



W. H. S.

W. T. Sherman

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S H E R M A N

AND

HIS CAMPAIGNS:

A MILITARY BIOGRAPHY.

BY

COL. S. M. BOWMAN AND LT.-COL. R. B. IRWIN.

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P R E F A C E .

THIS history of SHERMAN'S army is written in the single interest of truth.

Using the authentic sources of information at our command, we have endeavored to render full and exact justice to all, and to perpetuate no errors that, under the circumstances, it was possible to avoid.

It is hoped that the disadvantages usually attending the publication of a biography during the lifetime of its subject, are to some extent neutralized, in the present instance, by the co-operation in our task of many of those who themselves made the history we propose to recount.

Nevertheless, and in spite of the most friendly offers of material assistance from Lieutenant-General GRANT and Major-General SHERMAN; from the army commanders, THOMAS, HOWARD, SLOCUM, and SCHOFIELD; from Major-Generals LOGAN, BLAIR, and JEFFERSON C. DAVIS; brevet Major-General KILPATRICK, brevet Brigadier-General HICKENLOOPER, of the staff of the lamented MCPHERSON, and from very many other officers whose names we cannot now give at length, several of whom generously tendered free access to their reports, journals, and private letter-books; the editors cannot but feel that, on many points of interest, their work is lacking in those details essential to historical completeness, which time alone can supply.

The events treated are, in some instances, perhaps too recent for enlightened and impartial criticism; in others, respect for the living or for the honored dead, whose memories are yet green, may have imposed reticence or silence upon the lips of those on whose evidence depends our knowledge of the truth; in still others, it will probably require the careful collection and severe analysis, in the future, of minute fragments of evidence, to-day widely scattered, neglected, or inaccessible, in order to refute errors now prevalent, but unsuspected.

The editors believe, however, that laboring with a sincere and constant desire to attain correctness, they have, at least, succeeded in establishing the essential outlines which the criticism and controversy, hostile as well as friendly, they cannot hope to escape, and the new testimony that will thereby be elicited, will enable them or their more favored successors to perfect and finish.

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SHERMAN AND HIS CAMPAIGNS.

CHAPTER I.

BEFORE THE WAR.

WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN was born in Lancaster, Ohio, on the 8th of February, 1820. The branch of the Sherman family to which he belongs is descended from the Honorable Samuel Sherman, of Dedham, in the County of Essex, England, who came to Massachusetts in the year 1634, in company with his brother, the Reverend John Sherman, and their cousin, Captain John Sherman. The two latter settled at Milford, in Connecticut, and became the founders of useful and influential families. Roger Sherman was a descendant of the captain's. Samuel Sherman, after residing for a time at Wethersfield, Connecticut, removed to Stamford, and finally to Stratford, in the same State. His son, Deacon John Sherman, went early in life to Woodbury, Connecticut, where the family remained until the death, in 1815, of his great grandson, Taylor Sherman, for many years judge of one of the courts of his native State. His widow removed, with her children, to what is now the town of Lancaster, in Fairfield County, in the State of Ohio. Charles Robert Sherman, the son of Taylor Sherman, and the father of the subject of this sketch, was born on the 26th of September, 1788. He was an accomplished lawyer, very successful as an advocate, and from 1823 to 1829, when he died of cholera, was one of the judges of the

Superior Court of the State of Ohio. On the 8th of May, 1810, he married Mary Hoyt, by whom he had eleven children; first, Charles Taylor, a prominent lawyer, formerly of Mansfield, Ohio, now of Washington City; second, Mary Elizabeth; third, James; fourth, Amelia; fifth, Julia; sixth, William Tecumseh; seventh, Parker; eighth, John, for many years an influential member of the House of Representatives from Ohio, now senator from the same State; ninth, Susan; tenth, Hoyt; and eleventh, Frances.

His death left this large family in very moderate circumstances. Shortly afterwards, being then but little past nine years of age, William Tecumseh was adopted by the Honorable Thomas Ewing, one of his father's most intimate friends, as a member of his own family. Mr. Ewing sent him to school in Lancaster until the spring of 1836, when having, as a member of Congress from Ohio, the privilege of nominating a youth from his congressional district for appointment as a cadet at the United States Military Academy at West Point, he exercised this right by procuring the warrant for his youthful charge.

In June, 1836, Cadet Sherman entered the Academy, where, with the exception of the months of July and August, 1838, which his class was permitted to spend at home on furlough, he remained, pursuing the course of studies and military duties then in force, until the 30th of June, 1840, when he graduated, standing sixth in the order of general merit of his class of forty-two members—all that were left of a hundred and forty who had entered the institution with him. Among his classmates were Stewart Van Vliet, George H. Thomas, Richard S. Ewell, George W. Getty, William Hays, Bushrod R. Johnson, and Thomas Jordan.

His letters to his friends during the four important if uneventful years of cadet life, are very interesting, as exhibiting the variety and force of his thoughts, and the energy and decision of his character, at that early age. Through them all runs the elastic spirit of youth, and a manly candor and directness of speech that have never left

him since. In one of these letters, dated February 17, 1839, he writes:—

“Bill is very much elated at the idea of getting free of West Point next June. He does not intend remaining in the army more than one year, then to resign, and study *law*, probably. No doubt you admire his choice; but, to speak plainly and candidly, I would rather be a blacksmith. Indeed the nearer we come to that dreadful epoch, graduation-day, the higher opinion I conceive of the duties and life of an officer of the United States Army, and the more confirmed in the wish of spending my life in the *service of my country*. Think of that. The church bugle has just blown, and in a moment I must put on my sidearms and march to church, to listen to a two-hours’ sermon, with its twenty divisions and twenty-one subdivisions; . . . but I believe it is a general fact, that what people are compelled to do they dislike.”

“As we have, then, two or three dancing-parties each week, at which the gray bobtail is sufficient recommendation for an introduction to any one, you can well conceive how the cadets have always had the reputation, and have still, here in the East, of being great gallants and ladies’ men. God only knows how I will sustain that reputation!”

Speaking of the appointment, by the War Department, of the Board of Visitors to attend the annual examination, he says, May 18, 1839:—

“There is but little doubt of its being nearly as well selected as circumstances would admit of. Party seems to have had no influence whatever; and, for my part, I am very glad of it. I hope that our army, navy, or the Military Academy may never be affected by the party rancor which has for some time past, and does now, so materially injure other institutions.”

Here is a glimpse of his tastes and occupations:—

“The last encampment, taken all in all, I think was the most pleasant one I have ever spent, even to me, who did not participate in the dances and balls given every week by the different classes; besides, the duties were of altogether a different nature from any of the previous ones, such as acting as officers

upon guard and at artillery drills, practising at target firing with long twenty-fours and thirty-twos, mortars, howitzers, &c., as also cavalry exercise, which has been introduced this year. As to lording it over the plebs, to which you referred, I had only one, whom I made, of course, tend to a pleb's duty, such as bringing water, policing the tent, cleaning my gun and accoutrements, and the like, and repaid in the usual and cheap coin—advice; and since we have commenced studying I make him bone (study), and explain to him the difficult parts of algebra and the French grammar, since he is a good one and fine fellow; but should he not carry himself straight, I should have him found in January and sent off, that being the usual way in such cases, and then take his bed, table, and chair, to pay for the Christmas spree. . . .

“I presume you have seen the register of cadets for the last year, and remarked that I still maintain a good stand in my class; and if it were not for that column of ‘demerit’ it would be still better, for they are combined with the proficiency in study to make out the standing in general merit. In fact, this year, as well as the last, in studies alone, I have been among the stars. . . . I fear I have a difficult part to act for the next three years, because I am almost confident that your father's wishes and intentions will clash with my inclinations. In the first place, I think he wishes me to strive and graduate in the engineer corps. This I can't do. Next, to resign, and become a civil engineer. . . . Whilst I propose, and intend, to go into the infantry, be stationed in the far West, out of the reach of what is termed *civilization*, and there remain as long as possible.”

He had already imbibed from his association with Mr. Ewing the doctrines of the Whig party, but his nature and education compelled him to repel with indignation the trickery and shams even of his own side. Thus, he writes, April 13, 1840, of the approaching presidential election:—

“You, no doubt, are not only firmly impressed, but absolutely certain, that General Harrison will be our next president. For my part, though of course but a ‘superficial observer,’ I

do not think there is the least hope of such a change, since his friends have thought proper to envelop his name with log cabins, gingerbread, hard cider, and such humbugging, the sole object of which plainly is to deceive and mislead his ignorant and prejudiced, though honest, fellow-citizens; whilst his qualifications, his honesty, his merits and services are merely alluded to."

In the same letter is this dash of descriptive humor:—

"Sometimes it appears that war with England is inevitable; books are thrown in the corner, and broadswords and foils supply their place. Such lunging, cutting, and slashing—enough to dispose of at least a thousand British a day; but the mail or recitation soon destroys the illusion with—'It's all a hoax;' or, 'Sir, you've been neglecting your studies.'"

Immediately after his graduation, Cadet Sherman was appointed, in accordance with the customary recommendation of the Academic Board, to a second lieutenancy in the Third Regiment of Artillery, then commanded by Colonel William Gates, and was assigned to Company A of that regiment. After enjoying the usual furlough of three months granted to cadets on graduating, he was ordered to join his company at Fort Pierce, in East Florida, where he served until November, 1841, when the company was removed to Fort Lauderdale. In January, 1842, he received his commission as a first lieutenant in the same regiment, dating from November 30, 1841, and also an order from the War Department transferring him to Company G, stationed at Saint Augustine. This was rapid promotion for those days, when six or seven years were often required for a second lieutenant to obtain the next grade. Lieutenant Sherman was now placed in command of a small detachment of his new company engaged in guarding the post of Picoluta, situated on the Saint John's River, opposite the town of Saint Augustine.

The service in Florida was not of a very inviting character. The summer was generally passed in idleness, the heat of the almost tropical sun and the swarms of mosquitoes rendering active exertion nearly impossible; and the winter was spent in

frequent incursions against the hostile Seminoles, under the leadership of the wily and cruel chief Sam Jones. These expeditions, sometimes scouting on foot, sometimes penetrating the everglades in boats, were always attended by severe labors, and involved no slight degree of risk, the numbers of our troops being small, and unceasing vigilance being necessary to guard against an ambuscade. The climate during the long summer season was exceedingly unhealthy. Lieutenant Sherman was, however, contented, as long as there was a prospect of activity, and, fortunately, continued to enjoy good health during his entire tour of duty in this section. From the outset, he conceived a clear and decided opinion of the policy that should govern the war against the Seminoles. He was earnestly opposed to parleys or truces, believing that no reliance could be placed in the promises of the Indians; and was strongly in favor of the energetic exertion of the whole military power in the Territory in combined operations, having in view the prompt and relentless extermination of all the Indians who should continue to carry on hostilities, and the removal, in accordance with treaty stipulations, of those who should sue for peace. By such a course, he considered, and events have fully justified the opinion, that the war would be ended in a single campaign, thousands of human lives saved, both of whites and Indians, and peace permanently given to the Territory. The Government should then endeavor, he thought, to attract to the country a better class of white settlers, organize them into small communities, and require them to defend themselves for the future. Thus the army could be withdrawn from Florida, with the exception of small garrisons at the more important permanent posts.

Here is a view of his life in quarters at Fort Pierce, written April 10, 1841:—

“Now that we are at peace, and our minds withdrawn from those pleasant excursions and expeditions in which we have been engaged for the four past months, we are thrown upon our ingenuity to devise means of spending the time. Books

we have few, but it is no use, you cannot read any but the lightest trash; and even the newspapers, which you would suppose we would devour, require a greater effort of mind to search than we possess. We attribute it to the climate, and bring up these native lazy Minorcans as examples, and are satisfied. Yet, of course, we must do something, however little. Well, in this, each pursues his own fancy. The major and I have a parcel of chickens, in which we have, by competition, taken enough interest to take up a few minutes of the day; besides, I have a little fawn to play with, and crows, a crane, &c.; and if you were to enter my room you would hesitate whether it was the abode of man or beasts. In one corner is a hen, sitting; in another, some crows, roosted on bushes; the other is a little bed of bushes for the little fawn; whilst in the fourth is my bucket, wash-basin, glass, &c. So you see it is three to one."

In a subsequent letter he touches the same vein:—

"I've got more pets now than any bachelor in the country—innumerable chickens, tame pigeons, white rabbits, and a full-blood Indian pony—rather small matters for a man to deal with, you doubtless think, but it is far better to spend time in trifles such as these than drinking or gambling."

