MORGAN'S RAID

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by

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Many things have been written over the past century about the American Civil War and its major leaders and battles. One leader of the Civil War has been greatly overlooked by historians even though he made many contributions to the war effort of the Confederate States of America. Although his contributions were small when a person looks at the big picture of the War Between the States, Confederate General John Hunt Morgan made one contribution to the Confederacy's war effort that stands out. Morgan's Indiana and Ohio Raid had a significant effect on the Union war effort in 1863. In the summer of 1863, an enemy force under the command of General Morgan invaded Indiana. After the raid proved successful for the most part in Indiana, General Morgan moved it on into Ohio. Morgan's Raid across the Ohio River was both a success and a failure in many ways. To understand why the raid was both a failure and a success, we must first look at Morgan's life, personality, career, and the raid itself. Morgan's Raid today lives on in stories and legend and is part of Indiana's history and heritage.

John Hunt Morgan was born in Huntsville, Alabama on June 1, 1825. Both of his parents were from wealthy Southern families. A native Virginian and distant relative of the Revolutionary War General Daniel Morgan, his father, Calvin C. Morgan, married Henrietta Hunt, the daughter of John W. Hunt, a wealthy merchant in Lexington, Kentucky in 1823. From the time of his birth, John Morgan was tied to the South through his family and to the
military through the actions of his forefathers in the Revolutionary War. It was these ties which would lead Morgan to eventually fight for the Southern cause.

In 1829, the Morgan family moved to Lexington, Kentucky to a farm outside of town on Tate's Creek Road. John, the oldest of the Morgan children, grew up in the quiet, rolling countryside of Kentucky with five brothers and two sisters. All of the Morgan boys would eventually ride for the Confederacy, and the daughters would marry two Confederate Generals, one of whom would be John's closest friend, supporter, and subordinate. His name was Basil Duke. If Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson was General Robert E. Lee's right arm during the Civil War, then Basil Duke was Morgan's.

Little is known of John's early life until 1841, when at the age of sixteen, he went to live with his grandfather John Wesley Hunt in Lexington so that he could attend Transylvania College. Described as a restless and undisciplined youth, Morgan was disciplined twice while attending Transylvania College for misconduct unbecoming a gentleman. The first offense was for using "ungentlemanly language to passerby and strangers." The second, more serious incident involved another student and caused Morgan to be suspended during his second year at the college. According to local legend, he was suspended for fighting in a duel, but nothing exists to substantiate whether this claim is true. After Morgan's suspension from the college, his formal education came to an abrupt end.

Eventually in 1846, at the age of twenty-one, John, his brother Calvin, and his uncle Alexander enlisted for military
service in the Mexican War. They went to Louisville where they joined Captain Beard's company in Marshall's regiment of the First Kentucky Cavalry. After joining the armed service, John was elected First Lieutenant. As shocking as this news was to John, his personal charisma had already destined him to be a leader. The Morgans served eighteen months and participated in the Battle of Buena Vista where Alexander Morgan was killed. After serving their tour of duty, John and his brother Calvin were mustered out of the service at New Orleans on July 8, 1847 and returned home to Lexington. All of the military training and expertise that Morgan was to use during the Civil War was learned during the short time that he was in the service of his country during the Mexican War.7

Morgan returned home after the Mexican War and entered the business world as he and his family had always planned. He opened a hemp factory and a woolen mill.8 As well as devoting his energy to manufacturing bagging jeans and linsey woolsey products, John began courting his neighbor's daughter and finally married Rebecca Gratz Bruce on November 21, 1848.9 After they were married, they moved in with her parents until 1849, when his father died. The couple then moved to "Hopemont," the Hunt family home in Lexington, and helped take care of his mother. In 1853, the couple's only child was born, but joy turned to tragedy when the boy died shortly after his birth. Rebecca never recovered from the shock and became an invalid. Deprived of children, Morgan devoted all of his energies to his businesses and his wife. Despite the problems in his home life, John became
wealthy and was very successful in every business venture that he entered. Morgan approached all of his business ventures both industriously and energetically, and was soon recognized as a leader of the community.10

As his businesses thrived, Morgan branched out into the buying and selling of slaves. He never made much profit from it, but it is an indication where his loyalties lay. Morgan believed in slavery and the superiority of the white race. Eventually, beliefs such as this one persuaded him to join the Confederate side during the Civil War.11

After becoming a leader in the business community, Morgan also became active in community affairs and local politics. He joined the Masonic lodge, became a captain in the Union Volunteer Fire Department, was elected to both the Lexington City Council and the Lexington School Board, and was a member of Christ's Church. Although he never graduated from Transylvania College, he made huge pledges and donations to the school.12 Morgan loved his hometown and devoted large amounts of time and money to helping it prosper.

To understand why Morgan was so successful in his business career and why he would later be such a success in the military, one must first look at his personality to understand the man and what motivated him. Basil Duke was Morgan's second in command and closest friend during the war and his description of Morgan's personality in his book, History of Morgan's Cavalry, is the most accurate and detailed. According to Duke, Morgan taught himself
all that he knew, and was religious, but not strongly so. Morgan had "exceeding gentleness of disposition and unbounded generosity." Besides being very gentle and kind, he possessed a strong will and forceful energy. When all of this combined, it produced a strong personal charisma which attracted the undying loyalty of his friends and acquaintances. Morgan was also very family oriented and felt for the weak and downtrodden, which is another possible reason for his joining the Confederacy once the Civil War began. He was known in Lexington for his kindness and charity, was friendly to everyone, and possessed a mind which worked rapidly and accurately. These were the good parts of Morgan's personality.

All of this makes Morgan sound like a saint, but he had faults as well. Duke described Morgan as being human with weaknesses and faults like every other human being that has ever lived. According to Duke, one such weakness was that Morgan spent great amounts of money for his own pleasure on vices such as gambling, drinking, and other bad habits. Morgan, Duke wrote, never did any of these vices to excess and never in a way to destroy his reputation as a gentleman. He was impatient, disliked advice even when given under the best of intentions, and was never very intimate, even with those closest to him. In short, Morgan was real, practical, and well liked by almost everyone he met despite his faults and personality quirks.

Morgan's military career began in earnest in 1857 when he formed a company of volunteer militia called the Lexington
Rifles. The 1850's was a decade of turmoil that got worse with each passing year. In 1857, the Dredd Scott decision was made by the United States Supreme Court, pro-slavery forces and anti-slavery forces were fighting for control of Kansas, and the rift between the northern states and the southern states was growing bigger with each passing day. At this point, a civil war looked inevitable. Although, Morgan's sympathies lay with the South, he wanted to remain neutral in the upcoming fight. Like most Kentuckians, he wanted only to protect his home and family. He held this view until 1861 when events conspired to change his mind and the minds of most Kentuckians in one way or another.

The Lexington Rifles under Morgan's command gained a reputation for proficiency at drill, intelligence, and daring of its members. Consisting of fifty men whose sympathies were with the South, but who wanted to remain neutral, the men in the militia only wanted to protect their homes and families from the inevitable conflict. These fifty men became the core around which Morgan eventually built his famous cavalry unit, the Second Kentucky Cavalry. Besides owing their obedience to Morgan as their commander, these men were very loyal to him and loved him as shown by the motto of the Lexington Rifles, "Our laws the commands of our Captain." In 1861, events changed the plans of the Lexington Rifles and of Morgan. Several states led by South Carolina seceded from the Union beginning in December of 1860 and formed the Confederate States of America in February of 1861. At this
point, the Lexington Rifles, Morgan, and the state of Kentucky were all in agreement that they would remain neutral in the ensuing war. As said before, they all wanted to remain neutral, live their lives peacefully, and protect their homes, families, and property.

