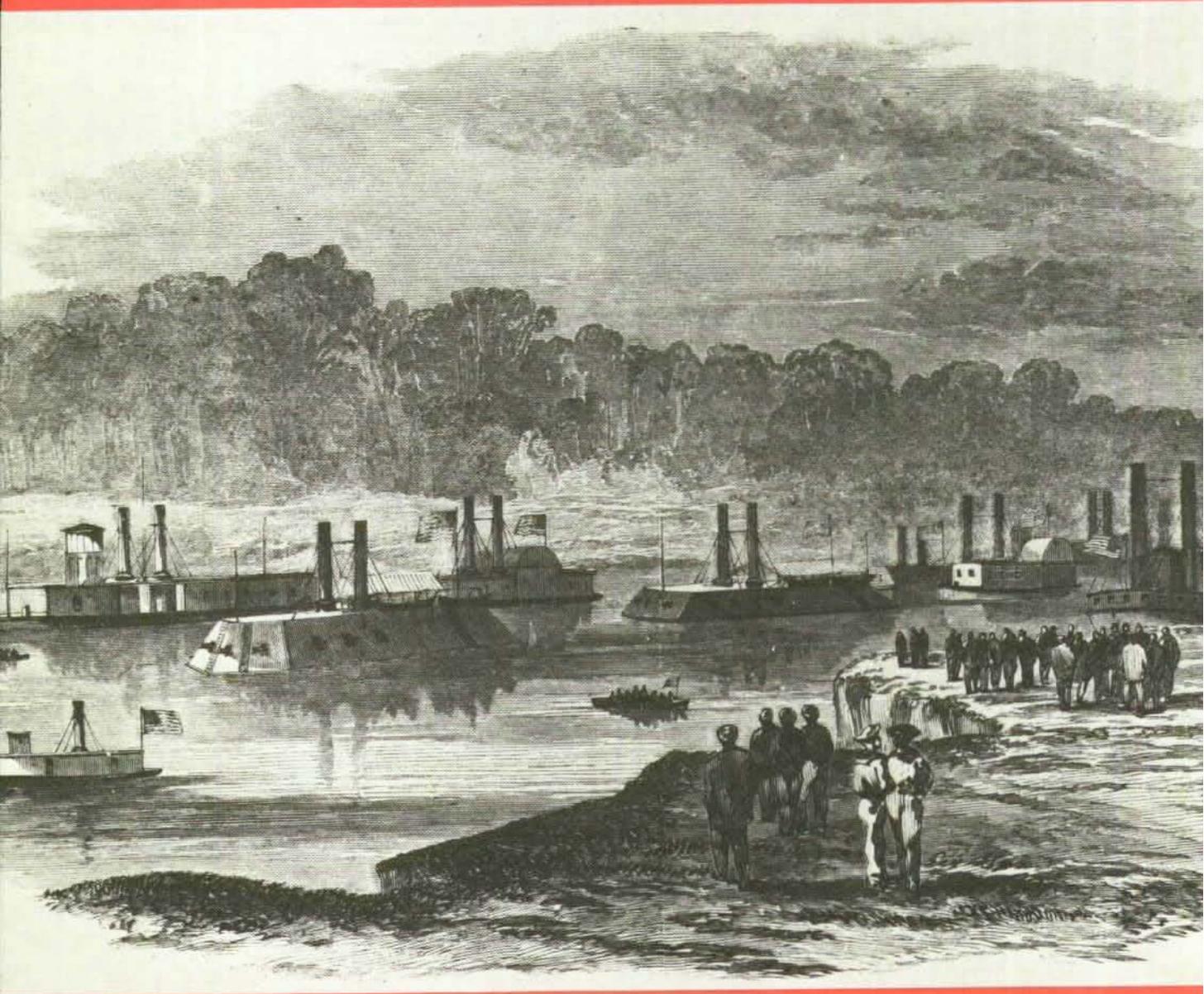


CIVIL WAR MARINE

A Diary of The Red River Expedition, 1864



HISTORY AND MUSEUMS DIVISION
HEADQUARTERS, U.S. MARINE CORPS
WASHINGTON D.C.

Cover: Rear Admiral David Dixon Porter's assembled flotilla at the mouth of the Red River as visualized in a sketch appearing in the March 1864 issue of Harper's Weekly. (USN Photo NH 59082).

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A Diary of The Red River Expedition, 1864

Edited and Annotated by

James P. Jones and Edward F. Keuchel



HISTORY AND MUSEUMS DIVISION
HEADQUARTERS, U. S. MARINE CORPS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY
HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20380

FOREWORD

A short time ago, Dr. Edward F. Keuchel, a member of the Department of History, Florida State University, acquired the journal of a Civil War Marine officer, Frank L. Church. A career officer, Church maintained a personal journal through most of the Red River Expedition of 1864. The Red River was a major trouble spot for the Federal river forces in the west, and during the expedition of 1864, Church commanded the Marine guard on the U. S. Steamer Black Hawk, Admiral David Dixon Porter's flagship of the Mississippi Squadron, and the Cricket, a tinclad, which served as flagship for the expedition.

Together with Dr. James P. Jones, a colleague in the history department at Florida State and a Civil War expert, Dr. Keuchel has edited and annotated the Church journal and has provided an interesting vignette of Federal Marine Corps service in the Civil War and especially in one of the campaigns in which Marines served.

Dr. Jones is a graduate of the University of Florida, receiving his Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, and Doctor of Philosophy degrees from that institution. His specialty area is the U. S. Civil War and he has written extensively on that period. Among his publications is "Black Jack": John A. Logan and Southern Illinois in the Civil War Era (Tallahassee, 1967). A graduate of Rockhurst College, Dr. Keuchel received his MA from the University of Kansas and his PhD from Cornell University; both advanced degrees were taken in the field of American history. His specialty area is American economic history, and he is currently Director of the Florida State University Program in Oral History.

In the interest of accuracy and objectivity, the History and Museums Division welcomes comments on this pamphlet from interested individuals.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "E. H. Simmons", is positioned above the printed name.

E. H. SIMMONS

Brigadier General., U. S. Marine Corps (Ret.)
Director of Marine Corps History and Museums

Reviewed and Approved:
19 February 1975

PREFACE

The Southern states responded to the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 and to the President's call for troops on April 15, 1861, by calling state conventions to vote on secession. With a war between the states imminent, many officers from all branches of Federal service tendered their resignations and offered their services to the Southern states.

The Marine Corps, which consisted of 63 officers and 1,712 enlisted men on 31 October 1860, lost 20 officers to the Southern Confederacy. Six resigned and 14 were dismissed when their resignations were rejected. Twelve were citizens of southern states, five were from border states, while three were citizens of northern states. Of the 20, 19 were company-grade officers.

To compensate for its losses and to increase the size of the Corps, the Marine Corps commissioned 38 new officers in early 1861 and a number of others in subsequent years. The peak strength during the war was reached on 28 February 1865 when 90 officers (including five retired but recalled for active duty) and 3,791 enlisted men were carried on the rolls for a total of 3,881.

Frank L. Church was commissioned in July 1862. The Marines of the Corps with whom he was to serve saw combat primarily as members of ships' detachments, landing to fight ashore only on a few occasions. Those Marines who served ashore, did so either as part of a ships' landing force or while directly assigned to units of the Union Army. In either case, the numbers were not overwhelming. The events described in the Church journal represent only one very small incident in a much larger, wider ranging war. But this chronicle of his Civil War experiences is of interest, nonetheless, for the light it sheds on one small facet of that war.

The final editing of this manuscript was done by Mr. Ralph W. Donnelly, Assistant Head, Reference Section, who also selected some of the photographs appearing in this booklet, and Mr. Benis M. Frank, Head, Oral History Unit, History and Museums Division, who prepared the manuscript package for publication. The final draft was typed by Lance Corporal Carl W. Rice, USMC, Histories Branch, History and Museums Division, and the Word Processing Center, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps.

Edward F. Keuchel

Edward F. Keuchel

James P. Jones
James P. Jones

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreward iii

Preface iv

Introduction 1

Frank L. Church, Civil War Marine 3

The Journal of Frank L. Church 29

Epilogue 60

Bibliography 80

Illustration Credits 83

Index 84

Map: Valley of the Red River, La., from Mississippi
River to Shreveport 1865 (reprint from Atlas to
accompany The Official Records of the Union and
Confederate Armies 1861-1865, Series I, Vol.
XXXIV, Part I) Insert

INTRODUCTION

Reminiscences or personal papers of Marines of the Civil War period are quite scarce, and the publication of any can be considered a "find" for the historian of the Marines in the Civil War.

Historian of the Corps Major Richard S. Collum was one of those who served during the war who also wrote about it. Collum published in 1886 a short article, "Services of the Marines During the Civil War," but this article was sketchy and essentially an outline for his treatment of the war in his History of the United States Marine Corps (Philadelphia, 1886). The personal flavor is missing from these publications.

Another wartime officer, First Lieutenant Frederick Tomlinson Peet (USMC, 1862-1869), published a small volume entitled Personal Experiences in the Civil War (New York, 1905) in which he devoted one chapter, "With the Marine Corps at Charleston Harbor; and on the Steamship 'Niagara'," to his Marine Corps experiences. This particular version contains some details, but the type of detailed information usually found in letters or diaries is almost absent.

Lieutenant Peet's Civil War material was utilized in 1917 in the publication of the Civil War Letters and Documents of Frederick Tomlinson Peet, but this volume was not circulated widely. A copy is reported to be at Columbia University, but it is not in the holdings of the Library of Congress.

Unfortunately, a known set of annual diaries by Marine officer Henry Clay Cochrane was destroyed by fire when the USS Black Hawk burned on 23 April 1865, shortly after Cochrane had relieved Lieutenant Frank L. Church. Cochrane's unpublished papers, containing some Civil War references, are preserved today in the Marine Corps Museum Collection Unit.

Another promising source of manuscript material was expected to be the McLane Tilton papers, also held by the Marine Corps Museum, but inspection revealed that the collection consists primarily of letters from Tilton's two cruises as a fleet Marine officer. Only one Civil War letter, dated 28 October 1861 describing, in part, an abortive "cutting out expedition" off Fort Pickens, Fla., survives.

First-hand accounts by enlisted men are even more scarce. Between 1915 and 1918, four brief articles appeared in The Recruiters' Bulletin dealing with life on a block-ader, the Trent affair, flogging and grogging, and the uniform used during the Civil War. The author was John P.

Fredd, who said he served from 1862 to 1865. However, attempts to verify his service on muster rolls of the Civil War and in the personnel files at the National Archives have been unsuccessful. There still remains the possibility that if he were not an imposter, he might have served under another name.

The Story of the United States Marines compiled by John W. Leonard and Fred W. Chitty, a former Marine (Philadelphia, 1920) carried an article titled "Marine Corps Reminiscences of Civil War Days" by a Henry B. Hallowell, described as formerly a corporal, USMC. In this article Hallowell stated he was a Marine from May 1860 until September 1865. The records confirm this, but he fails to state that he was AWOL twice for a total of approximately two years and four months. This man's credence became highly suspect in the '20s when he began to visit Marine Corps recruiting stations and installations dressed in a Marine uniform carrying first sergeants' chevrons and 15 service stripes, claiming 61 years service. It became necessary in 1927 to issue an official warning to the recruiting stations concerning this man. Even as late as 1966 his picture was still being published in a magazine having Corps-wide circulation.

It was not until during the Civil War Centennial that Mrs. Carter Smith of Mobile, Alabama, donated the journal of a Civil War Marine, Private Charles Brother, to the Historic Mobile Preservation Society. The Society published the journal as part of a three-part work entitled Mobile: 1861-1865 in 1964. The Society then permitted its republication by the U. S. Naval History Division in Part VI, Special Studies and Cumulative Index, of its Civil War Naval Chronology:1861-1865. Re-edited, and with numerous explanatory notes, Brother's journal covers service on board the Hartford from 14 March 1864 through the battle of Mobile Bay on 5 August 1864. As it turns out, this is the only acceptable writing, yet found, by a Marine Corps enlisted man of his Civil War experiences.

FRANK L. CHURCH, CIVIL WAR MARINE

Cairo, Illinois, played a central role in the campaigns of the Civil War's western theater. In 1861 Camp Defiance was established at the point of land between the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers. Through Cairo had rolled much of the military and naval might of the Union's heartland. Ulysses S. Grant came to town as a green brigadier and took his men down the Mississippi to defeat at Belmont. He returned to the river town, reorganized, and went on to Forts Henry and Donelson and to glory as "Unconditional Surrender" Grant. The general's naval chieftain, Commodore Andrew H. Foote, had docked at Cairo and nearby Mound City while preparing his transports and gunboats for battle up the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. An Illinois soldier called Cairo a "shining lance head, thrusting its way deep into the very vitals of slavery and rebellion." (1)

By 1864 Cairo had lost some of the excitement of the 1861 campaigns when the enemy lay just around the Mississippi bend off Hickman, Kentucky. Grant, Sherman, and their lieutenants had cleared the border states, and the Mississippi ran "unvexed to the sea." Any smoke on the horizon was Union smoke; there was no need to fear.

But the tip of southern Illinois remained an important supply, transportation, and staging area for campaigns being waged far to the South. Union ships on the Mississippi put in at Cairo and Mound City. Supply vessels bound far southward up the Tennessee and Cumberland stopped in the town that was still experiencing a wartime boom. New units raised on Iowa prairies and in Wisconsin lumber camps, uncomfortable in their new uniforms, said farewell to the midwest at Cairo.

In February 1864 most of the smoke on the Ohio and Mississippi came from Rear Admiral David D. Porter's Mississippi Squadron. Porter had been ordered to prepare an armed flotilla to accompany a spring campaign up a Mississippi tributary--Louisiana's Red River. In New Orleans, Major General Nathaniel P. Banks gathered a force to invade the Louisiana heartland. In Cairo a 21-year-old Marine second lieutenant, Frank Linnaeus Church, said goodbye to friends, boarded Tensas and sailed the eight miles up the Ohio to Mound City, headquarters for Porters's force. At 3:00 p.m. on the 20th he reported to Admiral Porter and to Lieutenant Commander K. Randolph Breese on the fleet commander's flagship; Black Hawk as the new commander of the ship's Marine Guard. He would lead the twenty-seven man unit on one of the Civil War's most ill-fated undertakings--the Red River Campaign.



A daguerreotype of William Church, Roxanna Pike Church, and 3-year-old Frank Church taken in Chicago in 1845. At this time, Frank Church's father was a successful businessman and very active in Illinois Republican Party politics.

Frank Church had been a Marine second lieutenant for 19 months prior to his assignment under Porter. The Chicagoan's commission dated from 12 July 1862. Church was a member of one of Chicago's oldest and most influential families. His father, William L. Church, a native of New York, moved west to the growing city on Lake Michigan in 1836 as a young man of twenty. Bill Church's early arrival made him a charter member of Chicago's Old Settlers' Society.(2) Shortly after his arrival in Illinois, Church met and married Roxanna J. Pike. Church's bride was also from the Northeast. A descendent of William Brewster of the Mayflower, Roxanna Pike was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, and moved with her family to Fox River, Illinois. The couple exemplified the strong strain of New York and New England settlement found in a sweep of land from Ohio's Western Reserve to Illinois' northern tier of counties.(3)

Frank Church's father founded a successful dry goods business before becoming actively involved in public life and was Chicago's first school commissioner. He served two terms as city treasurer and two terms as Cook County treasurer.

In 1850, Church, a Whig, was elected Sheriff of Cook County. Prevented by law from succeeding himself, Church served throughout the '50s as an alderman and as chairman of the Chicago Police Committee. He was a vigorous temperance advocate.

With the breakup of the Whig Party in the mid-1850s, the elder Church became one of the pioneer Republicans of northeastern Illinois. Under the banner of his new party, he was elected clerk of the Circuit Court. A friend of Abraham Lincoln and a close friend and confidant of Illinois' war governor, Richard Yates, Church was active between 1861 and 1865. Church's obituary stated that Yates had assigned him "to perform secret service, the nature of which was never known to any one but Mr. Church and the Governor. It was said, however, that a great deal of nerve was required in its performance."(4)

William Church was sent by Yates to Gettysburg in 1863 as one of Illinois' two representatives for the dedication of the national cemetery there.(5) Here he heard the historic address of the President. Two years later, when Lincoln's remains were returned to Springfield, Church was a member of the Committee of One Hundred selected to escort the body to its final resting place.(6)

Frank, the oldest of William and Roxanna Church's six children, was born in Chicago 9 June 1842. Chicago was an

exciting place in which to grow up and Frank and his sisters, Mary and Caroline, also born in the 1840s, attended school, played, and watched the bustle of a prairie village turning into the industrial and transportation hub of the Middle West. Three younger children, one boy and two girls, were born in the 1850s. Not all children in large families in mid-nineteenth century America reached adulthood. Frank's 14-month-old sister, Roxanna, died in 1855.

The boy took pride in his father's political successes and at an early age embraced the Republicanism his father espoused. As the eldest son of a prominent Chicago Republican he met many of the party's state leaders. Richard Yates remained interested for many years in young Church's career. (7)

With the Civil War's first battles, Chicago was filled with marching men. Units organized in Cook County, and those from northern Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan passed through the city and moved southward to save the Union. Eighteen-year-old Frank Church was considered too young to "Rally 'Round the Flag." As the months of conflict passed he became more and more anxious to serve. In the West Grant was winning battles, and young Church wanted to play his part in subduing the national foe. Frank Church entered the Marine Corps 33 days after his 19th birthday. His father's political influence had won the eager young man a commission as second lieutenant.

The Marine Corps that Frank Church entered had seen its first action in 1776. During the American Revolution the Continental Marines carried out three missions--"service afloat, amphibious operations, and land warfare in support of the Army." (8) After the Revolution the Corps disappeared, but in July 1798 President John Adams signed "An Act for the Establishing and Organizing a Marine Corps." This statute reaffirmed the Corps' missions of the Revolutionary War, but Congressional debate emphasized that the force was re-created "primarily to serve at sea on board warships." (9) Admiral David G. Farragut, who commanded on the high seas as well as on western rivers during the Civil War, described the Marine guard serving on Navy warships as:

... one of the great essentials of a man-of-war for the preservation of order and maintenance of discipline. They work and fight their guns well. It is next to impossible to maintain the efficiency of the ship and proper discipline without the restraints of the soldiers over the sailors. (10)

On the eve of the Civil War, in October 1859, the Marine Corps played a major role in John Brown's capture at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Earlier that year the service got a new commandant. Colonel Archibald Henderson, com-



Frank Church posed for this daguerreotype at the age of 5.

mandant for 39 years, died and was replaced by Lieutenant Colonel John Harris. Harris, 66 years old, had served in the Corps for 45 years.

After Fort Sumter had been fired on, the Marine Corps played a limited role in the nation's great fratricidal struggle. "Like the regular Army, the Marine Corps was never expanded or mobilized commensurate with its professional talent or past performance." (11) The Civil War was, after all, the great clash of the volunteers. Moreover, the Corps suffered some serious defections to the Confederacy. Above all, however, it must be kept in mind that from 1861 to 1864 the authorized strength did not exceed 3,800 officers and men. (12) Though their number was small, Marines were involved in some of the important events of the war. Leathernecks were involved in the 1861 reinforcement of Fort Pickens, and a battalion was present at First Bull Run. As the Union blockade encircled the Confederacy, Marines served on its ships. From these vessels, units joined amphibious raiding parties all along the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts.

In January 1862, a detachment of 4 officers and 88 men was sent from Washington to Cairo, Illinois, headquarters of the newly formed Mississippi Squadron, a command whose area of responsibility included the entire reach of the Mississippi as well as its many tributaries. By 1864 the detachment, doubled in size, had established new headquarters at Mound City. It was to this force that Frank Church was assigned.

Rear Admiral S. P. Lee directed that Church and two of the Squadron's other junior officers learn the Army Signal Code. Once certified in the code, Church was to teach it to naval officers. He was stationed, for the most part, at Cairo.

In addition to his communications duties, Church sat as a member of several courts martial. Without giving details, Lieutenant Church listed a Marine general court martial in June 1863 and two naval general courts martial in December 1863 in which he was an active participant. (13)

The pace of military life in Cairo left time for contact with civilians, and Frank Church met Alice Duncan in 1863. The time and place of their meeting is not known, but by May 1863 Frank and Alice had become engaged. One year after the event, in the midst of the Red River Campaign, Church began his journal entry for May 6, 1864: "Just a year ago today engaged myself to Alice. Wrote her a letter this morning."

Frank wrote to his fiance almost every day he was away from her. Alice Duncan, a native of Newark, Ohio, was not quite seventeen when she became engaged. Like Frank, she was the child of a Whig politician. Her father, Daniel Duncan, served in the Ohio State Legislature and was a Whig member of the U. S. House of Representatives in the 30th Congress. Another first-time Whig Congressman in this 30th Congress was Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. Duncan, defeated for reelection, died suddenly in 1849 at the age of 43. (14)

Duty in Cairo held Frank Church away from combat for almost two years. While the Mississippi Squadron joined Grant in hammering Vicksburg and fought in numerous other actions, the lieutenant saw the war from the vantage point of training schools and courts martial. In early 1864 he knew that Admiral David Dixon Porter was gathering one of the largest fleets ever assembled on inland waters. In February Frank Church discovered he would serve in that fleet. The Chicago Tribune told Church's fellow Chicagoans:

Lieutenant Frank L. Church, son of Wm. L. Church of Chicago, of the regular United States Marine service, for some months past stationed at Cairo has been ordered by the navy authorities to report to Admiral Porter, now at Mound City, to take command of the marine guard of the U. S. steamer Black Hawk. Lieut. Church is one of the best drill officers in the service and will undoubtedly make the Admiral's bodyguard just what it should be. (15)

Porter's flotilla, which turned downriver in mid-February, included the finest Union vessels in the West. Thirteen iron-clads of varying sizes and armament were the admiral's vanguard. Essex, Benton, and Lafayette would join Choctaw, Chillicothe, Ozark, and Louisville. Carondelet, Eastport, Pittsburg, Mound City, Osage, and Neosho completed the ranks of the ironclads. Four tinclads added their twenty-seven weapons to the flotilla's firepower. They were Cricket, Gazelle, Signal, and Juliet. Additional smoke along the river was provided by Lexington, stern-wheel timberclad veteran of three years of river action, the tin-plated steamers Covington, Ouachita, and Fort Hindman, and the transport Benefit. The tinclads were shallow-draft vessels and ideal for the Red. But they were not heavily armored enough to withstand the fire of field guns from the shore. The deeper draft ironclads were necessary against fortifications and heavier riverbank ordnance. Orders for the entire squadron came from Black Hawk, Porter's flagship.

