United States Marines at Harper's Ferry and in the Civil War

U.S. Marines storm the Engine House in which John Brown and his companions had barricaded themselves at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, in 1859. (Department of Defense [USMC] Photo 514997)

United States Marines
at Harper's Ferry
and in the Civil War

by
Bernard C. Nalty

Previous Editions

FOREWORD

The brief histories of Marine involvement in the events at Harper's Ferry in 1859 and in the Civil War have been among the most consistently popular publications of the History and Museums Division since they first appeared in 1959. Revised and reprinted several times, the two accounts were combined in 1966 and the resulting booklet has generated a steady demand from the public which again requires reprinting.

The author of both accounts, Bernard C. Nalty, now an Air Force historian and frequent author and editor of military histories, both official and non-official, joined the then Historical Branch, G-3 Division, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, in 1956. A graduate of Creighton University in history, he also holds a master's degree in history from Catholic University.
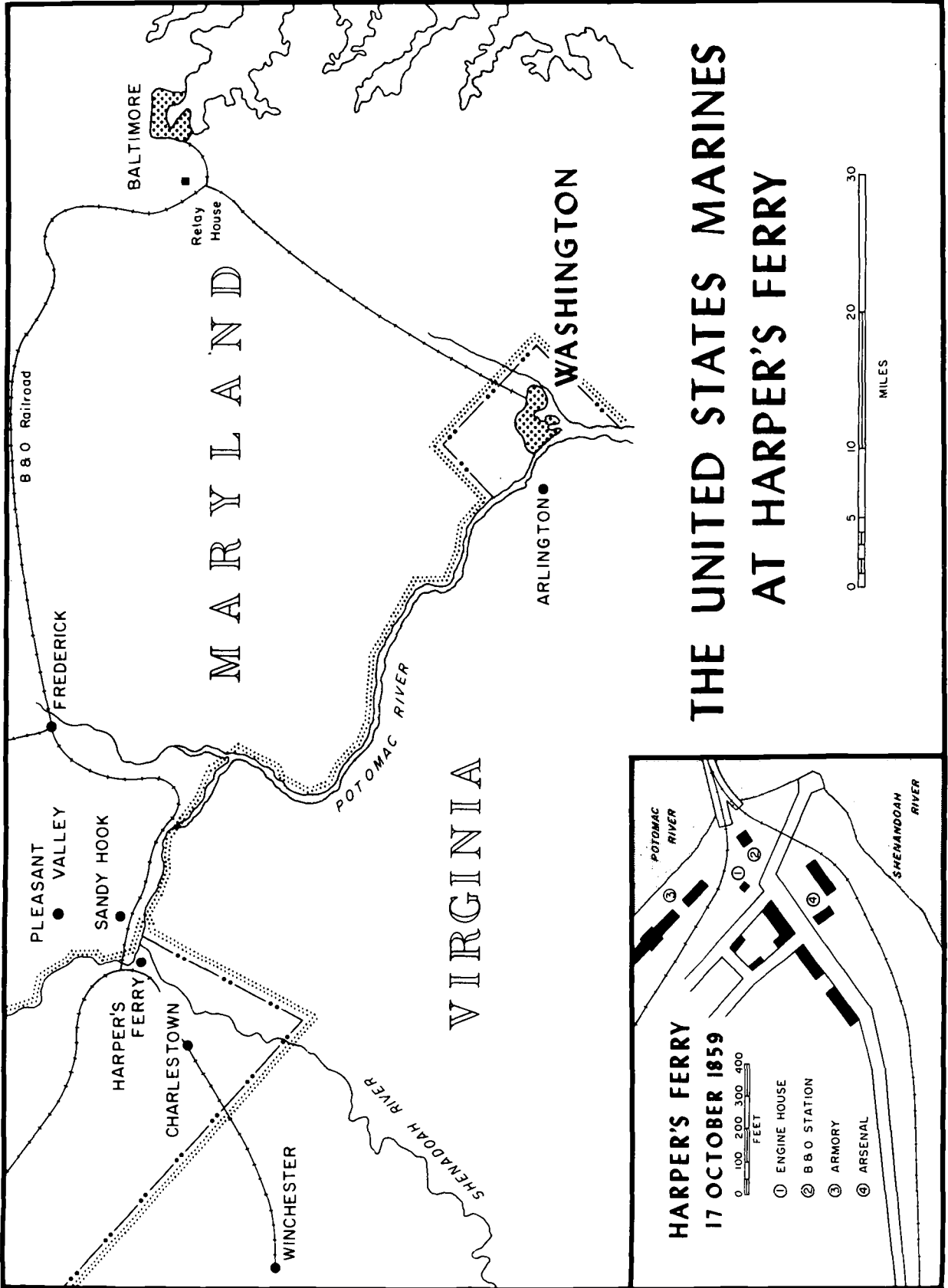
As in all this division's publications, we welcome readers' comments on the narrative and solicit suggestions for improvement in the context of a concise general account of a significant era in Marine Corps history.

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"AT ALL TIMES READY....;"

HARPER'S FERRY AND THE CIVIL WAR

By

Bernard C. Nalty

"I must also ask to express...my entire commendation of the conduct of the detachment of Marines, who were at all times ready and prompt in the execution of any duty."

> Brevet Colonel Robert E. Lee from his report to the Adjutant General of the Suppression of John Brown's Raid.

Thus wrote one of America's foremost soldiers of the 19th Century in reporting Marine participation in the major armed outbreak foreshadowing the bitter Civil War. He also might have been describing the often times overlooked role of the United States Marines in the terrible months between Fort Sumter and Appomattox. Harper's Ferry can, therefore, be logically considered as a part of the Civil War saga of the Corps.

James Ewell Brown Stuart, First Lieutenant, U. S. Cavalry, was enjoying six months' leave from his frontier post at Fort Riley, Kansas Territory. Yet, the joys of coming home to Virginia had not made him forget that he was a cavalryman by profession. On the rainy morning of 17 October 1859, he had ridden over the muddy streets of Washington to the offices of the War Department, and now, he sat waiting to speak with Secretary of War John B. Floyd. While the young lieutenant was rehearsing in his mind for the coming interview, the Secretary himself was face to face with the spectre of a slave insurrection.(1)

John B. Floyd was a poor administrator, a failing which almost resulted in his removal from office;(2) but on this day there was no time for paper shuffling. Word had come by way of Baltimore that an insurrection had broken out at Harper's Ferry. A band of armed men had captured the United States arsenal there and was fomenting a slave rebellion. A native of Virginia, the Secretary must have heard the oft-told tales of the Haitians' revolt against their French masters with all its barbarism. Nor had any son of the Old Dominion forgotten Nat Turner's Rebellion, a slave uprising

which occurred a generation before and claimed the lives of 55 whites in a single bloody night.(3)

Swinging into action, Floyd fired off a telegram to Fort Monroe; and by noon Captain Edward O. C. Ord with 150 artillerymen was on his way toward Baltimore on the first leg of the journey to Harper's Ferry.(4) There was no question as to who would command operations against the insurgents. Floyd called for his chief clerk and set him to writing orders summoning to the War Department Brevet Colonel Robert E. Lee, then on leave at his estate, Arlington, just across the Potomac from the Capital.

