rankee Plot resident Davis

By James O. Hall

L sunset on February 28, 1864, it seemed that Colonel Ulric Dahlgren was keeping an appointment in Samara. As he rode off into the darkness, Dahlgren was setting in motion a Federal cavalry attack on Richmond. Virginia. Later described as a "fiasco," it was called the Kilpatrick-Dahlgren Raid. But the young officer would never know its outcome. Near the tiny community of Stevensville on March 2 he fell, shot in the back during a Confederate ambush. He carried mysterious papers on his body that left behind a controversial legacy now almost 120 years old.

Young Dahlgren, son of famous Rear Admi

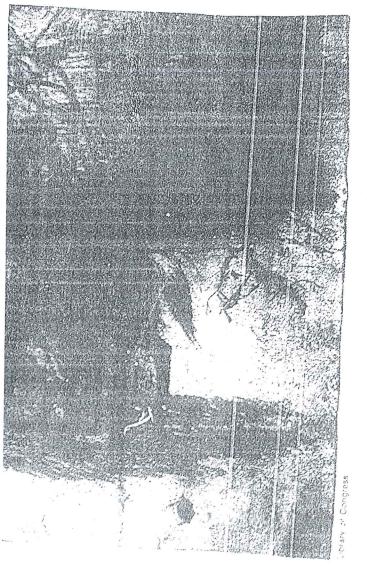


and note: A Cablique it, another, ball, ball, bandsome, and robbbed, the ideal picture or a soldier. At the time or his death he was just a few weeks short of his twenty second birthday. Although young, he had been thoroughly seasoned by battle; in a cavalry skirmish after the Battle of Gettysburg the previous summer, he lost his right leg and chose to wear a wooden limb on his return to active duty.

One more account of the Kilpatrick-Dahlgren Raid is not necessary,* but it is important to remember the plan, which called for a two-pronged attack. Brigadier General H. Judson Kilpatrick would hit Richmond from the northwest. In advance, Dahlgren's 500 troopers would slip around and above Richmond to cross the James River, free Union prisoners at Belle Isle, and break into the city from the south. The plan required a coordinated effort, but each force operated as an independent command, out of direct contact with the other.

Kilpatrick's part in the action failed. And Dahlgren fared no better; he found no place to

^{7,} WTI published Emory Thomas Two part article "The Kilpatrick-Dahlgren Raid" m. February and April, 1978



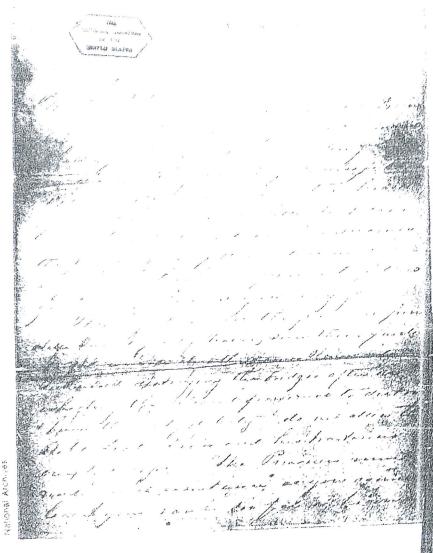
ford the river. Confused by darkness, and under fire the and about ninety of his men became separased from the remainder of the command. Un able to join them or the main force under Kilpatrick, Dahlgren led his tired troopers to the northeast. Confederate Lieutenant James Pollard, Company H, 9th Virginia Cavalry, gathered together as much of his scattered unit as he could and hung on to Dahlgren's rear after he crossed the Mattiponi River. Following a sharp little skirmish, Pollard swung around Dahlgren's front and set up a night ambush in King and Queen County at an isolated spot known locally as Mantapike Hill. Dahlgren rode into the trap at about 11:30 p.m. As ambushes go, it was not much. But it brought down Dahlgren; he died instantly.

After the disorganized Yankee cavalry fled in panic, an inquisitive 13-year-old member of a home guard unit, William Littlepage, searched Dahlgren's bullet-riddled body lying in the road. The dark night revealed little about the dead Yankee, but Littlepage did discover that he had a wooden leg. The search yielded a cigar case, several folded documents, a letter in an envelope, and a notebook with a few loose papers stuck between the leaves. Those documents soon sparked a propaganda campaign that reached across the Atlantic.

