; Jenius Henri Browne, *Four Years in Secessia: Adventures Within and Beyond the Union Lines* (Hartford, CT: O. D. Case & Co., 1865), 133-134; [A member of the G. A. R.], *The Picket Line and Camp Fire Stories* (New York: Hurst & Company, 1882), 89-90.

By the end of the day, all but the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 51<sup>st</sup> Illinois under the command of Colonel Cummings remained on the Bend to guard, prepare the prisoners for transfer and to secure the



Confederate Surrender at Island Number Ten  
Leslie's Illustrated Weekly May 3, 1862

captured property. The rest of Pope's army boarded transports and returned to New Madrid. That night the skies opened up yet again and rain came down in torrents and continued throughout the night. Both Union and Confederate were without shelter, but the prisoners were in a far worse state as they were "poorly clad" and had no "blankets to protect from the cold, driving rain." The next morning, the prisoners were delivered to New Madrid where the officers were placed in

deserted buildings and the enlisted men in an open field along the bank of the river north of town. There they remained for an abnormally cold and snowy night. On April 10, the prisoners boarded steamships for Cairo and the seriously sick brought to St. Louis to convalesce. The officers were first sent to Camp Chase and later distributed to Johnson's Island in Sandusky Bay and Fort Warren in Boston. The enlisted men were transferred to Camp Douglas near Chicago or Fort Randall at Madison, Wisconsin. Many that suffered from diseases caused by exposure to the elements prior to departure, would later fill prison hospitals for months. The fortunate would recover but a considerable number would suffer and die as inmates far from their homes. The officers were exchanged during the late spring and summer of 1862 and the enlisted men on September 23, 1862.<sup>45</sup>

The number of prisoners captured has been under scrutiny since the day of the surrender. In Pope's official report to Halleck on May 2, he listed "three generals, 273 field and company officers, [and] 6,700 privates." General Paine stated about 3,900 formally surrendered on the morning of April 8 and that "whole force captured exceeded 5,000 men." A member of the 16<sup>th</sup> Illinois claimed "we got 4,650 secesh" and two generals. Colonel Cummings commented there "were about 3,000 in number" at the formal surrender. A correspondent from the *New York Herald* estimated "about four thousand privates" and about 400 commissioned and non-commissioned officers. Reporters from other newspapers tabulated between five and six thousand prisoners. From a Confederate perspective, Private Daniel P.

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<sup>45</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 104, 112-113, 678, 682; Wilson, *Memoirs of the War*, 97; Barbieri, *Scraps from the Prison Table*, 68; Poe, *The Raving Foe*, 34-35; Rennolds, *History of the Henry County Commands*, 183; "Affairs at Camp Douglas," *Chicago Tribune*, April 15, 1862; "More Rebel Prisoners," *Louisville Daily Democrat* (Louisville, KY), April 18, 1862; Daniel and Bock, *Island No. 10*, 146.

Smith of Company K of the First Alabama, remarked twenty years after the war that the “force numbered 2,000 to 3,000 men.” A resolute Lieutenant Colonel Joe Barbieri of the 1<sup>st</sup> Alabama declared that “we surrendered not exceeding twenty-six hundred men” and only one general and two acting generals. Larry Daniel, co-author of *Island No. 10: Struggle for the Mississippi Valley*, estimated a total of 4,410 were captured after analyzing various primary sources created during and just after the war. Over 4,000 troops would be a fairly accurate approximation of those captured.<sup>46</sup>

Pope may have also over exaggerated the military materials seized following the surrender. His report to Halleck included the capture of “123 pieces of heavy artillery, 35 pieces of field artillery (all of the very best character and latest patterns), 7,000 stand of small arms, tents for 12,000 men, several wharf-boat loads of provisions, an immense quantity of ammunition of all kinds, many hundred horses and mules, with wagons and harnesses, & etc.”



ISLAND NUMBER TEN AFTER THE SURRENDER.—SKETCHED BY MR. A. BOWLER.—[SEE PAGE 20.]

“Island Number Ten After The Surrender”  
*Harper's Weekly* May 3, 1862

However, a comprehensive record of confiscated items was published in the *New York Herald* on April 15 of 78 mounted and dismounted heavy cannons, ten guns from the floating battery and two field guns. Though the article did not discuss the number of small arms, pack animals or other military provisions, it did acknowledge thirteen river vessels and floating battery were either scuttled or abandoned by the rebels. To contradict the Union reports, Lieutenant A. T. Gay published in the *Confederate Veteran* in 1893 that “if they captured more than 100 head of horses they were taken from the citizens in the surrounding country and did not belong to the Confederate service.” After the war many former gray coats would attempt to diminish the

<sup>46</sup> *ORA*, ser. I, vol. 8, 89-90, 110, 112; ; “From the 16<sup>th</sup> Illinois,” *Daily Gate City*, April 18, 1862; “Surrender Complete and Unconditional,” *New York Herald*, April 15, 1862; “The Surrender of Island No. 10,” *Chicago Tribune*, April 11, 1862; “From Island 10,” *Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 22, 1862; Barbieri, *Scraps from the Prison Table*, 69; Walton, *Private Smith's*, 17; Daniel and Bock, *Island No. 10*, 159-160.

success of the Union army at Island No. 10, but the loss was significant and weakened the Confederate war effort in the Western Theater.<sup>47</sup>