His desire for the freedom of frontier life is thus again shown:—

"We hear that the new Secretary of War intends proposing to the next Congress to raise two rifle regiments for the Western service. As you are at Washington, I presume you can learn whether it is so or not, for I should like to go in such a regiment, if stationed in the far West; not that I am the least displeased with my present berth, but when the regiment goes North, it will, in all likelihood, be stationed in the vicinity of some city, from which God spare me."

His indignation at any thing not perfectly straightforward, shows itself in an energetic remonstrance to a friend:—

"If you have any regard for my feelings, don't say the word 'insinuation' again. You may abuse me as much as you please, but I'd prefer, of the two, to be accused of telling a

direct falsehood than stating any thing evasively or underhand; and if I have ever been guilty of such a thing, it was unintentionally."

In March, 1842, his company was removed to Fort Morgan, situated on Mobile Point, at the entrance of the Bay of Mobile, and twenty miles from the city. Here Lieutenant Sherman remained, performing garrison service, varied, in the intervals of duty, by fishing, boating, and occasional, though not frequent, visits to the city, until the following June, when the station of the company was again changed to Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, Charleston Harbor. Moultrieville, on Sullivan's Island, quite near the fort, was, at that time, a place of fashionable resort during the summer season for the wealthy families of Charleston and South Carolina generally, many of whom had temporary residences there, to which they removed on the approach of hot weather, to escape from the malarious influences of the city and lower country, and enjoy the cool breezes and the sea-bathing. Officers of the army were at that time sought after, and hospitably entertained by nearly all of the better classes of society in the South, and Lieutenant Sherman was thus, upon his arrival at Fort Moultrie, ushered into a life entirely new to him. During the summer he made many agreeable and some valuable acquaintances, which were cemented and extended during the following winter, when he, in common with the other officers, was almost overwhelmed with invitations to accept the hospitalities of the citizens of Charleston, to whom they had been attentive at the fort.

Hunting was always a favorite amusement with him, and while stationed at Fort Moultrie, he enjoyed frequent opportunities of indulging this taste. Thus, with boating and drum-fishing, were passed his leisure hours during the first year of his stay. In the fall of 1843, he availed himself of a four-months' leave of absence to visit his home at Lancaster, and while there became engaged to Miss Ellen Ewing, the accomplished daughter of his guardian, and the friend and companion of his school-days. At the expira-

tion of his leave, in December, 1843, he rejoined his post, making an interesting detour down the Mississippi river to New Orleans, and thence by way of Mobile and Savannah. During the months of February, March, and April, 1844, he was associated with Colonel Sylvester Churchill, on a board of three officers, appointed by the War Department, to investigate a large number of claims for horses lost by the Georgia and Alabama militia, in the Florida war in 1837 and 1838. Most of these claims were supposed by the Government to be fraudulent, and the members of the board were required to hear and patiently sift the evidence on the spot, and afterwards report the facts and their opinions to the War Department. During the course of the investigation the board was in session at Marietta, Georgia, at Bellefonte, Alabama, and at several other places in the central and northern sections of those States. Their report gave great satisfaction to the Department, and was considered by it as the means of saving vast sums of money to the treasury, while, at the same time, awarding justice to all concerned.

All this time the young officer was not unmindful of the necessity of professional study and improvement. He took care to inform himself of the topographical features of the country in which he was stationed or through which he travelled, as well as in regard to the occupations, character, social organization, and sentiments of the inhabitants. The value of geography he specially appreciated. He wrote to his friend, Philemon Ewing:—

“Every day I feel more and more in need of an atlas, such as your father has at home; and as the knowledge of geography, in its minutest details, is essential to a true military education, the idle time necessarily spent here might be properly devoted to it. I wish, therefore, you would procure for me the best geography and atlas (not school) extant.”

After the adjournment of the Board, he began to turn his attention to such legal studies as might prove useful to him in his profession. Thus he writes, under date of June 12, 1844, from Fort Moultrie:—

“Since my return, I have not been running about in the city or the island, as heretofore, but have endeavored to interest myself in Blackstone, which, with the assistance of Bouvier’s Dictionary, I find no difficulty in understanding. I have read all four volumes, Starkie on Evidence, and other books, semi-legal and semi-historical, and would be obliged to you if you would give me a list of such books as you were required to read, not including your local or State law. I intend to read the second and third volumes of Blackstone again, also Kent’s Commentaries, which seem, as far as I am capable of judging, to be the basis of the common-law practice. This course of study I have adopted, from feeling the want of it in the duties to which I was lately assigned.”

And again, on the 20th of October :—

“I have no idea of making the law a profession, by no means ; but, as an officer of the army, it is my duty and interest to be prepared for any situation that fortune or luck may offer. It is for this alone that I prepare, and not for professional practice.”

Early in 1845, he again paid a brief visit to his home in Ohio, to recover from the effects of illness. After his return to the South, he was, for a short time, stationed on detached service at the arsenal at Augusta, Georgia ; and, on another occasion, was detailed as a member of a general court-martial sitting at Wilmington, North Carolina, where he had the pleasure of meeting once more with his old comrades of Company A, Third Artillery.

On the breaking out of the Mexican war, Lieutenant Sherman was assigned to duty as recruiting officer at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He remained there, however, but little more than a month, when his repeated applications for active service were met by an order from the War Department, transferring him to Company F, of his regiment, then about to sail for California, to meet Colonel Kearny’s expedition across the plains. The first intimation he received of this change was conveyed by a letter, which reached him on the 28th of June, 1846, from his friend, Lieutenant E. O. C. Ord, who was

attached to his new company. On the 29th of June he received the official orders, and on the following day, without seeking to visit his home and friends, pausing only to make a few hasty arrangements with regard to his private affairs, he set out for New York. The company sailed from New York about the middle of July, in the ship *Lexington*, and after a voyage marked by no special incidents, touching at Rio de Janeiro and Valparaiso, landed at San Francisco. Contrary to the anticipations of active service entertained at the outset, the career of the company in California, far away from the theatre of war, proved uneventful. During his service there, Lieutenant Sherman was detailed as acting assistant adjutant-general of the forces in the Tenth Military Department, under the command of Brigadier-General Stephen W. Kearny, afterwards under that of Colonel Richard B. Mason, First Dragoons; and in this capacity attracted the notice of his brother officers by the efficiency, clearness, and administrative ability he showed in the discharge of the responsible duties confided to him. In 1850 he returned to the Atlantic States, and on the 1st of May, in the same year, was married to Miss Ellen Ewing, at the residence, in Washington City, of her father, then Secretary of the Interior under President Taylor. In the following September he received what was, in those days, considered one of the highest prizes the military profession had in store for the subaltern, being appointed a commissary of subsistence with the rank of captain. He was immediately assigned to duty, as such, upon the staff of the commanding officer of the military department of the West, and stationed at St. Louis. In March of the following year he received from the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a commission as captain, by brevet, to date from May 30, 1848, "for meritorious services in California during the war in Mexico."

On the 6th of September, 1853, Captain Sherman resigned his commission in the army, and like many of his companions at that time, sought for such advancement in civil life as the army seemed little likely to afford. He was offered and

accepted the position of manager of the branch banking-house of Messrs. Lucas, Turner & Company, at San Francisco, California, and accordingly went a second time to the Pacific, intending now to establish his home there.

During all this time the seeds of discord had been ripening in the hot soil of slavery. The Southern statesmen, accustomed to rule, began to perceive that the country would not always submit to be ruled by them; that hostility to slavery was a sentiment deeply rooted in the minds of the people of the Free States, and daily spreading its influence; and that the accession of men holding these opinions to power in the national councils and the national executive, meant nothing less than such a limitation of the further extension of slavery as would be fatal to its existence, even where it was already established. Slavery, they believed, could not thrive in contact with freedom; and they had come to regard slavery as essential to their political and social existence. Without a slave caste, they could have no aristocratic caste. No class can enjoy exclusive rights except at the expense of another, whose rights are curtailed or extinguished. They began to isolate themselves from the North, as they termed the Free States; from its dangerous opinions, by refusing to read or hear them; from its society, by withdrawing their sons and daughters from Northern schools and colleges, and by declining to associate with Northern men and women who were not well known to be free from the pernicious doctrines; and finally, they prepared to throw off their political allegiance to the Government of the United States the moment it should have passed beyond their control. The Northern politicians, accustomed to follow the lead of their Southern associates, generally believed that the defeat of Fremont, in 1856, as the Republican candidate for the presidency, had insured the perpetuity of the Union; the Southern politicians, generally, believed that the date of its dissolution was postponed during the next presidential term, and that four years and a facile President were given them to prepare for it. And they began to do so.

The pro-slavery leaders were well aware that the attempted overthrow of the National Government would be likely, even in the disguise of peaceable secession, to be resisted by force. They accordingly got every thing in readiness to carry out their plans by force. The wiser heads among them hoped, if they did not altogether expect, to be allowed to secede in peace, but they were as determined as the rest to appeal to war in the last resort. Accordingly, during Mr. Buchanan's Administration, there was set on foot throughout the slaveholding States a movement embodying the reorganization of the militia, the establishment and enlargement of State military academies, and the collection of arms, ammunition, and warlike materials of all kinds. The federal Secretary of War, Mr. Floyd, thoroughly in the interests of the pro-slavery conspirators, aided them by sending to the arsenals in the Slave States large quantities of the national arms and military supplies; the quotas of the Southern States under the militia laws were anticipated, in some cases by several years; and he caused large sales of arms to be secretly made, at low prices, to the agents of those States. The pro-slavery leaders then began, quietly, to select and gather round them the men whom they needed, and upon whom they thought they could rely. Unable always to explain to these men their purposes, they were often compelled to trust to circumstances and the force of association to complete the work; and in doing so, they occasionally, though not often, made mistakes.

Among the men they fixed upon was Captain Sherman. Recognizing his aptitude in military art and science, the leaders in Louisiana determined to place him at the head of the new State Military Academy at Alexandria. It was explained to him that the object of establishing the school was to aid in suppressing negro insurrections, to enable the State to protect her borders from the Indian incursions, then giving trouble in Arkansas and Texas, and to form a nucleus for defence, in case of an attack by a foreign enemy.

It is rare, indeed, that a man whose youth has been spent in the army does not, in his maturer years, retain a lurking de-

sire for the old life, the old companions, the old ways. Let the temptation be offered in a moment when the cares and details of civil life look more than ordinarily dull, when the future seems clouded, and the warm memories of former days may present a contrast too vivid for most men to resist. Cincinnati leaves the plough and returns with the senators to the camp. So it was with Captain Sherman. Messrs. Lucas Turner & Company had broken up their branch-house at San Francisco. The offer was in a line with his associations, his tastes, and his ambition. He accordingly accepted the office, and entered upon his duties as Superintendent of the Louisiana State Military Academy, early in the year 1860. The liberal salary of five thousand dollars a year was attached to the office.

The efficiency which Captain Sherman here displayed confirmed the leaders in that State in the correctness of their choice, and satisfied them that he was a man to be kept at any price. They were met at the outset by a deep-seated loyalty, by a deep-rooted attachment and fidelity to the Union, upon which they had by no means calculated. Every effort was expended to convert him to their way of thinking, but in vain. Surface opinions change with the wind, but it is useless to argue against fundamental beliefs. And such was the character of Sherman's attachment to the Union.

As events ripened, he saw clearly that the election of Mr. Lincoln to the presidency would be followed by the general secession of the Southern States, and that secession meant war. When, at length, after using his influence to its fullest extent in favor of the Union, he perceived that the result could no longer be avoided, he decided upon his own course, and communicated his decision to the Governor of the State in this clear and straightforward letter, dated January 18, 1861 :

“SIR—As I occupy a *quasi*-military position under this State, I deem it proper to acquaint you that I accepted such position when Louisiana was a State in the Union, and when the motto of the seminary, inserted in marble over the main door, was :

*'By the liberality of the General Government of the United States :
The Union—Esto Perpetua.'*

"Recent events foreshadow a great change, and it becomes all men to choose. If Louisiana withdraws from the Federal Union, I prefer to maintain my allegiance to the old Constitution as long as a fragment of it survives, and my longer stay here would be wrong in every sense of the word. In that event, I beg you will send or appoint some authorized agent to take charge of the arms and munitions of war here belonging to the State, or direct me what disposition should be made of them.