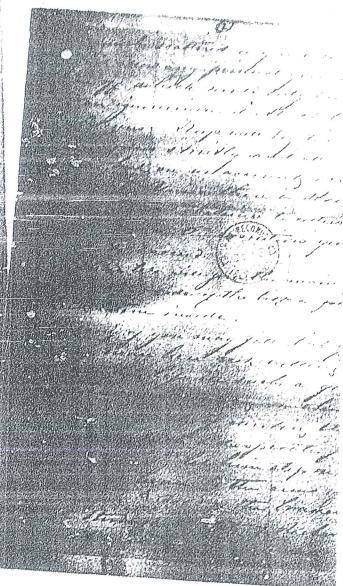
That night Littlepage presented the documents and notebook to his teacher, home guard company commander Edward W. Halback. At daylight, Halback took a look at them and became increasingly indignant the more he read.

One undated document was addressed to "Officers and Men," neatly written in ink on two sheets of official stationery from "Headquarters Third Division, Cavalry Corps." The final six lines, together with the signature, were written lengthwise on the reverse side of the first page. The signature was a bit obscure, but Halback had been informed of the slain officer's identity and thought it must read "U. Dahlgren." One sentence stood out in the text: "We hope to release the prisoners from Belle Isle first, and having them well started, we will cross the James River into Richmond, destroying the bridges after us

The 'fiasco" begins, Brigadier General H. Judson Kilpatrick, shown here in a special artist's sketch, started a cavolry march to Richmond on February 28, 1864. What was supposed to be a concerted effort with Colonel Ulric Dahlguer ended in mass confusion. Dahlgren would never see the



One Sentence Stood Out In The Text...





The James River
Into Richmond,
Destroying The Bridges
After Us And
Exhorting The
Prisoners To
Destroy And Burn The
Hateful City;
And Do Not Allow
The Rebel Leader
Davis And His
Traitorous Crew to Escape

and exhorting the prisoners to destroy and burn the hateful city; and do not allow the Rebel leader Davis and his traitorous crew to escape."

A second document, evidently in the same hand, was a list of instructions to: Guides-Pioneers (With Oakum, Turpentine & Torpedoes) Signal Offr-QM-Com; Scouts & picked men in Rebel Uniform." These instructions were written in ink on the front and back of another sheet of the same stationery. There was no date, no signature. And Hal-back nearly sizzled at the impact of one sentence: "The men must keep together and well in hand, and once in the city it must be destroyed and Jeff Davis and Cabinet killed.

Included in the cache were other less volatile papers and orders, as vell as the notebook, which con-tained some interesting background intermation. Dahlgren's signature intormation. Dahlgren's signature and rank appeared on the first page, together with a date, and the text was in pencil. The author devoted one section to a draft of the address to "Officers and Men," differing somewhat from the final version. The remainder of the entries appeared to have been prepared for planning purposes. To Halback, though, one sentence was a damning disclosure of the purpose of the raid: "Jeff Davis and Cabinet must be killed on the spot."

Early that afternoon, Halback met

The scandalous orders, supposedly, venned by Dahlgren himself, spelled out plans to free Yankee prisoners from Belle Isle and to destroy and burn the Rebel capital. It also foretold the fate of Jefferson Davis, if the raid were successful. Below left: A member of the 9th Virginia Cavalry, who took part in the archish of Dahlgren, Private James W. Johnson.

Lieutenant Pollard and after some discussion, Halback reluctantly sur-rendered his find to Pollard with the understanding that the latter would see that the documents were delivered to the proper authorities in Richmond. Pollard was busy with prisoners and with captured horses and equipment. He turned the papers and the wooden leg over to his courier. Private William Robbins, with instructions to present them to Colonel Richard Beale, commander of the 9th Virginia Cavalry.

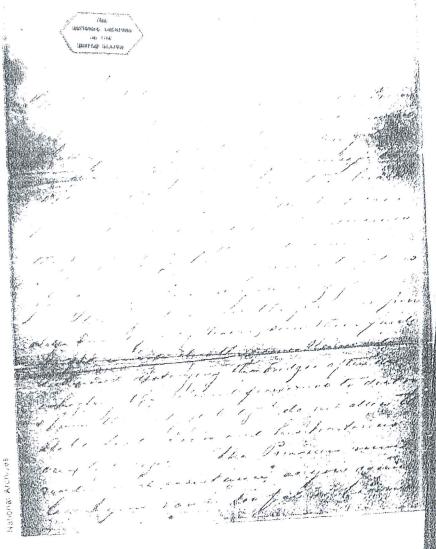
That night Beale ordered Pollard to deliver the documents to Major Generals Wade Hampton or Fitzhugh Lee in Richmond, Beale retained Dahlgren's notebook, but he did send along the wooden leg.