Message in hand, the harassed aide came dashing out of the office, only to halt when he spied the forgotten cavalry officer. Stuart, by now thoroughly bored, was easily persuaded to deliver the sealed envelope. Even as this message was speeding toward its destination, President James Buchanan called upon Secretary Floyd to move even faster, a demand which was to bring the Marine Corps into the picture.(5)

Since there were no troops nearer the scene of the uprising than those en route from Fort Monroe, Floyd was powerless to comply; but Secretary of the Navy Isaac Toucey quickly offered a solution to his dilemma. About noon, Charles W. Welsh, chief clerk of the Navy Department, came riding through the main gate of the Washington Navy Yard. He sought out First Lieutenant Israel Greene, temporarily in command of Marine Barracks, Washington, and asked how many Leathernecks were available for duty. Greene estimated that he could round up some 90 men from both his barracks and the small Navy Yard detachment. He then asked Welsh what was wrong. The civilian told him all he knew--that the armory at Harper's Ferry had been seized by a group of abolitionists and that state and Federal troops were already on the march.(6)

Mr. Welsh reported back to the Navy Department, and Secretary Toucey at once began drafting an order to John Harris, Colonel Commandant of the Corps. "Send all the available marines at Head Quarters," he wrote, "under charge of suitable officers, by this evening's train of cars to Harper's Ferry to protect the public property at that place, which is endangered by a riotous outbreak." Once they arrived at their destination, the Leathernecks would be under the command of the senior Army officer present,(7) in this case, Colonel Lee.

As the senior line officer on duty at the Navy Yard, Israel Greene assumed the burden of organizing the expedition. Major William W. Russell, Paymaster of the Corps, was detailed to assist him; but Russell, a staff officer, could not exercise command over the force. Colonel Harris felt that the presence of a more mature person--Greene, after all, had only a dozen years' service to his credit--might prevent unnecessary

bloodshed. (8) Working with the major, Greene saw to it that each of his 86 men had drawn muskets, ball cartridges, and rations. Since no one knew for certain the strength or exact position of the insurgent force, two 3-inch howitzers and a number of shrapnel shells were made ready. At 1530, the Leathernecks clambered aboard a Baltimore and Ohio train and rattled off toward Harper's Ferry. (9)

While Secretary Toucey was busy alerting the Marines, Jeb Stuart had returned from Arlington with Colonel Lee. Once again the lieutenant waited in the Secretary's anteroom as Floyd outlined the crisis to Lee. There was no need to stress the savage implications of a slave uprising; for the colonel had been stationed at Fort Monroe when Nat Turner had put aside his hoe to take up the sword, and he well remembered the terror that followed. He recalled, too, how militia, regulars, and Marines from Norfolk had scoured the Virginia countryside before bringing Turner to bay deep in the vastness of Dismal Swamp. After receiving the latest intelligence from western Virginia, Lee was handed orders placing him in overall command of the effort to suppress the insurrection. (10)

Accompanied by Stuart, Floyd and Lee hurried to the White House where the colonel was given a proclamation of martial law to issue if he should see fit. In addition to the proclamation, Lee acquired an aide. Certain that a fight of some sort was at hand, Stuart volunteered to accompany him to Harper's Ferry, and Lee accepted. Still in civilian clothes, the colonel hurried to the railroad station, but the Marines had already left. (11)

The next train to leave the National Capital was the Baltimore Express. At 1700, Lee and Stuart boarded the train in the hope of catching up with the column at Relay House, a station near Baltimore where the troops had to change trains. They were too late, and the expedition rolled off toward its goal without its commanding officer. Lee then wired the stationmaster at Sandy Hook, Maryland, to hold the trainload of Leathernecks until he and his aide arrived. For the time being, all the two officers could do was wait.

Fortunately, they were not delayed for long. John W. Garrett, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, learned of Lee's plight and ordered a locomotive to Relay House. Aware that a few moments wasted might cost him his job, the engineer opened wide the throttle. At 2200, Lee arrived at Sandy Hook, on the Maryland side of the Potomac across the bridge from Harper's Ferry. Major Russell and Lieutenant Greene were waiting as the Army officers decended from the cab. (12) Lee now learned the details of the insurrection.

It had happened so quickly. On the night of 16 October, at about 2230, 18 armed men, led by a farmer who called himself

Isaac Smith--some said he was "Old Osawatomie," John Brown of Kansas-padded across the covered, wooden railroad trestle leading into the town and made a prisoner of one of the bridge tenders. Next the raiders had strolled undetected through the darkness of the gates of the United States armory. They leveled their pistols at a startled watchman and quickly gained access to the buildings.

The leader of the band then sent out patrols to take hostages. Most prominent among the captives was Lewis W. Washington, a colonel on the staff of Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia and the great-grandnephew of George Washington. His captors forced him to hand over a sword given the first President by Frederick the Great of Prussia (13). During the nightmare that followed, this sword hung at the side of the man called Smith.

While the prisoners were being rounded up, the second bridge tender, Patrick Higgins, wandered out onto the span in search of his partner. In the darkness, he collided with two of the raiders who had been posted as guards. A single punch floored one of them, and as the other fired widly, Higgins sprinted back to town. The angry, red crease etched lightly across his scalp by a rifle bullet was proof enough that Harper's Ferry was under attack.

The raiders next showed their hand when the eastbound night express neared Harper's Ferry. Afraid that the bridge had been weakened, a railroad employee flagged the train to a halt short of the trestle. A party of trainmen walked out onto the span to investigate but were driven back by a volley of rifle fire. Mortally wounded by the self-appointed liberators was Shephard Hayward, a freed slave. Until dawn, the raiders held the train at Harper's Ferry. Then the locomotive gingerly eased its cars across the bridge, gathered momentum, and roared off toward Frederick City, Maryland. There, it halted while the conductor wired a garbled report of the insurrection to the railroad's main office in Baltimore. This news was relayed to the governors of Maryland and Virginia; militiamen were alerted and sent marching toward the embattled town. Next, a telegram was dispatched to the Secretary of War, and now, at last, Colonel Lee and the Marines had arrived on the scene.(14)

To the colonel's experienced eye, the situation did not appear critical. Harper's Ferry swarmed with militia; and although the state troops were disorganized, ill-trained, some of them drunk, there was enough of them to prevent the raiders escaping into the hills. Nor was there any point in posting the proclamation of martial law. There were too few Federal troops to patrol the streets, and the citizen soldiers who would have to assist them were perhaps the least orderly group in town.

Since the situation was fairly well in hand, Colonel Lee hurried off a wire informing Captain Ord that his artillerymen, turned infantry, would not be needed at Harper's Ferry. They were to halt at Fort McHenry in Baltimore.(15)

Learning that the militiamen, whatever their faults, had at least forced the insurgents to barricade themselves in a single small building on the armory grounds--the engine house-- Lee decided to attack as quickly as possible. Because of the danger to the hostages, a night assault was out of the question, so the colonel, his aide, and the Marines crossed the river to await the dawn.(16)

About 2300 on the night of 17 October, Greene led his men across the covered bridge and into the armory yard to relieve the militia posted around the raider bastion. The insurgents had taken refuge in a stone building, about 30 by 35 feet, which housed the armory's fire fighting equipment. Three entrances, each separated from its neighbor by a stone abutment, pierced the front of the structure. Two of these were guarded by heavy, nail-studded, double doors, while on their left was an equally strong single door.(17) To assault a band of determined men, frontier guerrillas who had proven themselves to be deadly marksmen, would not be an easy task.