"And furthermore, as President of the Board of Supervisors, I beg you to take immediate steps to relieve me as superintendent the moment the State determines to secede; for on no earthly account will I do any act, or think any thought, hostile to or in defiance of the old Government of the United States."

His resignation was, of course, promptly accepted, and he at once returned to St. Louis. In consequence of the uncertain aspect of political affairs, he had deemed it most prudent that his family should not accompany him to the South.

He was not destined to remain long inactive. The crisis for which the pro-slavery leaders had been so long preparing was precipitated by the rashness of the more incautious among themselves, and hurried forward by the frenzy of the people. The far-sighted conspirators had proposed to themselves to capture Washington before the North should be able to organize resistance, and to proclaim themselves the true and lawful Government of the United States. They would have declared Mr. Lincoln's election, with the avowed purpose, among others, of disregarding what they considered as their constitutional right of holding slaves in the Territories, as unconstitutional, and therefore null, and would have based their assumption of power on the right of self-preservation. From their knowledge of the disposition of most of the foreign ministers resident at the Federal capital, they expected their recognition by the leading European powers to follow closely upon the act. They counted

upon the trade-loving and the peace-loving instincts of the people of the Free States to keep the North inert. The great Central and Western States would probably be with them, and New England they would gladly leave, as they were accustomed to say, "out in the cold." But while the cool-headed conspirators plotted thus skilfully, one element of their calculation failed. It had been necessary to their plans to fire the Southern heart to the point of rebellion: the Southern brain took fire as well. Events took the bit in their teeth. On the 12th of April, 1861, Mr. Davis gave the order to open upon Fort Sumter. At noon the first gun was fired, and the war was begun.

Sherman had gone to Washington about the time of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, and had talked of the state of affairs with characteristic freedom. He believed that war was inevitable; that it would be no pantomime of wooden swords, but a long and bitter struggle. He endeavored in vain, in earnest nervous language, to impress his convictions upon the Administration. Nobody listened to him except the President, who listened to everybody. Sherman went to him to offer his services in any capacity. His strong words and strong thoughts elicited a smile from Mr. Lincoln. "We shall not need many men like you," he said; "the affair will soon blow over." Some of Sherman's friends in the army, who knew his talents, and, like him, believed there would be a war, urged his appointment to the chief clerkship of the War Department, a position which at that time was always held by a confidential adviser of the Secretary of War; and somewhat later he was strongly recommended for the position of quartermaster-general of the army, made vacant by the resignation of Brigadier-General Joseph E. Johnston. Neither application was successful.

Sherman knew the Southern people; the Administration did not, nor did the people of the North in general. In his own words, we were sleeping upon a volcano.

On the 15th of April, 1861, the President called for seventy-five thousand men to serve for three months, to be employed for the purpose of enforcing the laws of the United States, and

to hold and occupy the forts, arsenals, navy-yards, and other public places belonging to the National Government which had been seized by the rebels. Sherman was urged by his friends to go home to Ohio, and raise one of the three months' regiments. He declined to have any thing to do with such a trifling expedient, as he considered it. He did not believe that the three months' men would do any good, or that they could do any good. This affair was no riot, but a revolution. It was not a mob, to be put down by the *posse comitatus*, but a war, to be fought by an army. "Why," he said, "you might as well attempt to put out the flames of a burning house with a squirt-gun."

He used all the influence at his command to induce the authorities to recognize his view of the case, and, by at once organizing the whole military force of the country, to crush the rebellion in its infancy. But the authorities still believed there would be no fight, that the rebellion would succumb at the sight of the power of the Union.

When the Government presently decided to add a regiment of artillery, one of cavalry, and nine of infantry to the regular army, Sherman at once applied for a command in this force, and, on the 13th of June, received a commission as colonel of the Thirteenth Regiment of Infantry, to date from May 14th. As very little was done, just then, in regard to the organization of the new regiments, beyond the appointment of officers and a little feeble recruiting, Colonel Sherman's services were, like those of most of the newly-appointed officers who were known to possess military skill, made use of in another direction. Richmond had been made the capital of the Confederate States. A force was collected to move on that city, capture it, and so suppress the rebellion at a blow. Major Irvin McDowell, assistant adjutant-general on the staff of Lieutenant-General Scott, had been appointed a brigadier-general in the regular army, and was assigned to the command of these troops. Colonel Sherman was ordered to report to him, and received the command of a brigade in the division of Brigadier-General Daniel Tyler.

CHAPTER II.

AN EXPERIMENT.

THE troops which were to move "on to Richmond," in accordance with the popular cry, were encamped in some sort of order on the south bank of the Potomac, from the Chain Bridge to Alexandria, and were thrown together, with more or less haste, into what were called five divisions, of two, three, or four brigades each. Brigadier-General Daniel Tyler, of the Connecticut Volunteers, commanded the First Division, Colonels David Hunter, Sixth Cavalry, Samuel P. Heintzelman, Seventeenth Infantry, and Dixon S. Miles, Second Infantry, the Second, Third, and Fifth, respectively, and Brigadier-General Theodore Runyon, of the New Jersey militia, the Fourth Division. Three of these were old and experienced officers of the regular army, who had seen service in Mexico and in many Indian fights. Brigadier-General Robert C. Schenck commanded the First Brigade of Tyler's division; Colonel Erasmus D. Keyes, Eleventh Infantry, the Second; Colonel Sherman the Third Brigade, composed of the Thirteenth, Sixty-ninth, and Seventy-ninth New York, and Second Wisconsin regiments of infantry, with Captain Ayres's Battery E, Third Regular Artillery; and Brigadier-General Israel B. Richardson commanded the Fourth Brigade. The troops were all raw. Most of them had volunteered for three months. As the end of that period approached, these men naturally thought more of home than they did of battle, more of living to see their friends than of dying for their country. Many of the volunteers had never fired a gun before, and felt nearly as much trepidation in loading their own pieces, and as much

alarm in discharging them, as the most deadly fire of the enemy could have occasioned. Captains knew little or nothing of tactics beyond the manual of arms and the facings. Colonels could not put their regiments through the simplest manœuvres. Regimental commanders did not know their brigade commanders, and brigade commanders made the acquaintance of their division commanders upon the field of battle. According to the ideas of those days, there was a deficiency of transportation; that is to say, each regiment had not a score of wagons: and the quartermasters in Washington were at their wits' end to supply the demand. Wagons intended for General McDowell's army went to General Patterson's, and General McDowell's army must therefore wait. The District of Columbia was embraced in a separate military department, called the Department of Washington. Its commander was overwhelmed by office details; so the troops which were to go to the Army of Northeastern Virginia got mislaid, and had to be hunted up and hurried into brigades at the fifty-ninth minute of the eleventh hour. Every thing that was done was rushed into the newspapers, and most things that were intended to be done. The railroad lines leading South, with only slight breaks, were still in use, and passes over them were freely issued, so that the rebel authorities might read the plan of to-day's operations at breakfast. But the people, drunk with hope, saw none of these things, or saw them double; and those who might have led the people, ran after them.

It may be said, in defence of the delusions of the hour, that our army was numerically stronger, as well officered, better equipped, and as well instructed as the rebel forces; and so indeed it was. But the rebel army was to act upon the defensive, ours upon the offensive. The advantage of ground would be with the enemy, the advantage of surprise, and the great advantage of cohesion at the moment of attack. On the other hand, our troops would have to move, to find the enemy, and to attack him in his chosen position, or sustain his fire delivered from behind cover or behind earthworks. But the salient point of this question is, that the result of any move-

ment, by either side, was left to chance; no man could have indicated the causes which would determine the result. It was purely chance whether any movement ordered from headquarters would be made at all; a rare chance whether it would be made at the time designated in orders; a miraculous chance if it were made exactly as ordered. By waiting a very little while, the result might have been reasonably assured. We could not wait. In the American character, Hope crowds Patience to the wall.

After much public discussion and excitement, the order was given to General McDowell to move forward.

The enemy had a force of about twenty-two thousand men, organized in eight brigades, with twenty-nine guns, encamped and intrenched at Manassas Junction, and commanded by General Gustave T. Beauregard. They had outposts at Fairfax Courthouse, and at Centreville, seven miles from the Junction. The brigades were commanded by Brigadier-Generals Ewell, Holmes, D. R. Jones, Longstreet, and Bonham, and Colonels Cocke, Evans, and Early.

General Joseph E. Johnston was at Winchester, with about twelve thousand men, watching our forces under Major-General Robert Patterson, one of the Pennsylvania three months' militia. Generals Bee and Bartow and Colonel Jackson commanded the brigades of General Johnston's army. General Patterson's force amounted to twenty-three thousand men of all arms, chiefly three months' militia.

General McDowell was to move directly upon Manassas on the 9th of July, and, turning the enemy's right flank, cut off his forces from Richmond. The movement began on the 16th. The men, unaccustomed to marching, moved very slowly. Long years of peace had nourished in the minds of our citizens a reluctance to endure pain and privation, and the citizens had not become soldiers by a mere change of clothing. The men stopped every few moments to pick blackberries, stepped aside to avoid mud-puddles, crossed fords gingerly, emptied their canteens and filled them with fresh water whenever they came to a stream. Thus the army did not reach Centreville

until the night of the 18th. Two days were spent here in reconnoissances, and on the 21st the final movement began. All this time the enemy, fully advised of our movements by the daily papers, was busily engaged in concentrating his available forces to meet our attack. That he would do so was obvious. General Scott had undertaken to guard against this, so far as the army under Johnston was concerned, by instructing General Patterson to observe him. Accordingly, after many delays, General Patterson moved from Martinsburg to Bunker Hill, nine miles from Winchester, and then turned aside and marched to Charlestown. At the very moment when Johnston was withdrawing with all speed from Winchester, and hurrying to Beauregard's aid, Patterson was retreating to the Potomac.

Tyler's division, which had marched from its camp near the Chain Bridge, on the extreme right of our lines, by the Vienna Road, was the first to reach Centreville. General Tyler's orders were to seize and hold this position, but not to bring on an engagement. He had no sooner arrived there than, elated at finding our progress undisputed by the enemy, he took the road to the left and pushed on, with Richardson's brigade, Ayres's battery, and a few cavalry, to Blackburn's Ford, where the Manassas and Centreville road crosses Bull Run. The ground on the left bank of that stream is, just here, open and gently undulating; on the other side it becomes at once heavily wooded, and ascends rather abruptly to the elevated plateau on which Manassas Junction is situated. General Tyler was surprised to find that the enemy had not occupied the left bank at the ford; and still more, that they permitted our men to approach it unmolested. Nor was the enemy to be seen on the opposite bank. He deployed the infantry, and caused Captain Ayres to open fire from his battery on the woods opposite. Instantly a hot fire, as if from four thousand muskets at once, says the general, was opened from the woods. Our troops replied for a short while, and then retired. This movement was contrary to orders; had no object worth mentioning; and its result had a most dispiriting effect upon the whole

army of General McDowell. Before it, the men had been all enthusiasm. They either would not meet the enemy at all, they dreamed, or they would whip him and chase him to Richmond. The enemy had been met, had not fled at the sight of us, and had not been whipped. The enthusiasm, which had been at the boiling point, was chilled by a doubt. The delay of the 19th and 20th, while waiting for the subsistence to come up, spread and increased the flatness.

The original plan was to turn the enemy's right, and so cut off his communication with Richmond. General McDowell had objected to moving by his right to turn the enemy's left, because the movement would be indecisive. At the eleventh hour, this indecisive course was adopted, for the reasons that the roads on the left appeared impracticable, that the enemy's attention had been attracted to Blackburn's Ford by the blunder of the 18th, and that it had now become an object to guard against the expected arrival of Johnston, by occupying his line of railway communication.

On the night of Saturday, the 20th of July, General McDowell issued his orders for the attack. Runyon's Fourth Division was left in the rear near Fairfax Courthouse. Tyler's division—except Richardson's brigade, which was to remain at Blackburn's Ford and report to Colonel Miles—was to march at half-past two o'clock on Sunday morning down the Warrenton road, and threaten the Stone Bridge. Schenck's and Sherman's brigades were encamped on the Warrenton road, about a mile beyond Centreville; Keyes's brigade, which had become separated from the rest of the division, had gone into camp half a mile east of Centreville. Hunter's division, which was about a mile and a half beyond Keyes's, was to move at two o'clock, and close up on Tyler. Heintzelman's division, which was encamped on the Braddock road, two miles east of Centreville, was to march at half-past two, and fall in in the rear of Hunter. Under cover of Tyler's attack, Hunter and Heintzelman were to move to the right, cross Bull Run at Sudley's Springs, and turn the enemy's left. Miles's division was held in reserve at Centreville, to guard

against a movement of the enemy by Blackburn's Ford, to cut off our rear.