In July, Morgan's plans began to change with the death of his wife, and the first major battle of the war at First Bull Run. Morgan no longer had a family to worry about and with the beginning of open hostilities between the North and the South, he devoted his life to the Confederacy. He decided to join the Confederacy and take the Lexington Rifles out as an independent outfit to fight for Southern rights. While waiting for just the right moment to take his command and join the Confederacy, Morgan was overwhelmed by events which moved faster than he had been expecting. August brought the establishment of a militia of Union sympathizers twenty-five miles south of Lexington which wanted to protect Kentucky from a Confederate invasion from Tennessee. To Morgan, this army was composed of traitors to the South and Southern rights, and it angered him.

September was the turning point and the point of no return for Morgan and the Lexington Rifles. On September 3, 1861, 11,000 troops were moved into Kentucky by the Confederacy under the command of Major General Leonidas K. Polk. Kentucky had been wavering for months over the question of whether to side with the Union or the Confederacy in the ensuing civil war. Polk's advance, viewed as a Confederate invasion of Kentucky by many
Kentuckians, caused the Commonwealth to side with the Union officially. Morgan viewed the troop movement differently though. To him, Polk's forces were liberators from Northern oppression. He believed that Yankees had made Kentucky suffer and were uncouth.

On September 5, 1861, in response to Polk's advance, Union troops under Brigadier General U.S. Grant moved into Kentucky. With both sides taking cities and jockeying for position, the Kentucky legislature ordered the state guards to disarm. The time had come for Morgan and the Lexington Rifles to join the Confederacy officially. On the night of September 20, 1861, Morgan and seventeen of his men sneaked their arms out of Lexington and headed for Confederate lines while the rest of the Lexington Rifles created a diversion so that Morgan and his group could get away with the arms. Those left behind would later rejoin Morgan and his group. Along the way, men joined Morgan's little command until by the time they reached Confederate lines at Woodsonville, Kentucky on September 30, Morgan had two hundred men under his unofficial command.

In October, Morgan and eighty-four of his men were sworn into the Confederate army by Major William P. Johnston. Only eighty-four men were sworn into the Confederate army out of the two hundred that had arrived with Morgan since they had already joined other units or could not join Morgan's cavalry unit because they did not have horses. Morgan was elected Captain, and his brother-in-law Basil Duke, who had resigned his seat in
the Kentucky state legislature to join Morgan, was elected First Lieutenant. 23 In joining the Confederacy, Morgan had left his businesses behind in Lexington and they were soon confiscated by his creditors. Both Morgan and Duke had given up their careers and their livelihoods to join the Confederacy. 24 Morgan was placed under the command of Colonel Roger W. Hanson who in turn was under the command of General Joseph P. Johnston of the Army of Tennessee. Understanding what cavalry should be used for, Hanson sent Morgan and his men on scouting missions to get information and harass Federal forces four to five times a week in southern Kentucky. Over the next several months, Morgan, on his favorite Kentucky Thoroughbred horse Black Bess, and his men took part in many skirmishes while scouting for the Confederacy. At this point, Morgan had not yet developed the idea of the raid, but it was slowly forming in his mind. 25

While the outline of the raid was taking shape in Morgan's subconscious, the size of his outfit grew as more and more men joined its ranks. His brothers, who had also joined the Confederate army, obtained transfers so that they could ride with John's company of cavalry, or Morgan's cavalry as it had come to be called. Also during this time, others who would figure prominently in his raids were voluntarily inducted into Morgan's cavalry. George St. Leger Grenfell, a British soldier of fortune transferred to Morgan's cavalry after having ridden with "Stonewall" Jackson for a while, and remained with Morgan until right before the Indiana and Ohio Raid when he would part
company with Morgan's outfit over a difference of opinion. Grenfell trained Morgan's cavalry unit and taught the men obedience and discipline which helped them during all of their raids, including the Indiana and Ohio Raid. Thought of as the eyes and ears of the company, Tom Quirk became a scout for Morgan's outfit and would be with Morgan on all of his raids. Tom Hines also joined Morgan's unit as a scout and would prove just as useful. Raiding Indiana shortly before Morgan's Raid as well as scouting for Morgan during his raid, Hines eventually became a Confederate agent. Another person who joined Morgan's company and would become indispensable to Morgan was George "Lightning" Ellsworth, a Canadian telegraph operator with the ability to imitate any telegraph operator's style by hearing it only once. He got his nickname from operating the telegraph during a storm as lightning was flashing about overhead.

The company had representatives from every Kentucky county and had grown greatly by the spring of 1862. After the unit reached regimental size, Morgan was promoted to Colonel and his outfit became known as the Second Kentucky Cavalry. This was the outfit that Morgan is so famous for commanding on his raids.26

After a few setbacks, which included the loss of his horse Black Bess and the loss of half of his regiment while on a scouting mission where both he and his men were surrounded by a Union force twice their size, Morgan developed the idea of the raid and received permission to raid behind Union lines from his new commanding officer, General Braxton Bragg. Morgan and his
regiment had seen action at the Battle of Shiloh, but Morgan believed that raids behind enemy lines would put cavalry to a better use than an out and out battle. On July 4, 1862, Morgan set off from Knoxville, Tennessee for his First Kentucky Raid. Its objectives were "to obtain recruits and men, to thoroughly equip and arm his men, to reconnoiter for the grand invasion in the fall, and to teach the enemy that we could reciprocate the compliment of invasion." It was a huge success and Morgan's greatest masterpiece. In an official report, Morgan described the raid. He wrote,

I left Knoxville on the 4th of this month, with about 900 men, and returned to Livingston on the 28th inst. with nearly 1200, having been absent just 24 days, during which time I have traveled over 1000 miles, captured 17 towns, destroyed all Government supplies and arms in them, dispersed about 1500 Home-Guards and paroled nearly 1200 regular troops. I lost in killed, wounded, and missing of the number that I carried into Kentucky, about 90.

Morgan and the Second Kentucky Cavalry were involved in many more raids which were highly successful for the most part, but never as successful as his First Kentucky Raid. During the time between the first raid and the Indiana and Ohio Raid, Morgan married Miss Martha Ready on December 14, 1862, went on several raids and scouting missions behind Union lines, and took part in the Battle of Murfreesboro for which he and his men received a commendation from the Confederate Congress. Because of his many successes, Morgan was promoted to General, was hailed as a hero of the Confederacy, and was treated as such everywhere that he went.
Morgan was a hero and a success in the military because he possessed many talents which combined to bring him glory and victories. According to Basil Duke, Morgan is entitled to the credit for having discovered a use for cavalry "to which that arm was never applied before." He "originated and perfected, not only a system of tactics,... but also a strategy as effective as it was novel." Morgan used hit and run tactics, hit the enemy by surprise and retreated before an attack or counterattack could be formed against him. Although still bold in thought and action, General Morgan took precautions before every mission to protect both himself and his men. Morgan used whatever means possible to get information and considered every contingency before he made a decision. He was successful in the field because he had the ability to size up the terrain and make use of it to his advantage, to understand and know his foes and their plans sometimes even before they did, and to change his plans quickly and confound his friends and enemies. Besides all of these points, Morgan also possessed an extreme personal magnetism which drew men to him and his command in droves. This sounds very laudatory, but these are qualities which any good general should possess.