As the Marines moved out, Lee was busy laying his plans. First, he drafted a surrender ultimatum addressed to the person in command of the insurgents--Lee was not yet certain that Brown was leading the raid--to be delivered by Lieutenant Stuart at the colonel's orders. Should the raiders refuse unconditional surrender, there would be no bargaining with them. At a signal from Stuart, the assault party would batter down a door and pounce on the enemy with bayonet and rifle butt. There could be no shooting because of the danger to the hostages.(18)

Selecting men to make the assault posed a touchy problem in federal-state relationships. Since the uprising was directed mainly against the slave states, even though Federal property was involved, Lee offered the honor of spearheading the attack to the militia. The officer in charge of Maryland troops, who maintained that his only mission was to protect the townspeople, declined. He could see no reason for sacrificing Maryland lives to avenge an insult to a sister state; besides, Marines were paid for this kind of work. Nor was the Virginia militia colonel eager to erase the stain of insurrection from the honor of the Old Dominion; let the "mercenaries," as he called the Marines, do the job. The veteran Army officer, still clad in civilian clothes, then turned to Israel Greene splendid in his dress uniform. Would the Marines storm the engine house? Greene whipped off his cap and accepted with thanks.(19)

At about 0630, Greene received his instructions. Twelve men were to form the storming party, with an equal number in reserve. In addition, a detail of three men, each of whom had

been issued a heavy sledge hammer,(20) was to accompany the assault party and batter down the center doors of the engine house. Twenty-seven Marines, with Greene and Russell at their head, gathered close to the engine house, but out of the insurgent's line of fire to await Stuart's signal.

Two thousand pairs of eyes were fixed on Jeb Stuart as he strode, bearing a flag of truce, toward the engine house to deliver Lee's ultimatum. Tensely, the throng of spectators waited for the drama to unfold. Standing on a small rise in front of the makeshift fort was Robert E. Lee, looking every inch an officer in spite of his grimy clothing and tired face. Near him, dressed as though for parade, were the blue-clad Marines.

Now, Stuart halted before the building and called for "Mr. Smith." The center doors opened a few inches. There carbine in hand, stood the lean, fierce figure of old John Brown, the antislavery zealot who had caused so much bloodshed on the banks of Osawatomie Creek in Kansas. Stuart recognized him at once.

The lieutenant repeated Lee's demand for immediate surrender, but Brown tried desperately to bargain. From inside the building came the cries of the hostages, pleading that Lee cooperate with their captor. Satisfied that Brown would not listen to reason, Stuart spun aside, pressed his back against the abutment, and waved his hat, that gaudily plumed chapeau which would become his trademark during the Civil War.(21)

Instantly the Marines sprang to the assault. Three of them flailed away with their sledge hammers; but the center doors, now slammed and bolted, held fast. Inside, Brown removed the historic sword from his belt, placed it reverently upon one of the fire carts, then joined the four raiders yet unwounded in trying to beat back the assault. From within the building came the bold words of Lewis Washington. "Don't mind us," he shouted. "Fire!" Lee recognized the voice. "The old revolutionary blood does tell," was his quiet comment.(22)

Suddenly, the thudding hammers stopped. During the charge, Greene had seen a ladder lying near the engine house. Now, he ordered his men to snatch it up to use as a battering ram. Its second blow splintered the door, and the Leathernecks came spilling into the building just as Brown was reloading his weapon.(23)

Armed only with his light dress sword, Greene jumped from the cover of the abutment and bounded through the opening. Behind him came Major Russell, weaponless but brandishing a rattan switch. The darkened interior rocked to the echoing shots. The third Marine to scramble through the shattered door, Private Luke Quinn, took a fatal bullet in his abdomen.

The fourth man, Private Mathew Ruppert, was slightly wounded in the face;(24) but these casualties could not stem the blue-clad tide.

The first figure to rise from the gloom as Greene rushed forward was that of Lewis Washington, an old friend. The Virginia aristocrat strode up to the officer, warmly took his left hand, then, pointing to a bearded man fumbling with a carbine, said, "This is Oswatomie." With all his strength Greene slashed at Brown with his sword. The first blow left a deep cut across the back of his neck; but the frail blade bent double on Brown's ammunition belt when Greene thrust at his heart, and John Brown was spared for the hangman.(25)

In a moment the engine house was filled with widly charging Marines. A sniper posted under one of the engines was bayoneted to death; sharpened steel pinned a second raider to the wall. Greene then called a halt to the onslaught as the two unwounded raiders surrendered.(26)

Three minutes of fierce action had ended a 32-hour reign of terror. None of the hostages was harmed, but the Marines suffered two men wounded, one of them fatally. Brown, his wounded and semiconscious son, and four able-bodied riflemen had defended the engine house. Of these, two were killed, and the others taken prisoner.(27)

All that remained was to deliver the prisoners to the jail at Charlestown, a journey that proved uneventful. Upon their return to Harper's Ferry, rumors of a new uprising, this one at the village of Pleasant Valley, Maryland, greeted the Marines. Lee, Stuart, Greene, and 25 men marched the five miles to this sleepy hamlet on the night of 19 October, but, as the colonel expected, all was calm.(28)

The slave uprising had not materialized. The pikes with which John Brown had hoped to arm the rebels were never issued. Yet, the raid on Harper's Ferry, this ill-planned, poorly executed attempt to free men in bondage, hastened "the inevitable conflict."

In this conflict, the four officers who took part in Brown's capture were to find themselves sorely tried in spirit and body. Only Major Russell was to remain with the Union, dying in office as Paymaster of the United States Marine Corps in October 1862.(29) The exploits of Lee and Stuart are too well known to recount. Israel Greene, literally the sword of the Union at Harper's Ferry, also joined the Confederate cause.

A New Yorker by birth, a Wisconsinite by rearing, a Virginian by marriage, and a Marine by profession, Greene's services were sought after when the time came to choose up sides in 1861. Declining appointment both as a lieutenant

colonel in the Virginia infantry and as a colonel in the
Wisconsin militia, Greene accepted a captaincy in the fledgling
Confederate States Marine Corps. As a major and Adjutant and
Inspector of the Corps he served throughout the war at Con-
federate Marine headquarters in Richmond until his capture and
parole at Farmville, Virginia, in April 1865. Returning to
the west, Greene settled in Mitchell, South Dakota, where he
died in 1909, 50 years after his moment in the glaring spot-
light of history at Harper's Ferry--a visible symbol of the
great struggle that tore the nation asunder and put it back
together again.(30)

THE WAR YEARS

     On 20 December 1860, a South Carolina Convention passed
the Ordinance of Secession, formally severing the bonds which
had joined that state to the Federal Union. Next came the
news that Mississippi had seceded, Florida and Alabama followed
close on her heels; then Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas departed.
Virginia, North Carolina, and the border states were wavering
in their loyalty to the Union.

     A major problem facing the Buchanan administration was the
preserving of order within the Federal City. The Washington
Navy Yard was rumored to be the objective of a mob attack.
Marines were ordered to patrol the area, but violence never
came. Since it was also necessary to keep open the Potomac
River, a detachment of 40 Marines was sent on 5 January 1861
to Fort Washington, Maryland, a decaying ruin perched on a
bluff opposite Mount Vernon.(31) North of the capital, Baltimore
was ablaze with secession, and some 30 Marines marched there
to man Fort McHenry until Army troops arrived on the scene.(32)
New York also was in a turmoil. Late in January, the Marine
guard at the Brooklyn Navy Yard was alerted against a possible
attack by Southern sympathizers.(33)

     While maintaining order in the North, President James
Buchanan made a half-hearted attempt to impress but not arouse
the people of South Carolina. In December, the Federal garrison
had abandoned Fort Moultrie and under cover of darkness crossed
the silent waters to isolated Fort Sumter. The problem facing
the President was to send reinforcements to Fort Sumter without
bring war. Loaded with artillerymen and supplies, the steamer
Star of the West sailed from New York on 7 January 1861. Upon
reaching Charleston harbor, her captain discovered that all
buoys and channel markers had been removed. A nighttime
approach was impossible, a daylight attempt would prove suicidal;
so the expedition returned to New York.(34)