send along the wooden leg,
At 10 a.m. the next day, March 4,
Pollard found Fitzhugh Lee in conference with Colonel Heros von
Borcke. Lee immediately saw the importance of the papers and hurried
them to President Jefferson Davis.
Secretary of State Judah Benjamin
happened to be conferring with the
president as Lee walked into the
room. Mr. Davis did not seem overly
impressed with the threat to his life impressed with the threat to his life and jokingly said, "This means you, Mr. Benjamin!" He then ordered the package taken to Adjutant General Samuel Cooper.

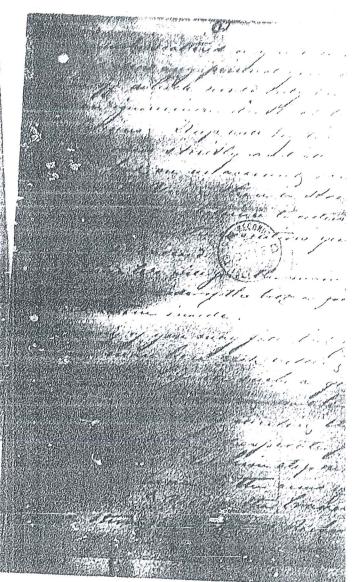
That afternoon the Dahlgren papers passed from desk to desk around the War Department, and in-dignation intensified. Richmond newspaper editors, called in to see the evidence of this "diabolical plot," received prepared copies for publication the next day. Fiery editorials soon appeared in the papers to com-plement the text. In part, the Rich-mond Sentinal put it this way: "Let Lincoln and Kilpatrick remember that they have bidden their subordinates give no quarter to the Confederate chiefs. Perhaps even a Scotch cap and a military cloak will not prevent a just and stern vengeance from overtaking them . . . " The author of this editorial referred to a sensationalized story published in the New York Times on an 1861 assassination plot against President-elect Abraham Lincoln. According to the writer of that article, Joseph Howard, Lincoln disguised himself in a "Scotch plaid cap and a very long military cloak." Because of the reference to Howard's canard the Sentinel editorial contained especially sinister overtones.

Other newspaper editorials were almost as harsh. One day this Southern furor would raise eyebrows about the genesis of the shot fired at Ford's Theatre on April 14, 1865.

Sometime during the day, General Braxton Bragg saw the papers. Never noted for calm judgment and an equable disposition, he sat down and wrote a scorching letter to Secretary of War James Seddon, calling for the summary execution of those of Dahlgren's men who had failen into Confederate hands. The following morning, March 5, Seddon wrote to General Robert E. Lee and

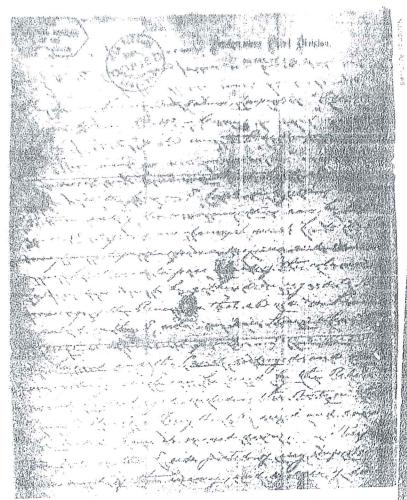


One Sentence Stood Out In The Text . . .

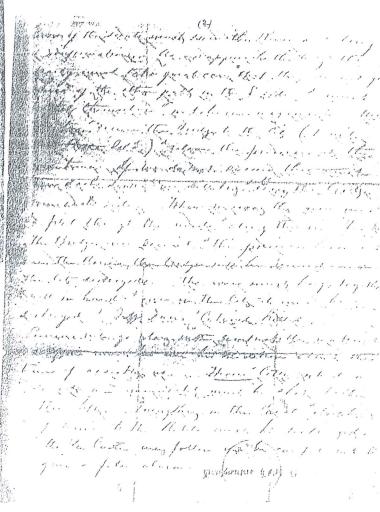




The James River
Into Richmond,
Destroying The Bridges
After Us And
Exhorting The
Prisoners To
Destroy And Burn The
Hateful City;
And Do Not Allow
The Rebel Leader
Davis And His



The "second document" found on Dahlgren's body, hand-written, front and back, and unsigned, disclosed an even harsher fate for the Confederate president.