When the flotilla left Mound City, Lieutenant Church inspected his 27-man Marine guard and took every opportunity to drill his men as Black Hawk moved down the river. At Memphis and Vicksburg the young officer took advantage of overnight stops to tour the two river cities. By 1 March, however, Black Hawk, along with other elements of the Mississippi Flotilla, had reached the mouth of the Red River. Church's unit, whose principal duty was to defend the ship from Confederate guerrillas, was directed to remain vigilant day and night. Admiral Porter warned of the difficulties of this kind of duty: "It is one thing to be on the open ocean, able to see your enemy and know that you can give gun for gun in manly fashion, instead of being shot at from behind bushes and banks. Think of being pursued day after day by a party of bushwackers watching from behind trees for a chance to pick you off." (16) But the first 12 days up the river produced no "bushwackers" and little excitement. The lieutenant amused himself in a variety of ways. He visited homes along the river and was hospitably welcomed in most. One of his duties was the prevention of indiscriminate burning and looting, and he was busy warding off Union soldiers. Church also had time for target practice, baseball, and more drill for his guard. The Officers of Porter's flotilla were a close-knit fraternity and much of the lieutenant's time in his first days on the Red was spent talking, joking, and drinking with these men who had served together up and down the nation's spinal column for two or three years. In addition, many of those serving in the Red River Campaign were men Church had known as a boy and young man in Chicago. But on 13 March the slack times seemed to be over. Black Hawk turned up the Atchafalaya River as General A. J. "Whiskey" Smith's troops launched their first attack on Confederate forces defending central Louisiana. The Red River Campaign had begun.

The reasons for this campaign were exceedingly complex. "This expedition represented the culmination of political, economic, ideological, and diplomatic pressures, some of which had been at work even before the war itself began." (17) For some time President Lincoln had wanted Texas occupied by Union troops. He wanted to counter the French supported Mexican Empire as well as to raise Union colors in the Lone Star State. Liberation of the German-American anti-slave citizens of Texas was also appealing. Cotton was another factor very much in the minds of those who planned the campaign, as well as those who would participate in it. Occupied Louisiana had thus far yielded little cotton and rumors of vast stores up the Red urged on the invaders.

Although the president and his chief of staff, General Henry W. Halleck, favored the plan, it incurred much opposition. General Grant feared that large numbers of troops needed for the final campaigns of the Civil War east of the Mississippi would be tied down in action of little military consequence. General William T. Sherman also objected, especially since he was to detach troops from his command to reinforce the expedition. Initially, General Nathaniel P. Banks, commander of the Department of the Gulf, who was to lead the invasion, joined in the opposition. In time, however, Banks became aware of the enormous potential cotton profits to be gained in the interior. The general was from Massachusetts and his state's economy, as well as his close personal friends, might benefit from this cotton. Banks joined Halleck in pressing for the invasion. The plan became "almost an obsession" with Halleck, and "cotton, politics, and Halleck's insistence were... the three principal elements that combined" to create the Red River Campaign.(18) Eventually, Grant and Sherman acquiesced, with the latter agreeing to detach A. J. Smith's 10,000 men to join Banks.(19) The Chicago Tribune told its readers of the expedition and ended with a prediction of victory: "It is expected that the campaign now operating in the Red River region, and which will end with clearing all the rebel troops out of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, will be an exciting but brief one." (20)

The influence of cotton in promoting the Red River Campaign cannot be underestimated. For two years the entire Mississippi Valley had seethed with cotton speculation. Both Union Army and Navy units, as well as Federal civilians, had engaged in illegal trade with Confederates, and had, as well, seized all of the cotton they could find. Almost everyone associated with this expedition would later be charged with being bitten with cotton fever to the extent that this preoccupation led to military disaster. Charges against General Banks were numerous, but there is no real evidence that he, in fact, profited. Charges never completely substantiated were also levied against Admiral Porter.(21)

After the conflict over launching the Red River expedition had been resolved, Banks was designated its commander. With good weather and high water of the Red, Banks' force would strike out for Shreveport in conjunction with Grant's movement toward Richmond, Sherman's to Atlanta, and General E.R.S. Canby's attack on Mobile. Banks was ordered to take 17,000 men to Alexandria. At that point he would be joined by Sherman's 10,000 and a force of 15,000 commanded by General Frederick Steele, Union commander of the Department of Arkansas. Sherman stipulated that his men go no further



Second Lieutenant Frank Church's carte de visite, which is dated July 1861. With the advent of photography, calling cards frequently took the form of close-trimmed portrait photographs. This one has been enlarged from its original 2 1/4" by 3 3/4" size.

than Shreveport and be returned to him by 16 April.(22) Steele's force, tied down to the north, never joined Banks' expedition. The final component of Banks' foray was Porter's squadron. The Naval commander promised "every ironclad vessel in the fleet."(23)

Awaiting the Union advance was a Confederate force of 30,000 commanded by General Edmund Kirby Smith. In January one of Kirby Smith's subordinates, General Richard Taylor, was informed that a Union strike "will move on the Red River . . . as soon as there is a permanent rise in the water."(24) Kirby Smith began in March to move part of General John B. Magruder's command from Texas into Louisiana. He also ordered Taylor to gather together his scattered units. In particular, General John G. Walker, leading one of Taylor's divisions, was sent to the Marksville-Simmesport area, near the Red's point of confluence with the Mississippi.(25) Fort De Russy, on the Red near Marksville, was ordered hurried to completion and a 299-man reinforcement dispatched there.(26) The Confederates, like their enemy, were plagued with command differences. As Banks' expedition rolled into the Red River Valley, Taylor and Kirby Smith were at loggerheads. Only the imminent Federal advance prevented Taylor from resigning his command in Kirby Smith's Trans-Mississippi Department. This hostility continued throughout the campaign and erupted at its end. (27)

When "Whiskey" Smith's troops moved up the Atchafalaya on 13 March their target was Fort De Russy. Smith would march overland from Simmesport to the fort while Porter's ironclads moved up the Red to lend support.(28) Fort De Russy was easily overwhelmed; much of its garrison was taken prisoner. Church, on Black Hawk, did not take part in the attack. He reached the fort on the 15th and toured the structure.

On the 15th, most of A. J. Smith's men boarded transports and joined Porter's fleet in moving up the Red, occupying Alexandria.(29) On the 16th Church and his Marine Guard arrived in Alexandria and discovered a largely abandoned town. Here Church acted as provost marshal, and his men struggled to bring order. They also guarded cotton seized by the Navy.

For the next seven days, Frank Church remained in Alexandria, the staging area for Banks' force. Smith's detachment from Sherman and Porter's fleet waited for Banks to join them, but he was late. Banks did not arrive until 24 March, and his troops began marching into town the following day. General Alfred W. Ellet's Marine Brigade (an

Army unit despite the name) also joined the Federals bringing Banks' total to 30,000 men.(30)

During the delay, Church and his unit remained active in suppressing looting. They also continued to guard confiscated rebel cotton. There was time to socialize, and the appearance of Illinois troops brought old friends with whom Church could renew acquaintances.

Tension between military and naval forces existed in Alexandria, largely over cotton confiscation. Banks was jealous of Porter's headstart in seizing the fiber as a prize of war and soldiers were distressed "to see the navy seizing the cotton for prize on land, while they did not get any."(31) A later report revealed that Black Hawk's crew broke open a warehouse at Alexandria and hauled off the cotton while Porter watched.(32)

By early April, Church reported that his men were so busy with their new duties that drill had been neglected. He filled out his quarterly returns and on 1 April indulged in "April Fool" pranks. But early April brought a resumption of the push inland, and Frank Church and his guard prepared to leave Alexandria.

After Banks arrived in Alexandria he discovered that the annual rise of the Red River had failed to develop. The river was so shallow in late March that ironclads would not pass the two sets of falls above the city. These rapids were about one mile apart with only a 20-foot-wide channel between them. Porter's shallow draft tinclads could negotiate the rapids, but that force was not deemed powerful enough to assist the Army adequately. Despite Navy hesitation, Banks demanded Porter's entire flotilla. Porter advised the general of the difficulties involved in getting the ships over the rapids and back down again. Banks persisted, and in late March the fleet began to move.(33) Also on the general's mind as the invasion slowed was Sherman's demand that Smith's men be returned by 15 April. This urged the expedition commander on to action.

Porter decided to test the rapids with Eastport, his heaviest ironclad. The ship stuck on the rocks for several days, but a slight rise in the Red shoved it over the shallows. Eventually the tinclad gunboats "Cricket, Fort Hindman, and the timberclad Lexington, and ironclads Mound City, Pittsburg, Chillicothe, Carondelet, Ozark, Neosho, Louisville, and Osage followed Eastport. Thirty Army transports also made the passage. Banks' army marched up river after the boats had passed the rapids. A few troops embarked on the transports while the bulk of the Army marched on a road closely paralleling the Red. Banks left Alexandria on 2



Some cartes de visite were less than serious, as indicated by this double-exposure photograph of Church tickling himself with a feather.

April on his headquarters ship.

As the expedition moved toward Shreveport, Frank Church followed Porter from Black Hawk to Cricket, the admiral's new flagship on 17 April. Cricket moved up river to Grand Ecore, a village four miles beyond Natchitoches.

The road along which the Army had been tramping veered away from the river at Grand Ecore. Banks was concerned that in traveling that road he would lose the support of Porter's firepower and the fleet's supplies. There was a road east of the river that remained close to its shore, but the general seems to have been unaware of its existence. Admiral Porter later wrote, "It struck me very forcibly that this would have been the route for the army. . .The roads are good, wide fields on all sides, a river protecting the right flank of the army, and gunboats in company." (34) The general commanding sent his men down the westward thoroughfare and away from the fleet. One study of the Red River Campaign maintains:

This apparently minor incident actually marked the turning point of the campaign. While all such matters are speculative it seems safe to say that if the Federals had taken the river road, their chances of capturing Shreveport would have been enormously increased. But in his ignorance Banks took the inland route. (35)

On 6 April Banks moved all of his force save General T. Kilby Smith's division down the road west of the Red. Smith's unit sailed on up the river with Porter's fleet to act as a transport guard. The river was still low, and the admiral only took 6 gunboats and 20 transports beyond Grand Ecore. (36) Porter and Banks planned to rendezvous at Springfield Landing, 30 miles below Shreveport.

As Banks advanced, Confederate General Richard Taylor retreated ahead of the Federals. By early April Taylor had moved to Mansfield and lay across Banks' line of march to Springfield Landing. On 7 April cavalry forces clashed at Wilson's Plantation. On the following two days Banks and Taylor fought the two major actions of the Red River Campaign --Sabine Crossroads and Pleasant Hill.

On the 8th the Union commander sent out an advance guard to clear the road. Around noon, in the face of this pressure, General Thomas Green's rebel cavalry began withdrawing toward Sabine Crossroads, a vital communication point three miles from Mansfield. Taylor had set his defensive position at the road hub. Neither Taylor nor Banks intended to fight until the 9th and neither had his entire force at hand. At 4:00 p.m. Taylor hurled 8,800 men at Banks' force of 11,300. (37)

A general battle ensued with Green's dismounted horsemen and General Alfred Mouton's gray-clad infantry in the van. After a two-hour action Hanks pulled back, and the battle ended. It had been a costly repulse for the Federals. While Taylor lost about 1,000 men (including General Mouton), Banks lost between 2,500 and 3,000 troops. (38)

After dark Banks frustrated Taylor's attempt to turn his right. The Union commander withdrew to a new position at Pleasant Hill, 15 miles to the southeast. Here "Whiskey" Smith's men joined the remnant from the clash at Sabine Crossroads. Seeking total victory, Taylor had pursued Banks and at 5:00 p.m. on the 9th he threw his men against the new Yankee line. (39) Taylor's attack was thrown back with heavy loss. Smith's men played a major role in the rebels' repulse. At the battle's end Banks rode up to the general, shook his hand, and told him, "God bless you, general. You have saved the army." (40) Taylor's chief, Kirby Smith, arrived after dark and ordered a general withdrawal to Mansfield.

The battles of the 8th and 9th convinced Banks that his campaign against Shreveport should be abandoned. Steele's Arkansas force was not going to come to his aid and the return of Sherman's detachment would soon be due. The disappointed general pulled back to Grand Ecore to await Porter's return from up the Red. (41) Smith protested this withdrawal on grounds that he would have to abandon some of his wounded. Ludwell H. Johnson believes, "Tactically, the battle of Pleasant Hill was distinctly a Northern victory, although the retreat to Grand Ecore turned it into a strategic defeat." (42)

While Banks fought Taylor, the river squadron pressed on toward Loggy Bayou, roughly half way between Grand Ecore and Shreveport. At that point, near Springfield Landing, Porter was scheduled to meet Banks. On 17 April the admiral steamed up river with a reduced force of Osage, Neosho, Fort Hindman, Lexington, Chillicothe, his new flagship Cricket, and a collection of transports. (43) The journey up river was perilous. Water in the Red was low and the river was twisting and narrow. Rumors reached Porter of a Union victory west of the river, but no definitive news from Banks was forthcoming. (44) By April 10 the ships had arrived at the mouth of Loggy Bayou.

Lieutenant Church, on Cricket, positioned his men to act as sharpshooters against rebel guerrillas. On the 8th, between Campti and Loggy Bayou, the Marines landed and chased a small Confederate force away from the stream. On the 9th and 10th the boats advanced through smoke from cotton burned by Louisianans and through occasional guerrilla fire.

At Loggy Bayou Porter found a huge river steamer, New Falls City, sunk so as to block the channel. As the Navy worked to remove the obstacle, Brigadier General T. Kilby Smith's troops landed in an attempt to open communications with Banks. News of the defeat at Sabine Crossroads was received together with an order from Banks to turn back. (45)

Laboriously, Porter's boats turned in the narrow channel. The return trip to Grand Ecore was filled with danger. The shallow, winding waterway was hazardous enough, but after Banks' retreat to Grand Ecore, Taylor's troops were free to range the Red's banks pouring volleys into the ships as they labored southeastward. On 12 April Chillicothe ran aground, and Black Hawk and Ossage were fired on from the banks. Chillicothe was hauled off the next day and the exchanges were not costly. (46) Later that day, at Blair's Landing, midway between Loggy Bayou and Grand Ecore, the returning fleet encountered its greatest opposition. Confederate General Thomas Green, leading several cavalry regiments and a four-gun battery, opened on the boats at 4:00 p.m. (47) Several transports came under fire as did Osage, which had run aground, as well as Black Hawk which was trying to re-float Osage. Lexington, drawn by the firing, came to aid the beleaguered vessels. For two hours the battle raged. The fleet drew what Osage's captain, Commander Thomas O. Selfridge, called "the heaviest and most concentrated fire of musketry that I have ever witnessed." (48) Both sides claimed heavy casualties among the enemy, but in fact they seem to have been moderate. One of the Confederate dead was General Green, decapitated by Federal cannister. (49)

On 13 April Porter's fleet continued to run a gauntlet of natural and man-made hazards. The transport John Warner ran aground and Clara Belle had to be towed after breaking a rudder. Warner could not be pulled off and Fort Hindman was dispatched to protect the vessel until it could be refloated. Confederates continued to harass the passage, but no attempt on as large a scale as the Blair's Landing skirmish was repeated. Admiral Porter sent the bulk of his fleet on to Grand Ecore on the 14th. By the 15th Fort Hindman arrived convoying John Warner and the entire fleet had rejoined Banks. (50) In Red River Campaign, Ludwell H. Johnson states:

In spite of its abortive outcome, the expedition to Loggy Bayou reflected much credit on both Porter and Kilby Smith, and on those they commanded. All things considered, casualties were remarkably light in view of the almost continued harassment to which the Federals were subjected. Extra-ordinary naviga-

tional difficulties were overcome without the loss of a single vessel--in itself a noteworthy achievement. In the last analysis it was the grit and pertinacity of veteran soldiers and sailors that were primarily responsible for the fleet's safe return to Grand Ecore. (51)

To that list should be added the "grit and pertinacity" of the fleet's Marines.

From 11 April to the 13th, Lieutenant Frank Church's Marine guard performed its principal mission of the Red River Campaign--defense of their vessel from landward attack. On the 12th and 13th, Cricket drew heavy fire and the guard threw up what cover it could and directed its fire at Taylor's troops. The young lieutenant positioned himself so as to provide both example and leadership to his men. In the Marines' response to "bushwackers" on the 13th, Church thought his force "behaved gallantly." Cricket reached Grand Ecore on the afternoon of the 13th and the lieutenant reported, "We found Banks' Army back again."

Banks, Porter, and their lieutenants at Grand Ecore, debated the wisdom of renewing the advance on Shreveport. Banks considered moving forward, but two important factors militated against that course of action. General John M. Corse arrived with messages from Sherman. The commander of the force poised to invade Georgia ordered A. J. Smith's detachment returned to Vicksburg at once. (52) Without Smith the expedition would be seriously crippled. Also to be considered was the behavior of the Red River. The stream had fallen so low that to attempt to maneuver upstream again seemed foolhardy. Even a return passage of the falls above Alexandria was now questionable. On 21 April the Red River expedition was abandoned, and the retreat to Alexandria began.

As the column retreated it cut a swath of destruction through the valley. Farms, plantations, and the town of Natchitoches were looted and burned. On 24 April the head of the Army reached Alexandria.

The resumption of Porter's battle with the Red River and rebel sharpshooters brought new trials to Federal sailors and Marines. Chief problem was the clumsy Eastport, sunk near Grand Ecore by a rebel mine. The ship was floated on the 21st, and towed toward Alexandria by a transport. (53) Eastport grounded again on 22 April and repeated on the 23rd. Through the next 48 hours the vessel was laboriously moved down river, but on the 26th it became stuck tightly.

Confederate troops following the progress of the fleet discovered Eastport's distress and swarmed to fire into the grounded boat and its consorts. After numerous efforts to pull Eastport free had failed, Porter and the boat's captain, Lieutenant Commander S. Ledyard Phelps, decided to blow her up. (54)

The destruction of Eastport did not end Porter's troubles. Near the junction of Sane River and the Red the fleet ran into a rebel battery. Cricket was raked with what Porter labeled "the heaviest fire I ever witnessed." (55) The vessel fought its way through only to find the tinclad Juliet and the transport Champion No. 5 in grave difficulties. Both vessels were disabled by enemy fire and were eventually abandoned. In addition, another transport, Champion No. 3 bearing 175 Negroes taken from Red River Valley plantations, was struck in the boiler by a Confederate shell. The released steam scalded almost everyone on board. (56) In the attempt to protect the stricken boats, Cricket was hit 38 times and lost 25 men killed and wounded. Fort Hindman came to her assistance and was also severely damaged. (57)

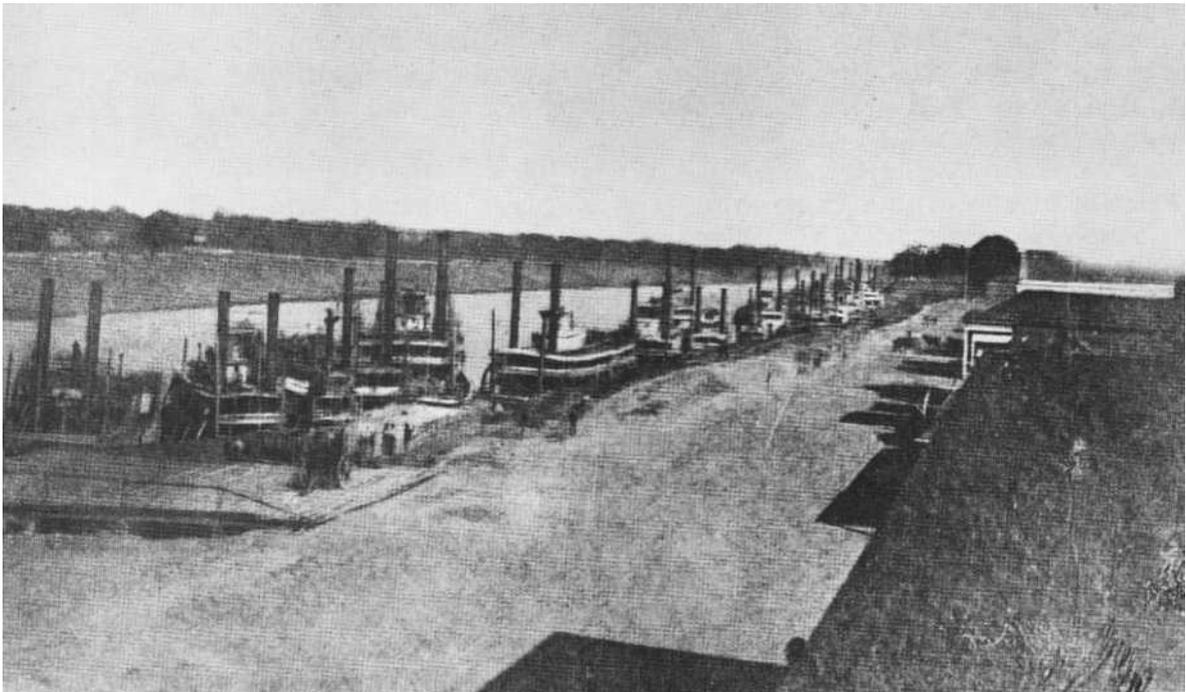
Frank Church was very much involved in the struggle to reach Alexandria. He and his guard stood duty as pickets over Eastport before her destruction, and over the "Galvanic Battery" used to blow up the ship. His duty was so constant that he neglected his journal for a week. Church served on board both Cricket and Fort Hindman during these action-filled days and reported both heated action and heavy Union casualties. On the 26th Church was knocked down by splinters from enemy artillery and was slightly wounded in the leg and wrist. (58) The lieutenant again resumed his journal when the fleet staggered into Alexandria.

Banks' troops could easily extricate themselves from the valley, but what of the flotilla? By early May the Red had fallen so low that gunboats could not pass the rapids at Alexandria. At least seven feet was needed and some spots showed less than three. Ten boats, Fort Hindman, Osage, Neosho, Mound City, Louisville, Lexington, Pittsburg, Chillicothe, Carondelet, and Ozark were trapped. To abandon them would wreck the Union's Mississippi Squadron.

The solution to Porter's dilemma came from Wisconsin Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Bailey, an Army engineer and a veteran of northern logging camps. Bailey believed a dam on the falls would raise the water level to the necessary depth. He presented his views when Eastport grounded, but was rejected. With his fleet trapped at Alexandria, Porter accepted Bailey's plan even though the "proposition



Alice Duncan at age 16, when she became engaged to Church. This is the daguerreotype of Alice that Church carried with him throughout the Red River Expedition.