From the sound of this description of Morgan's command abilities, one might get the impression that he was the best military commander ever. Of course, this is not true because he had faults and weaknesses as a military commander. Morgan was highly independent and, although this worked in his favor at
times, it sometimes proved to be a major hindrance against him. Although he was good at attacking retreating armies, he was not good at protecting his own retreating army. His worst fault though was that he was a lax disciplinarian, and this showed to be a liability against him on many occasions.\textsuperscript{33}

In early June of 1863, Confederate General Braxton Bragg was badly outnumbered by Union General William S. Rosecrans. It was only a matter of time before the Federal forces would strike and Bragg needed a delaying action in order to prepare for the upcoming fight. After summoning Morgan to his headquarters, Bragg ordered General Morgan to make another raid behind Union lines to disrupt Union supply lines and buy the Confederate army time to prepare for the inevitable Union attack. Morgan had heard of a Federal raid that was highly successful behind Confederate lines through Louisiana and Mississippi. He proposed to Bragg a raid behind Union lines that would take his forces into Indiana and Ohio and bring the war to a land and people untouched by war. After a lengthy and heated discussion, Bragg said no because he did not want to lose the manpower which he needed so badly for the eventual fight. His orders to Morgan were to threaten Louisville, but not to cross the Ohio River. This action would ease the pressure from Bragg and his forces at least for a little while, or so Bragg believed.\textsuperscript{34}

General Morgan returned to his men on June 10, and informed his officers and men of Bragg's orders. Believing that Bragg was wrong about what the raid should be like, he pulled his officers
aside and told them that he had decided to disobey the General's orders, cross the Ohio River, and bring the war to the people of Indiana and Ohio. Morgan concluded that the raid, as proposed by Bragg, would not draw Union troops away from the battlefield. In addition, he feared that Bragg's plan would destroy the Second Kentucky Cavalry. On the other hand, a raid in Indiana and Ohio would draw Union forces away from Kentucky for a few weeks in order to chase after him. War was meant to be fought in enemy territory, or so General Morgan believed. Believing all of these things, the highly independent Morgan decided to disobey his commander's orders and conduct the raid his way.35

At the same time that Lee and Meade were clashing at Gettysburg, and Grant was about to capture a besieged Vicksburg, Morgan commenced his famous raid. Scouts were sent out to find a river crossing into Indiana as the rest of his cavalry forces left Sparta, Tennessee on July 2, 1863, and headed north into Kentucky. Because the Cumberland River was overflowing its banks from an unusual amount of rain, only 2,460 men, out of Morgan's 4,000 men, were able to cross. The rest of Morgan's men were forced to stay behind the swollen river.36 The raid had gotten off to a bad start as Morgan's troops had not even seen the enemy yet, and they had already lost over one-third of their strength.

The swollen Cumberland River, although it cost Morgan a significant portion of his command, also helped the young General's efforts. Union cavalry, led by General Henry M. Judah, were sent to stop Morgan. General Judah could have captured
Morgan and stopped the raid before it ever started, but he believed that the swollen Cumberland River would stop Morgan for him. As usual, Morgan did what was least expected of him and it paid off.\textsuperscript{37}

Morgan and his cavalrmen, continuing their advance into Kentucky, captured Columbia, Kentucky on July 3, 1863. Nothing of consequence happened in Columbia, and Morgan and his men got some rest. It was one of the last times that they would be able to get a night of good, uninterrupted sleep as the next day brought about some drastic changes.\textsuperscript{38}

On July 4, 1863, at the Green River Bridge, Morgan's command met a force of four hundred Union soldiers entrenched behind fortified positions. For three hours, the two forces clashed before Morgan ordered his men to retreat. Although seventy-one of Morgan's men were killed or wounded in the battle, the Federals were so well entrenched that the Confederates could not take the position. Only two days from their home base and Morgan's forces had already lost many men and their first battle. One of Morgan's officers, Major James McCreary, aptly described the situation in his journal, "The commencement of this raid is ominous."\textsuperscript{39} Basil Duke, describing the Second Kentucky Cavalry's failure, wrote,"It was his [Morgan's] practice to attack and seek to capture all, but the strongest, of the forces which opposed his advance upon his raids, and this was the only instance in which he ever failed of success in this policy."\textsuperscript{40} Since the bridge was not taken, Morgan and the Second Kentucky cavalry were
forced to circle around the bridge to continue on their planned route.

As the rebels continued on their way, they passed through Campbellsville, Kentucky, and met no resistance until they reached Lebanon, Kentucky on July 5, about twenty miles from the Green River Bridge. A force of four hundred Michigan soldiers were stationed there under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Charles S. Hanson, and the ensuing battle lasted seven hours. After having exhausted all of his options, Colonel Hanson surrendered his men, supplies, and the town which was on fire, and for the most part destroyed because of Morgan's artillery fire. Tragedy struck near the end of the battle as Lieutenant Tom Morgan, John's nineteen-year-old brother, was shot through the heart and died in his brother Calvin's arms. Tom was very popular with the men of the Second Kentucky Cavalry, and after he was killed, they tried to kill Colonel Hanson. Even in his grief though, General Morgan showed the compassion that he was known for by stepping in and saving Colonel Hanson's life. Morgan then destroyed what supplies he could not use or take with him and paroled the Union prisoners at Springfield, Kentucky.41 Even the first success on this raid was tainted with tragedy. One can not help but wonder what Morgan felt at this point.

From Springfield, the raiders rode to Bardstown where "Lightning" Ellsworth, tapping into the telegraph, learned that the newspapers in Louisville reported Morgan's forces at 4,000, 7,500, and 11,000 men.42 As a result, Louisville was in a state
of utter chaos as citizens panicked and military personnel made preparations for what they believed was an inevitable assault upon the city. Ellsworth helped the state of confusion by sending false information over the wire. Union troops were called from the field to pull back and protect Louisville. At this point, General Morgan had fulfilled the raid as General Bragg had planned it.

General Morgan then divided his forces. Two companies under Captains Taylor and Merriwether, were sent to get boats so that the Second Kentucky Cavalry could cross the Ohio River at Brandenburg, the point the scouts had identified as the best place to cross the river. Another company, led by Captain Davis, was sent to cross the river, at any point it could find, into Indiana and harass the Home-Guards. The company would later rejoin General Morgan and his men at Salem, Indiana. As a diversion, a fourth company was sent to attract Union General Ambrose Burnside's attention by heading to the east away from Morgan and the main force. Besides these four companies, another company had deserted and was absent without leave.

The rebels passed through Shepherdsville, a few miles south of Louisville, where they captured and looted a train. Several thousand greenbacks were confiscated. From there, the Confederates passed through Garnettsville and Lawrenceville on July 7, and arrived at Brandenburg on July 8.

At Brandenburg, before General Morgan got there, two hundred of his men, from the two companies sent there, did the job that
Morgan had entrusted to them. They boarded the steamer J.T. McCombs, which was owned by a Southern sympathizer and commanded by Captain Thomas Calhoun of Georgetown, Pennsylvania, as it docked. No one was hurt, but the passengers were robbed and the mail confiscated from the ship. The rebels then took the ship to the middle of the river, anchored her there, and set up a distress signal. After a half hour, the sidewheeler Alice Dean came into view and responded to the distress signal. It was captured easily and became Confederate property. The Alice Dean was an expensive ship, owned by the Dean family from Rochester, Pennsylvania. While the well-stocked pantry and bar were later enjoyed by the raiders on their last night in Kentucky, the silver plate and money in the safe were confiscated and given to General Morgan when he arrived at Brandenburg that afternoon. Other boats would have been captured, but they were warned by a Union man from Brandenburg and turned back. After this man warned Lieutenant Colonel William J. Irwin of the Indiana Legion at Mauckport, Indiana, the riverboat Lady Pike was hailed and sent to Leavenworth, Indiana for guns and men. The only other ship in the area was the steamer Gray Eagle, and it turned back after hearing of the abduction of the other two ships. Failure to capture the other boats was unimportant, for the J.T. McCombs, and the Alice Dean, were all the ships Morgan needed to cross the Ohio River.