The Men Must Keep Together and Well In Hand, And Once In The City It Must Be Destroyed And Tell Davis And Cabinet Killed

structions are given you, since the plan of your operations has been respected by yourself, with the same from of the President and the Secretary of War."

Meade had done what he could to protect himself and let the matter rest. But the Confederates had no intention of backing away. Secretary Benjamin was adroit at using such things to a Southern advantage. On March 22, he wrote to Confederate emmissary John Slidell in Paris. He sent copies of the newspapers in which the text of the Dahlgren papers appeared, and six days later furnished Slidell with four sets of the photographs to be "extensively circulated " And Slidell knew just how to do it. One set of the photographs was turned over to lithographer Vincent Brooks, of Chandos Street, Charing Cross, London. The lithographic copies soon circulated in the capitals of Europe. But these copies contained an error. Before the end of the summer, this error would come to public attention and give credence to Kilpatrick's charge of Contederate fabrication.

Since they had the photograph. In hand, the Confederates were ready to push harder. President Davis directed Cooper to write Robert E. Lee on March 30, sending a set of the pictures, together with the actual originals. Cooper explained how the papers came into Confederate hands and pointed out the offending language, instructing Lee to ascertain from Meade whether "the orders and instructions of Colonel Dahlgren, as contained in these papers, were in conformity to instructions from his government or superior officers, and whether the Government of the United States sanctions the sentiments and purposes therein set forth "Lee was asked to return the originals when they were no longer needed

Meanwhile, Colonel Beale finally sent Dahlgren's notebook to Fitzbugh Lee on March 31. Lee then sent it to Cooper, who made the notebook available to the Richmond newspapers. Portions of it were published on April 1, together with turther editorial comment. Cooper dispatched the notebook to Robert E. Lee on April 1. However, it arrived too late to be quoted in the correspondence with Meade. It would have below the case, because one septems - repeated the assassination thems—self Davis and Cabinet must ided on the spot.

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included with his letter a clipping from the *Richmond Examiner's* reprint of the Dahlgren papers. In this letter, Seddon said his own inclinations were "toward execution of at least a portion of those captured at the time Colonel Dahlgren was killed, and the publication of these papers as its justification." Then, in a fine display of bureaucratic cant, he placed the prisoners' fate in Lee's hands.

With his customary good sense, Lee lost no time in squelching the bloodthirsty notion. In a beautifully reasoned letter dated March 6, he discounted the whole idea. No prisoners would be executed.

Meanwhile, a cabinet-level decision had been made to exploit the propaganda value of Dahlgren's documents. But photographs were needed. About March 15, Secretary Benjamin arranged for the topographical department of the Department of Virginia to produce an initial supply of fifty sets of copies. Each of the sets included five photographs. (The two sheets of the "Officers and Men" address required

three exposures, because the concluding words carried over to the reverse side of the first page. And the full sheet of instructions, beginning with the word "Guides," required two, because the writing covered both front and back.) The remainder of the material remained uncopied, including the notebook still in Beale's possession, a fact that had somehow been overlooked.

Union intelligence agents reacted quickly to Richmond's publication of the Dahlgren papers. A copy of the Sentinal for March 5 was in Major General George G. Meade's head-quarters the next day. A reporter for the New York Herald saw the Sentinal story there and wired it to his newspaper, flaming editorial and all. It appeared in the Herald on March 9, and other Northern newspapers soon ran similar accounts.

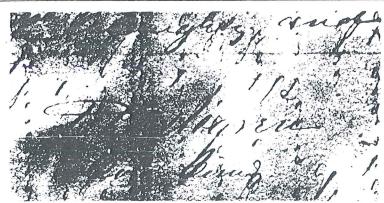
Meade immediately saw the danger and ordered an investigation. On March 14, he passed the responsibility to Brigadier General Alfred Pleasonton, commander of the cavalry corps. Opposed to the raid from the

start, Pleasonton ordered Kilpatrick, who had returned to camp, to conduct the investigation. The objective was to discover whether Dahlgren made or issued such an address and whether any orders or instructions of the character contained in the "memorandum" were given to his command or to any part of it.