     In the meantime, the citizens of the cotton states had
sprung to arms. Several hundred Alabama militia, led by

Florida authorities, marched on the Pensacola Navy Yard, while the commandant hastily mustered his handful of Marines to oppose them.(35) On 16 January 1861, Marine Captain Josiah Watson signed his pledge never to bear arms against the State of Florida and left Pensacola. The yard, impossible to defend, had been surrendered; but nearby Fort Pickens remained in Federal hands. Upon reaching New York Watson forwarded his parole to Colonel John Harris, Commandant of the Marine Corps, who responded with the acid comment that he was "not aware of the United States being at war with Florida."(36)

Early in April, Marine ships' detachments served in the expedition which successfully reinforced Fort Pickens; but Fort Sumter was doomed. On 12 April, the same day that Federal ships reached Fort Pickens, cannon roared in Charleston harbor. On the following day, while a Union squadron hovered helplessly off Charleston, the besieged garrison surrendered. Within three days, President Abraham Lincoln called for volunteers; and the American Civil War had begun.

The acrid scent of powder drifted northward to inspire Virginia to cast her lot with the Confederacy. In Washington, the Union command made a belated effort to strengthen the defenses of the Norfolk Navy Yard. Colonel Harris was ordered on 19 April to provide 100 Marines for a relief expedition. On the following day, the Pawnee, a chartered steamer, sailed for Norfolk with 50 Marines, howitzers, and ammunition.(37)

On 20 April, Captain Hiram Paulding arrived with authority to abandon the yard if necessary. Since Virginia was mobilizing, there was little else he could do. The Norfolk barracks detachment under Colonel James Edelin, the Marine guards of the Cumberland and Pennsylvania, and the reinforcements which had arrived on board the Pawnee all pitched in to help destroy the valuable installation. Cannon were spiked; ships, among them the Merrimack, were scuttled; and the Marine barracks were burned to the ground. The seamen and Marines withdrew to waiting ships.(38)

The coming of war found Major General Winfield Scott in command of the Federal armies. Scott assigned to Major General Irving McDowell the task of taking Richmond quickly. Thus on 16 July 1861, the Union army snaked out of Washington to humble the secessionists.

Included in the Union host was a Marine battalion of 12 officers and 336 enlisted men, led by Major John G. Reynolds. This battalion was assigned as permanent support to Captain Charles Griffin's "West Point Battery," an Army unit which had trained at the military academy. Keeping pace with the mounted artillerymen was a murderous task, but by the 18th the Marines were at Centreville, about 26 miles west of Washington; the Confederate army massed in front of them.

On 21 July, Reynolds and Griffin spearheaded the column which forded Bull Run, reached Sudley Springs, and changed direction--all according to plan. Meanwhile, a secondary attack faltered, serving only to alert the Southerners that the main blow would be delivered elsewhere. As the Union troops swept down on them, the Confederates shifted their strength to meet the threat. Late in the morning, the West Point Battery and its Marine escort hurried through a stand of timber and opened fire. Behind them pressed the 14th New York state militia, while the 27th New York, another militia regiment, deployed to the left.

Resistance stiffened as Southern reinforcements rushed toward the fray. The 27th charged, then paused to reorganize; the Marines moved forward on the right flank with elements of the battered 14th New York. Three times Reynolds' men were on the verge of panic, but on each occasion he brought them back into line. At this point, the Southern defenders had been driven back about a mile and a half from their original positions.

As the Federal drive lost momentum, Griffin's battery and another led by Captain J. B. Ricketts were posted on a nearby hill. Whatever troops could be spared were ordered to support the cannoneers. Marines moved toward the guns as did a detachment of New York Zouaves. Suddenly, Jeb Stuart's cavalry burst from the woods, riding down the militia and putting to route the entire support.(39)

All that remained was a hasty retreat to Washington. Reynolds gathered what men he could find; others met him at the Long Bridge (14th Street) over the Potomac. Together they marched to the Marine Barracks to receive blankets and other gear lost or discarded during the battle and retreat.(40)

Along with the remnants of the battered army, a number of Confederate prisoners were in the throng that swept through the Capital. Aroused by fantastic tales of atrocities committed on Northern wounded, a mob attacked one group of captives; but Marine bayonets quickly restored order.(41) Shouting insults and throwing stones might ease the hurt; but the fact remained that American volunteers had been shamefully mauled. The Army needed a thorough reorganization, and it needed it quickly.

While the Army drilled, marched, and countermarched, the Navy attempted to bring some degree of order to southern Maryland. On 19 August, some 200 Marines were assigned to the Potomac Flotilla to scour the Maryland countryside, paying particular attention to the town of Port Tobacco, in search of Confederate arms.(42)

Meanwhile, at Fortress Monroe at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, Major General Benjamin F. Butler was busily organizing an expedition to Hatteras Inlet, North Carolina. Built around the frigate Minnesota, the squadron rounded Hatteras shoals on

28 August. On the following day, the landing got underway in spite of a raging surf; but only a little more than 300 men were ashore before the operation was postponed. The militia, along with Marines from the ships Minnesota, Cumberland, and Wabash, had come to do a job; and they intended to complete it with or without reinforcements. While naval guns lashed its ramparts, the determined Yankees marched toward Fort Clark; but by the time they reached it, the Confederates had withdrawn to Fort Hatteras.

This second fort was a far more impressive work. Nothing could be done during the afternoon, so the Marines and soldiers spent a miserable night huddled together in the rain before the defiant redoubt. The following morning, a lucky hit on a magazine settled the issue; Fort Hatteras surrendered.(43)

Marines next saw action at Pensacola. On the morning of 14 September, a band of seamen and Marines rowed noiselessly into Pensacola harbor to destroy the schooner Judah, rumored as being fitted out as a privateer. John Smith, a Marine from the Colorado, was first to board the vessel. After a spirited fight, the Judah was captured, set on fire, and cut adrift to sink. While one party was dealing with the privateer, a second group spiked a battery in the harbor.(44)

Even as Butler's handful of men were moving against Hatteras Inlet, Flag Officer Samuel F. Dupont proposed a full-scale amphibious expedition against Port Royal, South Carolina, adjacent to Parris Island. In charge of the Marine contingent was Major Reynolds, the veteran of Bull Run, who was drilling an amphibious battalion to serve with the fleet. By the end of October 1861, the expedition was underway.(45)

Reynolds marched his battalion aboard the chartered side-wheeler Governor. On 31 October, a gale lashed the Federal Armada. Battered by the raging seas and endangered by clumsy handling, the Governor was on the point of foundering. Reynolds formed his men into damage control parties to shore up sagging bulkheads and bail out flooded compartments. On Saturday, 2 November, the Governor wallowed helplessly in the snarling seas.