General Morgan arrived at Brandenburg to find that his men had accomplished their mission and were lounging on the dock.
awaiting their next mission. At this point, all of the companies
that Morgan had detached and sent on various expeditions, except
for the company that had deserted and Captain Davis's company,
rejoined Morgan at Brandenburg. Even Captain Thomas Hines, who
had been sent by Morgan to scout north of the Cumberland River a
month before, was there waiting for Morgan. He had interpreted
his orders to mean that he could cross the Ohio River and had
conducted a raid throughout Southern Indiana on his own. Hines
made a big mistake by raiding Indiana though, because he lost all
of his men on the raid. He was just barely able to escape and
rejoin Morgan's cavalry unit. General Morgan was both surprised
and happy to see him. Hines gave Morgan his report and Morgan
learned of the conditions in Southern Indiana. Indiana was
viewed by General Morgan as a land of milk and honey and the raid
north of the Ohio River was put into action.50

Across the river on the Indiana side, a detachment of
Harrison county, Indiana Home-Guards, led by Colonel Irwin, and
Provost Marshal John Timberlake, set up an ancient cannon on a
wagon and began firing on Brandenburg, Kentucky.51 The mist over
the river had prevented them from being seen taking position by
the Confederates. After retreating to the rear of the town with
thirty wounded or killed, Morgan ordered his artillery to begin
firing on the Indiana Home-Guards from the Brandenburg Court
House and the lower part of the town.52 The Indiana Home-
Guards abandoned their gun and retreated. They later recovered
the cannon and used it again.53
By this time, it was late afternoon and General Morgan commenced crossing his troops into Indiana. The Indiana Home-Guards began firing again, but this time their fire was directed on the ships as they were crossing the river. Viewing the home guards as an annoyance that had to be erased, Morgan ordered his artillery to start firing again; and this time the home-guards retreated for good. The home-guards lost in the exchange of artillery fire four wounded and two killed. There was one other casualty when during the retreat, Captain Farquar of the home-guards was knocked unconscious when his horse ran into a tree. While retreating to Corydon, the home-guards were ordered by Colonel Irwin and Provost Marshal Timberlake to fell trees and skirmish with the rebels as much as possible to delay them until help could arrive from New Albany.\(^{54}\)

The crossing of the Confederates continued uninhibited until the middle of the second crossing. At this point, a Federal gunboat came around the bend in the river and began firing on the two stolen boats as the rebels attempted to cross the river into Indiana. General Morgan returned the fire, and an hour later, without either side getting even a near miss because of the unusually high river and choppy water, the gunboat retreated from the battle to get reinforcements. With the enemy vessel out of sight, the crossing continued uninterrupted and everyone got across safely.\(^{55}\) General Morgan ordered the Alice Dean burned, but the J.T. McCombs was allowed to go on its way because the captain of the ship was a friend of Colonel Basil Duke's. The
hull of the **Alice Dean** remained visible until the Ohio River was deepened by locks and dams in the 1920's.\textsuperscript{56} In 1959, the towboat **Neville** and thirteen barges got lost in a fog and slid over the dam causing the water level of the river to drop five feet. The burned out shell of the **Alice Dean** became visible once again and souvenir hunters took parts of the hull.\textsuperscript{57} One of the few landmarks that still existed from the raid was effectively destroyed.

The gunboat returned shortly thereafter with escorts. General Morgan laughed at the size of the gunboat's companions when he saw them, and ordered his men not to sink the three ships, but to just scare them off. After awhile, the gunboat and its smaller escorts gave up and retreated to Louisville where the whole town was preparing for an attack by Morgan because of Ellsworth's false reports over the telegraph.\textsuperscript{58}

Now that General Morgan and his men were across the river, they faced great odds against them. They now faced a hostile and angry North which included an immense and infuriated population and a soldiery outnumbering them twenty to one. Tracing the countryside in every direction, telegraph lines would tell constantly of their movements. Railroads would bring assailants against them from every quarter, and they would have to run the gauntlet night and day without rest or one moment of safety for over six hundred miles. From the beginning, the deck was stacked against the Confederates, but they started the great Indiana and Ohio Raid officially on July 9, 1863 knowing the odds against
them.\textsuperscript{59}

After resting for a few hours, Morgan and his men set out toward Corydon at dawn on the morning of July 9. Four miles outside of Corydon, at the home of the Reverend Peter Glenn, a brief skirmish began where the rebels met a force of three hundred home-guards under the command of Colonel Lewis Jordan. One rebel was killed while the home-guards suffered no casualties and retreated back towards Corydon to defend the town. In retaliation, General Morgan ordered the buildings owned by Reverend Glenn and a nearby mill owned by Peter Lopp burned to the ground. Reverend Glenn was shot and killed and his son wounded even though they were both innocent bystanders. It was the only time during the raid that Morgan killed anyone not directly involved in trying to prevent him from attaining his goals.\textsuperscript{60}

The Confederates resumed their advance toward Corydon and reached its outer limits later that afternoon. With a force of four hundred men, the Indiana Home-Guards had gathered on the hill south of the town and threw up breastworks stretching from the Laconia Road, across Mauckport Road, to the old New Amsterdam Road. Morgan's first attack was thrown back by the determined home guards, but when Morgan's main force appeared and began flanking its opponents, the volunteers retreated back into town. Morgan then ordered the shelling of the town until it surrendered. Only two shells were required. One landed near Main Street without exploding. The other exploded on the other
side of town near Cedar Glade, a house where women and children were taking refuge, but caused no damage. At this point, Colonel Jordan surrendered the town to Morgan's superior forces. The home guards lost three killed and two wounded while another had died of a heart attack during the retreat into Corydon. The raiders losses included eight killed and thirty-three wounded. Colonel Duke was quoted as saying, "They resolutely defended their rail piles."61

Attia Porter, a sixteen year old girl living in Corydon at the time of the raid, described the battle in a letter to her cousin, who was away fighting the war. She wrote,

The battle raged violently for 30 minutes, just think of it! And on account of large numbers of rebels we were forced to retire which our men did in good earnest—everyone seemed determined to get out of town first, but which succeeded remains undecided to this day.62

By all accounts, the battle was over quickly with the Confederates suffering the most from the skirmish. The Battle of Corydon is significant in that it was the only battle fought on Indiana soil. After Morgan's Raid, Corydon became a battle cry for Hoosiers who fought for the Union during the Civil War.