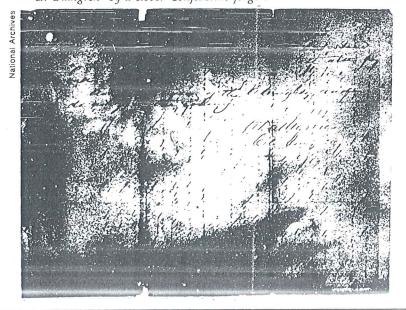
It must have seemed to Kilpatrick that he was caught between Scylla and Charybdis. His military career was already on shaky ground and he needed to avoid personal blame. But he could not point a finger at Dahlgren, an authentic war hero killed in a daring raid on the enemy. The Dahlgren family had powerful friends, too. And worse, the threads of responsibility for the raid reached up to President Abraham Lincoln and Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton.

Kilpatrick's response on March 16 was a masterpiece of sorts. He began by saying he had carefully examined the officers and men who accompanied Dahlgren on the raid. All testified, he wrote, that Dahlgren published no address whatever, nor had he issued any instructions of the character "alleged in the rebel journals." Dahlgren did hand Kilpatrick an address an hour before the raid started – and he approved the document and signed it in red ink. Further, he acknowledged that the address he approved was the same as the version published in the Richmond newspapers, but it contained no threat of pillage or murder. That, Kilpatrick wrote, was "false and published only as an excuse for the barbarous treatment of the remains of a brave soldier." Thus Kilpatrick took what seemed to be a safe way out: he admitted the existence of the address but charged fabrication with respect to anything damaging.

Kilpatrick left Meade in a difficult position. Also, Meade disliked Kilpatrick and had a score to settle with him for going over his head to Lincoln and Stanton to set up the raid. He would not free Kilpatrick of responsibility. Meade spent the remainder of March making it clear the orders in question contained no hint of burning Richmond or killing Davis and his cabinet. The stated purpose was to free Union prisoners. The orders, written by Chief of Staff Andrew Humphreys, included this unusual disclaimer: "I am directed by the major general commanding to say that no detailed in-



The signature in question. Was it "U. Dahlgren" or had it been signed "U. Dalhgren" by a clever Confederate forger?



Lee's letter to Meade was courteous but firm and essentially reiterated Cooper's questions. As evidence, Lee included the set of five photographs. As Lee had expected, there was some delay. The package did not reach Meade until April 15.

Meade had to respond. Failure to do so would be confirmation. He ordered Kilpatrick to rewrite his March 16 investigation report, taking into account Lee's request and the awkward fact of the photographs. The new letter was much the same as the previous one, including the damaging admissions, although the allegation of Confederate fabrication was toned down slightly. This letter became an attachment to Meade's April 16 reply to Lee. Meade made no outright charge of fabrication. "In reply, I have to state that neither the United States Government, myself, nor General Kilpatrick authorized, sanctioned, or approved the burning of the city of Richmond and the killing of Mr. Davis and cabinet, nor any other act not required by military necessity and in accordance with the usages of war." The reply was then forwarded to Lee by flag of truce. That same day, Meade sent his correspondence with Lee and the photographs to Washington and the attention of the "honorable Secretary of War."

Lee followed much the same procedure. He received Meade's reply on April 18 and the next day he bundled up the original Dahlgren papers, including the notebook, a copy of his letter to Meade, and Meade's response, and sent them back to Cooper. Cooper passed them on to President Davis on April 21; they were returned for filing on April 25.

With this exchange, Meade put the Dahlgren worry behind him. But while the affair was fresh on his mind, he expressed serious reservations. On April 18, he stated these reservations in a letter to his wife: "I have received a letter from General Lee, enclosing photographic copies of the papers found on Colonel Dahlgren, and asking whether these papers were authorized, sanctioned or approved by the Government of the United States, or Colonel Dahlgren's superior officers. This was a pretty ugly piece of business; for in denying having authorized or approved 'the burning of Richmond, or killing Mr. Davis and Cabinet,' I necessarily threw odium on Dahlgren. I, however, enclosed a letter from Kilpatrick, in which the authenticity of the papers was impugned; but I regret to say Kilpatrick's reputation, and collateral evidence in my possession, rather go against this theory. However, I was determined my skirts should be clear, so I promptly disavowed having ever authorized, sanctioned or approved any act not required by military necessity, and in accordance with the usages of war."