Within a few days, Pope's army packed up and marched downriver toward Fort Pillow followed by Foote's flotilla. A brigade of General Palmer's Division was assigned as a garrison and a regiment of engineers was deployed to remove the heavy guns. In the coming weeks over a hundred fugitives were apprehended or voluntarily turned themselves in. A number of bloated corpses were later to be found in Reelfoot Lake and the surrounding swamps. Those that had navigated the quagmire to freedom told harrowing tales of escape. A noted example was Roscoe G. Jennings, the surgeon of 12<sup>th</sup> Arkansas, who wandered lost in the bogs and swamps for two weeks before reaching the Confederate lines ragged and half-starved. Other survivors would tell similar stories. For decades after the war residents of Madrid Bend found guns, swords, accoutrements and even valuables and money in hollowed out trees or in hidden crevices in outbuildings.<sup>48</sup>

Much has changed to Madrid Bend and Island No. 10 since April of 1862. Contemporaries of that time would not recognize the current topography of today. The Mississippi River has vastly altered the landscape. The place where Mackall handed over his sword to Paine is now under the waters of the river. All the wooden structures familiar to that era, the businesses, residences and plantations of Madrid Bend and Tiptonville, have all rotted, collapsed and disappeared over the past century and a half. Island No. 10 is no longer an island but now part of the mainland of Missouri. Mark Twain, who viewed the island before the war, wrote in 1883 that "nothing was left of it but an insignificant little tuft, and this was no longer near the Kentucky shore; it was clear over against the opposite shore, a mile away." Naval historian Commander Alfred T. Mahan documented in 1888 that "the scene of so much interest and energy has disappeared." What exists presently are a handful of historical markers in Lake County, Tennessee and New Madrid County, Missouri that briefly highlight the successes of the Union forces and the failures of the Confederates.<sup>49</sup>

The legacy of the Island No. 10 Campaign was greatly overshadowed by the fierce battle at Pittsburg Landing which began a day earlier on April 6 and ended the day Paine's division

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<sup>47</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 89-90; "Surrender Complete and Unconditional," *New York Herald*, April 15, 1862; "Correct History Wanted," *Confederate Veteran* 1 (1893): 337.

<sup>48</sup> ORA, ser. I, vol. 8, 682-683; Walke, *Naval Scenes and Reminiscences*, 245; "The Latest News by Telegraph," *Chicago Tribune*, June 18, 1862 and May 1, 1862; "Capture of Island No. 10," *Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 12, 1862; *The Goodspeed Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Pulaski, Jefferson, Lonoke, Faulkner, Grant, Saline, Perry, Garland and Hot Spring Counties, Arkansas* (Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1889), 472-472; *Centennial History of Arkansas* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1922), vol. 2, 153; "The Historic Siege of Island No. 10," *Lake County Banner*, June 9, 1939.

<sup>49</sup> "The Historic Siege of Island No. 10," *Lake County Banner*, June 9, 1939; Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1883), 289; Mahan, *The Gulf and the Inland Waters*, 36.

landed at Madrid Bend. The victory faded quickly in the press as the long casualty lists from the Battle of Shiloh consumed the headlines. McCown, Mackall and Gantt never recovered from the disgrace of capitulating without a fight and spent the rest of the war defending their actions. The bulk of the blame fell upon McCown for the evacuation of New Madrid which effectively doomed the troops on Island No. 10 and Madrid Bend to their eventual fate. Beauregard dubbed McCown's mismanaged withdrawal as "the poorest defense made by any fortified post during the whole course of the war." He was court-martialed in March of 1863 for disobedience of orders after he led a failed attack at Stone's River. Soon after his exchange in August of 1862 Mackall delivered his official report to General Beauregard and President Jefferson Davis. Beauregard vindicated Mackall's actions at Island No. 10 but Davis declared them as being "unsatisfactory." Mackall served as district commander in several locations before becoming chief of staff to General Braxton Bragg in April of 1863 and to General Joseph E. Johnston in January of 1864. He served only in administrative roles for the duration of the war. Gantt returned to his home in Arkansas after his exchange where he had a change of heart and began to support the Union cause and denounce the Confederacy. He fled north and did not return until the war's conclusion. Pope was promoted to command the Army of Virginia in June of 1862, where he had great misfortune of directing the Union disaster at Second Manassas. Pope spent the rest of the war in outposts in the Northwest extinguishing Native American uprisings. Paine distinguished himself further at Corinth and Farmington, Mississippi but while visiting wounded soldiers in May of 1862 he contracted typhoid fever which left him physically incapable of serving in the field. For the remainder of the war, Paine commanded posts at Tuscumbia, Gallatin and Tullahoma. He returned to the Jackson Purchase in July of 1864 as commander of the District of Western Kentucky headquartered at Paducah. His time in the Purchase would be remembered by the inhabitants as the "reign of terror," for which he was court-martialed in February of 1865. Though acquitted on all charges except one, a denouncement of a superior officer in public, Paine's military career ended in disgrace.<sup>50</sup>

Pope may have summarized the final day of the campaign best in his own words when he wrote in his memoirs, "we crossed a great river in the face of an active enemy, we pursued and captured their whole force and all its supplies and works, and re-crossed the river to New Madrid without an accident or any loss in men or material."<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> William C. Davis, ed., *The Confederate General* (Harrisburg, PA: National Historical Society, 1991), vol. 4, 114-115, 126; *ORA*, ser. I, vol. 8, 132-135; Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 199-200, 203-204; Allardice, *More Generals in Grey*, 95-96; Warner, *Generals in Blue*, 376-377; Ullrich and Craig, *General E. A. Paine in Western Kentucky*, 18-24, 29-30, 79, 109-110.

<sup>51</sup> Cozzens and Girardi, *Memoirs of General John Pope*, 57.