These dispositions, except as to Runyon's division, were well made. Had they been executed, the result of the day must have been very different.

At a blacksmith's shop, about a mile in advance of Tyler's position, a branch road leads from the Warrenton pike towards Sudley's Springs. If Tyler had marched boldly forward, the rear of his division should have cleared that point in an hour, or, at the very latest, in an hour and a half. This would have enabled Hunter to file to the right certainly by four o'clock. In fact, the rear of Tyler's division did not pass the junction of the roads until half-past five, or fully an hour and a half later than it should have done. Schenck's brigade, which led the advance, started punctually at the time fixed in orders, but, as General Tyler himself explains, he felt called upon to move slowly and with caution, feeling his way down to the Stone Bridge. Thus occurred a fatal delay.

The head of Schenck's brigade reached the Stone Bridge about six o'clock, and the artillery of his and Sherman's brigades opened fire about half an hour later. Hunter's division could not find the road by which it was to march, and having been led by its guide by a wide detour through the woods, did not reach the ford until between half-past nine and ten o'clock, and occupied more than an hour in passing, so that it was after eleven o'clock before Heintzelman began to cross. The head of Hunter's column became engaged almost immediately after crossing Bull Run, and drove the enemy steadily until about noon. While Hunter was crossing, orders were sent to Tyler to press his attack. Colonel Sherman, with his brigade, accordingly crossed Bull Run at a ford just above the Stone Bridge, and pushed forward down the Warrenton road until he joined the left of Burnside's brigade of Hunter's division, then hotly engaged; Ayres's battery, being unable to cross the ford, was left behind. Sherman came into action about half-past twelve, and was at once ordered by General McDowell to join in the pursuit of the enemy, then falling

back on the left of the Groveton road. Placing Colonel Quimby's Thirteenth New York regiment in front, in column by division, Colonel Sherman ordered the other regiments to follow in line of battle, in the order of the Second Wisconsin, Seventy-ninth New York, and Sixty-ninth New York.

Thus far the tide of success had been unbroken. Our troops had effected the passage of Bull Run, had driven the enemy before them in confusion a mile and a half, and we had succeeded in uniting three divisions under the crest of the hill, which was to be the decisive point of the battle. On the left Keyes was driving back the enemy, enabling Schenck to cross and remove the obstructions in his front, and to turn the enemy's right. The crisis was at hand.

In his official report, Colonel Sherman thus graphically describes the operations of his brigade at this time: "Quimby's regiment advanced steadily down the hill and up the ridge, from which he opened fire upon the enemy, who had made another stand on ground very favorable to him; and the regiment continued advancing as the enemy gave way, till the head of the column reached the point near which Ricketts's battery was so severely cut up. The other regiments descended the hill in line of battle, under a severe cannonading; and the ground affording comparative shelter against the enemy's artillery, they changed direction by the right flank and followed the road before mentioned. At the point where this road crossed the bridge to our left the ground was swept by a most severe fire by artillery, rifle, and musketry, and we saw in succession several regiments driven from it, among them the Zouaves and battalion of Marines. Before reaching the crest of the hill the roadway was worn deep enough to afford shelter, and I kept the several regiments in it as long as possible; but when the Wisconsin Second was abreast of the enemy, by order of Major Wadsworth, of General McDowell's staff, I ordered it to leave the roadway by the left flank and to attack the enemy. This regiment ascended to the brow of the hill steadily, received the severe fire of the enemy, returned it with spirit, and advanced, delivering its fire. This regiment is uni-

formed in gray cloth, almost identical with that of the great bulk of the secession army, and when the regiment fled in confusion, and retreated towards the road, there was a universal cry that they were being fired upon by our own men. The regiment rallied again, passed the brow of the hill a second time, and was again repulsed in disorder. By this time the New York Seventy-ninth had closed up, and, in like manner, it was ordered to cross the brow of the hill and drive the enemy from cover. It was impossible to get a good view of the ground. In it there was one battery of artillery, which poured an incessant fire upon our advancing column, and the ground was irregular, with small clusters of pines, affording shelter, of which the enemy took good advantage. The fire of rifles and musketry was very severe. The Seventy-ninth, headed by its colonel (Cameron), charged across the hill, and, for a short time, the contest was severe. They rallied several times under fire, but finally broke, and gained the cover of the hill. This left the field open to the New York Sixty-ninth, Colonel Corcoran, who, in his turn, led his regiment over the crest, and had a full, open view of the ground so severely contested. The firing was very severe, and the roar of cannon, musketry, and rifles incessant. It was manifest the enemy was here in great force, far superior to us at that point. The Sixty-ninth held the ground for some time, but finally fell back in disorder."

It was now half-past three o'clock in the afternoon. The men had been up since two in the morning, had been on their legs ever since, had been engaged for four hours, and had eaten nothing. The day was intensely hot. The troops, unused to any of these things, were fagged.

There was a slight lull on the extreme right. Porter's brigade of Hunter's division, and Griffin's and Ricketts's batteries, were sent forward to occupy the crest of the hill, from which the enemy had been pushed. Hardly had they reached the position, when a murderous volley was poured into them, at pistol range, from the clump of pines that skirted the hill. Early's brigade, of Johnston's army, had arrived,

and thrown itself on our right flank. Our line began to melt. The movement was taken up reluctantly by some regiments, but soon became general. The retreat became confused, and, beyond Bull Run, the confusion became a rout. The enemy did not pursue. That night, while a council of war was discussing the expediency of holding Centreville, the sea of panic-stricken fugitives was making for Washington. Orders were issued for the coherent remains of the army to follow.

Colonel Sherman says, of his own command: "This retreat was by night, and disorderly in the extreme. The men of different regiments mingled together, and some reached the river at Arlington, some at Long Bridge, and the greater part returned to their former camps at or near Fort Corcoran. I reached this point at noon next day, and found a miscellaneous crowd crossing over the aqueduct and ferries. Conceiving this to be demoralizing, I at once commanded the guard to be increased, and all persons attempting to pass over to be stopped. This soon produced its effect. Men sought their proper companies, comparative order was restored, and all are now (July 25) posted to the best advantage."

The loss in Sherman's brigade was one hundred and eleven killed, two hundred and five wounded, two hundred and ninety-three missing; total, six hundred and nine. Our total loss in this engagement, exclusive of missing, was four hundred and eighty-one killed, one thousand and eleven wounded. The loss in killed and wounded in Sherman's brigade was nearly a fourth of that of the entire army. The enemy lost, in all, three hundred and seventy-eight killed, fourteen hundred and eighty-nine wounded, and thirty missing. His loss in killed and wounded was considerably greater than ours, but he picked up many prisoners from among the wounded and the lagging stragglers.

The prime causes which led to this disgraceful defeat are to be sought in the many delays attending the commencement and execution of the movement, in consequence of which our forces had to contend with the combined forces of Beauregard and Johnston.

The panic which followed the defeat must be traced to internal defects ; to the utter absence of coherence or cohesion in the masses of militia ; to the want of confidence of men in their officers, of officers in themselves and in their men ; to the sudden apparition of a new and undefined terror in place of the confidently expected triumph. The mass easily became a jumbled crowd of individuals, because it had never been an army.

As to the general plan of campaign, it was certainly a fatal mistake that our army clung to the banks of the Potomac a long month after it should boldly have seized upon Centreville and Manassas ; and equally so, that a force of nearly eighty thousand should have been wasted by breaking it up into three fractions, destined to stand still on exterior lines, watching the enemy concentrate on the key-point.

But the mortifying and humiliating disaster was necessary, by crushing the shell at once, to show us in a moment our weakness and utter want of solidity. Disguised until the rebellion had developed and established its strength, the disease would have been incurable. Laid bare at a stroke, the reaction set in at once, and the life of the nation was saved.

Trust in every thing and everybody around the capital was for the moment destroyed. Major-General George B. McClellan, who had been successful in his operations in Western Virginia, an accomplished officer, well known in the army, and possessing the confidence of the lieutenant-general, was at once summoned to Washington, and assigned to the command of all the troops for its defence. At the end of July, he found a few scattered regiments cowering upon the banks of the Potomac. The militia went home. The North rose. Four months later, the Army of the Potomac counted two hundred thousand soldiers ready for their work.

The sharpness with which Colonel Sherman criticised the conduct of some of the officers and men of his brigade at Bull Run, both in his official report and in his free conversations, made him many enemies ; but the vigor he had displayed on the field, added to the influence of his brother, the Honorable John Sherman, led the Ohio delegation in Congress to recom-

mend his promotion. He was commissioned as a Brigadier-General of Volunteers on the 3d of August, 1861, to date back to the 17th of May, as was the custom at that time. For a short time after this he had command of a brigade in the Army of the Potomac, but early in September, upon the organization of the Department of Kentucky, he was transferred to that theatre of operations, and ordered to report, as second in command, to Brigadier-General Robert Anderson, who was placed at the head of the department.

CHAPTER III.

THE SECESSION JUGGLE IN KENTUCKY.

THE legerdemain by which the extreme Southern States were juggled out of the Union to feed the ambition of their leaders, had proved eminently successful. A Confederate dictionary had been made, in which slavery was called "the South;" rebellion, "secession;" the execution of the laws, "coercion;" and the desires of the conspirators, "the Constitution." A Confederate logic had been constructed, in which a system of postulates was substituted for the old-fashioned syllogism, and every thing taken for granted which it was impossible to prove. Only let it be granted that where thirteen or more parties have entered into an agreement with each other, any one of them can rightfully withdraw from the arrangement whenever he chooses, without the consent of the others, and you can prove any thing. A man whose mind is so organized that he can believe that, can believe any thing. And the Southern people were carefully taught to believe it.

It followed, of course, that while those States which chose to "secede" could not rightfully be "coerced" to remain in the Union, those States which chose to stay must be forced to secede.

Unexpectedly, Kentucky chose to stay. Then the inventors of the Confederate dictionary and the Confederate logic put their heads together and hatched a new lie. They called it Neutrality.

It meant that Kentucky was to be neutral until the rebellion should become strong enough to swallow her at a mouthful. She was to arm herself to resist invasion from the South or

from the North. The governor, Beriah Magoffin, a secessionist, organized the State militia in the interest of his faction, and issued a proclamation declaring that Kentucky would remain neutral. A few prominent gentlemen, still retaining an attachment for the Union, suffered themselves to be lulled to rest by the tranquil sound of the new word. Their names had great weight at Washington. The unconditional Union men were few in numbers and weak in influence. The Government could not make up its mind what to do. The secessionists prepared for war.

Governor Magoffin called a special meeting of the Legislature, and urged that body to assemble a State Convention to consider the crisis. The Legislature met on the 28th of April. Two days afterwards the governor issued a proclamation declaring in effect that Kentucky would assume a position of belligerent neutrality, and would defend herself against invasion from any quarter. On the 22d of May, the Legislature resolved that the governor's proclamation of neutrality was not a true exponent of the views of the people. The State Militia law was so amended as to require the State Guard to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. On the 24th of May, the last day of the session, the Senate passed resolutions declaring that "Kentucky will not sever connection from the National Government, nor take up arms for either belligerent party, but arm herself for the preservation of peace within her borders, and tender their services as mediators to effect a just and honorable peace." The resolutions were lost in the House by a vote of forty-nine to forty-three. The secessionists began to be seriously alarmed. Their fears were not diminished when the result of the election for members of Congress, held on the 1st of July, showed a majority for the Union candidates of more than fifty-five thousand.

The Legislature met again on the 3d of September. In the mean time, the Government had authorized Lovell H. Rousseau to raise a brigade in Kentucky for the United States service, and the Confederate troops, under Polk, had just invaded the State and occupied Hickman and Chalk Bluffs. General Grant,

who had been watching the progress of affairs, immediately took the responsibility of occupying Paducah. The secessionists, headed by the governor, loudly demanded that both belligerents should withdraw their forces. They hoped to frighten the Government of the United States into compliance, while the rebel authorities, being under no obligation to listen to them, should absorb the State. On the 11th, the Legislature, by a vote of 71 to 26, requested the Governor to order the Confederate troops to evacuate the State. A series of test resolves was at once introduced, declaring that the neutrality of Kentucky and the rights of her people had been invaded by the so-called Southern Confederate forces, requesting the governor to call out the military force of the State to expel the invaders, and invoking the assistance of the United States to that end. In the Assembly, the vote stood sixty-eight to twenty-six. On the 13th, the governor vetoed the resolutions. The Legislature promptly repassed them over his veto, by more than a two-thirds vote.