That afternoon, the Sabine came alongside the leaking hulk. Lines were rigged, the Marines formed on the deck, and one by one, they were taken from the doomed vessel. As the winds grew more furious, the lines parted. Reynolds marched his men to the rail where they waited tensely until the two ships lurched together. Then, a few at a time, they jumped to safety. It was a slow and dangerous job, but miraculously the Governor stayed afloat until the following morning. Thanks to their superb discipline, only seven Marines were lost.(46)

While the Sabine was returning from her rescue mission, DuPont on 7 November began his assault. Although the battalion was not present, Marines did take part in the operation; for

after the Confederates withdrew from Hilton Head, a detachment from the Wabash landed to occupy Fort Walker.(47)

On the same day that Hilton Head was occupied, a band of Marines led by a sergeant joined the bluejackets of the frigate Santee in an attempt to cross Galveston Bar in Texas and destroy the Confederate steamer General Rusk. When opposition developed Navy Lieutenant James E. Jouett, in charge of the operation, realizing that his men could not overpower the Texas seamen, led the Yankees aboard the schooner Royal Yacht which was anchored nearby. He set fire to the schooner and escaped with his men in small boats. Eight of the Union raiders were wounded, one fatally.(48)

Again the next day, Marines were in action, this time on the gray waters of the Atlantic. The British ship Trent, carrying the Confederate diplomats John Slidell and James Mason, was halted by the American steamer San Jacinto. Marines and seamen boarded the English vessel and carried off the Southerners.(49)

Although eclipsed for a time by the spectacular "Trent Affair," the blockade was slowly but surely sealing off the Confederate coast. On 12 December 1861, Marines from the Dale boarded the steamer Isaac Smith and started up the Ashepoo River which flows into St. Helena Sound below Charleston. At Mosquito Creek, Navy Lieutenant J. W. Nichelson trained his guns on a house which served as headquarters for Confederate detachments operating in the area. The defenders scattered under the bombardment, and Marines landed to destroy the building. Later that month, the Dale's Marines tangled with Southerners in a brief skirmish on the South Edisto River in South Carolina; and in January of the following year, Leathernecks from the Hatteras burned Confederate stores at Cedar West, Florida.(50)

Forty-five miles northwest of Hatteras Inlet lay Roanoke Island. A blockading fleet based there would dominate both Pamlico Sound to the south and Albemarle Sound to the west. Union Major General Ambrose Burnside presented a plan to seize Roanoke Island.(51)

Burnside's troops, some ten thousand strong, began landing on 7 February 1862; the following day, the Southern garrison surrendered. The conquest of the island, although supported by naval guns and howitzers, was principally an Army undertaking.(52)

While Burnside was striking at North Carolina and Major General George B. McClellan was planning another drive on Richmond, this one by way of the York and James Rivers, the Confederates were hard at work on the resurrected Merrimack, which was being sheathed in iron. On 8 March 1862, the Merrimack or Virginia as she now was called, came down the

Elizabeth River into the waters of Hampton Roads. At 1410, the Virginia raked the Union Congress with grapeshot, lumbered past her, and turned on the frigate Cumberland, which boasted the most powerful guns in the Federal squadron. For a time it seemed as though the Cumberland would prevail. Her first salvo crashed through open gunports, disabling two cannon and killing 19 Confederate seamen. The Virginia replied, pumping round shot and screaming grape through the Yankee's gun deck. Nine Marines were cut down by this terrible fusillade, but Lieutenant Charles Heywood (later ninth Commandant of the Marine Corps) kept the survivors at their guns. Next the Virginia plunged her iron ram into the Cumberland's vitals, sealing the doom of the wooden vessel.

The Virginia and her escorts now were free to deal with the Congress. At about 1630, her decks littered with the bodies of her gallant sailors and Marines, Congress surrendered. Since the falling tide might at any moment leave the Virginia stranded in the mud, Captain Franklin Buchanan ordered his ship back to Norfolk.

During the course of the battle, three Union frigates attempted to encircle the ironclad. High winds, however, had made navigation extremely difficult, and all three ran aground. One of them, the Minnesota, was stuck fast beyond the range of shore artillery, an easy victim should the Virginia return.

On the following morning, the Virginia did return, but in the meantime, the iron Monitor had arrived on the scene. Al- the Union ironclad bore the brunt of the day's fighting, the seamen and Marines aboard the Minnesota had some uneasy moments.(53)

The first shot fired that morning was aimed at the stranded vessel, but the round fell short. Monitor then entered the fray, and the Virginia was kept too busy parrying and thrusting to press home the attack. When the Federal ironclad at last withdrew into shallow water to bring up ammunition from her lockers, the Confederate ship again bore down on the Minnesota. The two vessels exchanged shots; then the frigate unleashed a broadside which would have demolished any wooden ship, but it did not slow the mighty Virginia. Fortunately, the Monitor chose this moment to return to action; and when the Confederate ironclad at last withdrew, the Minnesota was still intact.

The success of the Monitor enabled General McClellan to launch his drive on Richmond. His advance, slow as it was, rendered Norfolk untenable; and it was abandoned to the Union Army. On 23 May 1862, two weeks after the yard had been re- captured, Captain Charles McCawley, (later eighth Commandant of the Marine Corps) was ordered to march his Marines into the devastated installation.(54)

On 11 May, the day after the Virginia was burned by the Confederates to prevent her capture by Union forces, the Monitor joined the armored Galena and several other Union vessels in a dash up the James River toward Richmond. At Drewry's Bluff, only eight miles below below its objective, the squadron was halted by underwater obstructions and taken under fire by shore batteries. Hit three times, the Monitor drifted downstream, leaving the Galena to silence the Confederate guns. She was returning their fire when a shell struck a powder monkey, setting off the round which he held in his arms. Marine Corporal John Mackie rallied the dazed survivors, carried off the dead and wounded, and got three of the Galena's guns back in action. Decorated by President Lincoln for his heroism, Mackie was the first Marine to receive the Medal of Honor.(55)

Although McClellan's thrust was fought to a standstill, Federal forces were enjoying remarkable success elsewhere. DuPont's squadron was striking at will along the Florida coast. Reynold's Marine battalion remained ready, but DuPont found little chance to employ it except to garrison St. Augustine. Unwilling to allow such an excellent organization to deteriorate from inactivity, on 25 March he released the unit from his squadron.(56) Organized for amphibious operations, the Marine battalion was not suited to garrison duty.

After the inspiring capture of Port Royal the previous winter, the Union high command began looking for a naval officer to lead an attack upon New Orleans. The man selected was a crusty veteran of the War of 1812, Captain David G. Farragut.

At 0200 on the morning of 24 April 1862, Farragut's wooden vessels began their dash past powerful Forts Jackson and St. Philip. The Varuna, swiftest unit of the attacking flotilla, gradually drew ahead of her sisters. Suddenly, a group of Southern gunboats came out of the darkness. One of them, the Morgan, rammed the Federal ship. The Varuna's Marines opened fire driving the Morgan's gunners from their posts. The Federal skipper managed to beach his ship on a sandbar, while the Confederate vessel drifted downstream out of control.(57)

USS Iroquois followed Farragut's first division through the gantlet. She too was attacked by gunboats. During the night's encounter, the Marine guard of the Iroquois suffered 2 killed and 24 wounded.(58)

Once his flotilla had run the batteries, all that remained for Farragut was to occupy the city of New Orleans. On the morning of 24 April, Farragut anchored off the city and ordered Marine Captain John L. Broome to unfurl the United States flag over the quarantine buildings. Supported by a pair of Navy howitzers, the Marines then took possession of the Customs House. While a mob raged, boiled, and shouted insults, a Marine guard kept order as the state banner was cut down and replaced with Old Glory. On 1 May when Butler's men marched into

New Orleans, the last of the Marines were withdrawn.(59)

After the capture of New Orleans, Union activities along the Mississippi River increased in tempo. Cairo, Illinois, became the home of the river gunboats; and a Marine detachment was ordered there late in 1862. When the base, in the spring of 1864, was moved to Mound City, Illinois, the Marines went with it.(60)