In this early photograph, taken on 27 April 1864, Porter's transports are shown tied up along the banks of the Red River, at Alexandria, Louisiana.

looked like madness and the best engineers ridiculed it." (59)

Despairing of a natural rise, Porter asked General Banks to have the dam constructed. But skepticism remained widespread, and Bailey was jibed at by soldiers and sailors.

The work began on 30 April and was completed on 8 May. The pressure of the backed-up waters pushed two barges out of position on 9 May and a torrent of water rushed through the opening. The Lexington rode the torrent through the rapids followed by the Osage, Neosho, and Fort Hindman which got through before the water subsided in force and depth. Six gun-boats and two tugs were left upstream. Further work on the project resulted in the liberation of these remaining ships on the 12th and 13th of May. (60)

Hostility between Banks and Porter, quite obvious throughout the ill-fated campaign, reached major proportions in the second week of May. The admiral feared he would be left by Banks' Army while the general was vexed at what he considered Porter's failure to work hard enough to take advantage of the dam. (61) The clash did produce more action. Porter had his boats lightened, the dam was rebuilt, and by 13 May all of the boats were safe. (62)

Frank Church visited Army friends and socialized with the ladies of Alexandria while the dam was being built. Like all members of the expedition Church watched the dam go up and the river rise. On 14 May he and his men boarded Cricket and left Alexandria. As the town disappeared around the bend in the Red, smoke billowed up from the fire set by departing Federals.

For Lieutenant Church and his Marine guard, the Red River Campaign was almost over. On the 14th and 15th guerrillas fired on Cricket, and the unit returned fire. The fleet proceeded down the Red, reaching the confluence with the Mississippi on 15 May. After the narrow Red, Church felt the Mississippi "looked like an ocean." Church's last response to hostile action came when he was awakened on the 19th by guerrilla fire. He called his men to quarters, landed but found no enemy. On 21 May the fleet turned north, passed Vicksburg the next day, and Memphis on the 24th. Two days later Lieutenant Church and the Mississippi Squadron were back at Mound City.

Although the expedition was over, controversy lingered on. The campaign, called the "Red River Disaster" by the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, was a costly failure. (63) Banks suffered the loss of 5,200 men, 21 pieces of artillery, over 300 wagons, and large amounts of supplies.

The Confederates lost 4,000 men, some artillery, but little else. (64) The fleet, described by Lieutenant Commander Selfridge as "the most formidable force that had ever been collected in the western waters," suffered the loss of pump-boats Champion No. 3 and Champion No. 5, the ironclad Eastport, and the tinclads Signal and Covington. About 320 naval personnel were lost. (65) There were no Marine casualties. The Army lost the hospital boat Woodford, and transports Emma, Clara Belle, and John Warner.

Perhaps the most serious result of the expedition's failure was the effect it had east of the Mississippi. A. J. Smith's troops were denied to Sherman as he invaded Georgia. Furthermore, Canby's projected campaign against Mobile had to be postponed for ten months because of the Red River Campaign. "How much the war was lengthened by this, of course, can only be surmised. Two months may be a reasonable estimate, perhaps even longer." (66) "The only definite certainty," wrote Allan Nevins of the Red River fiasco, "is that it was a time of bungling, lying chicanery, corruption, and unprincipled self-seeking, all to the injury of the war effort." (67)

The watchful Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War chaired by Ohio Senator Ben Wade, turned its attention to the campaign. Banks was questioned extensively as was Porter. The committee was interested in the role of cotton in the campaign, but said little about it in its final report. Porter attempted to indicate before the committee that Banks was chiefly responsible for the cotton stealing. He maintained, "Cotton killed that expedition." (68) Frank Church's journal clearly indicates that the fleet (including Porter's flagship) was constantly interested in cotton and that his Marine detachment often stood guard over the seized fiber. By May 1866 the lieutenant had received \$259.70 in prize money for cotton captured by the expedition. (69) The Chicago Tribune published reports throughout the campaign of the arrival of Red River cotton at Cairo. (70) The Joint Committee's final report condemned Banks for his military leadership, but largely whitewashed Porter. (71)

Upon his return to Illinois Lieutenant Church ended his journal. It stands as a colorful and accurate report of three months in the Civil War career of a young officer of the United States Marine Corps. The daily entries trace the activities of the nerve center of Porter's harassed Mississippi Squadron from Mound City to Loggy Bayou and back again. (72)

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4. Chicago Tribune, October 24, 1880.
5. Richard Yates to William Church, November 14, 1863, Frank L. Church, Mss.
6. Josiah Seymour Currey, Chicago: Its History and Its Builders, A Century of Marvelous Growth (5 vols., Chicago 1912), I, 155; Chicago Inter-Ocean, October 25, 1880.
7. Richard Yates to Ulysses S. Grant, August 15, 1868, Frank L. Church Mss.
8. Thomas G. Roe, Ernest H. Giusti, John H. Johnstone, and Benis M. Frank, A History of Marine Corps Roles and Missions: 1775-1962 (Washington, 1962), 6; James A. Donovan The United States Marine Corps (New York, 1967),7.
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13. Frank L. Church to Commanding Officer, August (?), 1866, Frank L. Church Mss.
14. Congressional Globe, 1st Session, 30th Congress, 1; Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971 (Washington, 1971), 885.
15. Chicago Tribune, February 20, 1864.

16. David D. Porter, Incidents and Anecdote of the Civil War (New York, 1891), 244-245.
17. Ludwell H. Johnson, Red River Campaign: Politics and Cotton in the Civil War (Baltimore, 1958), 5.
18. Ibid., 41, 47.
19. Ulysses S. Grant, Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant (2 vols., New York, 1895), II, 64-65; William T. Sherman Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman (2 vols., 1st ed., New York, 1875), I, 395-398; II, 13-14.
20. Chicago Tribune, March 17, 1864.
21. Johnson, Red River Campaign, 55-78; H. Allen Gosnell, Guns on the Western Waters: The Story of the River Gunboats in the Civil War (Baton Rouge, 1949), 246. Also see Fred H. Harrington, Fighting Politician: Major General N.P. Banks (Philadelphia, 1948).
22. The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), XXXIV, pt. 2, 481, 494, 496. Hereafter cited as ORA. All references to ORA are from Series 1 unless otherwise cited.
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24. ORA, XXXIV, pt. 2, 819.
25. Richard Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction: Personal Experiences of the Late War. Ed. by Richard Harwell (New York, 1955), 154-155.
26. Ibid., 148-149.
27. Ibid., 231-235; Robert L. Kirby, Kirby Smith's Confederacy: The Trans-Mississippi South, 1863-1865 (New York, 1972), 327-331.
28. ORA, XXIV, pt. 1, 305.
29. Ibid., XXXIV, pt. 1, 197.
30. Ibid., 426-427; Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel (eds.), Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (4 vols.

New York, 1956), IV, 35-51. Disease and insubordination caused Ellet's force to be sent back to Vicksburg before the advance beyond Alexandria got underway.

31. Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, 38th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. II: "Red River Expedition," 18, 74. Hereafter cited as JCCW.
32. Johnson, Red River Campaign, 102.
33. JCCW, 275, 281-283; ORN, XXVI, 50ff.
34. ORN, XXVI, 60.
35. Johnson, Red River Campaign, 115.
36. JCCW, 201, 323; ORN, XXVI, 51.
37. Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 162; ORA, XXXIV pt. 1, 264, 266.
38. Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 197.
39. ORA, XXXIV, pt. 1, 565-566; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 164-165
40. ORA, XXXIV, pt. 1, 309.
41. Johnson, Red River Campaign, 163.
42. Ibid., 164-165.
43. Battles and Leaders, IV, 366.
44. ORN, XXVI, 60.
45. Ibid., 51, 60, ORA, XXXIV, pt. 1, 380-81.
46. ORN, XXVI, 778, 781, 789.
47. ORA, XXXIV, pt. 1, 571, ORN, XXVI, 49-55, 61-62,
48. ORN, XXVI, 49.
49. Ibid., XXVI, 52, 61-62; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 177-178.
50. ORA, XXXIV, pt. 1, 382.
51. Johnson, Red River Campaign, 214.

52. ORA , XXXIV, pt. 3, 24; XXXII, pt. 3, 242-43.
53. ORN , XXVI, 72-74, 79; Porter, Incidents, 238.
54. Porter, Incidents, 239; ORN, XXVI, 74, 79, 786.
55. ORN, XXVI, 74-75, 167.
56. Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 183-184, ORN, XXVI, 87, 167, 176-177.
57. ORN, XXVI, 76, 82-84, 169, 176-177.
58. Frank L. Church to Commanding Officer, August (?), 1866, Frank L. Church Mss.
59. ORA, XXXIV, pt. 1, 402-403; Battles and Leaders, IV, 358., ORN, XXVI, 130.
60. Battles and Leaders, IV, 359-160.
61. ORN, XXVI, 136, 140-141.
62. Ibid. , 142-145; Battles and Leaders, IV, 373.
63. JCCW, iii; Chicago Tribune, April 23, 1864.
64. Battles and Leaders, IV, 367-68.
65. Battles and Leaders, IV, 366.
66. Johnson, Red River Campaign, 279.
67. Allan Nevins, The War for the Union: The Organized War, 1863-1864 (New York, 1971), 361.
68. JCCW, 270-272, 277.
69. S. J. W. Tobin to Frank L. Church, May 26, 1866, Frank L. Church Mss.
70. Chicago Tribune, March 30, April 5, 8, 1864. On the 30th the Tribune reported that gunboats in the Red had made prizes of 5,000 bales. On the 8th a Cairo report indicated that New National arrived there with 1,600 bales of cotton. The newspaper estimated the value of this cotton at \$400,000.
71. Nevins, War for the Union, 359.

72. The Journal of Frank L. Church. is in the possession of Mr. Al C. Church, Tallahassee, Florida.

THE JOURNAL OF FRANK L. CHURCH

Cairo, February 19, 1864

At 12 o'clock today I received orders from Colonel Harris (1) to report to Rear Admiral D. D. Porter(2) to take command of the Marine Guard on the U. S. Flag Ship Black Hawk. (3) Packed my trunks. Made one or two farewell calls. Went out with Charlie Duncan (4) and a party of gentlemen friends in the evening and had a splendid time. Wrote a short letter to Mother and one to Alice.(5)

Cairo, February

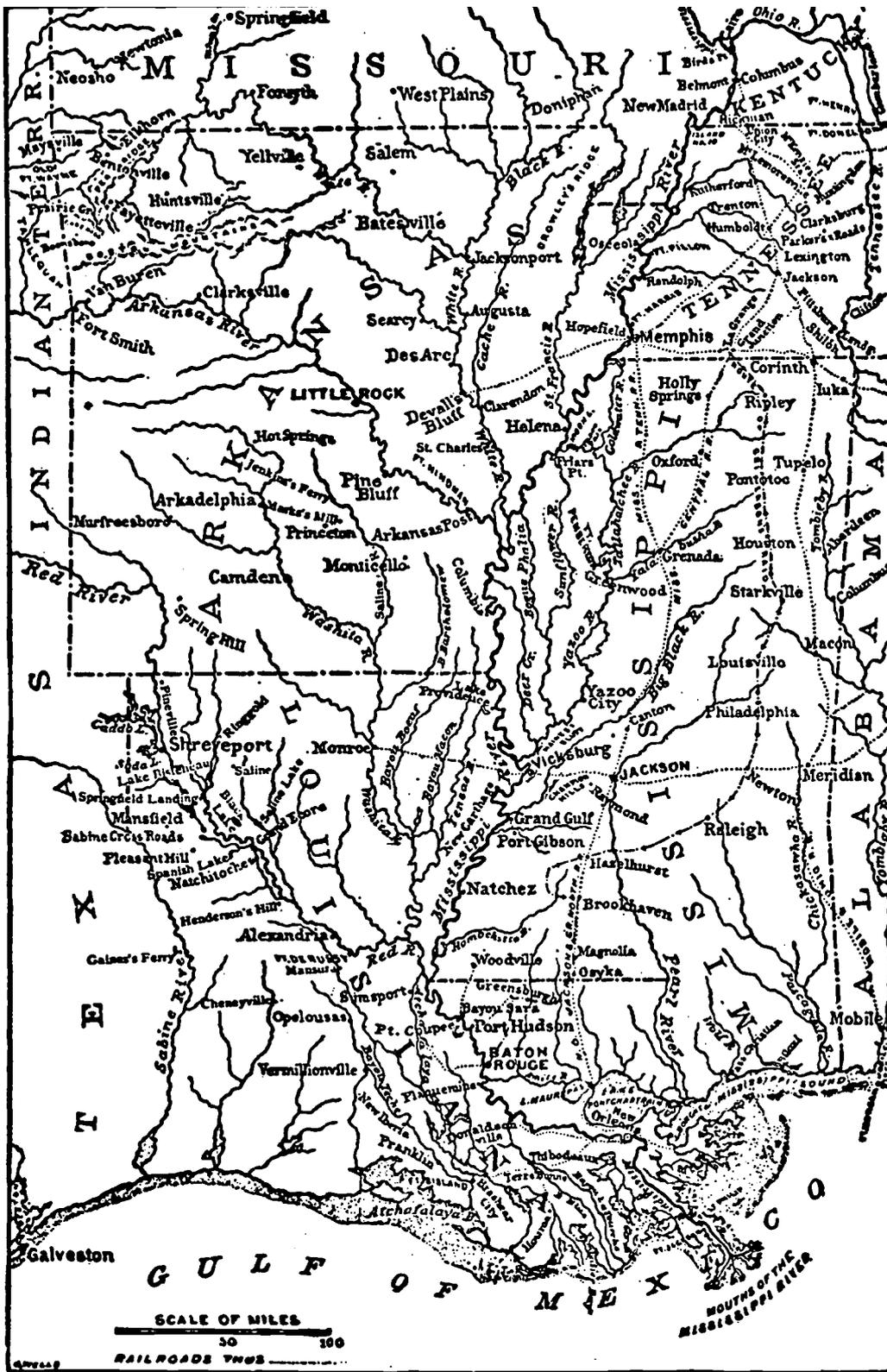
Bade Charlie [Duncan] goodbye on the wharf boat and left Cairo on the Tensas.(6) Reached Mound City(7) at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Reported to the Admiral and to Captain K. Randolph Breese commanding vessel.(8) Was assigned Room 34. Sent for the Orderly Sergeant [Michael Murphy] and ordered him to muster the men. They were Mustered accordingly. Found the guard composed of 27 all told [Orderly Sergeant, 1 Duty Sergeant, and 2 Corporals]. Told them I had been ordered to take command of them by Colonel Harris. Made a short speech and dismissed them. Ordered the O. Sgt. to have the men ready for inspection at 9 1/2 o'clock the next morning. I then got leave to go on shore and spent the night with 1st Lieutenant Richard S. Collum,(8a) Commanding the Marine Barracks at Mound City Illinois.

Mound City, Illinois, February 21

Returned on board at 9 o'clock and inspected Guard. Found them very poorly disciplined. At 10 o'clock "Quarters" all the men accounted for. Overlooked the Sergeant's clothing account. Found it fairly correct but badly mixed up. Bade Collum goodbye. Left Mound City at 2 o'clock. Passed Cairo at 3 p.m. Saw Charlie [Duncan] and friends at the windows of my old room waving their handkerchiefs to me. At 3:10 lost sight of Cairo.(9) At 3:30 p.m. took dinner with my new associates and found them a very agreeable set of young men. Some of them are regular officers and the rest Volunteers. At 7 p.m. laid up for the night at Hickman, [Kentucky] (10) the pilot not deeming it safe to run at night. Wrote a letter to Alice and Mother to mail at Memphis.

Off Fort Pillow, (11) February 22

At 9 o'clock had inspection and ordered men in full dress in honor of Washington's Birthday. At 10:30 had "General Quarters." My command was posted on the Quarter Deck and I had the honor of being the first to report "ready for action." Quarters lasted 1 hour. At 10:30 p.m. arrived at Memphis. (12) The paymaster [C. H. Kirkendall], the doctor, and myself went on shore. Went to a ladies' fair and spent



Church's trip down the Mississippi from Cairo, Illinois, and up the Red River past Alexandria can be traced on this contemporary map, ca. 1864.

\$2.00 in about as many minutes. Concluded we couldn't afford it and left. Next went to a Fireman's Ball, danced two or three tunes and left. Found some Chicago Tribunes. (13) Sent some to my friends. Got on board at 12 o'clock, found a friend from Chicago (Mr. Alvord) who insisted I should go on shore again and get some oysters. Could not find any. Returned on board at 3 a.m.

Memphis, February 23, 1864

At 10:30 a.m. went on shore to see the City. Met Charlie Cameron(14) from Chicago, played a game of billiards. Returned at 2 p.m. Called on Frank O'Neil who commanded the Silver Cloud (15) laying just astern of us. He was surprised to see me. After dinner took my men on shore and drilled them in full dress and attracted a great deal of attention. Some of the men were stubborn and did not try to learn. Before dismissing them I cautioned them to look out, for I intended to drill every day and if I saw any more such actions I would punish them severely. At 3 p.m. 2 Marines [John Hibschman and William Shrewsbury] came on board from the hospital. The accounts or returns came with them. At 5 p.m. [Black Hawk] left Memphis-- passed 2 ocean gun boats about 20 miles below Memphis belonging to Farragut's fleet.(16) At 11 p.m. was awakened by the Executive Officer with orders from Captain Breese to have my Marines in readiness on the hurricane deck to act as sharp-shooters. Our pilot had been hailed from the shore and advised not to go on as we would be fired into by guerrillas. I divided by men into two watches and kept one in position all the time. At 2 o'clock "Retreat" was sounded and I dismissed my men and went to bed.

February 24, 1864

Did not wake up very early this morning as I was up late last night. At 11 o'clock drilled the men in the Manual. At 4 p.m. we landed at Cypress Bend, Arkansas for the purpose of cutting two spars. I was ordered to take all the Marines ashore as skirmishers to protect the working party. Went about a quarter of a mile before finding trees suitable. I then put out pickets about half a mile from the river, in the form of a square. The woods were the thickest I ever saw and filled with underbrush and vines so that I was obliged to march my men in single file. When the bugle sounded from the hurricane deck it was quite dark and it took me some time to get my men together. If the moon had not come up I would not have succeeded in getting all aboard. As soon as I returned I went to bed as I was very tired.

February 25, 1864

After breakfast amused myself by firing my pistols at ducks as we passed them in the river. Captain Breese fired at geese with the Coffee Mill gun. (17) Made some splendid shots. Arrived at Milliken's Bend (18) above Vicksburg about 9 o'clock and laid up so as to get into Vicksburg in the morning. Wrote a letter to Alice and one to Mother.

February 26, 1864

Left Milliken's Bend about seven o'clock. we arrived in Vicksburg about nine. (19) Tied up below the Arsenal. Went on shore with the paymaster. Walked all over the City. Met a great many Chicago friends. Among the number were Jim Whital (20) and Captain Prior. (21) We looked through the caves which were very numerous. (22) Picked up a grape shot as a memento. Got very tired and returned on board. Drilled the men in the Manual. At 6 p.m. went on shore again with the paymaster. Went to the theatre and saw Sharp and Holland from Cairo. (23) General McArthur came on board--turned out my Guard for him. (24)

Vicksburg, February 27, 1864

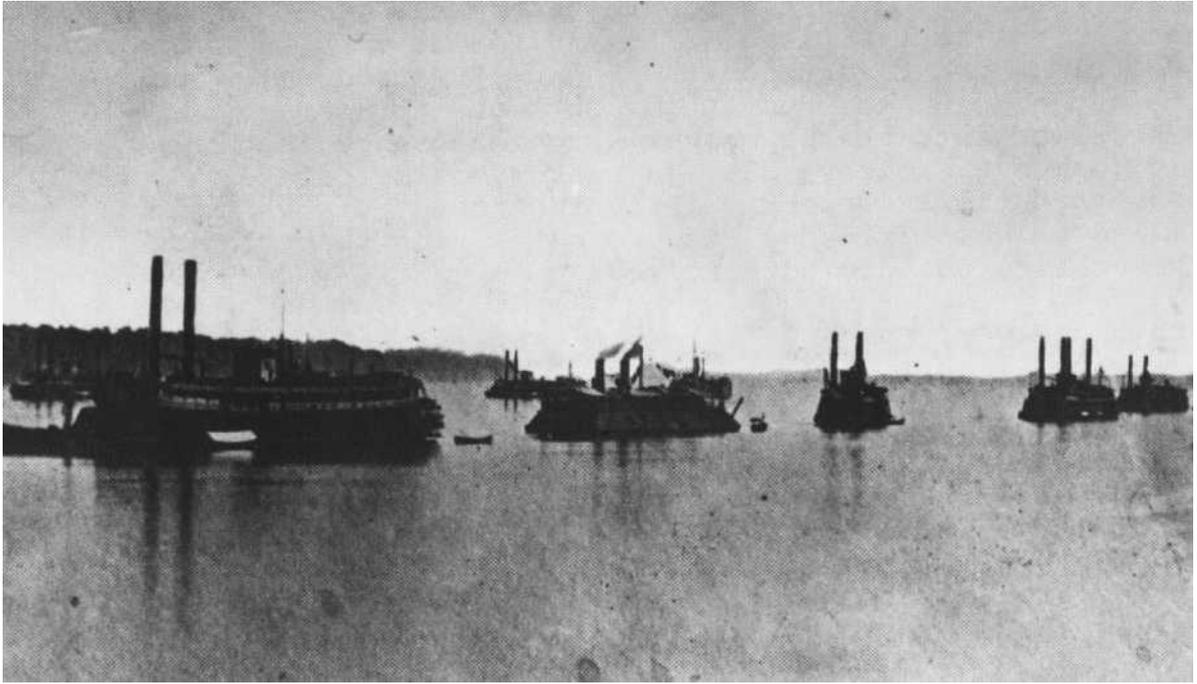
Inspected my men's clothing by order of the Captain. Left Vicksburg at 12 o'clock. Passed the wreck of the Indianola laying high and dry on a sand bank. (25) At 6 p.m. stopped at Grand Gulf (26) to receive the report of Lieutenant Commander Hunt. Left Grand Gulf at 6:30 and arrived in Natchez at 12 o'clock.