The Confederate tactics changed at once. The men who had declared they must go with their State found they were under no obligation to stay with their State. The men who had protested that it was a crime to coerce a State to remain in the Union, discovered that it was their sacred duty to coerce Kentucky to leave the Union. Buckner and Breckinridge fled, and at once took commands as general officers in the Confederate service. They were followed by their fellow-conspirators, and by all whom their arguments or promises had seduced.

On the 17th of September, Buckner seized a railway-train, and moved from Bowling Green upon Louisville. An accident to the train delayed him within forty miles of the city, and by the time he was ready to move again, Rousseau's brigade and a battalion of Home-guards was ready to oppose him; so he abandoned the attempt.

In compliance with the call of the Legislature, and by order of the President, Brigadier-General Robert Anderson assumed command of the Military Department of Kentucky on the 21st

September, and immediately made preparations for organizing the full quota of troops which the State had been called upon to furnish for the national service. The invasion of the State by the Confederate troops had torn the mask from the designs of the secessionists, and it was no longer possible to favor them openly. A strong pressure was, however, still exerted, in more or less secrecy, to keep men out of the Union army, to encourage their enlistment in the Confederate army, and to obstruct the operations of the Union authorities. The young men had nearly all been seduced into the rebel service, at first by the cry that they must fight for their State, and next by the cry that they must fight for slavery, under the name of "the South," against their State. Recruiting for the Union army went on very slowly, and meanwhile, at Bowling Green and Nashville, Polk and Zollicoffer were gathering large bodies of rebel troops to invade and hold Kentucky.

Brigadier-General Anderson, finding his health, already delicate, unequal to the demands made upon his strength by the cares and responsibilities of his position under these trying circumstances, asked the War Department to relieve him from command. His request was complied with, and on the 7th of October he was relieved by Brigadier-General Sherman, then in command of a brigade at Lexington.

General Sherman at once set to work with great energy to organize his department, and prepare the troops for the task before them.

The quota of volunteers which Kentucky was called upon to raise was forty thousand, and with these General Sherman was expected by the War Department to defend the State and drive the enemy from her soil. They were raised very slowly, and but few reinforcements came from any quarter. At the close of October, Sherman had succeeded in collecting and organizing a force of nine thousand men at Lexington, and ten thousand in front of Louisville. The enemy had at the same time about fifteen thousand at Bowling Green, under Buckner, and a strong force at Cumberland Gap, under Zollicoffer. Bowling Green is the key to the military possession of Cen-

tral Kentucky, and Cumberland Gap to that of Eastern Kentucky.

General McClellan, who succeeded to the chief command of the army on the 1st of November, immediately adopted a general plan of campaign, in which the operations in the Department of the Cumberland were subordinate to and formed a co-operative part of those of the principal army on the Potomac; but the people, the press, and the Administration had become impatient of the general inactivity of our forces, and were clamoring for their advance. On the 16th of October, the Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, accompanied by Brigadier-General Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant-General of the Army, visited General Sherman at Louisville, for the purpose of ascertaining, in a personal interview, the precise condition and prospect of affairs in this quarter. Sherman shared the objections entertained by Lieutenant-General Scott, and now by Major-General McClellan, to what the former termed "a little war," and believed, with them, with all the ardor of his temperament, in the necessity of concentrated and decisive movements by armies large enough not merely to undertake a successful advance, but to finish the war. He did not, however, as General McClellan seems to have done, overlook the importance of schooling his troops by minor operations, and keeping up their spirits by minor successes; but he looked further ahead than was agreeable in a subordinate commander. Short views, generally the happiest, are often the wisest; but it is not always possible for a man of powerful nervous organization, and strong perceptions of cause and effect, to take short views. He frequently sees the future too clearly to contemplate the present with calmness. So it was now with Sherman.

The secretary of war asked him how many troops he would require in his department. Sherman replied, "Sixty thousand to drive the enemy out of Kentucky; two hundred thousand to finish the war in this section." Convinced of the inutility of advancing against the enemy until our strength would render success decisive as well as reasonably certain, while defeat

would not be irreparable, and aware of the ease with which the enemy, driven out of Kentucky, could concentrate and recuperate in Tennessee, and calling to his aid the vast reserves then at his command, would finally compel us hastily to summon to the field at the eleventh hour, and concentrate upon an advanced and exposed position, a much larger force than would have been required in the first instance; perceiving these things clearly and sharply, he could not sympathize with, or even comprehend the spirit of his superiors, who were all for present success, and for trusting to-morrow entirely to the future. On the other hand, the secretary of war and the adjutant-general could not understand Sherman, nor see the utility of a delay which they regarded as merely temporizing. Looking only at the force of the enemy then actually in arms in Sherman's immediate front, they considered that he vastly overestimated the obstacles with which he would have to contend. Calculations of difficulties generally seem to earnest men, not thoroughly familiar with the subject-matter, to spring from timidity or want of zeal. In a few days the report of the adjutant-general, embracing full particulars of the condition of all the Western armies, as shown by this inspection, was given to the public in all the newspapers. In referring to General Sherman, General Thomas simply stated that he had said he would require two hundred thousand men. Great excitement and indignation was occasioned in the popular mind by this announcement. A writer for one of the newspapers declared that Sherman was crazy. Insanity is hard to prove; harder still to disprove, especially when the suspicion rests upon a difference of opinion; and then the infirmities of great minds are always fascinating to common minds. The public seized with avidity upon the anonymous insinuation, and accepted it as an established conclusion.

On the 12th of November, Brigadier-General Don Carlos Buell was ordered by Major-General McClellan to relieve Brigadier-General Sherman from the command of the Department of the Cumberland; and the latter was ordered to report to Major-General Halleck, commanding the Department of the

West. General Buell was at once strongly reinforced, so as to enable him to take the offensive during the latter part of winter.

These events embody the same useful lesson of tolerance for the conflicting opinions of others that has been pointedly taught us again and again during this war. At this distance of time, Sherman's views seem scarcely so extraordinary as they did to the public in 1861. Many more than two hundred thousand men have been required to hold permanently Kentucky and Tennessee; for, indeed, here as elsewhere, we have had to contend not alone against the force which the enemy has actually had in the field at any given time, but against that force augmented by the whole able-bodied male population behind it.

Fortunately, indeed, under a powerful nervous organization, in spite of the workings of a myriad of irritable fibres, there lay at the bottom the germs of a patience that was to render the genius of Sherman still useful to the republic.

Although thus suffering in the popular estimation and in the confidence of the War Department, General Sherman did not altogether lose the hold he had so long maintained upon the respect of his brother officers. The general-in-chief thought he might still be useful in a subordinate capacity, although he had failed to give satisfaction in command of an important department. Major-General Halleck, to whom he now reported, considered him competent to the charge of the rendezvous for volunteers at the Benton Barracks, near St. Louis, and assigned him to that duty. With the monotonous and endless details of such a camp, Sherman was occupied during the winter of 1861.

General Halleck's command was the largest in extent of any of the departments, as organized at the time, and was considered by the general-in-chief as only inferior in importance to that of the Potomac, to which his personal attention was given. It embraced two distinct theatres of operations, extending from the line of the Cumberland River westward towards Kansas, and divided by the Mississippi River. Of these, the chief in

importance was east of the Mississippi. The enemy held Columbus on the Mississippi, Forts Henry and Donelson on the Tennessee, and Bowling Green in the adjoining Department of the Cumberland. These positions gave him the control of Western and Central Kentucky, and each of them was strongly fortified and occupied in large force. Major-General Leonidas Polk commanded at Columbus, Brigadier-General John B. Floyd at Fort Donelson, and Brigadier-General Simon B. Buckner at Bowling Green. The Cumberland was the dividing line between the Department of the Ohio, commanded by General Buell, and the Department of the West. It was determined to endeavor to break through the centre of the enemy's long line by ascending the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, aided by a flotilla of gunboats which had been prepared at Cairo and at St. Louis, under the command of Captain A. H. Foote, of the navy. To Brigadier-General Ulysses S. Grant, then commanding at Paducah, was assigned the chief direction of the movement. Very little was known of this officer. He had graduated at West Point in 1843, had served in the Fourth Infantry until 1854, when having risen to the grade of captain, he resigned his commission and settled in private life, in Illinois, as a surveyor. On the breaking out of the war, having offered his services to Governor Yates in any capacity in which he could be useful, he was for some time engaged in assisting the adjutant-general of the State in organizing the three months' volunteers. On the organization of the three years' troops, he accepted the colonelcy of the Sixty-Third Illinois regiment, and exhibited such marked efficiency in its instruction and discipline, that he was soon commissioned as a brigadier-general of volunteers. He had commanded the brigade engaged in the demonstration against Belmont, Missouri, on the 7th of November, 1861.

Suddenly the gloom of that dark winter, during which our large armies slept, our small forces encountered defeat, and the signs of anarchy gathered ominously from every quarter, was broken by a victory. Fort Henry was taken by Brigadier-General Grant on the 6th February, 1862. On

the 16th of the same month, Fort Donelson surrendered unconditionally to the same officer, with a garrison of about twelve thousand men. In answer to the request of the rebel commander Buckner, for a parley and more favorable terms, Grant replied that he could consent to no terms but those of unconditional surrender, and tersely added, "I propose to move immediately upon your works." A shout of joy rang throughout the land. Grant was made a major-general without an hour's delay. In a fervid letter to the *New York Tribune*, the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, vented his enthusiasm in raptures over the unconditional surrender, and cited with admiration the proposal to move immediately upon the enemy's works. Grant was the hero of the hour.

By the President's War Order, No. 3, dated March 11, 1862, relieving Major-General McClellan from the chief command of the army, Major-General Halleck was assigned to the command of the Department of the Mississippi, embracing all the troops west of a line drawn indefinitely north and south through Knoxville, Tennessee, and east of the western boundaries of Missouri and Arkansas. Major-General Grant was shortly afterwards assigned by General Halleck to the command of the army in the field, operating on the line of the Tennessee River.

When Grant moved upon Fort Donelson, Sherman was ordered to Paducah, to take charge of the duty of forwarding supplies and reinforcements from that point. He set to work with a characteristic energy that must have found room enough to expand itself, for troops were hard to move in those days, and supplies, owing to the greenness of some and the rustiness of other officers of the quartermaster's department, harder still. General Grant took occasion to acknowledge the great importance of the services thus rendered.

The Army of the Tennessee, after some changes, was finally organized in six divisions, of which Major-General John A. McClernand commanded the first; Major-General Charles F. Smith, the second; Brigadier-General Lewis Wallace, the third; Brigadier-General Stephen A. Hurlbut, the fourth;

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Brigadier-General William T. Sherman, the fifth; and Brigadier-General B. M. Prentiss, the sixth. The fifth division was composed almost entirely of the rawest troops, hastily gathered together and thrown into brigades, none of whom had ever been under fire, or, indeed, under discipline. Sherman took command of his division at Paducah early in March.

During all this time the public heard nothing of Sherman. The press said nothing against him; it had ostracised and then forgotten him. He was under a cloud still, but it was about to lift for a brief period.

CHAPTER IV.

SHILOH.

THE enemy's forces under General A. S. Johnston, consisting of the corps of Polk, Bragg, and Hardee, of two divisions each, and the reserve division of Brigadier-General Breckinridge, having successively evacuated Columbus and Nashville, and abandoned Tennessee and Kentucky, with the exception of Memphis and Cumberland Gap, had concentrated at Corinth, in Mississippi, and were there awaiting the development of our plans, ready to act according to circumstances, on the offensive or defensive, and to take advantage of any error we might make. The position was well chosen for observing our movements, for covering the line of the Mississippi, or for menacing the flank and rear of an army invading Mississippi and Alabama.

General Halleck decided to advance up the Tennessee River as far as practicable by water; then to debark on the west bank, attack the enemy at Corinth, and endeavor to cut him off from the East, and compel his surrender either at Corinth or on the banks of the Mississippi. Grant was ordered to move up the Tennessee, and Buell to march from Nashville and join him near Savannah, Tennessee.