Brigadier General Marsena Patrick, Meade's provost marshal, came to much the same conclusion. He had a talk on March 12 with Captain John McEntee, who had accompanied Dahlgren on the raid. After this discussion with McEntee, Patrick made a brief entry in his diary: "... I was about my business in the morning, in the usual way, when McEntee came in – He had the same opinion of Killpatrick [sic] that I have and says he managed as all cowards do-He further says, that he thinks the papers are correct that were found upon Dahlgren, as they correspond with what D. told him.

With the exchange between Lee and Meade, the matter of the Dahlgren papers limped to a halt, pushed out of mind and out of print by the crash of guns in the Wilderness Campaign. During the summer of 1864, the lithographic copies of the Dahlgren papers made the rounds abroad. However, the lithograph of the "address" contained an error, a tiny little mouse of a mistake that went unnoticed for a time. When it was noticed, it made front-page news.

Someone sent Rear Admiral John A. Dahlgren a set of the lithographs, and he spotted the mistake immediately. The signature on the address was incorrectly spelled! Instead of Dahlgren it was Dalhgren; the "l" and the "h" had been transposed. For a proud and sorrowing father, this was the final proof he needed to show that his young son had been grossly wronged by a Confederate fabrication. On July 24, 1864, he sat in a cabin of the flagship Philadelphia, standing off Charleston Roads, and wrote a bitter denunciation, combining this with a touching eulogy of his son. "I can now affirm that this document is a forgery-a bare-faced, atrocious forgery-so palpable that the wickedness of the act is only equalled by the recklessness with which it has been perpetrated and adhered to; for the miserable caitiffs did not confine themselves to the

Opposite: The young Ulric Dahlgren, shown here with both of his legs. After the Battle of Gettysburg, he lost the right one and wore a wooden leg for the rest of his short life. Below: Rear Admiral John A. Dahlgren, Ulric's father, quickly came to the defense of his dead son's memory. It was all a forgery, he claimed.



Valentine Museum

general terms of mere allegation, but published the paper in all the precision of a photographic fac-similie, as if not to leave doubt or cavil."

The New York Herald published the admiral's long vindication on its front page, August 8, 1864. Other newspapers immediately copied the story.

By comparing the lithographic copy of the address to the photographic copy in the National Archives, it is easy to see what happened. The address was written on thin paper and the ink stained through, showing distinct reverse writing on the other side. To obtain a clean copy, the lithographic technician was forced to touch up bad spots. To complicate this, it was decided to move the last six lines, with the signature and designation of rank, to the bottom of the second page of the lithographic copy. This simplified things greatly as the whole text could then be reproduced on a wide sheet containing two pages, side by side. But the signature undoubtedly puzzled the technician who did the work. It did look like D-a-l-h-g-r-e-n. When he touched it up, that is the way it came out

After the war, former Confederate Lieutenant General Jubal Early became interested in the continued controversy over the signature. He took a look at his set of the photographic copies of the Dahlgren address. On February 24, 1879, he sent this set of photographs to the Reverend John Jones of the Southern Historical Society and in his letter to Jones, went to the heart of the matter. Early noted that the paper was so thin that the writing on one side showed through on the other. Using a mirror, he could read the reverse wording. He saw that the tail of the "v" in the word "destroying" on the first page came through precisely at the right point and at the right angle to make it appear that the letter "I" came before the letter "h" in the signature on the reverse side. The paper was not a forgery, claimed

Early.

It was approaching noon on April 2, 1865. President Jefferson Davis was attending services at St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Richmond when word came to him that General Lee could no longer hold his position around Petersburg. The Confederacy was dying, and Richmond had to be abandoned.

The disaster was not unexpected. Many Confederate records had already been packed for removal from the city, and during the remainder of that fateful Sunday, other records were prepared for shipment.

The rickety train carrying President Davis and other officials pulled out of Richmond at 11 p.m. for Danville, Virginia. The adjutant and inspector generals' records; including the packages that contained the Dahlgren Papers, were also aboard. As Davis and his party moved on, first to Greensboro, North Carolina, then to Charlotte, the records trailed along. At Charlotte, Secretary of War John C. Breckinridge ordered the boxes stored. They were to be turned over to the Federals if necessary to keep them from being destroyed.