Natchez, (27) February 28, 1864

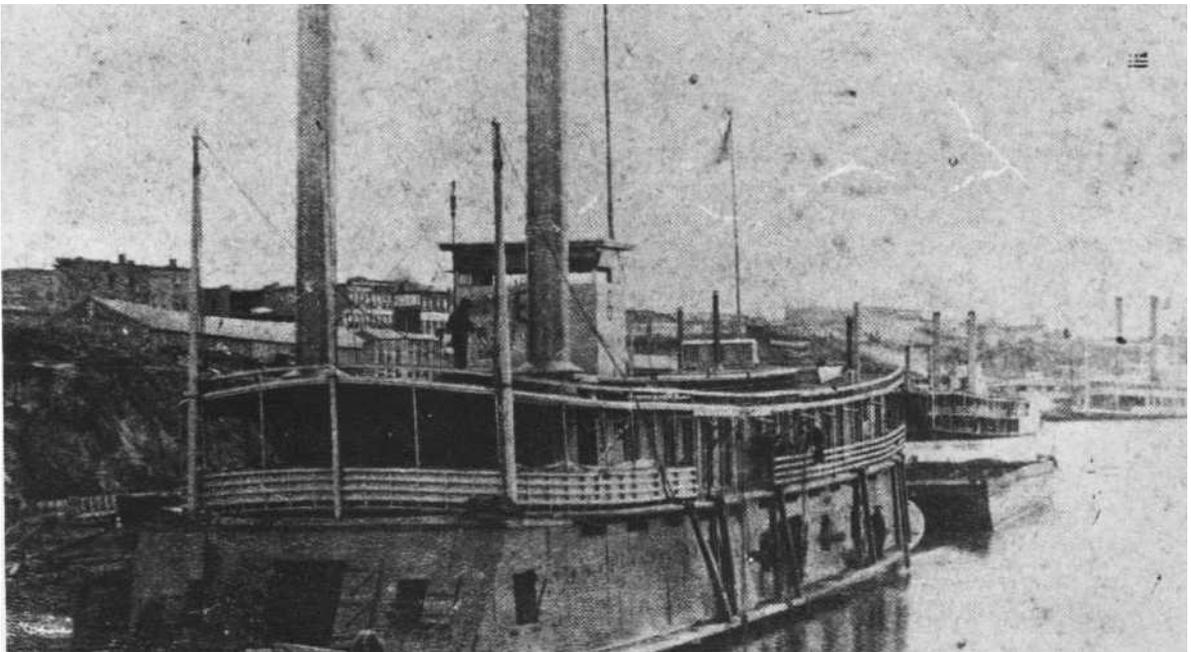
At 9 a.m. inspected the Guard in full dress. At 9:45 a.m. left Natchez for the Red River. Ensign [Henry] Baker went on shore and was left. At 10 a.m. the Gun Boat Juliet (28) came along side and exchanged salutes with Paymaster George W. Winans but could not speak to him. Arrived at the mouth of the Red River at 2 o'clock. Went on shore but did not go away from the bank on account of guerrillas. About 200 Negroes, males and females dressed in their Sunday clothes, came down to see us. Among the number was an old woman, the mother of the Captain's steward. She said as near as she could recollect she was 85 years old. Saw Captain [George M.] Bache, Commanding the Lexington (29) Left Red River on our way back to Vicksburg at 6 o'clock.

Natchez, February 29

Arrived here at 5 o'clock this morning. Very cold and rainy so did not go on shore. Left at five o'clock for the



Admiral Porter's Red River flotilla must have looked very much like this group of ships shown at anchor off the naval station at Mound City, Illinois, ca. March-April 1863.



A stern-wheeler steamer, USS Cricket mounted six 24-pounder howitzers and could make six knots if the wind and current were right.

Red River again to consult General Sherman(30) who is just in advance of us on the Diana. (31) Arrived at the Red River at 8 o'clock and tied up on the bank. Several of the gun boats had gone up the Red to get cotton. At nine o'clock I was called into the paymaster's room and there met Jim Kelly [James P. Kelley](32) paymaster of the Lafayette. (33) We sat up until 1 o'clock talking together. His boat was 35 miles below. Tried my best to get a ring that he wore on his chain, but did not succeed.

Mouth Red River, March 1

Went over the river this morning with the paymaster to buy provisions. Took a guard of six Marines with us. Went up the river about two miles to a plantation. Bought a beef and several dozen eggs. Everything was in dilapidated condition. The house was quite large and had some day been very comfortable. We found one white man living there and his only associates were Negroes. The inside of the house looked desolate enough. No carpets on the floor and but poorly furnished. In one room, used as his sleeping apartment, was a Negro woman and child. A good fire was burning in a grate and on the mantel were several finery articles showing that the house had some day been occupied by a better tenant. The man made us a present of some punk(34) for lighting fires--some of his own manufacture.

Red River, March 2

Went on shore this morning to practice target shooting with the Henry Rifle.(35) Made some good shots. Got up a foot race with the paymaster and beat him. At 2 p.m. went on shore again. Met Paymaster [E. D.] Whitehouse [of the U.S.S. Choctaw] from Chicago. He has been here since July, 1863, and has been on shore but 3 times on account of guerrillas. We shot together with the revolver.

Red River, March 3

Went on shore at 10 1/2 o'clock this morning and played base ball for about 3 hours.(36) At 3 p.m. practiced with the revolver. Several Secesh (37) ladies from a plantation in the neighborhood came up on horseback to see the ship. Two of them were really beautiful and rode splendidly. Wrote a letter to Alice.

Red River, March 4

Nothing of interest occurred today.

Red River, March 5

At noon the Expedition returned from up Red River. They had captured about 200 bales of cotton and about a hundred Negroes. (38) Went on board the gun boat Fort Hindman. (39) Frederick H. Wait is her Executive Officer. (40) He was very much surprised to see me. He had been struck in the cheek with a piece of shell but was not hurt much. The boat was completely riddled with shot and shell. Also went on board the Quachita. (41) Saw Dr. Francis and Paymaster Walker [Joseph R. Meeker?]. Went on the Osage (42) and saw [Robert K.] Hubbell. (43) After taking a glass of wine I left.

Red River, March 6

Had General Muster this morning. The General Sims (44) came along side this morning. All hands were in the best of spirits as there was mail on board. I got a letter from Mother, Sister, (45) Cousin Jim, and Charlie Duncan. Also a box of clothes. No letter from Alice however. Sent letters to all my friends in return. At 12 o'clock Fred Wait came on board and invited me to go up the Red River with him as the pilots were going up to point out the channel to the Mississippi pilots. Went on board and started up the river. Saw plenty of Negroes on the bank but were not molested by "Guerrillas." Returned at 6 p.m. Took tea with Fred [Wait] and he sent me off in the Captain's Gig. While I was away Jim Kelly came on board, went to my room and took a picture of Alice out of my album.

Red River, March 7

Went out and practiced with my revolver. At 2 p.m. signals were made to all the vessels in the squadron to send their men ashore immediately. They formed in line. My Company having the right. We numbered about 900 men. Marched up to the "Widow's Plantation." Had dress parade, men inspected by the Admiral [Porter] and marched back. My men behaved splendidly. Captain Foster's (46) command was the next best drilled after the Marines. While setting up the Guard at 7 o'clock I saw the most beautiful sight in the shape of a meteor--it flashed three times and exploded with a sound like a rocket.

Red River, March 8, 1864

At 10 a.m. the General Lyon (47) came along side on her way back to Cairo. Went on board and took a glass of ale with Paymaster Doane. (48) Met Paymaster Kelly and several others on board. We formed a board of examiners to examine candidates for the regular service. I was appointed "Master of Arms." As the General Lyon was going to several vessels

in the harbor to unload stores we went with her. We visited some 8 or 10 vessels. Each paymaster brought out wine and cigars. The consequence was that some of the board became very jolly. We landed alongside the Lafayette. While Jim Kelly was in the Captain's cabin I went to his room and took back his album in payment for the picture he took from me. Took dinner with him. After dinner returned on board the Black Hawk.

Red River, March 9

Today the crew and officers of the Conestoga (49) came on board. Among them was Dr. [Benjamin F.] Pierce who was not on her at the time of the [faded and illegible in the original] but had just returned from New Orleans. He was sitting in our ward room talking with us when the Admiral called him into his office and gave him orders to report to the Louisville. (50) He came back and bade us goodbye. In just 30 minutes our doctor returned on board and said Doctor Pierce had just been drowned. He had stopped to do some business on the coal barges and asked the Captain of the Tug to wait for him. They heard someone call for help and as he has not been seen since he is probably gone. He was married some six months ago to a beautiful young lady and left the afternoon of the day of his marriage. He had sent home \$400 to be invested in U. S. Bonds and had about \$300 on his person. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon attended a burial of one of the sailors. Captain Breese read the funeral exercises and it was very solemn.

Red River, March 10

Jim Kelly came on board this morning to recover his albums but I would not give them up. He took dinner with me. Went out in the afternoon and exercised my men in company drill. Played a game of ball. Paymaster Winans came on board and lunched with me.

Red River, March 11

At 9 a.m. signals were made for all men in the fleet to come on shore for drill. The battalion was formed by Captain Ramsey (51) and commanded by Captain Foster of the Lafayette. My company as usual had the right of the line. At 11 a.m. the transports arrived with troops on board to cooperate with us up the Red. At 9 p.m. I was ordered to take all my command up to the Widows' Plantation to guard it from the soldiers. They had set one house and cotton gin on fire and they threatened to burn all on the river. We arrived at the Widows' at 10 p.m. Stationed six pickets around the building and took my men into the parlor. The ladies were very entertaining. Every relief I posted they

gave hot coffee and eatables. One of the ladies was very handsome and accomplished. She told me she sympathized with the South but she did as much for the Union soldiers as she did for Confederates. They sat up in the parlor until after 2. I laid down on the sofa and took a nap.

Red River, March 12

This morning at 5 o'clock I relieved my sentries from their posts at the plantation and marched them back to the vessel. Did not see the ladies before leaving. At 11:30 a.m. got under way up the Red River. When we reached the Atchafalaya(52) we left the main line of gun boats who were going up the Red. We with six other gun boats started up the Atchafalaya with about 12,000 men in transports commanded by Brigadier General Smith.(53) We found the fort evacuated.(54)

Atchafalaya River, March 13

The troops started this morning for the fort.(55) Our sailors went out and captured 200 bales of cotton. At 6 p.m. troops returned from the fort having found it evacuated. General Smith came along side in the transport Claire Belle(56) and serenaded the Admiral. We responded by burning fire works. Wrote several letters and went to bed quite early.

Red River, March 14

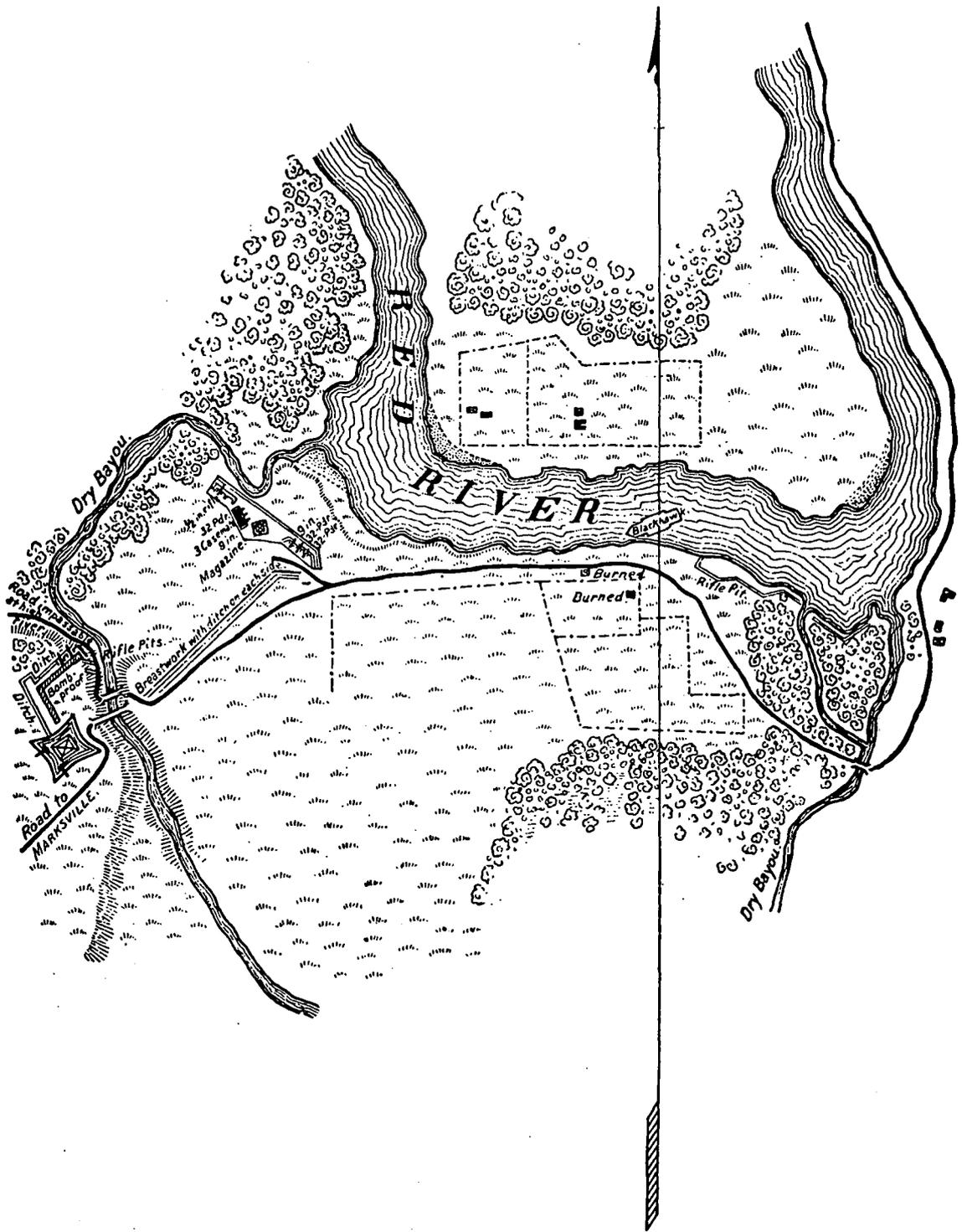
We left the Atchafalaya at 6 o'clock this morning and reached the Red River about 12. We overtook the gunboats at 3 p.m. I had my men on the hurricane deck all day expecting to be fired upon by guerrillas. When we got within a mile of the raft(57) obstructing the river we tied up for the night.

Red River, March 15

We arrived at Fort De Russy(58) at nine o'clock this morning. Our advance gun boats had arrived the night before at sundown and threw two shells into the fort when it gave up. The troops captured about 200 prisoners. The fort was a very fine one though not completed. Went through it in the afternoon. It had eleven(11) guns. Among them was one of the Indianola's.(59)

Red River, March 16

Left Fort De Russy at 8 a.m. Reached the raft in the river about 11 a.m. and got through without difficulty. Reached Alexandria(60) at 1 p.m. Found our gun boats off



SKETCH OF FORT DE Russy, LA., MARCH, 1864.

C. Fendall, United States Coast Survey.

The advance gunboats of Porter's flotilla arrived at Fort De Russy at sunset 14 March... "...and threw two shells into the fort when it gave up. The troops captured 200 prisoners. The fort was a fine one though not completed."

the city. They had been fired upon by a few drunken soldiers but otherwise met with no opposition. Went on shore with my Guard and acted as a provost marshal. Arrested all drunken sailors and sent them to the blockhouse. Guarded three hundred bales of cotton all night until it was loaded onto the General Price.(61) Wrote a letter to parents and one to Alice and sent them on a boat which was going up river for dispatches. Have not heard from Alice for over a month.

Alexandria, Louisiana, Red River, March 17

Went on shore this morning and got in cotton. Took a walk over the town. Went into several houses and ordered out soldiers who were appropriating articles. Made several friends by it. Saw one lady who was crying. She said the soldiers had driven her cow out of the yard-- that her brother was laying very sick and when she told them to leave the cow they had shot it before her eyes. Went out in town in the evening and found guards posted at every corner with orders to allow no one to pass-- soldiers or citizens. But as I had a guard out I went where I pleased. All active officers of the ship stayed on board.

Alexandria, Red River, March 18

Took a walk through the town this morning. Was invited into a house by an old lady. She was a German. Had a son pressed into the service by the Rebs. She was strong for the Union and showed me letters from her son of like character. She had two very pretty little girls about 8 or 12 years of age. One of them gave me a secesh ring an officer had made for her. While I was talking several soldiers came up and demanded something to eat such as cake or wine. I ordered them away which offended them very much. After taking a very rich glass of milk I took my leave with an invitation to call. I called at several places during my walk. At 3 o'clock signals were made for all officers to be on board their vessels. Accordingly I came on. There had been several things taken from a secesh drug store by officers and men. The Admiral ordered them all brought to the flag ship. It was amusing to see the faces of the different officers as they disposed of their finds. Some had pictures, frames, ink stands, patent medicines, etc., etc., etc. Among some of the things I noticed a Masonic Lodge book containing accounts of different members. It was a new one and just commenced. I took charge of it and locked it up for safe keeping.

March 19

An army transport came up today with mail. I had ex-

pected it for a week. Had retired for the night but got up and found letters from Charlie and Alice. Kelly returned the "stolen picture" today.

March 20

Nothing of importance occurred today.

March 21

Met Captain Holmes Hoge on the street.(62) He was very much surprised to see me. He came on board in the evening to see me as he was going on six miles to camp. Wrote a long letter to Alice.

March 22

The Dispatch boat New National (63) came along side. Brought letters from home and from Alice. Also brought my new sergeant [Orderly Sergeant Albert A. Minster]. Sent letters back to Mother, Alice, Charlie, and others.

March 23

Captain Hoge came down and dined with me. They had moved their camp into town. Met Captain Baker(64) and Kelly came on board today and I gave him his album.

March 24

General Banks came in this morning.(65) Went out riding with Admiral's secretary. Rode a large fine gray horse captured from the rebels. At six p.m. was sent out to arrest the pilot of the Eastport who was drunk.(66) Found him after some trouble--put him in irons and took him on board his vessel.

March 25

General Ransom's(67) Divisions arrived this morning. Saw Lieutenant Cone(68) and Troops of Mercantile Battery Chicago.(69) Was standing on the levee when the battery came by and when the first gun boat came up about a dozen boys hailed me with "How are you Frank?" They all jumped off and shook hands with me. Among the members were Billy Brown, Henry Fisk, D.M. Marble, J. Egan, and Hays Wilson.(70) Brown was quite sick. Others in fine health and spirits. Did not see General Ransom. Called on Captain Hoge. Went up to the hotel with Paymaster Kelly and others and played on the piano.

March 26

Nothing of importance occurred today.

March 27

Went out to Captain Hoge's camp. Took horses and rode out to the Camp of the Chicago Mercantile Battery. Went into Lieutenant Cone's tent and spent a very pleasant time. Billy Brown was Captain's clerk. Saw several old school mates. Came back aboard about five o'clock. Saw the dress parade of the New York Volunteers.(71) They were reviewed by General Banks and staff. Their bayonet exercises and charge were splendid. At 8 p.m. the Admiral was serenaded by Banks. While the band was playing the "Mocking Bird"(72) a shed fell on them badly injuring a major and two men.

March 28

The transports got under way at 2 o'clock p.m. Most of the gun boats had gotten over the falls.(73) It is thought we will start tomorrow. Had my first trouble with Naval officers about my Guard. I was in the right and gained my point. Have had no drill for several days on account of the hard duty of the men. Today we received a request from the ladies of New Orleans for the autographs of Admiral Porter and staff to be sold at New Orleans for the benefit of the poor of Louisiana suffering through guerrillas, etc. We accordingly sent them. Had a straw fight in the Ward Room this evening and a great deal of sport.

Alexandria, March 29, 1864

Went out riding with Charlie Guild at 10 a.m.(74) Went up the river to the falls where the hospital boat was aground(75) The mail came today very unexpectedly. Got a letter from Sister Carrie(76) and two from Alice. In one of the last was a beautiful prayer book. Wrote to Carrie.

Alexandria, March 30, 1864

Made out my quarterly returns today. Was introduced to Miss Nolan at the Louisiana House by James Kelly and passed a very pleasant afternoon. James dined with me. Wrote a letter to Alice.

Alexandria, March 31

Very cold and rainy this morning so did not go on shore.

Alexandria, April 1

Was awakened this morning by 3 a.m. by Ensign Terry.(77) Found I was April fooled. There has been a great deal of sport today and nearly all on board have been made April fools. Turned out my Guard today by order of the Captain as General Banks was coming on board. He did not come, however, and the officers in the ward room were continually asking me "how Banks was?" etc., so I got the Messenger boy to come into the ward room and tell me that the General had come on board, which he did, and every officer got up and went out onto the quarter deck to see him. Of course no General being in sight they came back and I have not been plagued by them since. Wrote a letter to Alice at 9 p.m. Before finishing it I found that the Admiral was going up the river in the morning. I went in and volunteered my service and asked to go which was granted. Finished my letter to A. and packed my valise and retired.

Alexandria, April 2

Was awakened at four a.m. by the officer of the deck. Got up and took my baggage on board the U.S.S. Gazelle. (78) As there was some misunderstanding about orders we did not leave until about seven o'clock. We were bearing dispatches to General Smith. We went up the river about 25 miles until we came to his transports. Delivered our dispatches and started back for Alexandria. Met the Admiral about 10 miles from Alexandria. I was ordered to transfer my baggage to the U.S.S. Cricket (79) which the Admiral was using as his Flag Ship. I was somewhat loath to go as I had splendid quarters on board and with James Deering and other friends. Came on board, however. We then started up the river and ran until about 10 o'clock when we tied up for the night.

Grand Ecore, Red River, April 3(80)

We arrived here at 1:30 p.m. and tied up to the bank. The officers of the different vessels came on board and reported. At 4 p.m. two rebel officers were seen riding along the road. They dismounted and went into a large white house said to be occupied by Colonel De Russey. (81) The Admiral ordered out a 100 lb Parrott (82) to be loaded which was on a barge we were towing. It was loaded with percussion shell. Lieutenant Smith was then ordered to fire at the house. We all watched the effect of the shot which just went over the house and exploded a short distance in the rear. We did not see anyone leave the house, however. The transports coming up prevented our firing but one shot. At 6 p.m. the Lexington and two other gun boats went up the river to explode torpedoes (83) and to attack the rebel transports which were said to be six miles from us. Wrote a letter to Parents and one to Alice.

a letter to Parents and one to Alice.