On the 14th of March, Sherman, with the leading division of Grant's army, passed up the Tennessee on transports, and after making a feint of landing at Eastport, dropped down the stream and disembarked at Pittsburgh Landing. It was Sherman's intention to march from this point seven miles in the direction of Iuka, and then halting his infantry, to dispatch the cavalry to the nearest point on the Memphis and Charles-

ton railway. The attempt was made, but the enemy was encountered in greater force than had been expected, and it did not succeed. In the mean while, Major-General Charles F. Smith, who had command of the advance, having landed his own second division at Savannah, had selected Pittsburgh Landing as the most favorable position for the encampment of the main body of the army, and under his instructions Sherman and Hurlbut, who, with the fourth division, had closely followed him, went into camp there. In the course of a few days they were joined by the first and sixth divisions of McClelland and Prentiss, and by Smith's own division from Savannah; and Major-General Grant himself arrived and took command in person. During the last week of March, the Army of the Tennessee only waited for the Army of the Ohio. General Buell had informed General Grant that he would join him before that time; but he had encountered great delays, and on the morning of the sixth of April the Army of the Ohio had not yet come. It was hourly expected. Instructions had been sent by General Grant to expedite its advance, and to push on to Pittsburgh. The importance of the crisis was apparent, for Johnston would naturally seek to strike Grant before Buell's arrival; but Buell marched his troops with the same deliberation as if no other army depended upon his promptness. By express orders he even caused intervals of six miles to be observed between his divisions on the march, thus lengthening out his column to a distance of over thirty miles.

Pittsburgh is not a village, but simply a steamboat landing, containing a log hut or two, and is situated in a deep ravine, down which the Corinth road leads to the Tennessee River. The distance to Corinth is twenty miles. The ground in front of Pittsburgh is an undulating table-land, about a hundred feet above the road bottom, lying between two small tributaries of the Tennessee, Lick Creek on the south, and Snake Creek on the north, and having a front of about three miles between the two streams. Owl Creek rises near the source of Lick Creek, and flowing northeasterly, empties into Snake

Creek. Towards the river the bank is broken into abrupt ravines, and rises gradually to a range of low hills, which form the steep north banks of Lick Creek. The country is covered with a heavy forest, easily passable for troops, except where the dense undergrowth now and then constitutes an obstruction, and is sparsely broken by a few small cleared farms of about eighty acres each. The soil is a tenacious clay. About two miles from the landing the road to Corinth forks into two branches, forming the Lower Corinth road and the Ridge Corinth road; and another road leads off, still further to the left, across Lick Creek to Hamburg, a few miles up the Tennessee River. On the right, two roads lead almost due west to Purdy, and another in a northerly direction across Snake Creek, down the river to Crump's Landing, six miles below. Innumerable smaller roads intersect these.

On the front of this position, facing to the south and southwest, five divisions of the Army of the Tennessee were encamped on the morning of the 6th of April. On the extreme left lay Stuart's brigade of Sherman's division, on the Hamburg road, behind the abrupt bank of Lick Creek. Prentiss's small division, facing to the south, carried the line across a branch of the main Corinth road, nearly to Sherman's left. Sherman facing to the south, with his right thrown back towards the landing, extended the front to the Purdy road, near Owl Creek. This advanced line was about two miles from the landing. Near the river, about a mile in rear of Prentiss and Stuart, Hurlbut's division was encamped; McClelland's was posted to the left and rear of Sherman, covering the interval between him and Prentiss; and C. F. Smith's division, commanded during his severe illness at Savannah by Brigadier-General W. H. L. Wallace, was on the right of Hurlbut. Lewis Wallace's division was six miles distant, at Crump's Landing. Our whole force in front of Pittsburgh was about thirty thousand men.

On Friday, the 4th of April, the enemy's cavalry had made a demonstration upon the picket line, drove it in on Sherman's centre, and captured a lieutenant and seven men. They were

driven back by the cavalry of Sherman's division, and pursued for a distance of about five miles, with considerable loss. The next day the enemy's cavalry had again showed itself in our front, but there was nothing to indicate a general attack until seven o'clock on Sunday morning, when the advance guard on Sherman's front was forced in upon his main line. Sherman at once got his men under arms, sent a request to General McClelland to support his left, and informed Generals Prentiss and Hurlbut that the enemy was before him in force. Sherman's division was posted as follows: The first brigade, under Colonel J. A. McDowell, consisting of his own regiment, the 6th Iowa; 40th Illinois, Colonel Hicks; 46th Ohio, Colonel Worthington, and Captain Behr's "Morton" Battery held the right, guarding the bridge over Owl Creek, on the Purdy road. The fourth brigade, commanded by Colonel Buckland of the 72d Ohio, and including that regiment; the 48th Ohio, Colonel Sullivan, and the 70th Ohio, Colonel Cockerill, continued the line, its left resting on Shiloh meeting-house. The third brigade, commanded by Colonel Hildebrand of the 77th Ohio, was composed of that regiment, the 53d Ohio, Colonel Appler, and the 57th Ohio, Colonel Mungen, and was posted to the left of the Corinth road, its right resting on Shiloh meeting-house. Taylor's battery of light artillery was in position at the meeting-house, and Waterhouse's on a ridge to the left commanding the open ground between Appler's and Mungen's regiments. Eight companies of the 4th Illinois cavalry, Colonel Dickey, were placed in a large open field in rear of the centre of the division. Stuart's second brigade was, as we have seen, detached, and on the extreme left of the army.

The enemy formed under cover of the brush that lines the Owl Creek bottom, and at eight o'clock opened fire from his artillery, and moved forward his infantry across the open ground and up the slope that separated him from our lines. It now became evident that a general and determined attack was intended. Under cover of the advance on Sherman's front, the enemy was seen moving heavy masses to the left to

attack Prentiss. About nine, the firing told that Prentiss was giving ground, and presently Colonel Appler's Fifty-third Ohio and Colonel Mungen's Fifty-seventh Ohio regiments broke in disorder, exposing Waterhouse's battery. A brigade of McClermand's division, which had been promptly moved forward by General McClermand to the support of Sherman's left, formed the immediate supports of this battery; but the enemy advanced with such vigor, and kept up so severe a fire, that the three regiments composing it were soon also in disorder, and the battery was lost. McDowell's and Buckland's brigades, and the remaining regiment of Hildebrand's brigade, maintained the position at Shiloh for an hour longer; but ten o'clock found the enemy pressing heavily upon Sherman's front, their artillery supported by infantry entirely in rear of the left flank of the division, and Hildebrand's own regiment broken up also; so that it was found necessary to change position at once, and Sherman accordingly gave orders to retire his line to the Purdy and Hamburgh road, near McClermand's first position, and there continue the defence. Taylor's battery was sent to the rear at once to take up the new position, and hold the enemy in check while the movement was in progress. Riding across the angle, General Sherman met, at the intersection of this road with the Corinth road, Captain Behr's battery, attached to Colonel McDowell's brigade, and ordered it to come into battery. The captain had hardly given the order to his men, when he was struck by a musket-ball and fell from his horse. Dismayed, the drivers and gunners incontinently fled without firing a single shot, carrying with them the caissons and one gun, and abandoning the other six to the enemy, who was vigorously pressing forward. General Sherman being thus reduced to the necessity of again choosing a new line, and of abandoning the attempt to maintain his old one, promptly moved the coherent remainder of his division, consisting of Colonel McDowell's and Colonel Buckland's brigades, Captain Taylor's battery, and three guns of Captain Waterhouse's battery, to the support of General McClermand's right, which was just

then seriously menaced. At half-past ten the enemy made a furious attack on the whole front of McClelland's division, and for some time pressed it hard; but the opportune movement of Colonel McDowell's brigade directly against his left flank, forced him back, and relieved the pressure. Taking advantage of the cover which the trees and felled timber afforded, and of a wooded ravine on the right, Sherman held this position for four hours, stubbornly contesting it with the enemy, who continued to make the most determined efforts to drive us back upon the river. General Grant visited this part of the lines about three in the afternoon, conversed with McClelland and Sherman, and informed them of the condition of affairs on the other parts of the field, where our resistance had been less successful. An hour later it became evident to both the division commanders, from the sounds heard in that direction, that Hurlbut had fallen back towards the river; and having been informed by General Grant that General Lewis Wallace was on his way from Crump's Landing with his entire division, they agreed upon a new line of defence, covering the bridge over Snake Creek, by which these reinforcements were expected to approach. The retirement to the position so selected was made deliberately, and in as good order as could have been expected. Many stragglers and fragments of troops were encountered during the movement, and united with the two divisions. The enemy's cavalry attempting a charge was handsomely repulsed. The Fifth Ohio cavalry arriving upon the ground, held the enemy in check for some time, until Major Ezra Taylor, chief of artillery of Sherman's division, came up with Schwartz's battery of McClelland's division, and opened an effective fire upon the enemy's flank as he pressed forward against McClelland's right. McClelland having now deployed his division on its new line, ordered a charge, which was handsomely executed, driving the enemy from his front, and forcing them to seek cover in the ravines in advance of our right. It was now five o'clock. The new line had been well selected, and afforded us a decided advantage, the ground along its front being open for a distance of

about two hundred yards. The enemy's momentum was spent, and he did not afterwards attempt to cross this open space.

On the left the day had scarcely gone so well. The weight of the enemy's attack was chiefly directed against this wing. The two brigades of Prentiss gave way early in the morning, and drifted to the rear as Hurlbut advanced to their support, and by ten o'clock the division had melted away. Hurlbut made a gallant fight, obstinately contesting the ground with varying success, until four o'clock in the afternoon, when his division also was pressed to the rear, and the whole line compelled to retire. Smith's division, under the command of Brigadier-General W. H. L. Wallace, had been moved upon Hurlbut's right, and had materially aided in holding our ground there, but had in its turn been forced back. Colonel Stuart's brigade held the extreme left until the pressure of the enemy on its front, and the exposure of its flank by the disaster to Prentiss, forced it successively to take up new lines of defence on the ridges which broke the ground towards the river. Our troops held this last line firmly. It was now after six o'clock in the afternoon. The battle had lasted nearly twelve hours. Our troops had been driven from all their camps of the morning, except Wallace's, to the line of woods in the rear, had been dislodged from that position, and again pressed back, and now held a line perpendicular to the river, with its left resting on the bluff behind which the landing was situated, and only half a mile from it. The enemy gathered up his forces, and made a last desperate effort to gain this position. But his losses had been very heavy, his troops were much shaken by the hard fighting they had encountered, and the spirit which characterized their first onset in the morning had burned out. Cheatham's division and Gladden's brigade, which now held the extreme right of the Confederate line on the river, lay directly under the fire of our artillery. They attempted to take it, but were repulsed in great disorder.

A galling fire of artillery and musketry was poured into them; and the gunboats "Lexington" and "Tyler" swept the flanks with their nine-inch shell. Their troops were re-formed with

difficulty. Night was closing in. General Beauregard gave the orders to retire out of range, and the battle was over.

Darkness fell upon the disordered and confused remnants of two large armies. In each the losses had been very heavy, the straggling fearful, and the confusion almost inextricable. But the enemy had failed. He had attempted to force us back upon the river and compel our surrender, and had not done so. In the morning we would attack him and seek to drive him from the field. General Grant had given verbal orders to that effect to General Sherman about 3 P. M., before the last repulse of the enemy.

General Albert Sidney Johnston, the Confederate commander-in-chief, was mortally wounded in front of Sherman's division, and died shortly afterwards at half-past two o'clock. Two regiments of Nelson's division, of the Army of the Ohio, crossed the river, and arrived upon the extreme left of the field about six o'clock, in time to fire a few shots just before the final repulse. As Nelson's troops came up, they met an appalling sight. A crowd of from seven to ten thousand panic-stricken wretches thronged the landing, crouching behind trees and under the bluff to avoid the enemy's shell, which had begun to drop in among them, and giving vent to the most sickening cries that we were whipped, and cut to pieces, and imploring their newly-arrived comrades to share their shame. But the gallant men of Nelson's division were unmoved by the scene, and greeted the loathsome pack with jeers and sarcasm. It is perhaps natural enough that those who saw only the stragglers should have found it hard to believe that any one had fought. Yet the greater portion of the Army of the Tennessee had stood to their arms, and had repulsed the enemy.