Cooper, too, was anxious to preserve the records as a history of the war. He wrote to Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston and asked for orders. Johnston advised Union General John Schofield that the archives of the Confederate War Department were stored at Charlotte and were ready to be turned over to

How & in Stante Generally of Har It? we the thour to transmit the following Typen relating to bol. Dahlgrand Sall graine motor thoolse fall Caligren's addufactor his breen Is in the letter to bout Meader ben Rilpatrick's letter to bear much Bealli liter to Fily Kingle Lead That to bol Ballgrenowles anyward tich Givenel mein orande a letter from is arrest Indiasnos

United States authorities. Lieutenant C.P. Washburn took charge and removed the boxes—variously estimated to weigh between five and eieven tons—to Raleigh on May 16. On instructions of Major General Henry Halleck, Schofield shipped the eighty-one boxes to Washington.

When the Martha Washington docked in the Potornac River at the nation's capital, the long journey of the Dahlgren papers was over. Apparently there was no immediate interest in them. The Confederate archives were searched—quickly and diligently—but the object was to find anything that could be used as evidence against Jefferson Davis and other Rebel leaders in the trial of the alleged Lincoln assassination conspirators. The search yielded little in

the way of hard evidence for use at the trial.

All captured Confederate records soon came under the control of Dr. Francis Lieber, in charge of a bureau in the office of the Adjutant General for the "collection, safe-keeping, and publication of the Rebel Archives." The Dahlgren papers were among the thousands of Confederate documents lodged in his office; but not for long.

In late November 1865, Secretary of War Stanton ordered Dr. Lieber to surrender the Dahlgren papers to him. Stanton's order has not been found and one can only speculate on his reasons for such an order. Dr. Lieber responded on December 1, 1865. He gave no clue on Stanton's intere. In merely stating that he had "the honor to transmit the following papers relating to Col. Dahlgren."

Fackage to 8

Letter Jame Capt Hallback

Fackage U. 4

Letter Jame Filz Lee

Affidairs & Brins Littlepage Copy of letter from fame & Sed den to Co. Lee, dates mand 18600 Very respectfully your stall persons Francis Liches Bhirf suches If

Then he went on to list the papers transmitted to Stanton:

Package No 1
Col. Dahlgren's note book
Col. Dahlgren's address to his
men
Genl. Lee's letter to Genl.
Meade
Genl. Meade's reply to Genl.
Lee
Genl. Kilpatrick's letter to
Genl. Meade
Col. Beall's [sic] letter to Fitz
Hugh Lee
Letter to Col. Dahlgren marked
"confidential"

Package No 2
Letter of I.H. Carrington to
J.H. Winder
2 Letters from Garnett Andrews

Package No 3
Letter from Capt. Hallback
[sic]

Package No 4
Letter from Fitz Lee
Affidavit of Private Littlepage
Copy of letter from James A.
Seddon to R.E. Lee dated
March 5, 1864

It is clear from this list that Dr. Lieber sent Stanton everything concerning Dahlgren that had been found in the files of Confederate Adjutant General Cooper. And with this begins the real mystery of the Dahlgren papers.

In late 1879, Lieber's office was gathering materials for what was to become the voluminous series, War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. The original Dahlgren papers could not be located in the Archive Office. Dr. Lieber's letterbook disclosed that he had sent the whole lot to Stanton on December 1, 1865. Accordingly, A.P. Tasker, then chief clerk of the Archive Office, wrote to Adjutant General Edward Townsend on December 17, 1879, and requested return of the papers found on the "person of Col. Ulric Dahlgren at the time he was killed." Tasker's letter came back the next day with the indorsement: "No record is found upon the War Department books or files of the papers herein referred to.'

At some unknown date, certain Confederate correspondence in the case on Lieber's list somehow found their way back to the Archive Office and were published by the War Records Office in Series I, Volume XXXIII, Official Records.

As for the actual documents found on Dahlgren's body, all is silence. They were missing in 1879; they are still missing. No record of them has been found after they were transmitted to Stanton on December 1, 1865. Perhaps it is an uncharitable thought, but the suspicion lingers that Stanton consigned them to the fireplace in his office. After all, four people had been hanged at the arsenal a few months earlier for conspiring with John Wilkes Booth to assassinate Abraham Lincoln. The Dahlgren papers might offer some justification for the act-a plan to assassinate Jefferson Davis. War crimes are for losers; winners make the moral rules.

There is an ironic postscript. Lieutenant James Pollard, who set the ambush that killed Ulric Dahlgren, should have kept the wooden leg. On June 24, 1864, he was wounded in the right foot. The foot was amputated above the ankle on July 4. Like Dahlgren, he continued to serve, eventually to be paroled as a prisoner of war on May 15, 1865.