

Mayville N. Y.  
March 2d 1891.

Dear General

I have to thank you for the pleasure I have derived from a perusal of your book, "The Battle of Manassas." Though myself only a private soldier on the other side who badly wounded crept back to Centerville from the field of battle, who knew only what he saw and saw only the few things which came under a common soldier's eye, I have naturally retained a very peculiar interest in this the first battle in which I was engaged. I have also found much pleasure and given considerable study to the strategy and grand tactics of the war which followed, and having the good fortune which usually attends the lot of the subaltern of having no need to fight my battles over again and not being so closely associated with any commander as to feel obliged to defend his conduct, I have freely exercised the student's privilege of preferring that which I thought most excellent, with little regard to other's views.

Years afterwards, I became the personal friend of General McDowell and went over with him step by step the events of that time and distinctly remember

that he alluded to the strange fact subsequently developed, that you would be had planned simultaneous movements by the right flank. Indeed, I cannot conceive how any one conversant with the public thoughts of that time, the previous and subsequent events of that time, or the subsequently revealed habit of mind of Gen. Johnston, can conceive it possible that the view of the battle presented in his Century article can be the correct one. It is beyond the limit of credibility that a man of his investigation, should have assumed the responsibility of battle on such ground as that along Bull Run within 20 hours of first setting foot upon it. It is doubtful, indeed, if the cashier man who held command on either side would have dared assume such responsibility.

Of one thing I am well-assured and as it is a matter with regard to which I speak from my own observation and in which I have been confirmed by every light which has since been thrown upon it, I do not hesitate to speak of it with confidence. This is the fact, that you

judgment in regard to the advisability of an advance on either an unimpaired front by the Confederate army, was unquestionably correct. A vigorous front was by the force at Gen. Johnston's disposal and had not been engaged, would have been sufficient to cause the annihilation of the works around the Potomac and the probability was always seemed to me to stand strong to admit of doubt, that the crossing of any considerable force would have caused the annihilation of the Capital. The strange terror that pervaded is unaccountable and was almost universal. My own impressions of it have been confirmed by all those I have seen first by time and I have heard more than one man express opinion entirely at variance with that which I have here & elsewhere immediately after that time.

This terror was very sleepfully and quietly removed on either reference by the above remarkable conference and observations of Mr. Lincoln whose knowledge of human nature was almost infallible.

In an almost incredibly short time — considering the universal demoralization — a sudden dogged determination took the place of the wild desire for flight, which I do not believe would have been possible if your guns had kept on playing on the fleeing host. I for one have always been grateful that Gen. Johnston rather than yourself was in command of the army in our rear on the twenty-second of July, and for several days thereafter. After a week had elapsed, I am of the opinion that conditions had changed and Washington was reasonably secure.

Perhaps, I may be allowed to reiterate here the opinion I long ago made a matter of ineradicable record — before you generally had gotten ready to fight over your campaigns — that the attack of Gen. McDowell on your left ought to have won and would have won (assuming always this miscarriage of your movement on the night) but for two things, to wit (1) the distinct of the volunteer soldier — the same levy — and (2) the subjection of these untried troops to the severest possible test, — bringing them into action on unknown ground without visible relation or supports and in detail. It is only the audacity of genius which brings forms the recruit into a veteran by entrusting on occasion to the most trying and the plain of campaign — but if McDowell had let the main of Hunter's column down without those more explicit do, I think there would have been a different result.

"Where is my position?" asked Colonel afterwards General H. W. Stocum of a staff officer as his regiment was debouched from the woods road above Ludley's.

"Over there" was the reply accompanied with a wave of the hand that comprised about ninety degrees of the horizon.

We went "over there", not knowing who was to be on our right or whom we were to expect upon our left. Even the direction of the attack and the object and character of the movement were unknown to the commanders of the isolated units.

This mistake was fatal and deserved to be especially. The officer commanding our levies — more especially intelligent levies must not expect of them the blind obedience of the mere mechanical soldier. They must know — or at least think that they know — where they are going and what they are expected to do. By confidence, or apparent confidence, the commander transforms their intelligence into efficiency, while distrust and concealment of purpose paralyzes their action and awakes their intelligence to a sense of weakness.

This was the great mistake of Gen. McDowell. He was not fitted by temperament and education for the leadership of untrained men. An undisciplined force is well-nigh irresistible in an assault but its individuality must be appealed to, not its habit of obedience alone. Above all they must not detect <sup>be allowed</sup> distrust or feel that ~~any~~ ~~one~~ anything is hidden from them. McDowell's strategy was brilliant. Your plan of action was a perfect counter to it except that having so much heavier a force in hand upon your left flank, with the stream dividing both armies (as it would had your movement been executed at the hour anticipated) the odds ought to have been with him. If he had shown himself to his men, appealed to them personally instead of ordering them impersonally, he would have found as Napoleon said, that "the ardor of the soldier may be made as effective in attack as the experience of the veteran."

This ~~is~~ the conclusion at which I arrived that day when I came but could not join the rest. All that I have learned since has tended to confirm it. It seems — to a disinterested observer, for I naturally have no interest as to who receives the credit for a Confederate victory — I say it seems an unfortunate

that one who was so shy of assuming the <sup>offense</sup> ~~responsibility~~  
for the cause he represented during the war should ~~be~~  
~~have~~ <sup>be</sup> so ready to assume it in ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> ~~assertive~~ <sup>assertive</sup>  
of his own merits when hostilities had ceased.

Dear very truly yours

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Edwin, Angeline, Diadama, Alanson, Emma, Jane, and Emilia.

(9)--Diadama, daughter of the above Mary was born in Beama *ville*, Canada, June 1st 1835: removed with her parent to Conneaut, Ohio, in October 1848: married to Chester Frederick Hall, of Markham Canada, June 1867, at Erie Pa.

(9)--Bessie Corwin Hall, daughter of the above Diadama, born March 29th 1870, at Rockford, Ills. In 1882, removed with her parents to Ravenswood, a suburb of Chicago, Ills, where she was married to Edward Joseph Hollister, Sept 18th 1890.

*[Faint, illegible handwritten notes at the bottom of the page]*