The troops slept that night in good spirits, although about midnight they were drenched by the heavy rain which began to fall. They knew that the enemy had failed, that Lewis Wallace would be up during the night, that Buell was arriving, and that in the morning these fresh battalions would be hurled against the shaken and broken foe. The "Lexington"

dropped a shell into the enemy's lines every ten minutes, until 1 A. M., when the "Tyler" took her turn at the same task, firing every quarter of an hour till daylight. The demoralizing shriek of the navy shells, while it robbed the enemy of rest, was inspiring music to the ears of our wearied troops. During the night the remainder of Nelson's division crossed the river, and took position in the left front; and later came Crittenden's division, followed by McCook's, successively extending the line to the right and connecting with Hurlbut's left. Lewis Wallace arrived about 1 A. M., and came into position on Sherman's right.

Daybreak of the 7th found the enemy out of sight in our front. He showed no signs of advancing. Beauregard did not know that Buell had come, and yet he did not attack. As soon as it was fairly light, the division commanders received the orders promised by General Grant at the close of the previous day's battle, to move upon the enemy and drive him from our front. By six o'clock our artillery opened fire on the left. About seven, Nelson, Crittenden, and McCook pushed forward, and by ten were warmly engaged with the enemy in a contest for the possession of the old camps. Hurlbut, McClelland, Sherman, and Wallace now moved steadily forward. The open fields in front of the log church of Shiloh were reached. The enemy's position here was a strong one, and he contested it obstinately. For more than three hours he held his ground in the scrub-oak thicket. But by one o'clock his weakness had become apparent. He was yielding everywhere, and giving palpable signs of exhaustion. General Beauregard gave orders to withdraw from the contest. About 2 P. M. his right retired, and two hours later his left followed. The movement was made in tolerable order. Near the junction of the Hamburg and Pittsburgh road with the Hamburg and Corinth road, his rear-guard under Breckinridge made a stand; and the next day his retreat was continued to Corinth. On the 8th, Sherman, with two brigades, followed Breckinridge to the point where he made his first stand. But our troops were worn out, disorganized, out of supplies, and

in no condition to enter upon a campaign. They returned to Pittsburgh to refit and reorganize. Sherman lost 318 killed, 1,275 wounded, and 441 missing; total, 2,034. Brigadier-General W. H. L. Wallace was killed during the first day, and Brigadier-General B. M. Prentiss taken prisoner, and their divisions broken up and distributed.

The enemy went into battle on the 6th with forty thousand three hundred and fifty-five effective men. His losses, as stated by General Beauregard in his official report, were, in killed, 1,728; wounded, 8,012; missing, 959; total, 10,699. General Beauregard says: "On Monday, from exhaustion and other causes, not twenty thousand men could be brought into action on our side." If we suppose two-thirds of the casualties to have occurred on Sunday, there should still have been over thirty-eight thousand men with the rebel colors on Monday; and even imagining, for the sake of illustration, that all the losses took place on the first day, the enemy should have had nearly thirty-five thousand fighting men on the second. Yet that number was less than twenty thousand. Here are from fifteen to eighteen thousand men to be accounted for, or about half of his remaining force. These are the stragglers.

General Beauregard, in his official report, estimate the Union forces engaged on Sunday at forty-five thousand, the remnant of General Grant's forces on Monday morning at twenty thousand, and the reinforcements received during the preceding night at thirty-three thousand, making fifty-three thousand arrayed against him on that day, or seventy-eight thousand on both days; and he set down our aggregate losses at twenty thousand.

The enemy's troops were comparatively old. Bragg's corps had been under fire at Pensacola; Polk's, at Columbus; and Hardee's, at Mill Spring, in Kentucky. A considerable portion of them had been organized and drilled since the summer of 1861, but there was also a large infusion of new regiments and new men, troops which had never been under fire, and militia just from the States. The commander-in-chief, General Albert Sidney Johnston, was one of the ablest officers of

the old regular army of the United States. General Beauregard, his second in command, had been known as a skilful officer of engineers, and by the exercise of his popular talents had suddenly achieved a reputation which his subsequent history has failed to sustain. Of Grant's army only two divisions had been under fire. Sherman's, Prentiss's, Hurlbut's, and Lewis Wallace's were all new and raw.

The Union soldiers showed that they could fight, and that they would. They proved themselves superior to defeat. General Sherman says in his official report :—

“My division was made up of regiments perfectly new, all having received their muskets for the first time at Paducah. None of them had ever been under fire, or beheld heavy columns of an enemy bearing down on them, as this did on last Sunday. To expect of them the coolness and steadiness of older troops would be wrong. They knew not the value of combination and organization. When individual fear seized them, the first impulse was to get away. My third brigade did break much too soon, and I am not yet advised where they were Sunday afternoon and Monday morning. Colonel Hildebrand, its commander, was as cool as any man I ever saw, and no one could have made stronger efforts to hold his men to their places than he did. He kept his own regiment, with individual exceptions, in hand an hour after Appler's and Mungen's regiments had left their proper field of action. Colonel Buckland managed his brigade well. I commend him to your notice as a cool, intelligent, and judicious gentleman, needing only confidence and experience to make a good commander. His subordinates, Colonels Sullivan and Cockerill, behaved with great gallantry, the former receiving a severe wound on Sunday, and yet commanding and holding his regiment well in hand all day; and on Monday until his right arm was broken by a shot, Cockerill held a larger proportion of his men than any colonel in my division, and was with me from first to last. Colonel J. A. McDowell, commanding the first brigade, held his ground on Sunday till I ordered him to fall back, which he did in line of battle; and when ordered, he con-

ducted the attack on the enemy's left in good style. In falling back to the next position he was thrown from his horse and injured, and his brigade was not in position on Monday morning. His subordinates, Colonels Hicks and Worthington, displayed great personal courage. Colonel Hicks led his regiment in the attack on Sunday, and received a wound which is feared may prove fatal. He is a brave and gallant gentleman, and deserves well of his country. Lieutenant-Colonel Walcutt, of the Ohio Forty-sixth, was severely wounded on Sunday, and has been disabled ever since. My second brigade, Colonel Stuart, was detached near two miles from my headquarters. He had to fight his own battle on Sunday against superior numbers, as the enemy interposed between him and General Prentiss early in the day. Colonel Stuart was wounded severely, and yet reported for duty on Monday morning, but was compelled to leave during the day, when the command devolved on Colonel T. Kilby Smith, who was always in the thickest of the fight, and led the brigade handsomely. . . . Lieutenant-Colonel Kyle, of the Seventy-first was mortally wounded on Sunday. . . . Several times during the battle cartridges gave out, but General Grant had thoughtfully kept a supply coming from the rear. When I appealed to regiments to stand fast although out of cartridges, I did so because to retire a regiment for any cause has a bad effect on others. I commend the Fortieth Illinois and Thirteenth Missouri for thus holding their ground under heavy fire, although their cartridge-boxes were empty. Great credit is due the fragments of men of the disordered regiments, who kept in the advance. I observed and noticed them, but until the brigadiers and colonels make their reports, I cannot venture to name individuals, but will in due season notice all who kept in our front, as well as those who preferred to keep back near the steamboat landing."

Sherman was everywhere; encouraging his troops, rallying the stragglers, directing the batteries with his own hands, advising with other commanders, superintending every movement in person. Those who still fancied him crazy did not, after

this, deny his energy, coolness, courage, skill, and perseverance upon the battle-field. This was his first battle, and yet so ingrained were the details of war upon his mind, that his spirit leaped at once above the novelty of the situation, and wore the new experience like an old habit. On Sunday, he was wounded by a bullet through the left hand, but bandaged it, and went on with his work. On Monday, he was again wounded, and had three horses shot under him, but mounted a fourth and stayed on the field.

General Grant says, in his official report, otherwise sufficiently formal: "I feel it a duty to a gallant and able officer, Brigadier-General W. T. Sherman, to make special mention. He not only was with his command during the entire two days of the action, but displayed great judgment and skill in the management of his men. Although severely wounded in the hand on the first day, his place was never vacant."

A few days later, Major-General Halleck, not given to un-mixed praise, having arrived upon the ground, went so far as to observe, "It is the unanimous opinion here that Brigadier-General W. T. Sherman saved the fortunes of the day on the 6th, and contributed largely to the glorious victory of the 7th. . . . I respectfully recommend that he be made a major-general of volunteers, to date from the 6th instant."

And on the 26th of July, 1863, in urging Sherman's promotion as a brigadier-general in the regular army, General Grant wrote to the War Department: "At the battle of Shiloh, on the first day, he held, with raw troops, the key point of the landing. It is no disparagement to any other officer to say, that I do not believe there was another division commander on the field who had the skill and experience to have done it. To his individual efforts I am indebted for the success of that battle."

CHAPTER V.

CORINTH.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Shiloh, Major-General Halleck left Saint Louis, proceeded to Pittsburgh Landing, and there took personal command of the forces, which he caused to be reinforced from other parts of his department. Major-General Pope was placed in command of the left wing, Major-General Buell of the centre, Major-General Thomas of the right wing, and Major-General McClelland of the reserve, while Major-General Grant was assigned, by General Halleck, to nominal duty as second in command.

After his repulse at Shiloh, Beauregard concentrated his army at Corinth, and, strongly fortifying that position, and summoning to his aid all the available troops in the southwest, including the armies of Price and Van Dorn, from Missouri and Arkansas, as well as the militia of the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, prepared for a determined defence. "Soldiers of Shiloh and Elkhorn!" he said to his troops, "we are about to meet once more in the shock of battle the invaders of our soil, the despoilers of our homes, the disturbers of our family ties, face to face, hand to hand. . . . With your mingled banners, for the first time during this war, we shall meet the foe in strength that should give us victory. Soldiers, can the result be doubtful? Shall we not drive back into Tennessee the presumptuous mercenaries collected for our subjugation? One more manly effort, and, trusting in God and the justness of our cause, we shall recover more than we have lately lost."

Bragg, too, addressed his men in the same strain, telling them: "You will encounter him in your chosen position, strong

by nature and improved by art, away from his main support and reliance—gunboats and heavy batteries—and for the first time in this war, with nearly equal numbers.”

Corinth, ninety-three miles west-southwest from Memphis, and twenty-nine miles from Pittsburgh, is the junction of the Mobile and Ohio and the Memphis and Charleston railroads. These two great lines intersecting each other at right angles, connect the Mississippi with the Atlantic and the Ohio with the Gulf.

On the 13th of May, having three thousand four hundred and ten absent, sick, and wounded, out of a total of five thousand four hundred and sixty men, Sherman found it necessary to consolidate his division into three brigades, as follows: First brigade, to be commanded by Brigadier-General Morgan L. Smith, Eighth Missouri, Fifty-fifth Illinois, Fifty-fourth Ohio, and Fifty-seventh Ohio; second brigade, Colonel J. A. McDowell, Sixth Iowa, Forty-sixth Ohio, Fortieth Illinois, and Seventy-seventh Ohio; third brigade, Colonel R. P. Buckland, Seventy-second Ohio, Seventieth Ohio, Forty-eighth Ohio, and Fifty-third Ohio. On the following day, however, Brigadier-General James W. Denver arrived, reported to General Sherman for duty, and was assigned to the command of the third brigade.

General Halleck advanced cautiously and by slow marches, intrenching at every step. On the afternoon of 17th of May, in conformity with instructions previously received by him from the commander-in-chief, General Sherman made dispositions to drive the enemy from his position at Russell's house, on a hill situated about a mile and a quarter from the outer intrenchments of Corinth, and about two miles in advance of the main camps of our army. Requesting General Hurlbut to put in motion two regiments and a battery of artillery, at three o'clock P. M., on the road which passes the front of his line and runs to Russell's house, Sherman ordered General Denver to take a right-hand road with two regiments of his brigade and one battery of light artillery, namely, the Seventieth and Seventy-second Ohio, and Barrett's battery, and

gave him a guide so to conduct his march as to arrive on the left of the enemy's position by the time he was engaged in front; and ordered General Morgan L. Smith's brigade, with Bouton's battery, to follow the main road, drive back a brigade of the enemy's forces that held the position at Russell's, with their skirmishers and pickets, down to the causeway and bridge across a small stream about eight hundred yards east of Russell's house.

All these forces were put in motion at three p. m., General Denver's forces taking the right-hand road, and General Smith's the direct main road. On reaching the causeway, General Smith deployed his skirmishers forward, and sent out his advance-guard. The column advanced, and the skirmishers became engaged at once. The firing was very brisk, but the enemy's pickets were driven steadily back till they reached the position of their brigade at Russell's house, where their resistance was obstinate.