To assist the gunboat flotilla, a Marine brigade was recruited from among the boatmen of the Mississippi Valley. This unit was under control of the Army and had no kinship with the United States Marine Corps.(61) Leathernecks, however, did aid in clearing the Confederates from the banks of the Mississippi. There were, for example, regular Marine detachments on some of the larger river vessels.(62) Also, on 1 March 1863, when Admiral Farragut ran the batteries at Port Hudson, Louisiana, Marines manned his secondary guns. The detachment on the USS Richmond suffered two killed and eight wounded in this engagement when a Confederate shell exploded against a gun carriage.(63)

Late in 1862, a battalion of about 140 Marines was formed for duty at the new Navy Yard at Vallejo, California. Commanded by Major Addison Garland, the detachment sailed from New York on board the Ariel, one of Cornelius Vanderbilt's gold-carrying ships. On this voyage, however, the lightly armed vessel carried no bullion, only Marines and civilian passengers. Off the coast of Cuba, the Confederate raider Alabama swept down on the steamer. The Ariel's captain called for more speed; but as she drew away, the Alabama fired a warning shot. The Ariel decided not to resist. After solemnly pledging not to bear arms against the Confederacy, the Marines were released. The battalion landed at Aspinwall, Colombia, crossed the isthmus, and eventually reached its destination.(64)

The Confederate Navy remained full of fight. On the morning of 31 January 1863, in Charleston harbor two ironclad Confederate rams eased into the main ship channel and crept slowly toward the anchored vessels of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron. One ram attacked the Mercedita, which surrendered. The second ram attacked the Keystone State, leaving her dead in the water. Twenty of the crew were killed, eight of them Marines.(65) Charleston definitely was a thorn in the Union side.

In August of 1863, the North's new iron ships returned to support landings on Morris Island, at the mouth of Charleston harbor. The operation was a partial success, most of the island was overrun, but the Federal column ground to a halt before the walls of Fort Wagner. It's ranks badly depleted, the assault force finally appealed to the Navy for help. A Marine battalion, under the command of Major Jacob W. Zeilin (later seventh Commandant of the Marine Corps), was formed at Port Royal and

rushed to the scene.

Before the end of the month, the plan of battle had been
changed. Since Fort Wagner already had taken a severe pounding
from naval guns, Rear Admiral John A. Dahlgren decided to em-
ploy the Marines in an assault upon Fort Sumter. When the
admiral called upon Major Zeilin for "one to two hundred
resolute men," the Marine officer, offered "150 men."(66)

On 8 September, one day after Federal troops had entered
Fort Wagner, the attack on Fort Sumter was launched. In the
meantime, Major Zeilin had been replaced by Captain E. McDonald
Reynolds, who organized three companies to participate in the
operation. Packed into small boats the seamen and Marines were
taken in tow by tugs.

Success depended upon surprise and coordination; unfortu-
nately, the naval expedition enjoyed neither. One string of a
dozen boats went astray. Thinking the expedition had been
called off, Lieutenant John C. Harris reported for further
orders to the nearest Union warship. By the time he had got
the men back into their boats and on the way toward Sumter, it
was too late.

Captain Charles G. McCawley, who led the battalion in its
assault, found it impossible to keep his boats together. So
impenetrable was the night that he could not tell for certain
whether any of his men had reached the objective. Actually a
band of 20 Marines led by Lieutenant Percival C. Pope succeeded
in landing, but Confederate riflemen drove them back. when the
expedition at last was recalled, most of the men still were in
their boats, milling around near the base of Sumter's battle-
ments.(67)

In March 1863, the United States Congress enacted a draft
law. On 13 July 1863, shortly after drawings began at the
New York City headquarters, a mob burst into the building. To
help restore order, a naval brigade marched out of the New York
shipyard. Included in this force were some 180 Marines
commanded by Captain John C. Grayson.(68)

The year 1864 began auspiciously enough, for on 1 January,
Lieutenant Louis E. Fagan led a small detachment ashore at
Murrell's Inlet near Charleston. Forty seamen with two light
howitzers joined Fagan's 30 Marines in rowing to the inlet.
They mounted the guns on a sandspit and fired five shells into
a Confederate schooner. The last round touched off a cargo of
turpentine; greasy smoke rolled over the mud flats as the
vessel burned to the ground.(69)

In spite of the ease with which Union raiding parties
struck along the Carolina coast, the Confederacy was far from
feeble. Amont the weapons unleashed against the Federal
blockade were the mine and the spar torpedo. On the evening

of 18 April, a lookout aboard the Wabash sighted a boat headed
directly toward him. At first he thought it was a submarine
like the one which had destroyed the Housatonic some months
before. The call to general quarters shattered the quiet of
the night. As the ship slipped her cable and got underway, her
Marine detachment leaped to the rail and blazed away at the
attacking craft. The torpedo boat was only 40 yards distant
when a round shot crashed into the water beside it. In the
twinkling of an eye, it disappeared beneath the boiling waters.
Whether the fragile craft was holed by Marine musket fire or
swamped by the shot could not be determined. In either case,
the Wabash was saved.(70)

From an administrative standpoint, the Marine Corps, like
the other services, began the war with a great number of older
officers in responsible positions. In order to weed out those
too old for active service, Congress in 1862 passed a retire-
ment act which permitted the Secretary of the Navy, with the
consent of the President, to retire those veteran naval officers
whom he judged unfit. With the death of Colonel John Harris on
2 May 1864, Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles faced the task
of selecting a new Commandant. The logical choice would have
been Lieutenant Colonel John G. Reynolds, but Harris had ordered
him tried by court martial on a rather insignificant charge.
To avoid the controversy which would occur whether Reynolds were
selected or passed over and retained, Secretary Welles chose the
man he wanted and then invoked the law of 1862 to retire all
officers senior to his choice. On 9 June 1864, Jacob Zeilin, a
company commander in Reynolds' battalion at Bull Run, was
appointed Commandant.(71)

No sooner had he taken office then news of an inspiring
victory electrified the North. The commerce raider Alabama
had been sunk. For months the USS Kearsarge had been scouring
the sealanes in search of Confederate raiders. Upon learning
that the Alabama had anchored at Cherbourg, the Kearsarge took
up station outside the harbor. On Sunday 19 June 1864, the
Alabama sallied forth and unleashed her first broadside at1050.
Her guns had the greater range, but inaccurate shooting offset
this advantage. Firing slowly but with devastating effect, the
Kearsarge followed her adversary through a series of graceful
turns. The Kearsarge Marines sweated at their rifled cannon as
the Union vessel pounced on the crippled raider. One last
terrible broadside scourged the Alabama, then a white flag
appeared. The dread commerce destroyer was no more.

In the spring of 1864, Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant
arrived at Washington from the West. At his coming the Army of
the Potomac took the offensive, never again to relinquish it.
Several times Grant halted, but always he kept up the kind of
unremitting pressure which sooner or later would wear down the
troops of Robert E. Lee. There was, however, a means of thwarting
the dogged Grant. A quick thrust at Washington might cause panic,
forcing Grant to divert men northward. The Union commander

realized the danger, and had instructed a Union force to drive
through the Shenandoah Valley and lay waste to that granary of
the Confederacy--the base from which a Southern drive against
Washington might be launched; but the offensive miscarried.
Union forces were halted, then pulled back into West Virginia.
The gateway to Washington now lay open.