After scaring the home-guards for awhile, Morgan paroled them and turned his men loose to pillage. The stores of Douglas, Denbo, and Co., and S.J. Wright were robbed of merchandise amounting to $300 apiece.63 Showing no plan nor purpose in their raiding, the Confederates took food, keepsakes, and anything else that caught their eye. They rode through the town unwinding bolts of ribbon and calico as the citizens buried their
valuables or threw them in cisterns to prevent the raiders from getting them. Horses were taken from citizens and they were left with old wornout nags. The people protested these actions, but to no avail. The reactions of Indiana citizens and of the raiders started a pattern that would be repeated many times during the raid. After a few weeks rest, the citizens came out with the better part of the deal because the Kentucky Thoroughbreds Morgan's men left were in better condition than the old farm nags that Morgan took from them.64 Morgan placed a ransom of $700 each on the two mills in town and nearby Mauck's mill, or else they would be burned to the ground. The owners willingly paid to save their source of livelihood. After the general retired to the Kinter House for dinner, the owner's daughter took great delight in telling him of General Lee's defeat at Gettysburg. This was news to Morgan and it changed his plans. Up until this time, he had considered riding through Indiana and Ohio and joining Lee in Pennsylvania. Now that was no longer an option.65

By the time Morgan captured Corydon, word of the Confederate crossing of the Ohio had reached Indianapolis. The city immediately panicked because it was thought that Morgan and his raiders were heading towards Indianapolis to free the 6,000 Confederate prisoners of war that were being held there and to take over the armory. This plan would have given Morgan a formidable force of about 8,000 men. Governor Morton immediately responded by closing all places of business in Indianapolis
except for newspapers, telegraph offices, and groceries. He then issued orders for the state of Indiana. They read,

    All able-bodied white male citizens in the counties of Clark, Scott, Floyd, Harrison, Crawford, Orange, Jefferson, Jennings, Jackson, Washington, and Lawrence, are hereby required forthwith to turn out, form companies of at least 60 persons, and endeavor to perfect themselves in military drill, provided with such arms as they may be able to procure, and hold themselves subject to further orders from this Department. It is desired they shall be mounted in all cases where it is possible.

    The people in all other parts of the State are earnestly requested to meet and form military companies, and hold themselves subject to orders.

    The honor of the State requires that the rebels shall never leave our borders alive, unless as prisoners of war.66

    In order to defend their homes and their state, people all over southern Indiana began forming companies of home guards and drilling. Two days later there would be 50,000 men under arms in the state. To aid in halting Morgan if his forces ever reached Indianapolis, one Michigan regiment was placed in the state capital by the Federal government. The border counties were placed under martial law as Governor Morton recalled Indiana regiments from the battlefields of Kentucky to repel Morgan's invasion. While Indiana was preparing to defend itself, Brigadier General Edward H. Hobson was in pursuit of Morgan with 4,500 seasoned cavalrymen. They were twenty-four hours behind Morgan by the time of his river crossing. The battle in Corydon delayed Morgan five hours, and as time went on, the pursuers would slowly begin to catch up. From the time Morgan left Corydon, until he was finally captured, he would be closely pursued and constantly on the run.67
escape. The raiders then set about exchanging their horses for fresh ones with the local population, and looting and pillaging as before. Seventy-one bridges were burned as well as the New Albany and Salem Railroad Depot, several railroad cars, and the water tower. Many miles of railroad track were also destroyed. All of this was done to prevent and or slow down any pursuit by home guards or Federal troops. To no avail, the officers of Morgan's command again tried to put a stop to the looting. The rebels took anything that caught their eyes and enjoyed the process. If the shopkeeper was friendly, the raiders paid him in confiscated greenbacks. If he was not friendly, he was paid in Confederate money or not at all.

While Morgan's men were enjoying themselves by pillaging, Morgan ransomed three mills for $1,000 apiece. One mill owner gave General Morgan $1,200 for his mill. Morgan returned the extra $200 saying that he did not want to cheat anyone. He then left a note behind for the mill owners saying that their mills were safe from future raids from Confederate troops. By the time the raiders left the town, Morgan's pockets were bulging with greenbacks and gold. Seventy-three thousand dollars damage was done to the town, five hundred horses were stolen or traded for, one man was killed, and two more were wounded for disobeying orders given to them by the Confederate troops. After a minimum delay to rest, eat, loot, pillage, and etc., the raiders left the town in the early afternoon. General Hobson and his cavalry troops were now across the river in hot pursuit of the fleeing rebels.
They were gaining ground, but the heavily wooded hills of southern Indiana and scanty rail and telegraph facilities made movement and coordination of pursuing troops difficult. Add that to the fact that Morgan's men left old worn out horses for the pursuing Federal troops to use. 74

The Confederates raided the towns of Canton and New Philadelphia on their way to the nearby town of Vienna, which was situated on the Indianapolis and Jeffersonville Railroad. They did not linger in Canton or New Philadelphia but stopped just long enough to set fire to the railroad depot and nearby bridges. 75 While Morgan's men were setting fire to the structures, "Lightning" Ellsworth hooked into the telegraph lines to learn the latest news from Indianapolis and Louisville. He found out that troops were mustering all across the state with orders to delay the raiders until the pursuing Federal troops could catch up to them. After learning that Indianapolis and the rest of Indiana was in a state of confusion as to the whereabouts of the raiders, he helped to confuse the authorities more by sending a message over the wire telling them that Morgan was seen going in a direction that was the exact opposite of Morgan's planned route. He also exaggerated the size of the Confederate force to help keep Indiana in a state of panic and fear. His work did what it was intended to do. 76

The band of seasoned guerilla fighters rode to Lexington on the night of July 10, spent the night in the town, and continued their pattern of stealing and making the residents cook for them.
As they rode into the small country village, there had been the threat of a brief skirmish. A group of old men and young boys had gotten together to defend the little hamlet. They took the town's old cannon, which had last seen service in the War of 1812, and put it up on a hill overlooking the road into the borough. When the raiders were seen heading into town, the impromptu home guard unit turned and ran without firing a shot. The town was taken with no loss of life.77

Morgan took over the Meyers home across from the courthouse in Lexington as his headquarters and command post and went to sleep that night with his personal escort on guard outside the house. During the night, a party of Federal cavalry unwittingly rode into town and even came as close to the house as the front gate before Morgan's personal escort captured three of the northern soldiers and drove the rest away. Despite this intrusion, most of the raiders slept well that night. Early the next morning, they continued their trek knowing that the Federals were hot on their trail.78

Indianapolis was in a state of great confusion by this time. Conflicting reports of Morgan's route, position, and size of his force only made matters worse. During the raid, the rebels scattered out in companies from the main body of the Confederate force to get food, horses, and to pillage in general.79 Because of this, one company might be twenty miles from the main body of troops and heading in a different direction, but people would report it to the government and say that Morgan and his men were
heading in that direction. As to the size of the Confederate force, different estimates came in from many different sources. The Madison Daily Courier of July 11, 1863 reported the size of Morgan's force as 5,000 men, 7,000 men, and 11,000 men all on the same page from three different eyewitnesses. All of this misinformation compounded and caused the capital to be gripped by a state of fear and panic. All businesses had been closed by the governor, and all railroad and telegraph lines had been taken over by the government. To make it safe from Morgan, all of the banks in Indianapolis and Louisville sent their money north to Chicago. More men were under arms and drilling in the capital than were needed or could be managed. As the chaos grew worse, no one knew what to do or how to prepare for Morgan's expected coming. While Indianapolis was in this state, Morgan met little or no resistance and was allowed to roam across southern Indiana. His luck would change, however by the time he reached Vernon.80