Report reached us this morning that the gun boats that went up yesterday had had a fight and burned a town. As the river was falling and most of our boats were aground we could not go until they were got off.(84) Went through the town today. It is composed of about 20 houses all vacated but one or two. They had all been filled with cotton and the ground was covered with it. Went up onto the "bluff" where Colonel De Russy lived. It was a beautiful place. There were earth works partly completed for big guns but none had been mounted. Picked some forget-me-nots and other flowers which I pressed to send to Alice

Grand Ecore, April 5

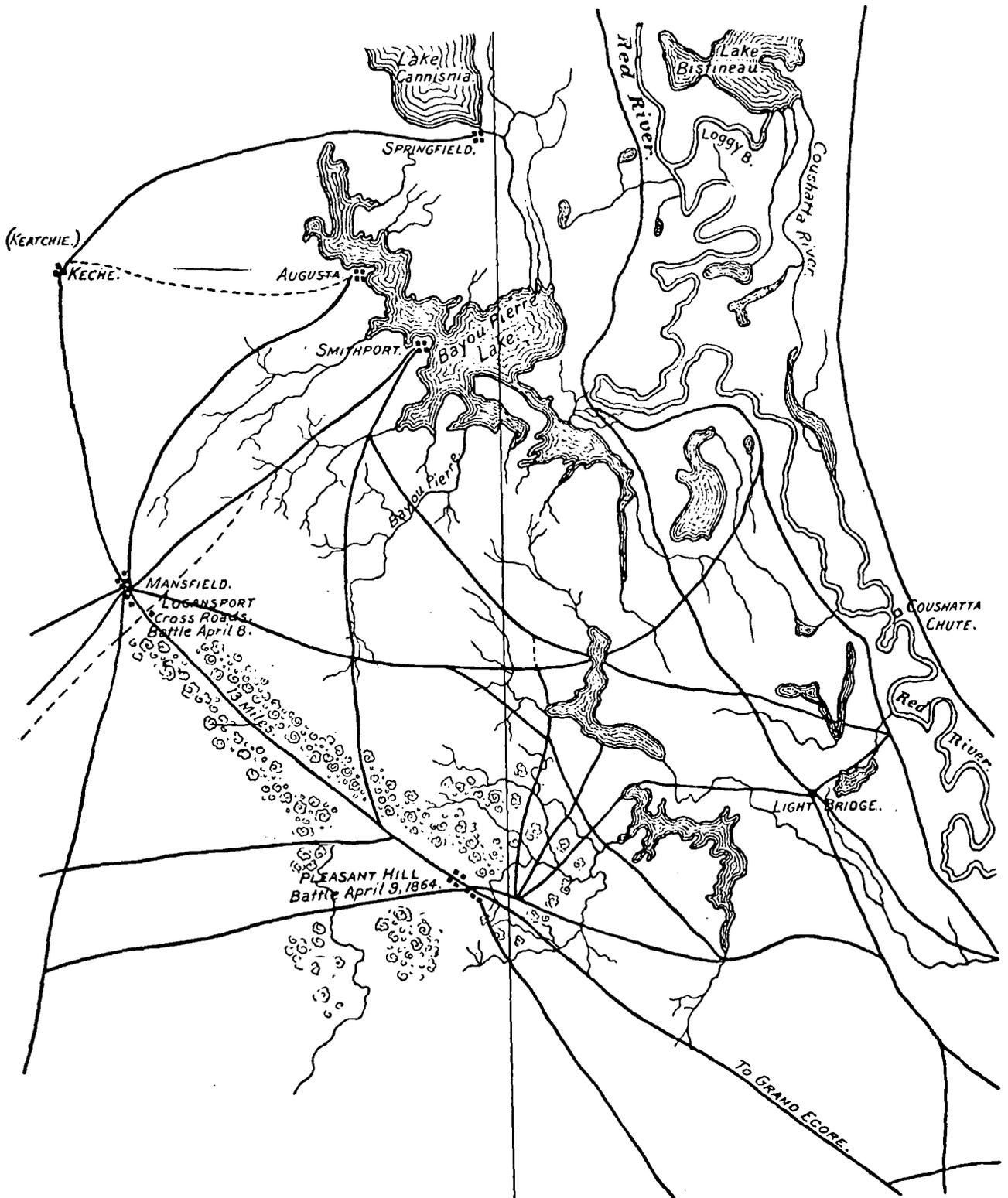
Left this place at 10 a.m. and steamed up the river. Met the U.S.S. Fort Hindman 25 miles up the river. Hailed us and told us that Captain Couthouy commanding the Chilli-cothe (85) had been killed by a guerrilla on the bank. Went up a few miles further. Most of our boats getting aground. We went back to Grand Ecore which we reached about 5 p.m. 1st Lieutenant Jerome (86) of the U.S. Signal Corps came on board for duty. We all went on board the John Warner (87) to get tobacco, cigars, etc., etc. Spent the evening reading.

Grand Ecore, April 6

At 8 a.m. the U.S.S. Gazelle came along side bringing a Captain's Guard of Marines from Alexandria armed with Spencer rifles(88) to act as Admiral's body guard. At 3 p.m. went out riding with Lieutenant Jerome.

Campti, Louisiana(89) April 8

Left this place this morning at nine o'clock. Went up the river about a mile and went into the bank for fence rails for wood. Took a guard ashore and stationed them as pickets around the houses. After working 3 hours we went on board and steamed up the river. At four o'clock we ran into the bank and tied up. I had orders from the Admiral to go out to the barn in the adjoining plantation where there were some very fine horses and bring them to the boat. I took a guard of 10 men and with me a contraband(90) as guide started for the barn. The horses had been removed the Negroes told us so we went to the next plantation about half a mile distant. We came to a crossroads where I stationed two pickets to keep a sharp look out on the edge of the woods and alarm us in case they saw anything wrong. When we got near the house I saw two mounted



SKETCH OF THE ROADS NEAR THE BATTLEFIELDS OF APRIL 8 AND 9, 1864.

Near this point on 8 and 9 April, Church went ashore with a detail to capture some horses and to patrol the area.

officers (rebels) and down about three hundred yards from them I halted to take observations. I concluded they were pickets and as I had 63 shots--being armed with the Spencer rifle--I gave the command "double quick." As soon as they saw us coming they put spurs to their horses and made for the woods. They had carried the horses off to the woods, and as it was getting quite dark and we were nearly two miles from our boat I concluded to go back. As soon as we turned back the cavalry force immediately turned and followed us. They soon got so near that we all sought protection behind a rail fence. We waited quietly in hopes they would come near enough to give us a shot but they kept out of range. When they got nearer the boat they turned their horses and went back into the woods. I went on board and found the Admiral quite uneasy about me. He asked me why I did not bring the horses. I made my report when he ordered me to go over to Brigadier General Smith's headquarters and report to him. I took a small boat and went over the Hastings, (91) made my report and drew out a rough sketch of the place for him. He invited me to "take a drink" and as I had been on the "double quick" so long it was quite a treat. After taking supper with him and smoking a cigar I started back. As the Fort Hindman was nearby I went on board and had a talk with Fred Wait. He said they had seen this same party of cavalry all day in advance of them burning cotton and that he had fired several shells into. Went on board the flagship and was sent back to the General with dispatches. Returned on board and found Fendall(92) and Mitchell(93) of the Gazelle. We had a pleasant evening telling stories. Being quite tired I went to sleep quite early.

Off Grand Bayou, Louisiana, April 9

Woke up this morning with a very severe cold and sore throat the result of yesterday's work. We started up the river at nine o'clock. At noon we came to a plantation. We tied up and I was ordered to take my men on shore again as pickets and to arrest all Negroes and white men around the premises. Found two men and sent them on board. The Negro cook informed me that a rebel soldier had stopped there for dinner but when he saw our boat round the point he mounted his horse and retreated. They had taken their cotton out of the gin and piled it up in the yard ready for burning as couriers had been along a day or two before telling them they would lose buildings and all unless it was got out. They expected it to be burned that day. Our signal officer went into the house and got a shotgun and rifle and forty-five dollars in Confederate bills. With the latter he purchased a dozen eggs of a Negro woman paying her with the money he had taken from the Master. We got under way at 1 o'clock and ran until six o'clock when we

came to a deserted plantation and tied up for the night. I took my Guard out again to act as pickets until the Army came up and stationed theirs. Went up to a house on the bank and found that the rebel cavalry had just left. A fire was burning in the fireplace and a supper had been prepared but they had left without eating. Found a very fine cavalry saber and bridle. It was amusing to see the sailors go after chickens, pigs, etc. We found several bee hives which we at once emptied.

Off Mouth Grand Bayou, Louisiana, April 10

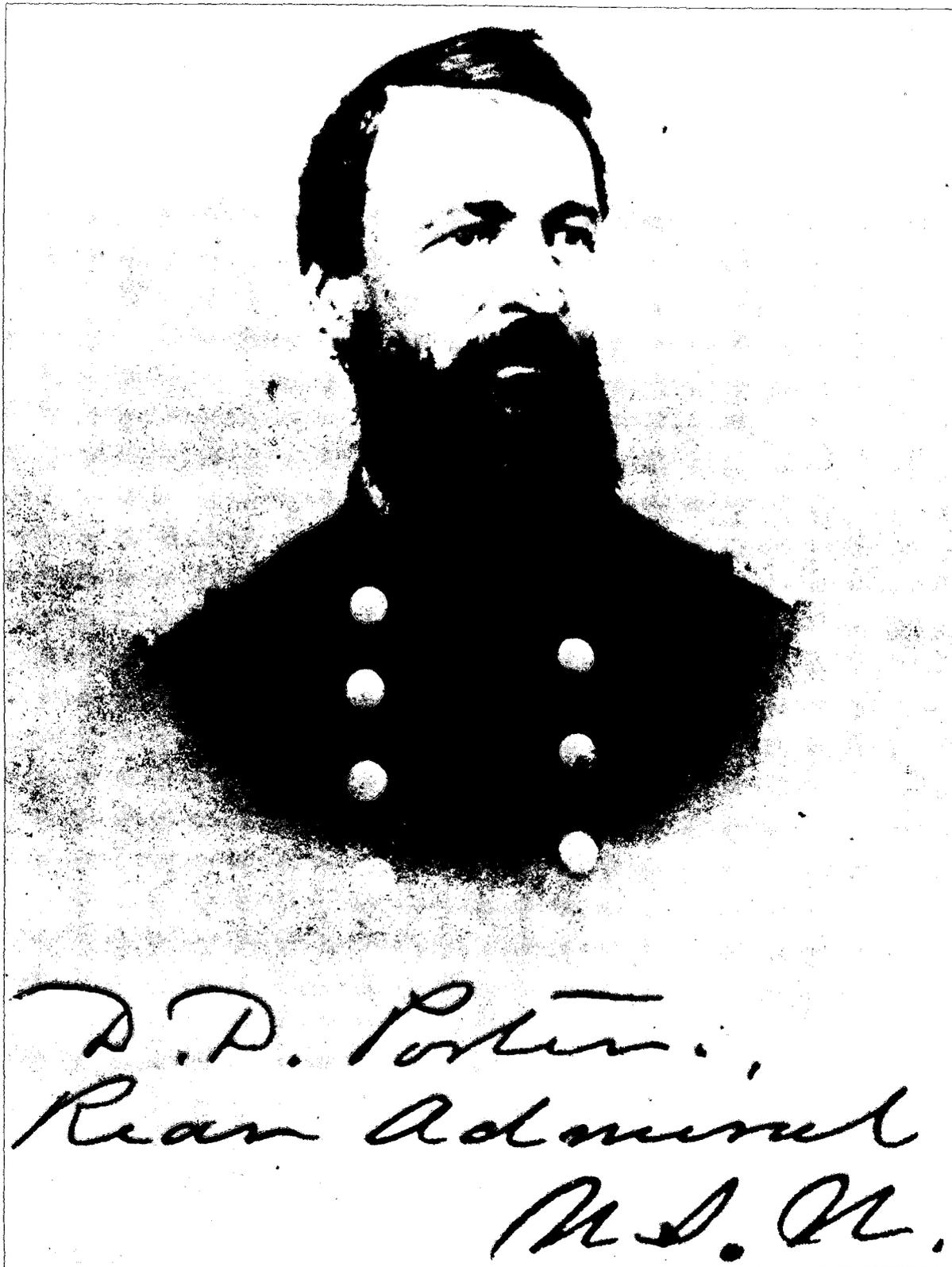
Got under way at 8 o'clock this morning. Kept my men on deck as sharpshooters. The Fort Hindman was in advance and was fired upon by guerrillas. She fired one shell into them and we could see them scamper into the woods. The atmosphere is filled with smoke from the cotton which is burning on every plantation and they are very thick here. We fired several shots into the woods where we supposed guerrillas might be. We reached this place "Loggy Bayou" (94) at about three o'clock. It is supposed that most of the light draft rebel boats have gone up it. We went up about a mile further and found the steamboat New Falls City (95) sunk across the river making a complete obstruction. This boat was one of the finest and largest on the Mississippi being over 300 feet long. We have commenced to blow her up and have dropped down the river about 2 miles to wait until we can get her out. Wrote a letter to Alice and retired-- the mail coming up I got up and found letters from home-- Alice and others. We also got dispatches of very unfavorable character from General Banks. (96)

Off "House on Fire" below Loggy Bayou, Red River, April 11

We left Loggy Bayou at sunrise. The steamboat came along side. Had on board a rifle from Chicago for me. Found "Terry" (97) in command. He had been fired into by 200 or 300 guerrillas with muskets. We commenced shelling them until dark. We went on shore and burned a house. Wrote a letter to Alice and retired.

Below Loggy Bayou, April 12

Got under way at sunrise. We were opened upon by guerrillas near some burning houses. We spent some two hours shelling them. Lieutenant Jerome, Signal Officer, was hit in the coat the ball striking a button and glancing off. I had my men on the hurricane roof. I coiled a large hawser, piled fence rails around it, and then put the men's hammocks over all making a splendid barricade. I then took my station in the lookout on top of the pilot house. We were



A descendent from a famed family of American seamen, Rear Admiral David Dixon Porter was also the father and grandfather of Lieutenant Colonel Carlile P. Porter and Major General David Dixon Porter, respectively, both of whom had full careers as Marine Corps officers.

rounding a point with two transports loaded with men just in advance of us when they were fired upon. I saw one man on the bank draw up his musket and take deliberate aim and fire. I cautioned the quartermasters to look out. They seized muskets and we waited patiently until we came up. We directed the Captain how to train his gun on them and in a few minutes they blazed away--biz, biz--the bullets flew around us. We were also firing back. One of our broadside guns put a shell in among them and they dropped their arms and ran. I got six splendid shots at them. One man had on no coat and I am confident I hit him. When we reached the bluffs where the batteries had been the night before, we opened on them but received no reply. The Lexington and Osage were fired into by four pieces of artillery and a thousand infantry. They shelled them killing several, among the number the rebel General Green. (98) We started to participate with them but they were some distance in our rear and as night was coming on we tied up for the night. The boat threw shells into the woods all night. Wrote a short letter to Alice.

Grappe's Bluff, April 13, 1864

We got under way this morning at sunrise and steamed down--ahead of us the Chillicothe steamed in advance. We were called to quarters very soon. I expected a heavy guerilla fire so I made my breastworks much better than before. I got two stanchions and put a rope across the top and tied the ends of the hammocks to them making a splendid protection. I took my place among my men as I was afraid if I stayed up on top where I had somewhat better protection--although I could use my rifle to much better advantage--then my men would think I was a little timid. As we were passing a bluff a party of bushwackers opened on us and we were kept very busy for a few moments. The bullets would strike our hammocks but not go through. When we got about 20 miles from Grand Ecore we came to a fine looking house on the bank. We had not been fired upon for some time and were all sitting down not thinking of guerrillas when we were opened on by about a hundred men. My men sprang to their feet and fired back. I put two shots through the front door of the house where there were several men. After I fired three shots our boat swung around and got aground leaving us without a breastwork. My men behaved splendidly standing up and firing away while they were sending a perfect shower of ball and shot over us. As we could not get any opportunity to use our rifles to advantage I ordered my men to lay down until we swung around. I sought protection behind the bell but some fellow saw me and fired at me--

Gruffo Bluff. April 19th 1864.

We got under way this morning at sunrise and
steamed down ahead of us - The Chellicothe in
advance of us - We were called to quarters very
soon. I expected a heavy guerrilla fire to make
my breastworks much better than before. I got
two stanchions and put a rope across the top, and
tied the ends of the hammocks to them making a splendid
protection. I took my place among my men as I was
afraid if I stood up on top where I had somewhat
better protection although I could use my rifle to
much better advantage than my men could think
I was a better limbo. As we were passing a
bluff a party of bushwhackers opened on us and we
were kept very busy for a few moments. The bullets
would strike our hammocks but not go through.
When we got about 40 miles from Lead Cove we
came to a fine looking house on the bank. We had
not been fired upon for some time and were well
settling down not thinking of guerrillas when we were
opened on by about a hundred men. They were opening
to their feet and firing back. I put two shots through
the front door of the house where there were several
men. After I fired these shots we about ~~away~~
around and got aground leaving us without a ~~boat~~
my men behaved splendidly standing up as they

A page from Frank Church's journal represents his meticulous and painstaking efforts in chronicling his experiences in the Red River Expedition.

two bullets struck the bell and I concluded I had better get somewhere else. I got behind a hammock which was much better. One ball struck the steam pipe of the whistle just in line with me. When our boat got off end around we fired away again. We had a twenty-four pound howitzer on the hurricane deck which was being fired very rapidly. It was very warm and one of the men was ramming a cartridge in when it exploded sending the poor fellow off the top of the boat down into the "forecastle." They picked him up and carried him to the Doctor. He had his whole right arm completely mashed to a jelly and filled with powder. He will probably get over it by the loss of his arm. We got back to Grand Ecore at around 3 o'clock having passed several transports. aground. We found Banks' army back again.(99) One of the signal officers on board was up on the pilot house making a signal to the army as we came down to the landing. He attracted the attention of a brother officer and they were busy talking together. Our officer made a mis-step and over he went. His signal glass went into the river and he landed on the hurricane deck with the least damage. Some one from the shore hailed him to know if he was hurt and he replied, "No they can't kill me" which created a good laugh on shore. I understand that Pink Cone's battery Chicago Mercantile were all captured.(100) Also Nims Battery.(101) General Ransom was wounded in the leg.

Grand Ecore, April 14

Went on shore this morning and visited the camp of the Mercantile Battery. They lost all their guns and all their officers but one, 1st Lieutenant Cone, in command, is a prisoner, Lieutenant George Throop was killed. Billy Brown, Henry Fisk, Charles Alcott are alive and well. (102) They came down to the boat and I supplied them all with pantaloons and shirts and tobacco as they had lost everything. Bought a horse, saddle, and bridle this morning for \$5.00. It had been captured on the battlefield.

Grand Ecore, April 15

Went out to the camp this morning. Took some tobacco to the boys. Went up to Holmes Hoge's tent and found him all o.k. Went on board. In the evening went on board the Hindman, had a talk with Fred [Wait]. Sent letters to Parents and Alice. Got news of the sinking of the Eastport. (103)

Grand Ecore, April 16

Left this morning for Alexandria. My horse was brought on board but as we were short of room I concluded not to bring him so I let him loose. At 2 p.m. overtook the Lexington and went along side the Eastport which was sunk in six

feet of water. We left them and went on down the river. Lieutenant Naile(104) and myself amused ourselves by shooting at alligators. Reached Alexandria at 7 o'clock. Went onboard and met William Halliday from Cairo--down to buy cotton. (105) Slept on board.

Alexandria, April 17

Took breakfast on my own vessel once more. At noon I got orders to select 12 Marines and take them on board the Cricket at noon. [Admiral Porter was on board Cricket at this time.] I did so and a short time afterward we got under way. She got to the falls but the wind was blowing very hard and we could not get over. Tied up for the night.

Rapids above Alexandria, April 18

Got under way at daybreak this morning but did not get over the falls until noon. Had my men on deck all day but have not been fired into. Wrote to Walter Cutter. Tied up at ten o'clock.

Grand Ecore, April 19

We got under way this morning at sunrise and reached the Eastport about ten o'clock. They had 3 pumps to work. Paymaster Winans came on board. We went up to Grand Ecore, saw General Banks and returned to the Eastport and tied up for the night.

Grand Ecore, April 20

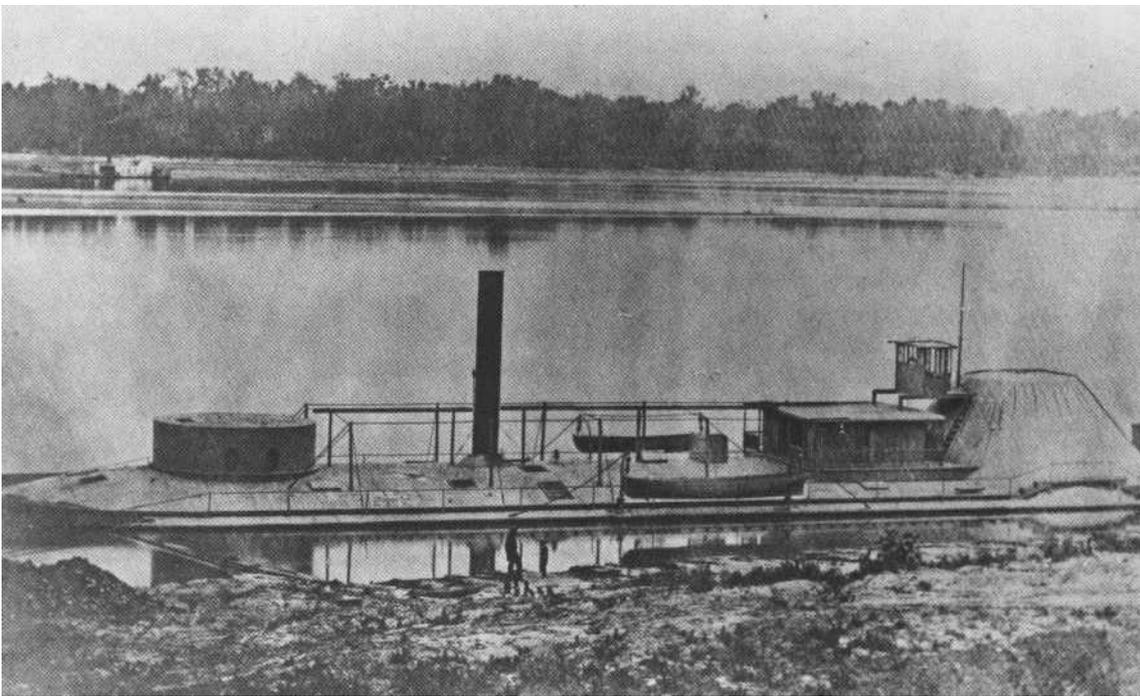
We left the Eastport this morning at 10 o'clock and reached Grand Ecore soon after. At 12 we got under way and went back to the Eastport, tied up for the night. Went onshore with my men to act as pickets over the Eastport.