The ground was unfavorable to artillery till the skirmishers had cleared the hill beyond the causeway, when Major Taylor, chief of artillery, of Sherman's division, advanced first one of Bouton's guns, and very soon after the remaining three guns of the battery. These, upon reaching the hill-top, commenced firing at Russell's house and outhouses, in which the enemy had taken shelter, when their whole force retreated, and full possession was obtained of Russell's house and the ground for three hundred yards in advance, where the roads meet. This being the limit to which the brigade was intended to go, it was halted. The head of General Denver's column reached its position as the enemy was beginning to retreat.

General Morgan L. Smith conducted the advance of his brigade handsomely, and the chief work and loss fell upon his two leading regiments, the Eighth Missouri and Fifth-fifth Illinois. He held the ground till about daylight next morning, when, by General Sherman's order, he left a strong picket there, and placed his brigade back a short distance in easy support, where it remained until relieved.

No loss was sustained by Hurlbut's or Denver's commands

in their flank movements on Russell's; the loss in General Morgan L. Smith's brigade was ten killed and thirty-one wounded.

The position thus gained proved to be one of great natural strength, and Sherman at once proceeded to fortify it. Lines were laid off by the engineers, and although the advance on Corinth had witnessed their first experiment with intrenching tools, the troops in Sherman's division succeeded in constructing a parapet that met the approval of the critical eye of the commander-in-chief. The dense woods and undergrowth were cleared away in front, to give range to the batteries. The work went on day and night without interruption. The division continued to occupy the intrenched camp at Russell's until the night of May 27th, when an order was received from General Halleck by telegraph—through which means regular communication had been established between general headquarters and the several division commanders—directing General Sherman to send a force the next day to drive the rebels from his front on the Corinth road, to drive in their pickets as far as possible, and to make a strong demonstration on Corinth itself. Under authority conferred upon him by the same order, Sherman called upon Major-General McClelland, commanding the Reserve Corps, and Major-General Hurlbut, who commanded one of the adjacent divisions, to furnish one brigade each, to co-operate in the proposed movement with the two brigades of Denver and Morgan L. Smith, detached from Sherman's own division for the same purpose. Colonel John A. Logan's brigade of Judah's division, of McClelland's reserve corps, and Brigadier-General J. C. Veatch's brigade of Hurlbut's division, accordingly reported to General Sherman for this duty.

The house referred to was a double log building, standing on a high ridge on the upper or southern end of a large field, and was used by the enemy as a block-house, from which to annoy our pickets. The large field was perfectly overlooked by this house, as well as by the ridge along its southern line of defence, which was covered by a dense grove of heavy oaks

and underbrush. The main Corinth road runs along the eastern fence, whilst the field itself, about three hundred yards wide by about five hundred yards long, extended far to the right into the low land of Phillip's Creek, so densely wooded as to be impassable. On the eastern side of the field the woods were more open. The enemy could be seen at all times in and about the house and the ridge beyond, and our pickets could not show themselves on our side of the field without attracting a shot.

Sherman ordered General J. W. Denver, with his third brigade, and the Morton battery of four guns, to march in perfect silence at eight A. M., keeping well under cover as he approached the field; General Morgan L. Smith's first brigade, with Barrett's and Waterhouse's batteries, to move along the main road, keeping his force well masked in the woods to the left; Brigadier-General Veatch's brigade to move from General Hurlbut's lines through the woods on the left of and connecting with General M. L. Smith's; and General John A. Logan's brigade to move down to Bowie's Hill Cut of the Mobile and Ohio railroad, and thence forward to the left, so as to connect with General Denver's brigade on the extreme right; all to march at eight A. M., with skirmishers well to the front, to keep well concealed, and, at a signal, to rush quickly on to the ridge, thus avoiding as much as possible the danger of crossing the open field, exposed to the fire of a concealed enemy.

The preliminary arrangements having thus been made, two twenty-pounder Parrot rifle-guns of Silfversparre's battery, under the immediate supervision of Major Taylor, chief of artillery of Sherman's division, were moved silently through the forest to a point behind a hill, from the top of which could be seen the house and ground to be contested. The guns were unlimbered, loaded with shell, and moved by hand to the crest. At the proper time he gave the order to commence firing and demolish the house. About a dozen shells well directed soon accomplished this; then designating a single shot of the twenty-pound Parrot-gun of Silfversparre as a signal for the

brigades to advance, he waited till all were in position, and ordered the signal, when the troops dashed forward, crossed the field, drove the enemy across the ridge and field beyond into another dense and seemingly impenetrable forest. The enemy was evidently surprised. By ten A. M. we were masters of the position. Generals Grant and Thomas were present during the affair, and witnessed the movement, which was admirably executed.

An irregular piece of cleared land lay immediately in front of General Denver's position, and extended obliquely to the left, in front of and across Morgan Smith's and Veatch's brigades, which were posted on the right and left of the main Corinth road, leading directly south. About three P. M. Sherman's troops were startled by the quick rattle of musketry along our whole picket-line, followed by the cheers and yells of an attacking column of the enemy.

Sherman's artillery and Mann's battery of Veatch's brigade had been judiciously posted by Major Taylor, and before the yell of the enemy had died away arose our reply in the cannon's mouth. The firing was very good, rapid, well-directed, and the shells burst in the right place. Our pickets were at first driven in a little, but soon recovered their ground and held it, and the enemy retreated in utter confusion. On further examination of the ground, with its connection on the left with General Hurlbut, and right resting on the railroad near Bowie Hill Cut, it was determined to intrench. The lines were laid out after dark, and the work substantially finished by morning. All this time Sherman was within one thousand three hundred yards of the enemy's main intrenchments, which were concealed by the dense foliage of the oak forest, and without a battle, which at that time was to be avoided, Sherman could not push out his skirmishers more than two hundred yards to the front. For his own security he had to destroy two farmhouses, both of which had been loopholed and occupied by the enemy. By nine A. M. of the twenty-ninth our works were substantially done, and our artillery in position, and at four P. M. the siege-train was brought forward, and

Colonel McDowell's second brigade had come from the former lines at Russell's, and had relieved General John A. Logan's brigade.

Sherman then had his whole division in a slightly curved line, facing south, his right resting on the Mobile and Ohio railroad, near a deep cut known as Bowie Hill Cut, and left resting on the main Corinth road, at the crest of the ridge, there connecting with General Hurlbut, who, in turn, on his left connected with General Davies, and so on down the whole line to its extremity. So near was the enemy that the Union troops could hear the sound of his drums, and sometimes of voices in command, and the railroad cars arriving and departing at Corinth were easily distinguished. For some days and nights cars had been arriving and departing very frequently, especially in the night. Before daybreak, Sherman instructed the brigade commanders and the field-officers of the day to feel forward as far as possible, but all reported the enemy's pickets still in force in the dense woods to our front. But about six A. M. a curious explosion, sounding like a volley of large siege-pieces, followed by others singly and in twos and threes, arrested Sherman's attention; and soon after a large smoke arose from the direction of Corinth, when he telegraphed General Halleck to ascertain the cause. The latter answered that he could not explain it, but ordered Sherman "to advance his division and feel the enemy, if still in his front." Sherman immediately put in motion two regiments of each brigade, by different roads, and soon after followed with the whole division, infantry, artillery, and cavalry.

Somewhat to his surprise, the enemy's chief redoubt was found within thirteen hundred yards of our line of intrenchments, but completely masked by the dense forest and undergrowth. Instead of being, as had been supposed, a continuous line of intrenchments encircling Corinth, the defences consisted of separate redoubts, connected in part by a parapet and ditch, and in part by shallow rifle-pits, the trees being felled so as to give a good field of fire to and beyond the main road. General M. L. Smith's brigade moved rapidly down the

main road, entering the first redoubt of the enemy at seven A. M. It was completely evacuated, and he pushed on into Corinth, and beyond, to College Hill. General Denver entered the enemy's lines at the same time, seven A. M., at a point midway between the wagon and railroad, and proceeded on to Corinth, and Colonel McDowell kept further to the right, near the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. By eight A. M. all Sherman's division was at Corinth and beyond.

On the whole ridge extending from Sherman's camp into Corinth, and to the right and left, could be seen the remains of the abandoned camps of the enemy, flour and provisions scattered about, and every thing indicating a speedy and confused retreat. In the town itself many houses were still burning, and the ruins of warehouses and buildings containing commissary and other confederate stores were still smouldering; but there still remained piles of cannon-balls, shells, and shot, sugar, molasses, beans, rice, and other property, which the enemy had failed to carry off or destroy.

From the best information obtained from the few citizens who remained in Corinth, it appeared that the enemy had for some days been removing their sick and valuable stores, and had sent away on railroad-cars a part of their effective force on the night of the 28th. But, of course, even the vast amount of their rolling-stock could not carry away an army of a hundred thousand men. The enemy was therefore compelled to march away, and began the march by ten o'clock on the night of the 29th—the columns filling all the roads leading south and west all night—the rear-guard firing the train, which led to the explosions and conflagration. The enemy did not relieve his pickets that morning, and many of them were captured, who did not have the slightest intimation of the proposed evacuation.

Finding Corinth abandoned by the enemy, Sherman ordered General M. L. Smith to pursue on the Ripley road, by which it appeared they had taken the bulk of their artillery.

General Smith pushed the pursuit up to the bridges and narrow causeway by which the bottom of Tusculumbia

Creek is passed. The enemy opened with canister on the small party of cavalry, and burned every bridge, leaving the woods full of straggling soldiers. Many of these were gathered up and sent to the rear, but the main army had escaped across Tuscumbia Creek. Sherman says, in his official report of the siege:

"The evacuation of Corinth, at the time and in the manner in which it was done, was a clear back-down from the high and arrogant tone heretofore assumed by the rebels. The ground was of their own choice. The fortifications, though poor and indifferent, were all they supposed necessary to our defeat, as they had had two months to make them, with an immense force to work at their disposal. If, with two such railroads as they possessed, they could not supply their army with reinforcements and provisions, how can they attempt it in this poor, arid, and exhausted part of the country?"

From the time the army moved on Corinth, up to the date of its evacuation, the troops of Sherman's division had constructed seven distinct lines of intrenchments. Scarcely had one line been completed before they were called upon to advance a short distance, take up a new position, and construct another line. Occupying as it did the extreme right flank of the army, this division was necessarily more exposed, and was compelled to perform harder work, and furnished heavier details than any other single division in the entire command. But every task was performed with a cheerfulness and alacrity that elicited the highest encomiums from the division commander.

"But a few days ago," he says in his congratulatory order of May 31st, "a large and powerful rebel army lay at Corinth, with outposts extending to our very camp at Shiloh. They held two railroads extending north and south, east and west, across the whole extent of their country, with a vast number of locomotives and cars to bring to them speedily and certainly their reinforcements and supplies. They called to their aid all their armies from every quarter, abandoning the sea-coast and the great river Mississippi, that they might over-

CHAPTER VI.

MEMPHIS.

GRAND JUNCTION, fifty-two miles west of Memphis, and one hundred and fifty-four south from Cairo, is the junction of the Memphis and Charleston with the Mississippi Central Railway. Ninety-nine miles from Memphis, and a hundred and two from Grand Junction, the latter road joins the Mississippi and Tennessee Railway at Grenada. An army operating from Memphis as a base, and holding in force Corinth, Holly Springs, and some such point as Hernando, on the Mississippi and Tennessee Railway, are in a position to defend West Tennessee from the Tennessee River to the Mississippi, and to take the offensive against an enemy protecting Northern Mississippi.

No sooner was Corinth occupied, and the semblance of a pursuit of the enemy ended, than General Halleck ordered General Buell to march with the Army of the Ohio by Huntsville and Stevenson on Chattanooga, Tennessee, and seize the key of the debouches from the mountain region of the centre; while General Grant, again restored to the command of the Army of the Tennessee, was left in command of the District of West Tennessee and Northern Mississippi, and General Pope's troops were sent back to Missouri. The enemy was concentrated at Tupelo, Mississippi, forty-nine miles below Corinth, on the line of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, under the command of General Braxton Bragg, who had relieved Beauregard in consequence of the latter's illness.

On the 9th of June, at Chewalla, Sherman received General Halleck's orders to march with his own division and Hurlbut's Fourth division to Grand Junction, to repair the Memphis and