Morgan's raiders left Lexington early on the morning of July 11, and headed toward Hindsville and Paris. After meeting no resistance from either town, Morgan traveled north toward Vernon. On the way, he met a militia unit composed of about three hundred men resting under a shade tree. The captain in charge of the militia unit asked a rebel what company the raiders belonged to. After replying that they belonged to Colonel Frank Wolford's cavalry, Morgan appeared and asked the captain what he was going to do with all of the men and horses. The captain replied that they were going to try to capture Morgan and then
asked whether the rebels would give his men a little show of correct military drill. Morgan said that his men's horses were too tired. Not one to give up, the captain told Morgan that his men could loan their horses to the rebels for the drill. Morgan accepted and horses were exchanged between the militia and the rebels. When the exchange was finished, the Confederates rode off down the road leaving the militia stunned behind them. In this way, Morgan got fresh horses for his men without any trouble. It is but one example of Morgan's favorite tactic of posing as a Union officer. He used it on more than one occasion, especially on the great Indiana and Ohio Raid.81

As the main body of Confederates approached Vernon, Morgan ordered Colonel Smith to feint towards Madison and rejoin the main force at Vernon that night. By doing this, Morgan hoped to divert some of his pursuers to Madison to protect the river port city from his feinted attack. Madison had been in a state of near panic since Morgan crossed the river two days before because it was believed that Morgan might head there. Preparations had been made, fortifications had been built, and men had been organized to defend the city. When word reached Madison that part of Morgan's army was at the nearby town of Kent, everyone prepared to do battle. The residents of the city were scared but confident they could defend the city and capture Morgan. The expected battle never came though, because the army at Kent was just Colonel Smith's feint towards Madison. The feint achieved its goal to divert some of Morgan's pursuers and Smith
rejoined Morgan at Vernon. 82

Vernon had had ample time to prepare for Morgan's approach, but the preparations had been made hurriedly. On the afternoon of July 11, Morgan's scouts approached Vernon under a flag of truce and demanded the surrender of the town. Vernon was an important railroad center and Morgan wanted to destroy it. Colonel Williams, who was in charge of the defense force of about four hundred men all armed with an odd assortment of weapons, told the rebels that if they wanted the town, that they "must take [it] by hard fighting." 83 While the scouts were reporting to Morgan, reinforcements arrived in Vernon at three in the afternoon to help defend the town. These reinforcements consisted of about 2,200 men, including the 61st Michigan regiment on loan to Indiana from the governor of Michigan. All of these troops were deployed on every hill surrounding the city. As Morgan approached Vernon, the citizens lied to him and told him that there were several thousand troops stationed in Vernon to defend the city from attack.

When Morgan arrived at the outskirts of Vernon, the preparations that had been made for his probable assault made the town look like it was being defended by more men than were actually there. Added to that, the fortifications made the city look impregnable. Morgan sent a second demand for the surrender of the town, but this time it went to the commander of the Union troops, General Love. After refusing, General Love asked for two hours to evacuate the women and children from the town. Morgan
agreed and the women and children began leaving the town as the sun went down.

Upon further consideration and as the women and children were leaving, Morgan decided not to attack Vernon. Morgan did not want to wait the two hours for battle because Brigadier General Edward H. Hobson was getting closer all of the time. Also, Colonel Frank Wolford's cavalry unit was now in on the chase too. A battle at Vernon would slow him down long enough for them to catch up to him and odds were that he would be captured. Giving up the idea he had toyed with of taking Indianapolis, he turned southeast and headed towards Dupont. On the way, the rebels burned down bridges and destroyed several miles of railroad track. Unknown to Morgan at this time, he could have taken Vernon because the town was not as well defended as he had been led to believe. The Confederates left Vernon at midnight, but the defenders of Vernon did not find out about it until morning. Morgan had left campfires burning all night so that it would look to the Union troops and home guards like his force was camping for the night.84

At Vernon, the most ironic event of the raid occurred. More casualties took place at Vernon than at any other place during the raid; yet Morgan and his raiders never fired a shot. The event occurred when a group of home guards stationed at Finney's Ford, a twenty foot embankment overlooking the Muscatatuck River, heard splashing from the river, panicked and fell from the embankment. The splashing turned out to be a farmer herding his
cattle into town to protect them from Morgan's raiders.\textsuperscript{85}

During the night, the raiders arrived at the next town, Dupont. Dupont, like all of the other towns of southern Indiana had advance warning that Morgan and his cavalry troops were on the way, and on that evening of July 11, a group of home guards composed of old men gathered to hold the rebels off. They were no match for Morgan's advance guard and were easily swept aside. While the defenders of Dupont were locked in a store for the night, the raiders proceeded to repeat their previous pattern of stealing. As the main body of Confederates rode into town, the advance guard set to work and took full control of the town. They took over the telegraph office and chased the telegraph operator, David Fish, out of the station. Ellsworth tapped into the telegraph line and asked the operator in Madison how many soldiers were stationed there. The operator in Madison, Luther Martin, noticed that the sender on the other end of the line offered no identification and utilized an unfamiliar method of sending a message. Because he was suspicious, Martin replied:

\begin{quote}
We have three government gunboats at the landing and coming. Many soldiers are already here from Rising Sun, Lawrenceburg, Aurora and Vevay and others are on the way. The Union commander here has altogether 25,000 men ready to meet any attack made by Morgan.
\end{quote}

Just as Martin finished his message, the telegraph operator in Indianapolis sent the warning across the line: "Rebel on the line!" The raiders then cut the telegraph line and communication to and from Dupont was severed.\textsuperscript{86}

After the main army arrived in town, the bridges over Big
Creek and Graham Creek were burned. A water tank, warehouse, and twelve railroad cars were also burned. With the official business of the rebel troops out of the way, the men were allowed to loot and pillage as they had done before in the numerous other towns that they had been through in the past few days. The store belonging to F.F. Mayfield was robbed and suffered the heaviest losses with $1,700 in merchandise taken, including clothing, boots, shoes, and other items that could be used by a military organization, taken. Mr. Mayfield also had stolen from him 2,000 hams from his porkhouse. When Morgan made his headquarters in the home of Mr. Thomas Stout, the family was forced to give up their beds, given orders to wake Morgan and his officers at four a.m., and told to fix them breakfast all under penalty of death. The Stouts obeyed. While Morgan made himself comfortable at the expense of the Stout family, the Confederate soldiers took horses, valuables and money from the citizens of Dupont.87

Some amusing stories exist to this day from this town of how the raiders and the citizens interacted. First, the looting and pillaging of the raiders reached its zenith at the town of Dupont on the evening of July 11, and the morning of July 12. In previous towns, the rebels had stolen things that they did not need or would not use, but at Dupont the stealing became ridiculous. Baby shoes, sleigh bells, and fancy carriages and wagons were taken. As a military organization, the Confederate cavalry had no use for any of these items and soon they would be thrown away. The men had gotten carried away in their thievery,
and the officers could no longer control them whatsoever.88

Second, as people tried to hide their horses from the raiders, some were successful and some were not. Vincent Rawlings was one of the successful few during Morgan's Raid who hid his prize horse and kept the rebels from finding it. His idea and hiding place were unique though. While the raiders were stealing from his house, Mr. Rawlings hid in the cellar with his horse and held its nostrils so that it would not be discovered. Mr. Rawlings's house still stands today on state road 7 just south of the Dupont cemetery and the present owners will show any visitor the exact spot where this event occurred.89

The last amusing story took place between Mr. F.F. Mayfield's daughter, Josephine, and one of the raiders, Harry Snook. When the raiders were stealing the hams from the Mayfield porkhouse, Josephine Mayfield came outside and began yelling at the rebels and calling them all sorts of names. Harry Snook fell in love with her on first sight, and told her that after the war, he would come back and marry her. True to his word, after the war was over, he returned to Dupont and married Miss Mayfield. Their descendants lived in Dupont until recently when one of their great-grandsons, a Mr. Lockridge, died of a stroke. All three of these incidents have become part of the history of Dupont. Every year Dupont holds a festival around July 4th called the John hunt Morgan Days which celebrates the Fourth of July as well as commemorates the day that Dupont was invaded by a Confederate army.90
The women of Dupont were forced to stay up all night and fix the rebels breakfast. After Morgan and all of his men had eaten breakfast, they set out on the road toward Bryantsburg and Versailles at eight in the morning. Thomas Stout was forced to go along with the raiders as a guide for twelve miles. Bryantsburg used to lie due east of Dupont, but today what used to be the town now constitutes part of what is known as Jefferson Proving Ground, an United States Army explosive testing ground. Not much is known of what took place on the way to Bryantsburg except that corn cribs were raided and wheat fields were trampled by the Confederate cavalry.  