Woods, Camp Goddard, April 21.

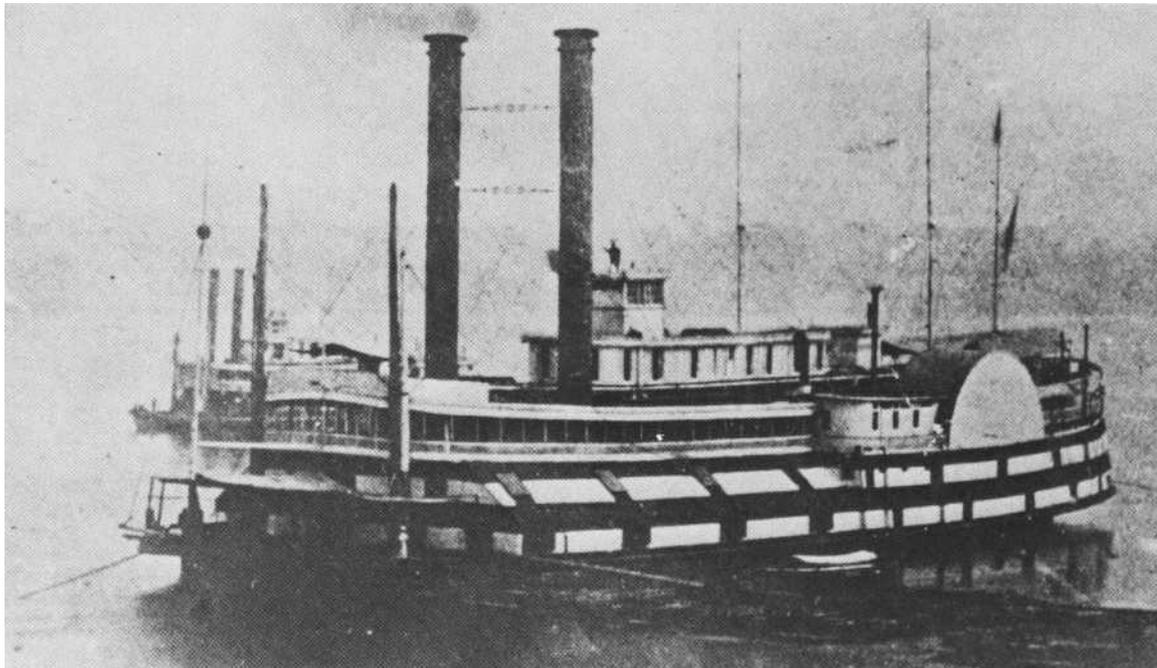
My pickets are all posted and I am sitting on a log by the fire wrapped up in my blanket. Have not slept for several hours--7 o'clock. Captain's gig came over to me to take me to breakfast. Went off to the Cricket with half of my men and returned soon after. Sent the rest of men to breakfast. At 12 noon withdrew my pickets and went on board when we got under way. Went down river a few miles and the Eastport getting aground we tied up for the night.

Red River, April 22

The Eastport, is again aground and we cannot leave her.



USS Osage was launched by James Eads at his Union Iron Works, Carondelet, Missouri. It mounted two 11-inch Dahlgren smooth-bore guns and had a rated speed of 7-1/2 knots.



USS Black Hawk was a side-wheel river steamer built in 1848, but bought and commissioned by the Navy in 1862. Her armament consisted of four 32-pounder smooth-bore guns, two 30-pounder rifles, one 12-pounder rifle, and one 12-pounder smooth-bore gun.

All hands are at work to get her off. The mail came today. Received letters from Alice, Mother, Carrie, and others. Nine o'clock--everything excitement on board. Men all at "Quarters." Expecting attack.

Alexandria, April 29, 1864

Just returned from up the river. Have been so busy the last week that I have neglected my journal. On the 26th we blew up the Eastport, (106) and were attacked by sharpshooters, and afterwards by a rebel battery of 16 guns under McGruder. (107) The Cricket ran past. Champion No. 2 was captured. (108) I was on the Fort Hindman and we were obliged to run up the river out of range of the enemy guns. Ensign Pool (109) was killed standing by me. Received a wound in my leg knocking me down. Next morning we ran the battery and fought them, disabling two of their guns. I found when I got on board the Cricket that Engineer [Charles P.] Parks had been killed and eight others. Cut a headboard to place over his grave.

Alexandria, April 30

Went up in town today and met Holmes Hoge. Met a Captain Conie, a friend of Mrs. Graham's. Went over and placed the head board over the grave of Mr. Parks, found him buried near the river where high water would wash the body out.

May 1, 1864

Went over this morning with a party of Negroes and removed the remains of Mr. Parks' body and found a nice place in the Cemetery under two large trees. Wrote a letter home. The dam was commenced today. (110)

May 2

Nothing of importance occurred today.

May 3, 1864

Been in my room all day. My leg is very painful and the Doctor says I must keep still. Wrote several letters.

May 4, 1864

Took dinner with Captain Hoge today. Had a splendid dinner. They having just received a lot of mess stores from New Orleans.

May 5, 1864

Been in my room all day. It is very hot. The dam is getting along fairly well. Wrote to Charlie [Duncan.]

May 6, 1864, Alexandria

Just a year ago today engaged myself to Alice. Wrote her a letter this morning. Have received news of the loss of two gunboats. Captain [George P.] Lord of the Covington walked 30 miles by land having been attacked 20 miles below here by a 16 gun battery. He ran his boat into shore and burned her. Some dozen seamen escaped. The Signal was disabled but was anchored in the stream and fighting splendidly. Paymaster Chester is reported wounded and a prisoner. (111)

May 7, 1864

Alfred(112) of the Covington came in today all right. Some eight or ten actives with him. They report that the Signal surrendered. Was out walking this evening with Naile and went by the house where we were the first day where soldiers were shooting the cows. Asked the lady how her sick brother was and found he was dead. Was invited into the house. Met several ladies--Miss Pet Culbertson, Mrs. Mattie Cameron, Mrs. Culbertson. We spent the evening. The ladies gave us each a bouquet with invitations to call again.

Alexandria, Louisiana, May 8, 1864

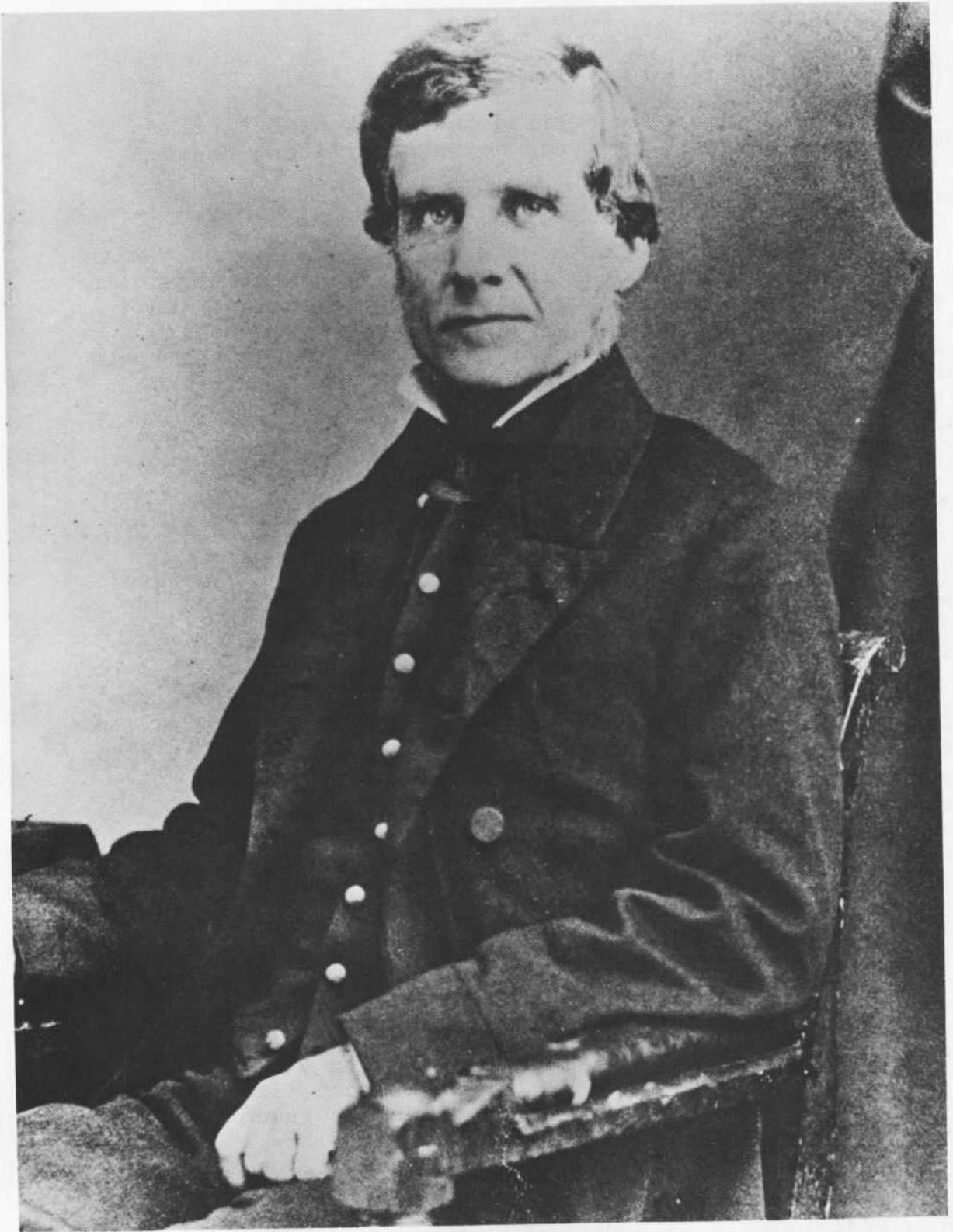
Went up to the dam this morning and found it progressing finally. Picked a bouquet of roses for Mrs. Cameron. Went around in the evening and had a splendid time. Found Mrs. Barrett whose husband had just died had taken a side degree in Masonry. Made myself known to her. Her husband was a K. T. [Knight Templar, Order of Freemasonry] and owned the Masonic Lodge room in Alexandria. The ladies played for us and sang.

Alexandria, May, 1864

This morning the Lexington, Neosho, (113) Fort Hindman, and Osage came down through the dam in fine style. Nothing of importance besides this occurred today. Made one usual call and received a bouquet.

Alexandria, May 10

The tug Dahlia(114) came over the dam this morning.



Rear Admiral Samuel P. Lee, commander of the Mississippi Squadron, based at Mound City, Illinois, who "directed that Church ... learn the Army Signal Code..." and "...teach it to naval officers."

Lost one man overboard. Made one call!

Alexandria, May 11

Nothing of interest occurred today. Went out horse-back riding. Made one call and got a magnificent bouquet.

Alexandria, May 12, 1864

The balance of the boats came over the falls today with the exception of Chillicothe and Ozark. (115) Went up and invited the ladies to walk down in the evening and see the rest come over. Walked up to the dam. Mr. Naile taking Miss Pet and I Mrs. Cameron. We found it so foggy the boats could not get over. Went back and stopped at the Cricket where the Admiral was receiving a serenade. Treated the ladies to wine and walked home with them. Bade them good bye. The Army began moving today.

Alexandria, May 13

The other boats got over this morning and the rest of the Army moved. Some of the soldiers set the town on fire in the lower part. I went out to Mrs. Barrett's and found them all crying and frightened to death. Two of their houses having already been burnt. Helped them get in some of their things. The two young ladies were not at home so did not see them. Met them at the fire crying. Helped them take some things home and walked back with them. Bade them a last good bye and got on board. At [manuscript faded and illegible] o'clock the fleet got under way and we left Alexandria, the front street being a mass of ruins. Went about ten miles and tied up for the night. General Smith came aboard. Saw H. Hoge on shore and hailed him.

10 Miles below Alexandria, May 14

Got under way at 10 this morning. and ran down the river. The guerrillas fired into us several times but injured none of us. The Ozark lost one killed and several wounded. General Banks and staff were riding along the river bank and a party from the opposite shore fired on them killing the horse in the rear of the general and wounding several. At 4 p.m. came up to the place where the rebel batteries were but found them gone. The advance of the Army is 2 miles from here. The iron clads are all in front. The boats we lost are sunk across the river a mile below here and we will get them out in the morning. Captain Marston(116) and Jerome came on board and took supper. Captain Sample(117) also came on board. Saw Captain Hoge on the bank of the river.

May 15

Got under way this morning about 10 o'clock. The Army having gone in advance and left the river. At 12 noon we were fired upon by guerrillas from the bank. Shelled them with our (manuscript faded and illegible) gun. At 4 o'clock reached Fort De Russy and found the Choctaw(118) waiting for us with a mail. She was badly shot up by guerrillas. Found a long letter from Sister Carrie and one from Alice. It was over three weeks since I had heard from the latter. We left Fort DeRussy at 6 o'clock and started down the river running at top speed. I could not go to sleep so went into the pilot house. The night was surprisingly beautiful. At 12 p.m. we reached the mouth of the Red River and were now more in the Mississippi which was bank full and looked like an ocean compared with the Red. We fired a gun to let them know we were coming. Soon we got along side the Black Hawk and found all the officers up, and glad to see us. Spent the night in talking over our adventures, etc. Retired at 1 o'clock.

Mouth Red River, May 16, 1864

Quite unwell today--the effect of overwork and excitement. Wrote to Alice and Mother. Had a splendid dinner today--something new to us of the Expedition. Many laughable remarks were made as to our excellent appetites. Bought two young mocking birds.

May 17, 1864

Wrote several letters today and made out all my accounts and sent them to Washington.

May 18

The dispatch boat came along side with mail. Got a letter from Alice and Sister Mary. Sent several letters back. Got news of Colonel Harris' death. (119)

May 19

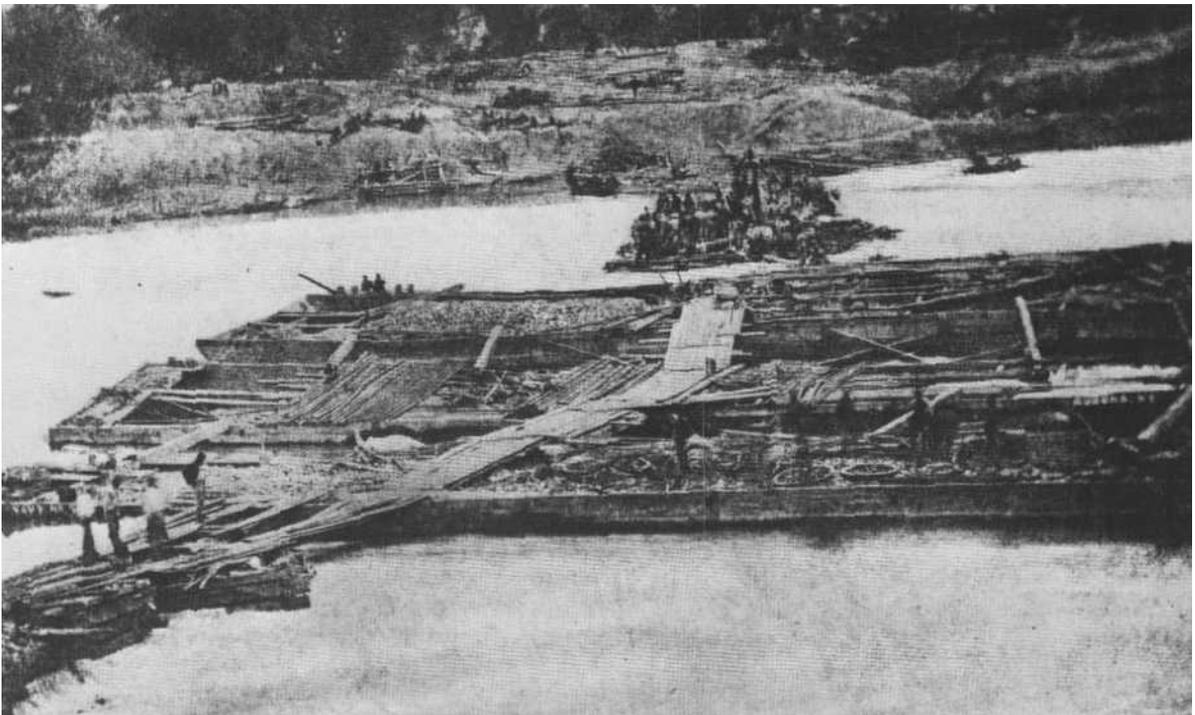
This morning at daybreak we were awakened by guerrillas firing into us from the bank. All were at Quarters in a few minutes. Took my men on shore immediately but could find no one.

May 20

General Banks and staff came on board today, also General Smith and his staff. The Gunboats and Transports



This sketch of Porter's gunboats passing Bailey's dam above Alexandria on 10 May 1864 appeared in Harper's Weekly shortly thereafter.



When the Red River fell so low in early May 1864 that the flotilla could not negotiate the rapids at Alexandria, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Bailey, an Army engineer constructed a dam to raise the water level. This is a section of Bailey's dam.

all got out of the Red this afternoon.

Mouth Red River, May 21

Bought two more mocking birds today. Wrote several letters. At 4 p.m. sent my Guard on shore to bury a sailor. At 6 p.m. got under way for Mound City. We ran all night.

Above Vicksburg, May 22

At 4 p.m. we came in sight of Vicksburg and landed for a few moments. Nothing of importance occurred today.

May 23

Nothing of importance occurred today.

May 24

Reached Memphis at 4 p.m. Stopped to coal ships. Left at six p.m. and ran all night. Sat out on guard till after midnight.

May 25

General Quarters this morning--fired all guns. Reached Columbus [Kentucky] (120) at 4:30 p.m.

EPILOGUE

For seven months after the end of the Red River Campaign Lieutenant Church remained at Mound City. He continued to drill the flagship's Marine guard as well as serve on Courts of Inquiry. In November he was the officer in charge of investigating a robbery on board the prize steamer Evansville. That same month he sat on a Court of Inquiry looking into the destruction of three river steamers, Tawah, Elfin, and Key West, in the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. (121)

In December Frank Church returned to action. He commanded a Marine detachment as Rear Admiral S. P. Lee led the Mississippi Squadron southward up the Tennessee. The expedition had as its purpose the interception of Confederate fugitives from the Battle of Nashville, 15-16 December 1864. The lieutenant was sent on shore to destroy a fort near Chickasaw, Alabama. His force engaged a rebel unit, driving it through the town, and capturing three men. He also served on board the shallow draft gunboat Fairy in its engagement with an enemy battery at Florence Bridge, Alabama. (122) That action ended Frank Church's Civil War combat experience.

Frank Church remained in the Marine Corps after the war and was promoted to first lieutenant on 13 August 1865.

(123) On 15 September 1864 Frank Church had married Alice Duncan. By 1866 the couple had one son, Frank, Jr. The peacetime Corps experienced severe cutbacks, and there was little interest in the development of a professional force. There were a number of Congressional proposals either to abolish the Corps altogether, or to transfer it to the Army.

(124) The young family had serious financial problems on the low military pay. Church's letter to the Treasury Department in search of the remainder of his cotton prize money was the product of necessity. (125) Growing desperate, Church wrote his father's old friend Richard Yates in 1868. Yates, a U. S. Senator, wrote General Grant in an attempt to aid the Marine officer:

I very much desire the appointment of my valued friend Lieut. Frank Church of the U. S. Marine Corps to be one of the Army Paymasters with the rank of Major. He is a son of our good friend W. L. Church, Esq., so long the Clerk of the Circuit Court in Chicago, and of wide influence in our State.

Capt. [sic] Frank Church was on duty during the whole war, and, no one behaved more nobly or heroically. He is also a man of good education, first-rate business qualifications, of steady good habits, of strict integrity, of much information and intelli-



Frank Church on his 59th birthday, 9 June 1901. An increasingly larger family combined with low pay and no promotion forced First Lieutenant Church to resign from the Marine Corps on 4 August 1869.

gence, and in every respect well qualified to discharge well and efficiently the duties of paymaster. He has an interesting family and his present Lieutenant's pay is not sufficient for their support. (126)

Evidently Yates' letter did not bear fruit as Church remained in the Corps.

Church's second son, William, was born in May 1869. The increased burden was too great and on 4 August 1869 First Lieutenant Frank Church resigned from the Marine Corps, effective 8 August. The family moved to Chicago where Frank was employed by the Title Guarantee and Trust Company. Two more sons, Daniel and Al, were born in the 1870s. Tragically, Alice Church died on 22 January 1883 at the age of 36.

The Marine veteran lived in Chicago for some time before moving to Indiana, Mississippi, Minnesota, and Kentucky on business. He died 27 October 1910 at Paducah, Kentucky, and was returned to Chicago to be buried beside Alice. (127) In the 45 years after the war Frank Church talked often of his service in the Red River campaign. He proudly told of the years in which he had worn the Marine shield.

Footnotes for "The Journal of Frank L. Church."

1. Colonel John Harris, Marine Corps commandant, was a veteran of the War of 1812 and the Mexican War. See ORN, Ser. 1, LV, V, VII, IX, XIV, XVII, XIX, XXIII, and XXV. See also Gideon Welles, The Diary of Gideon Welles, 3 vols. (Boston, 1909). In his entry for 20 August 1862, the Secretary of the Navy wrote: "Sent a letter of reproof to Colonel Harris and also one to Lieutenant Colonel Reynolds of the Marine Corps, between whom there is a bitter feud. Almost all of the elder officers are at loggerheads and ought to be retired. Reynolds had been tried by court martial on charges preferred by Harris, and acquitted, though by confessions made to me personally guilty. But a majority of the anti-Harris faction constituted the court, and partisanship, not merit, governed the decision. I refused to approve the findings. In his turn, Reynolds brought charges against Harris, and of such a character as to implicate others. To have gone forward would have been to plunge into a series of courts martial for a year to come." Welles, Diary, I, 89.
2. Admiral David Dixon Porter (1813-1891). Son of Commodore David Porter, he joined the Navy in 1829. He served in the Mexican War and in April 1861 was promoted to the rank of commander. Porter's mortar fleet joined David G. Farragut's assault on New Orleans and as acting rear admiral he took command of the Mississippi Squadron in September 1862. Porter cooperated with Sherman in the capture of Arkansas Post and led Grant's river fleet in the Vicksburg Campaign. His final Civil War service was at Fort Fisher. After the conflict he was superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy. See David D. Porter, Incidents and Anecdotes of the Civil War (New York, 1891), and Richard S. West, Jr., The Second Admiral: A Life of David Dixon Porter (New York, 1937).
3. Black Hawk was a 902-ton side-wheel river steamer armored as a tinclad. Formerly named New Uncle Sam, the boat held two 30-pounder Parrots, eight 24-pounder howitzers, two 12-pounder rifled howitzers, one 12-pounder howitzer, two Union repeating guns, and one Parmenter battery gun. The tinclad was destroyed in April 1864 in an accidental explosion in the Ohio River three miles above Cairo. Black Hawk was Porter's flagship in the Red River Expedition. The tinclad's captain was Lieutenant Commander K. Randolph Breese. Battles and Leaders, IV, 366; ORN,

Ser. 2, I, 46.