The Confederate commander in the Shenandoah Valley was
Jubal A. Early, a hard driving soldier who knew a golden
opportunity when he saw one.   Early's troops swept into
Maryland, scattered an army drawn up along the Monocacy River,
and marched on the capital. His thrust was halted at Fort
Stevens, well within the District of Columbia, when reinforce-
ments from Grant's army filed into the Union trenches. On the
night of 12 July, Early ordered a withdrawal.(73)

In the meantime, Confederate cavalry was hacking at the
lines of communication between Washington and the North. On
11 July, horsemen charged the handful of troops guarding the
railroad bridge over the Gunpowder River, a vital artery linking
Baltimore with Havre de Grace, Maryland. The Confederates sent
a string of burning freight cars hurtling down the rails onto
the wooden bridge. The structure was badly damaged before the
blaze could be brought under control.(74)

On that same day, Captain James Forney and his company of
Marines--a part of a naval brigade formed at the Philadelphia
Navy Yard, arrived at Havre de Grace. While protecting working
parties, Forney's Marines helped repel a second attack, on the
Gunpowder River bridge. By 18 July, the tracks were almost re-
paired. Since the cavalry detachments had rejoined Early's re-
treating army, the Marines were ordered back to Philadelphia.(75)

The war was not going well for the Confederacy. Grant's
drive might be stalled, but he could not be routed. Major
General William T. Sherman was drawing closer to Atlanta, ad-
vancing by a series of dazzling although time consuming marches.
Yet, the crushing of the Confederacy was taking time and far
too many lives. The North was growing weary; a victory was
needed to restore confidence in Union arms. Once again, it was
David Farragut who won that victory.

On the morning of 5 August 1864, Farragut's ships raced
past Fort Morgan, plowed through torpedo fields, and entered
Mobile Bay. Beyond the harbor defenses lay the ironclad ram
Tennessee and a cluster of Confederate gunboats. The
Lackawanna rammed the ironclad. Spun around by the impact the
Union vessel drifted alongside her opponent. For a few vio-
lent moments the two ships lay head to stern, and U. S. Marines
fired their muskets into the Tennessee's open gunports. Through-
out the battle, Farragut's Marines fought gallantly.   Aboard
the flagship Hartford, two after guns were manned by Marines.
Under the inspiring leadership of Captain Charles Heywood,

18

these men kept up a deadly fire. Marine gun crews also distinguished themselves aboard the <u>Brooklyn</u> and <u>Richmond</u>.(76)

By November 1864, General William T. Sherman was preparing to drive from Atlanta toward Savannah. To interrupt the flow of supplies from Virginia to the south, a Marine battalion under Lieutenant George G. Stoddard joined Army troops in an attempt to sever the Charleston and Savannah rail line. At dawn on 29 November, the expedition landed at Boyd's Neck, South Carolina. For two days the Union column plodded steadily forward, encountering only an occasional picket line; but at Honey Hill the Confederates made a determined stand. The Marines slogged through a swamp, aligned their ranks, and marched onto the firing line. In the face of heavy fire, they held their ground until midafternoon. Advance was impossible; and when the Union line began to waver, the Marines were recalled.

On 6 December another try was made. This time, the Federal troops reached the vicinity of Tullifinney Cross Roads, about one mile from the railroad, when they again were beaten back by entrenched Confederates. The naval brigade retired a short distance to throw up earthworks. After this second repulse, the plan to tear up the rails was abandoned. Instead, the seamen, Marines, and infantrymen were to attack while the artillerymen cleared lanes of fire through which to shell the tracks.

At dawn on the ninth, the Marines deployed in a skirmish line, waited for a preliminary bombardment by the artillery, then swept forward. Wading through the waist-deep ooze, pushing aside a dense curtain of underbrush, the men of the naval brigade advanced to within 50 yards of the main works. Wet, mud-smeared, and weary, the Federal troops stumbled out of the marsh to blaze away at the Confederate position. As soon as the artillery was ready to blast the railway, the troops began retiring. In the confusion of pulling back, no one told the Marines to withdraw. Before Lieutenant Stoddard realized what had happened, Southerners were leaping from their trenches to cut off his unit. He led his men into the fastness of the swamp, eluded his pursuers, and struck out for the Tullifinney River. Hugging the banks of the stream, the Marines slipped past a Confederate patrol and reached friendly lines. Late in December, heavy rains put an end to the operation.(77)

With Union forces in Mobile, Charleston, New Orleans, and Savannah, only one major port remained open to Confederate blockade runners by December 1864. This was Wilmington, North Carolina, guarded by powerful Fort Fisher. To sever this last artery, General Ben Butler devised a truly spectacular plan for destroying the fort by blowing it to atoms. This failed, and Butler withdrew.

Even as the attack was called off, Admiral David D. Porter was laying plans for a second effort. General Grant selected Major General Alfred H. Terry to lead the second expedition. Porter was to provide gunfire support, while Terry's men landed and stormed the walls. By 14 January 1865, Union troops were ashore poised for the final assault.

Although Terry had not requested any assistance from the Navy, except, of course, for gunfire, Admiral Porter became obsessed with the notion that the army should be reinforced. He decided to employ his naval brigade, a large landing force which he had assembled less than two weeks before. This brigade was made up of about 1600 seamen, most of them armed with cutlass or pistol, and some 400 Marines who carried rifles or carbines. According to Porter's plan, at the moment of the Army assault the Marine riflemen were to seize the parapet and pick off the Confederates within the fort. Then the seamen would rush past the Marines to charge the Southern cannoneers.

On the afternoon of 14 January, the brigade went ashore. Navy Captain K. Randolph Breese, in command of the unit, modified Porter's plan only slightly. Instead of scaling the walls, the Marines were to prepare rifle pits from which they could support the advance. The seamen, however, still faced the grim prospect of running across the open beach to clamber up the walls and close with the enemy.(79) This alone was enough to render the plan suicidal. A rifle could kill a person at ranges up to half a mile; at 250 yards it was a murderous weapon. Thus, it was possible for the Marines to knock a man from the parapet, but only if the man were fool enough to expose himself. No Confederate trooper would take such an unnecessary risk. While the Marines were sniping at the protected Southerners, these in turn would be firing upon the bluejackets moving en masse across the open terrain.(80) In short, there was very little chance of success.

The following day, Captain Breese sent two detachments of Marines one commanded by Lieutenant Louis E. Fagan, the other by Captain Lucien L. Dawson, into the rifle pits. He then tried to form the seamen into three assault waves to attack through the Marines. Somehow his orders went astray and the bluejackets formed to the left of the Marines. Further to complicate matters, Breese could not find out exactly when the Army intended to attack. The final misfortune came when Dawson received a garbled order to join in the assault. He complied by pulling his men out of their trenches marching off to the left, and mingling them with the seamen. Instead of moving directly toward Fort Fisher, the column marched almost parallel to the face of the fortification before it wheeled and charged. In the meantime, Lieutenant Fagan's men were supporting the attack as best they could, but they could not cope with the 800 Confederates who manned the ramparts. Both the seamen and Marines displayed great gallantry, some of them almost reached the wall; but courage was not enough. The attack was easily

broken. As the naval brigade stalled, the Army launched its assault, succeeded in obtaining a foothold within the bastion, and finally carried the day. Porter's men had provided a helpful but a costly diversion.(81)

The fall of Fort Fisher sealed off the Confederacy. Lee would hold his army together for almost three months, but the success of the blockade made his defeat inevitable.

The main contribution of the Marines during the Civil War was their service as members of gun crews aboard ships of the blockading squadron and Mississippi flotilla. Except for Major John G. Reynolds seaborne battalion, specifically organized for service with the fleet, there was no permanently constituted force so trained and equipped. Although Reynold's command was never employed in any major operation, amphibious or otherwise, its concept and organization pointed the way to the eventual formation in 1933 of a Fleet Marine Force trained and equipped to operate with the fleet of which it is an integral component. Although comparatively few in number, only 64 officers and 3,075 enlisted in 1864, the Marine Corps played an important, if minor role, in the Union victory.(82)

1. John W. Thomason, Jr., _Jeb Stuart_ (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), p. 47; Allan Keller, _Thunder at Harper's Ferry_ (Englewood, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1958), p. 66.