Brigadier General Edward H. Hobson arrived in Dupont at one in the afternoon. At this point, he was only five hours behind Morgan and the raiders because he and his men had ridden almost non-stop and had taken shortcuts in an attempt to catch up with Morgan. Morgan was not allowed to stop at any point after he left Dupont for the rest of the raid. From here on out, the rebels would sleep in their saddles and eat what they could on the way.

After passing through Bryantsburg, Morgan ordered his men to head towards Versailles. This was a surprise move on his part, because everyone believed that he would try to cross the Ohio River at Aurora, or Lawrenceburg and was preparing for his expected advance to one of these cities. The rebel troops arrived at Versailles at one p.m. on July 12. The advance guard arrived in the town as three hundred home guards were deciding
how best to defend the town. After the council was broken up and all of the defenders of Versailles were captured by the Confederate advance party without one shot being fired or anyone being killed, Morgan arrived with the main body of troops and took over the town. They did not delay long in the town because Hobson was now only four hours behind the Confederate cavalry. While they were there, telegraph lines were cut, bridges destroyed, and etc. Five-thousand dollars was also taken from the county treasury. Because the officers could not control the soldiers at all, the men degenerated even further in their looting. One raider stole the coin-silver jewelry from the Masonic lodge at Versailles. Morgan, who was also a Mason himself, made the man return the jewels and then had him court-martialed.

When Morgan left Versailles, he sent a squad of sixty men to Osgood to burn the bridges over Laughery Creek on the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. Other squads went to Napoleon, Milan, and Pierceville, and destroyed structures of both the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, and the Indianapolis and Cincinnati Railroad. The whole force regrouped at Sunman and stopped for a short respite just west of town on the night of July 12.

The Confederates started out the next morning, July 13, at five a.m. Morgan's men destroyed the railroads, telegraphs, depots, and bridges at Weisburg, Moores Hill, New Alsace, Hubbell's Corner, Dover, and Logan. The advance guard and rear guard did most of the work. The raiders were able to strike so
many small towns on that particular morning because Morgan sent
different squads to the different towns and the small villages
were located close to each other.96

Another incident occurred at Lawrenceburg, for which Morgan
received the blame, when two militia companies under the command
of a Colonel Shryock mistook each other for a company of rebels
and began firing on each other. By the time the mistake was
discovered, seven men had been killed and twenty wounded. Once
again, more men were killed by friendly fire than Morgan killed
on the entire raid.97

After crossing the White Water River and burning the bridge
over it at one p.m. on the afternoon of July 13, the raiders
crossed into Ohio at the city of Harrison. General Hobson was
now only two hours behind Morgan and his men. The state of Ohio
had had ample time to prepare its defenses so Morgan had a
running battle all the way across the state that cost him most of
his men. Only three hundred of his men escaped across the Ohio
River under the command of Colonel Johnson. The remainder were
captured during the flight that Morgan had across eastern Ohio.
The flight finally came to an end at New Lisbon, Ohio on July 26,
when Morgan and the remaining three hundred men he had with him
surrendered to General James M. Shackleford. Both he and his
officers were treated as common criminals and placed in the Ohio
State Penitentiary. After being imprisoned only a short time
however, he and six of his officers, escaped through a tunnel,
which they had dug, on the night of November 27, 1863.
After his escape, Morgan returned to the South where he was given a small cavalry command in eastern Tennessee. Although he was never court-martialed for disobeying orders and raiding north of the Ohio River, he was never trusted with a large command of his own again. His career came to an end the next year when he was shot and killed while on a raid near Greenville, Tennessee on September 4, 1864. Buried as a Confederate war hero, his body was interred at Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond, Virginia. After the war, his body was disinterred and removed to the cemetery in his home town of Lexington, Kentucky. Today his body rests alongside his wife, family, and that of his closest friend, aide, and brother-in-law, Basil Duke. Years later, the Daughters of the Confederacy erected a statue of Morgan at the Lexington Court House. When the $15,000 statue was unveiled, it was discovered that Black Bess had been made into a stallion by mistake. The mistake was never corrected and the statue still stands, with this one flaw, on the court house lawn in lasting tribute to a Confederate war hero.98

The question remains, why did Morgan invade north of the Ohio River? Many different reasons have been put forth as possible motives for Morgan's Raid. One reason is that the raid was carried out to aid General Robert E. Lee's invasion of the North. Some historians believe that Morgan was planning on joining General Robert E. Lee in Pennsylvania to aid him in his invasion of the North. No evidence exists to prove this claim. According to many sources, including Basil Duke, Morgan toyed
with the idea, but he never committed himself or his men to the idea.99

Another reason put forth by Morgan's contemporaries, and by historians, is that the raid was carried out to encourage "copperhead" sympathizer elements in southern Indiana to support the South openly. Several accounts exist from the raid detailing how Morgan and his men treated the "copperhead" element in southern Indiana. Morgan's own actions destroyed this idea. Morgan and his men took only horses and food, in most cases, from people on the raid unless they tried to save their possessions from the Confederates by saying that they sympathized with the South. Responding to claims like this, the raiders took not only their horses, and food, but they would also take personal possessions and treat the sympathizer as a traitor. The Confederate troops on the raid regarded the supposed southern sympathizers as traitors because they paid only lip-service to the Confederacy.100

The third reason that has been put forth as the purpose of Morgan's great Indiana and Ohio Raid is that Morgan wanted to ransack and plunder the region to obtain horses and supplies. It is known that Morgan wanted to bring the war home to the citizens of the North by ransacking and plundering the states of Indiana and Ohio. By doing this, Morgan believed that he was bringing the South's wrath home to the North. He wanted to make the North pay for what it had done to the South. It was also believed by Morgan, that if his troops could do this, maybe the
North would give up and let the South live in peace. I will admit that Morgan was used to obtaining supplies and horses by stealing from Union supply wagons and supply stations, but he would not be able to obtain enough supplies to outfit an entire cavalry unit north of the Ohio River. The Confederates obtained food, shoes, and etc. north of the river, but the main thing that a cavalry unit needed was good dependable mounts. Morgan and his raiders got their horses from the citizens of Indiana and Ohio, but the horses were only farm nags. Morgan had to have known that this would happen, because common sense would tell a person that that would happen. I do not believe that this was the main reason that Morgan raided north of the Ohio River. Although it could have been a secondary reason, or even a fringe benefit of the raid in Morgan's mind, I can not see it as the one and only reason that Morgan disobeyed orders and went north. 101