4. Charlie Duncan was the older brother of Church's fiancée Alice. Frank L. Church Mss.
5. Mrs. William Church and Alice Duncan.
6. Tensas was a 41-ton side-wheel steamer formerly named Tom Sugg. The boat was taken from Confederates in 1863 and mounted two 24-pounder howitzers. ORN, Ser. 2, I, 222.
7. Mound City is eight miles north of Cairo. It lies on the Ohio River and is at the base of the peninsula of which Cairo is the tip. In 1860 it was a small community of 898 people. When southern Illinois became a staging area, Mound City became Marine headquarters for the area, as well as the location of headquarters for Porter's Mississippi Squadron.
8. Lieutenant Commander K. Randolph Breese of Black Hawk.
- 8a. Richard Strader Collum is regarded as the first uniformed historian of the Marine Corps. He was commissioned as a second lieutenant upon the outbreak of the Civil War and promoted to first lieutenant in December, 1862. He served with the Mississippi Squadron and on New Ironsides in the Atlantic. During the 1870s and 1880s Collum published numerous articles on Marine Corps history including one entitled "Services of the Marines in the Civil War." In 1890 he published his History of the United States Marine Corps, an expanded version of an 1875 work. He retired in 1897 with the rank of major. Additional information on Collum can be found in Ralph W. Donnelly's "Historians of the Corps," Fortitudine, III (Summer, 1973), 10-12.
9. Cairo was the seat of Alexander County and boasted 2,188 people in 1860. Just south of Cairo the Mississippi bends toward Wickliffe, Kentucky, and the city is lost to view.
10. Hickman, seat of Fulton County, is approximately 40 miles down river from Cairo. The town, opposite Island Number 6 at a great bend in the Mississippi, had 1,006 people in 1860.
11. Fort Pillow lay on the east bank of the Mississippi near Fulton, Tennessee. It was positioned between Fort Wright and Fort Randolph on high ground and in the center of Chickasaw Bluffs. When Church and the expedition passed the fort in February it had not yet become

synonymous in Union minds with massacre. On 12 April 1864 Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest attacked the garrison and allegedly massacred several hundred black troops. See Dudley T. Cornish, The Sable Arm: Negro Troops, in the Union Army, 1861-1865 (New York, 1956), and Robert S. Henry, "First With the Most" Forrest (Indianapolis, 1944).

12. The great Mississippi River city had been in Union hands since the spring of 1862 and served as a major supply center for Federal forces on the river. In 1860, Memphis was a city of 22,623.
13. The Tribune was one of the most widely read Republican, pro-administration journals of the Midwest. If Church was able to get a Tribune of 21 February, and river boats could have delivered copies to Memphis very quickly, he would have read stories praising the accomplishments of Grant and the Western generals, and daily condemnation of Clement L. Vallandigham and the Copperheads. Chicago Tribune, 19-21 February 1864.
14. Charles S. Cameron was a friend and political associate of William L. Church. Cameron and Church were both delegates from Cook County to the 1852 Whig State Convention. Cameron abandoned a large law practice when the war started and was commissioned captain in the 9th Illinois Cavalry. The 9th served in Tennessee and Mississippi in early 1864. Alfred T. Andreas, History of Chicago, From the Earliest Period to the Present Time, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1884-1886), II, 261-262; III, 837-866.
15. Acting Lieutenant A. Frank O'Neil's boat Silver Cloud was one of many river steamers purchased and "tin-plated." It was 236 tons and carried six 24-pounder howitzers. Soon O'Neil would be transferred to command of Paw Paw. O'Neil distinguished himself while commanding Paw Paw in helping repulse Confederate guerrillas in Kentucky on 25 March 1864. Navy Department, Naval History Division, Civil War Chronology, 1861-1865 (Washington, 1971), IV, 34.
16. Eleven vessels of Farragut's fleet were being repaired at New Orleans in March and April 1864, and the admiral himself was in the city he had taken two years earlier. Some of the gunboats ran up the Mississippi on trial runs. Charles Lee Lewis, David Glasgow Farragut: Our First Admiral, 2 vols. (Annapolis, 1943), II, 237; ORN, Ser. 1, 172.

17. Coffee Mill gun was a machine gun invented by Wilson Ager. The nickname was derived from its being crank-operated with a hopper feed on top which resembled a kitchen coffee grinder. A crank operated the revolver-type weapon. As discharged cylinders emptied, loaded ones dropped into place. The crank also operated a turbine to cool the single-barrelled weapon. The Coffee Mill gun used the .58 caliber Minie-type bullet with 750 grains of powder to achieve a range of 1,000 yards. McClellan first recommended to Lincoln that 50 of these weapons be purchased. George M. Chinn, The Machine Gun (Washington, 1956), I, 37-40 states: "The Ager gun was a very advanced weapon for the Civil War era. But there was no military demand for a machine gun. Contemporary authorities condemned it as requiring too much ammunition ever to be practical." It was proposed that the Coffee Mill be used to cover the flanks of units. It is therefore ironic that when ships were attacked on the withdrawal from Grand Ecore the gun was not mentioned as being used even though it should have proved deadly against shore units.
18. Milliken's Bend was a large turn in the Mississippi just north of Vicksburg. Grant used the Louisiana bank of the river at Milliken's Bend as a staging area before the Vicksburg assault. On 7 June 1863, U.S. Negro troops hurled back a Confederate attack on the Union depot there. See Cornish, Sable Arm.
19. Vicksburg was the former Confederate citadel on the Mississippi besieged by Grant in 1863. General John Pemberton's rebel garrison capitulated to Grant on 4 July 1863. It was a regular stop of Federal vessels operating on the river. See: Peter F. Walker, Vicksburg: A People at War (Chapel Hill, 1960).
20. James D.W. Whital was a first lieutenant in the Battery D, 2nd Regiment, Illinois Artillery. He was an old Chicago friend of Church's who had been commissioned in March 1862. Andreas, Chicago, II, 299.
21. Edwin C. Prior was a captain in Co H, 72nd Illinois Infantry, an almost exclusively Chicago unit. Prior entered the service in August 1862 and was killed in action 7 May 1864 during an expedition to Benton, Mississippi. Andreas, Chicago, II, 228, 292.
22. These were refuges constructed by Confederate civilians and soldiers during the siege of Vicksburg, May-July, 1863.
23. Military personnel seeking entertainment caused theaters to flourish in the river towns during the war. Good theaters were found at New Orleans, Natchez,

Vicksburg, Cairo, and Memphis. The Chicago Tribune, 8 March 1864, reported that T. S. Holland, late of Cairo, was enjoying a great success at the Temple of the Muses in Vicksburg.

24. John McArthur was a 38-year old Scottish-born immigrant. He went to war as colonel of the 12th Illinois and was a brigadier by 1864. McArthur fought at Fort Donelson, was wounded at Shiloh, and returned to action as a division chief at Vicksburg. His final Civil War service was at Nashville.
25. A 511-ton ironclad, Indianola was built at Cincinnati in 1862 as a side-wheel and screw steamer. It was taken by the Confederates in February 1863. They attempted to repair the vessel but their work was still incomplete and, fearing a Union attack, the ironclad was burned south of Vicksburg. ORN, Ser., 2, I, 107.
26. Grand Gulf lay between Vicksburg and Natchez and was connected by rail with Port Gibson, Mississippi. Grant's 1863 campaign moved through this area.
27. This old city boasted 6,612 people in 1860 and remained an important stop for river traffic. Natchez had seen little of the war's devastation.
28. This 157-ton steamer was bought and "tinplated" in 1862. It was armed with six 24-pounder howitzers. Captain of Juliet was Acting Master J. S. Watson. Battles and Leaders, IV, 366; ORN, Ser. 2, I, 116.
29. Lieutenant George M. Bache was a veteran of the war on Western waters. He commanded a stern-wheel steamer built at Pittsburg in 1860 for use as a passenger and freight boat. Lexington was a John Rodgers timberclad purchased in 1861. It displaced 448 tons and carried four 8-inch guns as well as two 30-pounder Parrotts, and one 32-pounder. The boat fought at Henry and Donelson, Shiloh, and at Vicksburg. Lexington survived this extended service and was sold out of the service in 1865. ORN, Ser. 2, I, 127.
30. Called the "other General Sherman," Thomas W. Sherman (1813-1879) was an 1836 West Point graduate. Sherman fought in Mexico and became a brigadier general in 1861. He led the Port Royal Expedition before being transferred to the West for the 1862 siege of Corinth. He moved to the Department of the Gulf and fought at Carrollton, Louisiana, and at Port Hudson where he lost his leg.

31. Diana was a steamer used as a troop transport in both the Vicksburg and Red River Campaigns. ORN, XXVI, 1, 774, 803, 805.
32. James P. Kelley, a friend of Church's from Chicago, was acting assistant paymaster of the Lafayette, ORN, XXVII, 334.
33. Lafayette was a 1,000-ton side-wheel steamer built at St. Louis in 1862. The steamer's name was changed from Aleck Scott to Fort Henry to Lafayette. It carried two 11-inch Dahlgren guns, two 9-inch Dahlgren guns, two 100-pounder Parrotts, two 24-pounder howitzers, and two 12 pounder howitzers. The ironclad was commanded by Lieutenant Commander J. P. Foster. Battles and Leaders, IV, 366; ORN, Ser. 3, I, 124.
34. Punk is dry powdery wood frequently dipped in solution of potassium nitrate and molded into sticks. It was good as tinder and was useful for lighting fuses.
35. The Henry was the forerunner of the Winchester repeating rifle. It was a 12-shot, .44 caliber weapon weighing 9 3/4 pounds. The Henry used a 216-grain bullet and 25 grains of powder. It was the first repeating rifle which the Federal Army used in any quantity and may have been the Union Army's best all-around Civil War weapon. The Federals purchased 1,731 Henrys, but many state units outfitted themselves. See Berkeley R. Lewis, Small Arms and Ammunition in the United States Service, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, CXXIX (Washington, 1956), 68; Francis A. Lord, Civil War Collector's Encyclopedia (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1963), 17, 251-253.
36. Baseball was a popular sport with Union servicemen and was played by most units throughout the war. See Bell I. Wiley, The Life of Billy Yank: Common Soldier of the Union (Indianapolis, 1952).
37. A commonly used Unionist term derived from the word "secession." It was usually used derisively.
38. This was a move by gunboats Ouachita, Fort Hindman, Osage, Lexington, Conestoga and Cricket up the Black and Ouachita Rivers. Porter reported that the expedition was "perfectly successful" however, he did note a grim omen for the major Red River Campaign; "The water falling very rapidly forced the expedition to give up the intended trip farther into the interior." Another foretaste of the Red River Campaign was Porter's boast: "The vessels brought away all the cotton they could find." ORN, XXV, 787-789; Chicago Tribune, March 13, 1864.

39. Fort Hindman was a 286-ton tinclad purchased in 1863. It carried six 8-inch pieces and one 12-pounder howitzer. The boat's name was changed from James Thompson to Manitou in January 1863, but was designated Fort Hindman the following November. Hindman's commander was Acting Lieutenant John Pearce. Battles and Leaders, IV, 366 ORN, Ser. 2, I, 86.
40. Acting Ensign Frederick H. Wait.
41. In 1863 Union authorities bought and tinplated Quachit. The side-wheel steamer, originally named Louisville, was a 720-ton ship and was heavily armed. Five 30-pounder Parrotts, eighteen 24-pounder howitzers, fifteen 12-pounder howitzers, and one 12-pounder rifled howitzer were aboard. The vessel was commanded by Lieutenant Commander Byron Wilson. Battles and Leaders, IV, 366; ORN, Ser. 2, I, 168.
42. This 523-ton stern-wheel river monitor was completed at St. Louis in 1863. Like its sister ships Neosho and Ozark, Osage mounted two 11-inch Dahlgrens. It also was armed with one 12-pounder howitzer. Commander of the vessel was Lieutenant Commander T. O. Selfridge, Osage, in the Mobile Campaign of 1865, was torpedoed in Blakely River and sunk. Battles and Leaders, IV, 366; ORN, Ser. 2, I, 167.
43. Acting Ensign Robert K. Hubbell of Osage was once cited during the Red River Campaign for heroism. On April 26 he led a ship's party ashore to rescue a wounded crew member. ORN, XXVI, 1, 80.
44. There is no identification of General Sims in ORN.
45. Church does not specify which of his sisters wrote him. His sister Caroline, called "Carrie," seems to have been the best correspondent of the girls.
46. The Lafayette's landing party was commanded in this exercise by Lieutenant Commander J. P. Foster.
47. General Lyon was transferred from the War Department to the Mississippi flotilla in September 1862. She was a 1,200-ton, side-wheel transport. ORN, Ser. 2, I, 92.
48. William H. Doane was acting assistant paymaster of General Lyon.
49. Built in 1861, Conestoga mounted three 32-pounders, two 30-pounder Dahlgrens, one 30-pounder Parrott rifle,

and one 12-pounder howitzer. The vessel was a 572-ton side-wheel steamer. In 1862 Conestoga captured the 700-ton ironclad ram Eastport. In 1864 the steamer was sunk in a collision in the Mississippi River. ORN, Ser. 2, I, 65.

50. Louisville was one of seven armored Eads ships build in 1861. It displaced 468 tons and carried one 100-pounder Parrott, four 9-inch guns two 30-pounder Parrotts, and six 32-pounders. She was a center-wheel steamer. The vessel's captain was Lieutenant Commander E. K. Owen. Battles and Leaders, IV, 366; ORN, Ser. 2, I, 129.
51. Lieutenant Commander F. P. Ramsey, captain of Choctaw.
52. This swing up the Atchafalaya was part of the attack on Fort De Russy. ORA, XXXIV, pt. 1, 304; Johnson, Red River Campaign, 91.
53. General Andrew Jackson Smith (1815-1897) was a Pennsylvanian, West Point class of 1838. He served in the Mexican War and his first Civil War service was as Henry W. Halleck's chief of cavalry in the West. Smith was appointed a brigadier general of volunteers March 1862. He served at Chickasaw Bluffs and throughout Grant's Vicksburg Campaign. Smith led a detachment from Sherman's army in the Red River Campaign. His last Civil War service was at Mobile. Smith was a brusque soldier, but was very popular with his troops.
54. That was Fort Humbug on Yellow Bayou, a tributary of the Atchafalaya. It was partially completed and held by General John Walker's Texas Division. Walker abandoned the position when he discovered Smith's strength. Joseph P. Blessington, The Campaign's of Walker's Texas Division (New York, 1875), 166-167.
55. Fort De Russy.
56. The Steamer Clara Belle (Church is in error) was used as a headquarters ship by Smith during the campaign. ORA, XXXIX, pt. 1, 217.
57. This raft was made of heavy timber bolted together with iron, and six feet thick. Piles driven into the bottom held the raft in place. It was called a formidable obstruction by Porter. However, the rebels had placed no forts in position to protect the work, and the Union gunboats pulled it out, freeing the logs to float away. Porter, Incidents, 215; Chicago Tribune 25 March 1864.
58. The fort overlooked the Red and was only partially completed.

59. Union troops reported the following guns captured in the fort: one 31-pounder; two 9-inch Dahlgren guns; three 32-pounders; two 24-pounder siege guns; and two 6-pounder field guns--a total of 10 pieces. "Report of the Secretary of the Navy, [1864], " 38th Congress 2nd Session, House Executive Documents, Doc. 1, pt. 6, Ser. 1221, 516.
60. Alexandria was the seat of Rapides Parish and had a population of 1,461 (980 whites) in 1860. It was an important town along the mid-course of the Red. No resistance was offered when Union forces appeared, and Porter states that the inhabitants made his men welcome. Porter, Incidents, 254.
61. General Price was a side-wheel steamer captured during the Battle of Memphis in 1862. She was a 633-tonner mounting four 9-inch guns. The vessel's name was changed from Milledon. ORN, Ser. 2, I, 92.
62. Hoge was a division quartermaster and a member of General Banks' staff. ORA, XXXIV, pt. 1, 459.
63. A small river boat used to maintain communications throughout the Mississippi Flotilla.
64. Acting Master Henry Baker served throughout the campaign. In November 1864 he served with Church on a court of inquiry at Mound City. ORN, XXVI, 1, 600-602.
65. A controversial political general, Nathaniel Prentiss Banks was pre-war Governor of Massachusetts and Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. He led the Department of the Shenandoah and fought there and at Cedar Mountain against "Stonewall" Jackson. He succeeded Benjamin F. Butler in Louisiana in 1863 and completed the capture of Port Hudson. After the failure of the Red River Campaign, Banks resigned to return to Congress. Porter said that Banks "was a handsome, soldierly-looking man, though rather theatrical in his style of dress. . . He wore yellow gauntlets high up on his wrists looking as clean as if they had just come from the glove-maker; his hat was picturesque, his long boots and spurs were faultless, and his air was that of one used to command. In short, I never saw a more faultless-looking soldier." Porter, Incidents, 218. See Fred H. Harrington, Fighting Politician: Major General N. P. Banks, (Philadelphia, 1948).
66. Eastport was taken by Union forces in 1862. She was a 700-ton ironclad ram taken by Conestoga. The ram mounted two 100-pounder Parrotts, four 9-inch guns, and two 50-pounder Dahlgren rifles. The vessel's commander was Lieutenant Commander S. L. Phelps. Battles and Leaders, IV, 366.

67. General Thomas Edward Greenfield Ransom was a 30-year-old Vermonter. He joined the 11th Illinois in April 1861. He was wounded at Fort Donelson and promoted to colonel for bravery. Ransom received his third war wound at Shiloh. The officer, a brigadier general since November 1862, led the advance guard at Sabine Crossroads. He was beaten badly and received his fourth war wound. Moved eastward, Ransom led the 4th Division, XVI Corps, during the siege of Atlanta. Ransom died during the pursuit of Hood. He was a soldier of "irreproachable character and Cromwellian religious faith." Dictionary of American Biography, XV, 380.
68. Pinckney S. Cone was a Chicagoan commissioned 1st Lieutenant in February 1863. He was second-in-command of the Chicago Mercantile Battery up the Red. Cone survived the war and was mustered out in July 1865. Andreas, Chicago, II, 299.
69. The battery was organized and outfitted by the Mercantile Association of Chicago. It was fully mustered in August 1863 and went into camp near Camp Douglas, Illinois. The unit, commanded by Captain Patrick H. White, served in the 1st Brigade, 3rd division, XIII Corps. Andreas, Chicago, II, 282-287; Battles and Leaders, IV, 367; ORA, XXXIV, pt. 1, 175.
70. All friends from Chicago.
71. Church is not very specific and 11 New York volunteer infantry regiments served in this campaign. The unit mentioned could have been the 90th, 114th, 116th, 153rd, 159th, 160th, 161st, 162nd, 165th, 173rd, or 178th. Battles and Leaders, IV, 367.
72. "Listen to the Mocking Bird" was written by Septimus Winner under the pen "Alice Hawthorne" in 1855. He sold the song for \$5.00, and it eventually sold more than 20 million copies of sheet music. It was described on the original cover as a "sentimental Ethiopian ballad." Winner also wrote "Give Us Back Our Old Commander: Little Mac, the People's Pride," expressing popular sentiment in support of McClellan's return to command in 1862. The song was considered so subversive that Winner was imprisoned briefly. David Ewen, Popular American Composers (New York, 1962), 186; John Tasker Howard, Our American Music (New York, 1965). 264.
73. These are the two sets of rocks known as the "Falls of Alexandria."
74. Charles F. Guild was the admiral's secretary. ORA, XXVI, 722.

75. The Woodford.
76. Caroline Church.
77. Ensign Silas W. Terry was; ordered on 8 April by K. R. Breese to take command of Benefit "and proceed to join Admiral Porter up the river. Deliver the stores you have for the vessels as you go along with all dispatch. Keep a bright look for the enemy along the banks." Later Porter cited Terry for "cool, brave conduct in action 50 miles above Grand Ecore." ORN, XXVI, pt. 1, 105.
78. This 117-ton side-wheel steamer was purchased in 1863 as Emma Brown, renamed, and was armored as a tinclad. The vessel was given six 12-pounder rifled howitzers. Gazelle was commanded by Acting Master Charles Thatcher. Battles and Leaders, IV, 366; ORN. Ser. 2, I, 91.
79. Porter's new flagship Cricket was commanded by Acting Master H. H. Gorringe. The vessel was a 178-ton stern-wheel steamer purchased in 1862 and "tinplated." She was armed with two 20-pounder howitzers. The vessel carried 48 officers and men. Porter's memoirs state that one of Cricket's guns was mounted on the upper deck forward to command the banks and a crew of six men was kept stationed at it. Porter, Incidents; 240-241; Battles and Leaders, IV, 366; ORN, Ser. 2, I, 68.
80. Grand Ecore was near Natchitoches, midway between Natchitoches and Campti on the road along the Red River. It was a small village.
81. Colonel Lewis G. De Russy was an engineering officer serving in the District of Louisiana. He was principally responsible for the construction of the fortification that bore his name. ORA, XXXIV, pt. 2, 892-893.
82. Robert Parker Parrott was an 1824 graduate of West Point. He worked at the West Point Foundry and produced a great variety of Civil War pieces. Parrott guns were rifled muzzle-loaders, and came in 10, 20, 30, 100, 200, and 300-pounders. Larger models had a tendency to burst, but most pieces were easy to operate by inexperienced cannoneers. They were cheap to manufacture and could be made quickly and in great quantity. See Warren Ripley, Artillery and Ammunition of the Civil War (New York, 1970), 109-126.
83. Torpedo was the Civil War term for mine.
84. River conditions were all important for the campaign. The Red usually began to rise in December, attaining sufficient depth by March.