2. Keller, _op. cit._, p. 67; James E. Walmsley, "Floyd, John Buchanan," _Dictionary of American Biography_ (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931), v. 6, pp. 482-483.

3. Harvey Wish, "Nat Turner's Rebellion," _Dictionary of American History_ (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons 1946), v. 4, p. 56.

4. A. Eric Bubeck, "Colonel Lee and the Marines at Harper's Ferry," _Marine Corps Gazette_, v. 33, no. 12 (Dec 1949), p. 51; Douglas Southall Freeman, _R. E. Lee: A Biography_ (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), v. I, p. 396.

5. Thomason, _op. cit._, p. 47.

6. Israel Green /sic/, "The Capture of John Brown," _North American Review_, v. 141, no. 6 (Dec 1885), p. 564.

7. Toucey to Harris, 17 Oct 1859, copy in Subject File: HARPER'S FERRY, (Historical Branch, Headquarters, USMC).

8. Toucey to Russell, 5 Nov 1859, "Officer of the Marine Corps," v. 6, Records Group 80, National Archives.

9. Toucey to Harris, _loc. cit._; Green, _op. cit._, p. 564; muster rolls, MB, Navy Yard, Washington, and MB, Washington.

10. Freeman, _op. cit._, v. 1, pp. 394-395; Keller, _op. cit._, pp. 53-54.

11. Keller, _op. cit._, pp. 68-69; Freeman, _op. cit._, v. 1, pp. 394-395.

12. Keller, _op. cit._, pp. 98, 125.

13. Testimony of Colonel Lewis Washington in U. S. Congress, Senate, _Senate Committee Report No. 278, 1st Session, 36th Congress._

14. Keller, _op. cit._, pp. 37-44.

15. Lee to Ord, Telegram, 18 Oct 1859, "Suppression of John Brown's Raid," Records Group 94, National Archives.

16. Freeman, op. cit., v. 1, p. 396; Keller, op. cit., pp. 125-126; Lee to the Adjutant General in Senate Committee Report, op. cit.

17. Green, op. cit., pp. 564-565; contemporary sketches and a photograph of the engine house taken shortly after the Civil War.

18. Freeman, op. cit., v. 1, pp. 396-397.

19. Ibid., p. 398.

20. Keller, op. cit., p. 147; Lee to Adjutant General, loc. cit.

21. J. E. B. Stuart to his mother, 31 Jan 1860, copy in Biography File: STUART, J. E. B., Historical Branch, Headquarters, USMC; Green, op. cit., pp. 565-566.

22. Freeman, op. cit., v. 1, p. 399; Keller, op. cit., p. 149.

23. Green, op. cit., pp. 566-567.

24. Appendix C, Lee to Adjutant General, 19 Oct 1859, "Suppression of John Brown's Raid," Records Group 94, National Archives; muster rolls, MB, Washington and MB, Navy Yard, Washington.

25. Green, op. cit., pp. 566-567.

26. Ibid.

27. Keller, op. cit., pp. 150-151.

28. Lee to Adjutant General, loc. cit.; Freeman, op. cit., v. 1, p. 401. The following year another rumor--that Greene was to receive a sword from a grateful Virginia legislature--enraged Stuart. The latter felt that he, a volunteer, should share in any honors given Greene who was, after all, acting under orders.

29. Biography File: RUSSELL, William Worthington, Historical Branch, Headquarters, USMC.

30. Ibid., GREENE, Israel.

31. Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894-1922), Series I, v. 4, pp. 409-415. Cited herein as Navy Records.

32. Ibid., pp. 263-264.

33. Contemporary accounts, in contrast to later histories, indicate that no Marines took part in the expedition.

34. Richard S. Collum, History of the United States Marine Corps (New York: C. R. Hammersly Company, 1903), p. 116.

35. National Intelligencer, Washington, D. C., 24 Jan 1861 in Subject File "Chronology, 1861," Archives, HQMC.

36. Navy Records, I, 4, p. 73.

37. Ibid., pp. 283-285.

38. Clyde H. Metcalf, A History of the United States Marine Corps (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1939), p. 197; Clarence E. Macartney, Mr. Lincoln's Admirals (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1956), pp. 174-175.

39. Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, v. 2, pp. 383-385. Cited herein as Army Records. Fairfax Downey, Sound of the Guns (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1955), pp. 125-128; John W. Thomason, Jr., Jeb Stuart (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), p. 112; Navy Records, I, 4, pp. 579-581.

40. Navy Records, I, 4, p. 579.

41. Margaret Leech, Reveille in Washington (Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishing Company, Inc., 1941) p. 107.

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45. Merrill, op. cit., pp. 28-33.

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48. Collum, op. cit., p. 124.

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50. Ibid., pp. 131-132.

51. Merrill, op. cit., pp. 81-86.

52. Collum, op. cit., pp. 134-135; Richard A. Ward, "An Amphibious Primer: Battle for New Bern," Marine Corps Gazette, v. 36, no. 8 (Aug 1952), p. 36; Robert W. Daley, "Burnside's Amphibious Division," Marine Corps Gazette, v. 35, no. 12 (Dec 1951), p. 30.

53. William C. and Ruth White, Tin Can on a Shingle (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1957), pp. 69-70, 99-101; Metcalf, op. cit., pp. 205-206; Navy Records, I, 7, pp. 22-23.

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55. Frank H. Rentfrow, "On to Richmond," Leatherneck, v. 22, no. 1 (Jan 1939), pp. 10-11.

56. Navy Records, I, 12, pp. 657-659.

57. Navy Records, I, 18, pp. 210-211; Edwin N. McClellan, "The Capture of New Orleans," Marine Corps Gazette, v. 5, no. 4 (Dec 1920), pp. 361-363.

58. Navy Records, I, 18, pp. 210-211.

59. Ibid., pp. 236-237; McClellan, op. cit.

60. Metcalf, op. cit., p. 218.

61. Fletcher Pratt, Civil War on Western Waters (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1956), p. 161.

62. Metcalf, op. cit., p. 210.

63. Navy Records, I, 19, pp. 675-676.

64. Metcalf, op. cit., p. 217; Edward Boykin, Ghost Ships of the Confederacy (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1957), pp. 255-259.

65. Navy Records, I, 13, pp. 579-583.

66. Ibid., I, 14, p. 518.

67. Ibid., p. 622-625; Metcalf, op. cit., pp. 208-209.

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72. Boykin, op. cit., pp. 356-384; Macartney, op. cit., pp. 223-232.

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75. Metcalf, op. cit., p. 211; "James Forney," Biography File, Archives, HQMC.

76. Navy Records, I, 21, pp. 425-428, 448, 462, 465-470.

77. Ibid., I, 16, pp. 98-111.

78. Merrill, op. cit., pp. 222-224.

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80. Bruce Catton, Mr. Lincoln's Army (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1953), pp. 191-192.

81. Navy Records, I, 11, pp. 446, 577-578.

82. "Strength and Distribution, 1798-1941," Subject File, Archives, HQMC.

The device reproduced on the back cover is the oldest military insignia in continuous use in the United States. It first appeared, as shown here, on Marine Corps buttons adopted in 1804. With the stars changed to five points this device has continued on Marine Corps buttons to the present day.