The most probable reason for the raid north of the Ohio River was to relieve the pressure on the Confederate troops in Tennessee. We know that Morgan's orders were to raid into Kentucky and relieve the pressure from General Braxton Bragg's army in Tennessee. Morgan believed that the best way to relieve that pressure was to raid north of the Ohio River because it would force the Union army to take soldiers out of the battlefields of Kentucky to chase after him after he crossed the river. According to his belief, if he raided only in Kentucky, the North would not have to take many troops out of action to chase after him because he would be facing their defended
positions in Kentucky even while behind the Union lines. Across the Ohio River though, Indiana possessed only minimal defenses if any at all. Morgan was right in his thinking and if this was his purpose, he succeeded. 102

Morgan's raid into northern territory lasted only seventeen days and in my opinion was a huge success. Many people would argue with me, but let me explain why I believe that raid was a success. It is true that Morgan lost more than 2,460 seasoned veterans the Confederacy could ill afford to lose. He also failed to rally the supposed "copperhead" sentiment that presumably existed in southern Indiana. Also, he could have taken Indianapolis, or united with Lee in Pennsylvania, but failed to do either. All of these reasons are arguments that historians have expressed to call Morgan's Raid a failure. But, I disagree. First, I do not dispute that Morgan lost men that the Confederacy could have used in the long run, but Morgan's command was relatively small. It was never used to the extent that it could have been used, and by 1863 the tide of the war was beginning to turn as the Union turned its industrial might and manpower into winning the war and wearing the Confederacy down. Two-thousand men more or less would not have helped the South win the war. It would have had a negligible effect on the eventual outcome. Second, it has never been proven that the "copperhead" element really existed in southern Indiana. As an obviously biased observer from southern Indiana and I know from local tradition and history that the people of southern Indiana did
more than their share in the war effort and resisted Morgan with all of the means in their possession. Lastly, no one knows exactly what plans Morgan had running through his mind, not even his closest friend, Basil Duke. Morgan never lived to write his memoirs like many Civil War generals, so we do not know what ideas he had at the time of his Indiana and Ohio Raid. For this reason alone, I do not believe that Morgan had ever planned on taking Indianapolis or uniting with General Lee in Pennsylvania. He could have been planning either one of those options, but I think it highly improbable.

Now, why do I believe that the Raid was a success? First, even though Morgan disobeyed orders and raided north of the Ohio River, he accomplished what he set out to do. The pressure was taken off of Bragg and it gave him time to regroup, gather his men and resources, and prepare for the eventual battle with Union troops for control of Tennessee. The fall of East Tennessee was delayed for weeks because of Morgan's actions.

I believe that Morgan's Raid north of the Ohio River made the raid an even bigger success because more troops were pulled from the battlefield to chase after him than there would have been if he had followed orders and restricted his raid to only Kentucky. Five-thousand regular Union troops were taken from the field and sent after Morgan and his men. Also, over 100,000 men were mobilized in militia groups to stop, delay, or capture Morgan and his men. As resources were taken from the field to take care of Morgan, the pressure was eased on Bragg more than it
would have been if Morgan had restricted his raid to include only Kentucky. The raid allowed Bragg's victory at Chickamauga as resources were spent on the pursuit of Morgan. By going north of the river, he went into a land with resources untouched by war and a land with no defenses. If he had kept his raid in only Kentucky, he would have operated in a land touched by war for over two years and with enemy defenses dotting the state everywhere. I believe that he made the right choice by raiding above the Ohio River.

I also believe that the raid was a success because of the damage that Morgan caused to the Union and to civilians in Indiana and Ohio. The damage to railroads, bridges, steamboats, telegraphs, and public stores, not to mention civilian losses was in all estimates around $10,000,000. Also, huge sums of money were spent to pay for supplies that Federal troops and militia companies needed while they were chasing Morgan and his men. On the raid, Morgan tied down more than 5,000 Regular Union cavalrymen, captured and paroled 6,000 Northern troops, destroyed thirty-four bridges, and tore up rails in sixty places. The losses of private citizens has never been estimated, but the state of Indiana paid $413,599.48 in private claims to its citizens after the war in 1867. The state also paid $1,661.97 for supplies requisitioned by the state during the raid for its troops. All of this was reimbursed by the Federal government years later. For a short period of time, the raid also demoralized and scared the state. In all of these ways, Morgan's
Great Indiana and Ohio Raid was a huge success.\textsuperscript{103} As successful as the raid was, it might have been even more successful if carried out nine months earlier when first conceived by Morgan. At that point, even with the same mistakes and losses, he might have accomplished more than he did in the summer of 1863. In 1862, the Federal troops did not have complete control of Kentucky so Morgan would have met little or no resistance in the commonwealth. Also, the tide of the war was still turning in favor of the South as the Confederacy won battle after battle. The North still had not turned all of its industrial might against the South. For all of these reasons, if carried out nine months earlier, Morgan's Raid would have been an even bigger success and he might have avoided being captured.

In this paper, I have shown Morgan's life, personality, career, and the raid itself. I have also shown why the raid could be called a failure, and why I believe it to be a success. The raid had a significant effect on the war in the west. Both the raid and its leader have never received the credit due to them. In only seventeen days, Morgan and his men rode over eight hundred miles, averaged twenty-one hours a day in the saddle, caused millions of dollars in damage, and took thousands of men out of the war effort to chase after them. The raid had a significant effect on the war as I have shown in this paper.
MORGAN'S ROUTE—Starting at Burkeville, Ky., Morgan led his 2,400 men across three states. Morgan's futile effort to escape back across the Ohio river at Buffington Island is indicated in the inset. (Map courtesy Bobbs-Merrill Co., publishers of Allan Keller's "Morgan's Raid")
MORGAN'S RAID IN INDIANA
July 8-13, 1863

The route of Morgan's Raiders through Southern Indiana. Heavy line indicates route of the main column; light lines show important sorties made by small companies.
FOOTNOTES


24 Ibid., p. 11.
25 Duke, Morgan's Cavalry, pp. 94-96.
26 Gard, Morgan's Raid, p. 5.
27 Duke, Morgan's Cavalry, p. 205.
28 Ibid.
29 Thomas, John Hunt Morgan, p. 74.
30 Duke, Morgan's Cavalry, p. 15.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid., p. 22.
34 Thomas, John Hunt Morgan, pp. 75-76.
35 Duke, Morgan's Cavalry, p. 410.
37 Duke, Morgan's Cavalry, p. 415.
38 Ibid., p. 419.
39 Thomas, John Hunt Morgan, p. 77.
40 Duke, Morgan's Cavalry, p. 423.
41 Gard, Morgan's Raid, p. 10.
42 Thomas, John Hunt Morgan, p. 77.
43 Duke, Morgan's Cavalry, p. 427.
44 Ibid., p. 428.
45 Gard, Morgan's Raid, p. 10.
46 Ibid., p. 11.
47 Louisville Journal, July 9, 1863, p. 4.
48 Gard, Morgan's Raid, p. 11.
50 Gard, Morgan's Raid, p. 10.

51 Funk, "Battle", p. 133.

52 Duke, Morgan's Cavalry, p. 432.


54 Ibid.

55 Duke, Morgan's Cavalry, pp. 432-434.


59 Duke, Morgan's Cavalry, p. 434.


61 Ibid., pp. 135-136.

62 Ibid., pp. 137-139.

63 Ibid., p. 137.


67 Ibid., July 11, 1863, p. 3.

68 Thomas, John Hunt Morgan, p. 79.

69 Ibid., pp. 80-81.


71 Duke, Morgan's Cavalry, pp. 435-436.

72 Gard, Morgan's Raid, p. 16.

73 Ibid.
Morris, "Morgan's Raid," p.1

Thomas, John Hunt Morgan, p. 81.

Duke, Morgan's Cavalry, p. 437.

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