85. Acting Volunteer Lieutenant Joseph P. Couthouy was replaced by Lieutenant Commander Watson Smith. Their ship was an ironclad, side-wheel steamer mounting two 11 inch-Dahlgren guns, and one 12-pounder. ORN, Ser. 2, I, 56.
86. Lieutenant A. Brainard Jerome of the U.S. Army Signal Corps was assigned for duty with Porter's fleet during the campaign. Above Grand Ecore, while gunboats were engaged with Confederate guns and cavalry, Jerome directed their fire from an exposed post and received a slight wound. On 5 April Jerome reported to Cricket and acted with Church's Marines in fending off guerrillas. ORA, XXXIV, pt. 1, 241-242; 245.
87. John Warner was a small quartermaster boat employed by the Mississippi Flotilla.
88. The Spencer had first come into the Union Army in 1863 and had increased in use greatly by 1864. The Spencer was 39 inches long, weighed 8 pounds 4 ounces, and was well adapted for use by horsemen. "The carbine was loaded through a tubular magazine, passing through the butt of the stock, and holding 7 copper, rim-fire cartridges, which were fed forward to the breech by the action of a compressed spring inside the magazine tube. To augment rapidity of fire, these thin, detachable magazine tubes could be carried 10 in a special box, making readily available 70 rounds." Arcadi Gluckman, United States Muskets, Rifles and Carbines (Buffalo, New York, 1948), 438-439.
89. Campti was a small road crossing along the Red in Natchitoches Parish.
90. "Contraband" was the term used by Union troops to designate Negroes.
91. This ship was a 293-ton "tinclad." The vessel mounted two 30-pounder rifles, two 32-pounders, and four 23-pounder howitzers.
92. Clarence Fendall, once cited by Porter for "indefatigable industry," served on Gazelle. ORN, XXV, pt. 1, 280.
93. H. A. Mitchell served on board Gazelle as acting assistant paymaster. ORN, XXVII, 302.
94. Loggy Bayou was a small waterway running off of the Red about halfway between Natchitoches and Shreveport.
95. New Falls City was built in 1858 at Paducah, Kentucky.

The vessel was 301 feet long and displaced 880 tons. In March 1864 the ship lay near Coushatta Chute, Louisiana, and she was ordered by Lieutenant General E. Kirby Smith to be towed to Scopern's Cut-Off in the Red River and sunk as an obstruction. Porter later told General W. T. Sherman: "When I arrived at Springfield Landing I found a sight that made me laugh. It was the smartest thing I ever knew the rebels to do. They had gotten that huge steamer, New Falls City, across the Red River, 1 mile above Loggy Bayou, 15 feet of her on shore on each side, the boat broken down the middle, and a sand bar making below her. An invitation in large letters to attend a ball in Shreveport was kindly left stuck up by the rebels, which invitation we were never to accept." Navy Department, Naval History Division, Civil War Chronology, 1861-1865, VI, 276.

96. Banks' defeat at Sabine Crossroads.
97. Ensign Silas W. Terry.
98. General Thomas Green was born in Virginia in 1814 but moved to Texas and joined the Texan Army as a young man. He fought at San Jacinto and in the Mexican War and was appointed colonel of the 5th Texas Mounted Rifles in 1861. Green served in Sibley's New Mexico Campaign and fought in numerous actions along the Texas coast. The general moved to Louisiana to resist Banks' invaders and was killed at Blair's Landing on 12 April, 1864. In Porter's Incidents, 234, the Admiral describes the cannonade mounted by his gunboats. He states that Green had his head blown off and that his horse went galloping over the field with a headless rider.
99. Banks' force had retreated to Grand Ecore after the battle at Sabine Crossroads and Pleasant Hill.
100. Lieutenant Cone, the battery commander, Captain Patrick H. White, and 18 of their men were captured by Confederate forces at the Battle of Sabine Crossroads. Some of those who served in the battery did escape, Andreas, Chicago, II, 282-287.
101. Captain Ormand F. Nims commanded the 2nd Massachusetts Artillery attached to General Albert F. Lee's Cavalry Division of Banks' force. Nims' unit suffered heavy casualties at Sabine Crossroads, but all of its men were not captured. Battles and Leaders, IV, 367; ORA, XXXIV, pt. 1, 462-463.
102. Throop, together with Lieutenant Joseph W. Barr, was

killed. The other three, Church's old friends from Chicago, survived. Andreas, Chicago, TI, 282-287; Chicago Tribune, April 21, 1864.

103. The steamer had struck a rebel mine.
104. Lieutenant Frederick Naile was an officer of Black Hawk who, like Church, had served on Cricket or some time. ORN, XXVI, 722.
105. Captain William P. Halliday, a veteran river captain, commanded the steamer S. C. Baker. In May 1864 Breese ordered Halliday to take all empty barges near the mouth of the Red and tow them to Cairo. Evidence indicates that Halliday was a cotton speculator and that "Porter used the power of his position to assist Halliday in his operations, and Halliday in fact realized a fortune from his Red River venture." Johnson, Red River Campaign, 287; ORN, XXVI, pt. 1, 281.
106. Both Porter and Phelps remained near Eastport and both narrowly missed injury in the explosion. Porter, Incidents, 239.
107. This reference is unclear. General John Bankhead "Prince John" Magruder was Confederate commander of the District of Texas. In March he sent most of his forces into Louisiana to help repel Banks. Magruder was a Virginian, a West Pointer, and a veteran of the Peninsular Campaign.

"Yesterday morning [26 April 1864] Colonel [J. B.] Likens [35th Texas Cav.] and [Isaac F.] Harrison [brigade of cavalry] attacked four gun-boats and two transports at Montgomery. One of the gunboats was a heavy iron-clad, casemated boat, and had been unable to pass the bar below Montgomery. The other boats remained to assist her. About 9 a.m. our sharpshooters opened and killed many of the enemy, his men being exposed in all directions working. After some delay, the gun-boats opened a heavy fire and commenced moving down. The large iron-clad struck on the bar, when the enemy blew her up and continued down the river, our men following for some distance. A small party of General Liddell's command co-operated from the opposite bank. We lost 2 killed and 4 wounded. . . .

"Meantime Lieutenant-Colonel [J. H.] Caudle, with 200 sharpshooters and [Florian] Cornay's (Louisiana) battery, had been posted at the junction of Cane and Red Rivers to intercept the boats on their way down. At about 6 p.m. the leading gun-boat and one transport came down. Our fire speedily silenced and crippled the

gun-boat, and a shot striking the boiler of the transport exploded it...I ordered her sunk in the channel... We had but 2 casualties in this affair, 1 wounded and the gallant Captain Cornay killed...." Report of Major General R. Taylor, 27 April 1864, ORA, XXIV, pt. 1, 583.

108. Church seems to be in error. Champion No. 3 was captured on 26 April; Champion No. 5 was grounded, abandoned, and burned on 27 April, but there is no indication of a Champion No. 2.
109. Acting Ensign Sylvester Pool was attached to Eastport.
110. This is Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Bailey's dam.
111. Covington was one of the numerous river ships purchased by Union authorities in 1863. She was a 224-ton side-wheel steamer. The vessel carried four 24-pounder howitzers, one 12-pounder howitzer, two 30-pounder Parrotts, and two 5-pounder Dahlgren rifles. The boat was commanded by Acting Volunteer Lieutenant George P. Lord. Signal was a stern-wheel steamer purchased in 1862 and refitted as a "tinclad." The 190-ton ship was armed with four 24-pounder howitzers, two 12-pounder rifled howitzers, and two 30-pounder Parrotts. Signal's captain was Acting Volunteer Lieutenant E. Morgan. The two boats were attacked at Dunn's Bayou, 20 miles below Alexandria, by a Confederate battery, and a strong infantry force. Both vessels were forced to capitulate. Battles and Leaders, IV, 366; Secretary of the Navy Report 1864, 530-532.

"On May 5 the enemy were reported coming down with two gunboats and a transport. Colonel [William P.] Hardeman being absent sick the brigadier-general commanding left me [Colonel George Wythe Baylor] in command of the forces on the river. The enemy passed the upper section after being roughly handled by the artillery and small-arms. The transport came ahead and received the first shot from Lieutenant [W. H.] Lyne's section [one Parrott gun of Captain J. A. A. West's 6th Louisiana Battery,], which disabled her. The gun-boats then opened fire, and being armed with two 30-pounder Parrott guns, two 12-pounder rifled Dahlgrens, and four 24-pounder howitzers on one (the Signal No. 8), and the armament of the other being nearly the same, some idea may be gathered of the hot fire our one Parrott gun [editor's italics] had to undergo and of the accuracy of her gunner, Sergeant

_____, who brought them both to a standstill. Getting behind a bend they began a furious cannonade on our guns. I ordered Colonel [George T.] Madison [8th Texas Cavalry, Arizona Brigade], who was on the extreme left, to move up opposite the gun-boats and open fire with his Enfields. The order was promptly and gallantly obeyed, thus drawing a portion of the fire. I sent an order to Lieutenant-Colonel [G. J.] Hampton that if his left was secure and no other gun-boats in sight to send down Lieutenant [John] Yoist [6th Louisiana Battery] with the Parrott gun and we would capture the boats. I soon had the pleasure of hearing the gun open above us on the enemy, who had taken shelter from the gun below. Lieut. W. H. Lyne asked permission to move his piece up and open on the transport that was sheltered by a bend on the left bank of the river. She surrendered after a few shots."

Report of Col. George Wythe Baylor, 18 Apr 1864, ORA, XXXIV, pt. 1, 621-22.

112. It was not "Alfred" but Acting Ensign Edward Alford, executive officer of Covington. ORN, XXVI, pt. 1, 115.
113. Neosho was a stern-wheel river monitor laid down in 1862 and completed in 1863. The boat was 523-tons and carried two 11-inch guns and two 12-pounder howitzers. Monitor commander was Acting Volunteer Lieutenant Samuel Howard. Neosho remained in service after the war and in 1869 its name was changed to Vixen and then to Osceola. She was sold on 17 April 1873. Battles and Leaders, IV, 366; ORN, Ser. 2, I, 157.
114. Transferred from the War Department in September, 1862 was the 50-ton screw steamer Dahlia. It was a small, unarmed tug used as a dispatch boat. ORN, XXVI, 773.
115. Like Osage and Neosho, Ozark was a river monitor completed in 1863. It mounted two 11-inch Dahlgren guns and one 12-pounder rifled howitzer. The boat displaced 578 tons and was commanded by Acting Volunteer Lieutenant George W. Brown. Battles and Leaders, IV, 366; ORN, Ser. 2, I, 169.
116. Captain Frank W. Marston, U. S. Signal Corps, was chief signal officer in the Red River expedition. ORA, XXXIV, pt. 1, 241-242.
117. Captain J. B. Sample served in General Joseph A. Mower's XVI Corps and was cited in Mower's report of the expedi-

tion as a hero in the Battle of Henderson's Hill. ORA, =IV, pt. 1, 215-216; 328-329.

118. Choctaw was one of the flotilla' ironclads commanded by Lieutenant Commander F. P. Ramsey. The side-wheel steamer mounted one 100-pounder Parrott, three 9-inch guns, two 30-pounder Parrotts, and two 12-pounder howitzers. Battles and Leaders, IV, 366; ORN, Ser. 2, I, 57.
119. On 14 May, 1864 Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles wrote in his diary: "Attended the funeral of Colonel Harris. His death gives embarrassment as to a successor. The higher class of marine officers are not the men who can elevate or give efficiency to the corps. To supersede them will cause much dissatisfaction. Every man who is overslaughed and all his friends will be offended with me for what will be deemed an insult. But there is a duty to perform." Welles, Diary, II, 31.
120. Columbus, midway between Hickman and Cairo, is situated on a bluff east of the Mississippi. In November 1861 the city had been held by Confederates, and the rebel garrison figured in. Grant's attack on Belmont, Missouri, a position on low land across the river.
121. Frank L. Church to Commanding Officer, ? August 1866, Frank L. Church Mss.
122. Ibid.; Navy Department, Naval History Division, Civil War Chronology, 1861-1865, IV, 149. "
123. Frank L. Church to Commanding Officer, ? August 1866, Frank L. Church Mss.
124. Heinl, Soldiers of the Sea, 86-87.
125. S. J. W. Tobin to Frank L. Church, 26 May 1866, Frank L. Church Toss.
126. Richard Yates to Ulysses S. Grant, 15 August 1868, Frank L. Church Mss.
127. Family Record File in Frank L. Church. Mss.

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p. 348.

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p. 58: Top: USN Photo NH 59090.

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INDEX

Adams, John 6
Ager, Wilson 66
Alcott, Charles 50
Alexandria, La. 11-14, 19-22, 26, 37, 39, 41-43, 50-56, 71,
72, 77
Alford, Edward 54, 78
Alvord, Mr. 31
Atchafalaya River 10, 13, 37
Atlanta, Ga. 11, 23, 72

Bache, George M. 32, 67
Bailey, Joseph 20, 22, 77
Baker, Henry 32, 40, 71
Banks, Nathaniel P. 3, 11-23, 40-42, '46, 50, 51, 56, 57, 71,
75
Barr, Joseph W. 75
Baylor, George Wythe 77
Belmont, Battle of 3, 79
Benefit 9, 73
Benton 9
Black Hawk 3, 9, 10, 13-16, 18, 29, 31, 36, 57, 60, 77
Blair's Landings La. 18, 75
Breese, K. Randolph 3, 29-32, 36, 60, 61, 71, 76
Brother, Charles 2
Brown, Billy 40, 41, 50
Brown, George W. 78
Brown, John 6
Butler, Benjamin F. 71

Cairo, Illinois 3, 8, 9, 23, 27, 29, 32, 35, 51, 61, 66, 76,
79
Cameron, Charles 31, .62
Cameron, Mattie 54, 56
Camp Defiance 3
Camp Goddard 51
Campti, La. 17, 43, 73-74
Canby, E.R.S. 11, 23
Cane River, La. 20
Carondelet 9, 14, 20
Candle, J.H. 76
Champion No. 2 53, 77
Champion No. 3 20, 23, 77
Champion No. 5 20, 23, 77
Chicago, Ill. 5, 6, 31-34, 46, 72
Chicago Mercantile Battery 40, 41, 50, 72
Chicago Tribune 9, 11, 27, 31, 62
Chickasaw, Alabama 60
Chillicothe 9, 14, 17, 18, 20, 43, 48, 56
Chitty, Fred W. 2

Choctaw 9, 34, 57, 70, 79
 Church, Al 62
 Church, Alice Duncan 8, 9, 29-35, 39-43, 46-50, 53, 54, 57, 60, 62, 64
 Church, Caroline 6, 41, 57, 69, 73
 Church, Daniel 62
 Church, Frank, Jr. 60
 Church, Mary 6, 57
 Church, Roxanna J. 5, 29, 32, 35, 39, 43, 50, . 53, 57, 63
 Church, Wm. L. 5, 6, 9, 39, 43, 50, 60, 62
 Cincinnati, Ohio 67
Clara Belle 18, 23, 37, 70
 Cochrane, Henry Clay 1
 Coffee Mill Gun 32, 66
 Collum, Richard S. 1, 29, 64
 Columbus, Kentucky 59, 79
 Cone, Pinckney S. 40, 42, 50, 72-75
Conestoga 36, 66-71
 Corinth, Miss. 67
 Cornay, Florian 76, 77
 Corse, John M. 19
 Couthouy, Joseph, P. 43, 74
 Coushatta Chute, La. 75
Covington 9, 23, 54, 77-78
Cricket 9, 14-17, 19-22, 42, 51, 53, 56, 68, 73-73, 76
 Culbertson, Pet 54, 56
 Cutter, Walter 51

Dahlia 54, 78
 Deering, James 42
 Department of Arkansas 11
 Department of the Gulf 11
 De Russy, Lewis G. 42, 43, 73
Diana 34, 68
 Doane, Wm. H. 35, 69
 Duncan, Charlie 29, 35, 40, 54, 64
 Duncan, Daniel 9
 Dunn's Bayou, La. 77

Eastport 9, 14, 19, 20, 23, 40, 50, 53, 70-71, 76-77
 Egan, J. 40
Elfin 80
Emma 23
Emma Brown 73
Essex 9
Evansville 60

Fairy 80
 Farragut, David G. 6, 31, 65
 Fendall, Clarence 45, 74
 Fisk, Henry 40, 50
 Florence Bridge, Ala. 60
 Foote, Andrew H. 3

Forrest, Nathan Bedford 65
 Fort De Russy 13, 37, 57, 70
 Fort Donelson 3, 67, 72
 Fort Henry 3, 67
Fort Hindman 9, 14, 17, 18, 20, 22, 35, 43-46, 50, 53, 54, 68-69
 Fort Humbug 70
 Fort Pillow 29, 64
 Fort Randolph 64
 Fort Sumter 8
 Fort Wright 64
 Foster, J.P. 35, 36, 69
 Fox River, Ill. 9
 Fredd, John P. 2
 Francis, Dr. 35

Gazelle 9, 42, 43, 45, 73-74
General Lyon 35, 69
General Price 39, 71
General Sims 35, 69
 Graffe's Bluff, La. 48
 Grand Bayou, La. 45, 46
 Grand Ecore, La. 16-19, 42, 43, 48-51, 67, 73-75
 Grand Gulf, Miss. 32, 67
 Grant, Ulysses S. 3, 6, 9, 11, 60, 66, 67, 70
 Green, Thomas 16, 17, 18, 48, 75
 Guild, Charlie 41, 72

 Halleck, Henry W. 11, 70
 Halliday, Wm. 51, 80
 Hallowell, Henry B. 2
 Hampton, A. J. 78
 Hardeman, Wm. P. 77
 Harpers Ferry, Va. 6
 Harris, John 8, 29, 57, 63, 79
Hastings 45
 Henderson, Archibald 6
 Henderson's Hill, Battle of 79
 Henry Rifle 34, 68
 Hibschan, John 31
 Hickman, Kentucky 3, 29, 64, 79
 Hoge, Holmes 40, 41, 50, 53, 56
 Hood, John B. 72
 Howard, Samuel 78
 Hubbell, Robert K. 35, 69

Indianola 32, 37, 67

 Jackson "Stonewall" 71
 Jerome, A. Brainard 43, 46, 56, 74
John Warner 18, 23, 43, 74
 Johnson, Ludwell 17, 18
 Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War 22, 23

Juliet 9, 20, 32, 67

Kelley, James P. 34, 35, 36, 40, 41, 68

Kirkendall, C.H. 29

Key West 60

Kirby Smith, Edmund 13, 17, 75

Lafayette 9, 34, 36, 68-69

Lee, Albert F. 75

Leonard, John W. 2

Lexington 9, 14, 17, 18, 22, 32, 42, 48, 50, 54, 67-68

Likens, J.B. 76

Lincoln, Abraham 5, 9, 10

Loggy Bayou, La. 17, 18, 23, 46, 74-75

Lord, George P. 54, 77

Louisville 9, 14, 20, 36, 69-70

Lyne, W.H. 77-78

McArthur, John 32, 67

McClellan, George B. 66, 72.

Madison, George T. 78

Magruder, John B. 13, 53, 76

Mansfield, La. 16, 17

Marksville, La. 13

Marston, Frank W. 56, 78

Memphis, Tenn. 10, 22, 29, 31, 59, 65-66, 71

Millinken's Bend, La. 32, 66

Minster, Albert A. 40

Mississippi Squadron 8, 9, 20, 23, 60, 64, 71, 74

Mitchell, H.A. 45, 74

Mobile, Ala. 11, 23

Mound City 9, 14, 20

Mound City, Ill. 3, 8-10, 22, 23, 29, 59, 60, 64, 71

Mouton, Alfred 17

Mower, Joseph A. 78

Murphy, Michael 29

Naile, Frederick 51, 56, 76

Nashville, Battle of 60

Nashville, Tenn. 67

Natchez, Miss. 32, 63

Natchitoches, La. 16, 19, 73-74

Negroes 20, 34, 35, 43, 45, 53, 66

Neosho 9, 14, 17, 20, 54, 69, 78

Nevins, Allan 23

Newark, Ohio 9

New Falls City 18, 46, 74-76

New Ironsides 64

New Orleans, La. 3, 36, 41, 53, 65-66

New Uncle Sam 60

Nims, Ormand, F. 31, 65

O'Neil, Frank 31, 65

Osage 9, 14, 17, 18, 20, 22, 35, 48, 54, 68-69, 78
Osceola 78
Ouachita 9, 35, 64-69
Owen, E.K. 70
Ozark 9, 14, 20, 56, 69, 78

Paducah, Kentucky 74
Parks, Charles P. 53
Parrott, Robert Parker 73
Paw Paw 65
Pearce, John 69
Peet, Frederick T. 1
Pemberton, John 66
Phelps, S. Ledyard 20, 71, 76
Pierce, Benjamin F. 36
Pittsburg 9, 14, 20
Pleasant Hill, Battle of 16, 17, 75
Pool, Sylvester 53, 77
Porter, David D. 3, 9-23, 29, 35, 36, 41-45, 51, 56, 63-64,
68, 71, 73-76
Port Gibson, Miss 67
Prior, Edwin C. 32, 66

Ramsey, F.P. 36, 70, 79
Ransom, T.E.G. 40, 50, 72
Richmond, Va. 11
Rodgers, John 67

Sabine Crossroads, Battle of 16, 17, 18, 72, 75
St. Louis, Mo. 68-69
Sample, J.B. 56, 78
Selridge, Thomas O. 18, 23, 69
Sharp and Holland 32, 67
Sherman, Thomas W. 67
Sherman, William Tecumseh 3, 11-14, 17, 19, 23, 34, 63, 70, 75
Shiloh, Battle of 54, 72
Shrewsbury, William 31
Signal 9, 23, 54, 77
Silver Cloud 31, 62
Simesport, La. 13
Smith, A.J. "Whiskey" 10-14, 17, 19, 23, 37, 42, 45, 56, 57, 70
Smith, Mrs. Carter 2
Smith, T. Kilby 16, 18
Smith, Watson 74
Spencer Rifle 43, 45, 74
Springfield, Ill. 5
Springfield Landing, La. 16, 17, 75
Steele, Frederick 11, 13, 17

Tawah 60
Taylor, Richard 13, 16, 19, 77
Tensas 3, 29, 61

Terry, Silas W. 42, 46, 73, 75

Thatcher, Charles 73

Throop, George 50, 75

Vallandigham, Clement L. 62

Vicksburg, Miss. 9, 10, 19, 22, 26, 32, 59, 63, 66-68, 70

Vixen 78

Wade, Ben 23

Wait, Frederick H. 35, 45, 50, 69

Walker, John G. 13, 70

Washington, D. C. 8, 57

Watson, J.S. 67

Welles, Gideon 79

West, J.A.A. 77

Whital, James D.W. 32, 66

White, Patrick, H. 72, 75

Whitehouse, E.D. 34

Wickliffe, Kentucky 64

Wilson, Bryon 69

Wilson, Hays 40

Wilson's Plantation, La. 16

Winans, George W. 32, 36, 51

Woodford 23 73

Yates, Richard 5, 6, 60, 62

Yoist, John 78

