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THE
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AMERICAN CIVIL WAR IN DIFFERENT MILITARY CAMPAIGNS
COMMANDER OF ARMY CORPS; COMMANDER OF ARMIES
COMMANDER OF DISTRICT; COMMANDER OF
DEPARTMENT; STATE AND NATIONAL
LEGISLATOR; CITIZEN

By
CHARLES ELIHU SLOCUM, M.D., Ph.D., LL.D.

MEMBER OF LOCAL, OHIO STATE, AND NEW YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETIES; OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC
GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY; AND OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

STAY AND FIGHT IT OUT—*General Slocum's Injunction to the Council of War
in the Dark Hour of the Battle of Gettysburg*

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TO THE NUMEROUS POSTS OF
THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC
A SOCIETY OF HONORABLY DISCHARGED SOLDIERS
OF THE UNION ARMIES AND NAVY OF THE CIVIL WAR OF 1861-1865
WHICH HAS CONTRIBUTED LARGELY TO THE UPLIFT
OF THE SOCIAL LIFE OF ITS MEMBERS
AS WELL AS TO THE BROADENING OF
THEIR PATRIOTIC LOVE OF THEIR COUNTRY
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED
BY THE AUTHOR

v
141271

I wish for humanity's sake that this sad war could be brought to a close. While laboring to make it successful, I shall do all in my power to mitigate its horrors.—GENERAL SLOCUM's letter to his wife November 7, 1864, from Atlanta, eight days before starting on the memorable MARCH TO THE SEA.

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This book is given to events surrounding, and centering in, one prominent actor in the Great Civil War of 1861-1865 in the United States of America, with mention of other actors and events closely associated with the subject actor for the side lights thus cast on the subject for the rounding of the record.

It has been the desire of the writer to keep each page clear in its record of men and events, and not to forget that the detail belongs to the principal subject. It is thought best to incline to some details that may be thought unnecessary by those readers fully informed, rather than to have the average reader miss too much that he would like to know. Irrelevant questions have been avoided.

More than a generation in time has passed since the close of the great internal strife of four years duration treated of in this book; and it is hoped, from the importance of the subject, that the record of the details of the army life and its great trials presented herein may be of interest to every reader. The work is based upon the Official Records, on correspondence, and other material placed in the writer's hands by the immediate family of the subject actor.

This Great Civil War originated from the legislative acts of secession of eleven Southern slaveholding States from their original Union with the Northern States; from the organizing of a separate government by the former called the Confederate States of America; the seizure by it of all the forts, arsenals, navy yards, and other United States property within the limits of this new would-be government that was readily turned over to it by sympathizing friends in charge of them; and from overt acts of war against the United States control of Union property in the Southern States not promptly surrendered to those in sympathy with the Confederate States government then being organized.

The Army of the United States had always been small. Most members of it who had been recruited in the South, remained there, as did most of the Southern officers, graduates

of the United States Military and Naval Academies. Such officers in the North and South, with the former recruits, formed only small nuclei of the contesting armies that were soon gathered with war intent, particularly in the South.

Nearly all members of the large armies, gathered by hundreds of thousands North and South for this fratricidal war, were at first short time volunteers, scarcely any one of whom was fairly well disciplined when his term of enlistment expired, the officers of each government thinking that the war, if any there was, would be of short duration. Many of these short term soldiers, however, reinlisted for longer service, and they became veterans of unexcelled worth.

It has not been the intention, or the desire, of the writer to produce a complete history or account of any battle mentioned in this book, and much less a continuous record of the great war. No such complete work has been accomplished. The most the writer hopes to do, is to show the part enacted by his subject actor in daily detail, after recording his basis for heritage through many American generations, his early ambitions, opportunities, and struggles, all contributing to the formation of an upright stable character of the poor American boy, whose watchfulness for and the embracing of opportunities for his betterment, and whose thoughtful and unfaltering devotion to duty, and to his country, eventually enrolled his name high, and indelibly, upon his country's Roll of Honor as a Union officer of the most trustworthy and successful class in the great conflict known as the great Civil War in America.

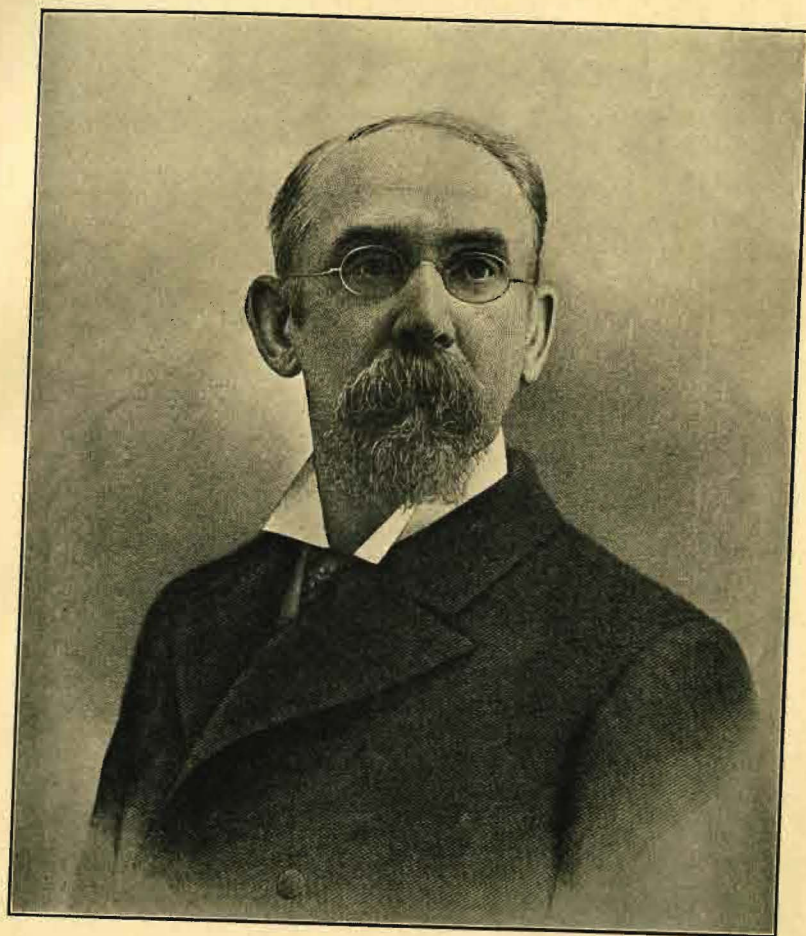
From this recounting of the experiences and services of Henry Warner Slocum day by day during his ever broadening career—in his actual military life beginning as a second lieutenant of artillery, and ending as the commanding general of an army numbering many thousands of men, engaged in many close and bloody battles, all without a single defeat, and even without the permanent loss of a cannon or flag and, later as the Union commander of a military department in the conquered Southern States, where great discretion and executive ability were necessary—it is hoped that the reader may get glimpses

of all phases of his civil and military life; and thus be able to note corrections of many of the omissions of most writers on the Civil War, and get correct views of his just rights to be recorded among the foremost of those most worthy of remembrance. The reader may, also, here get account of the war in much of its stern realities; and, withal, may have the opportunity for noting the causes why the many failed, and the few attained great success.

Charles Elihu Slocum.

Toledo, Ohio.





DR. CHARLES ELIHU SLOCUM
The Author

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

The Slocums in America date from the year 1637. From the year 1656 or before they were reared according to the tenets of the religious Society of Friends, 'in scorn called Quakers,' until removal from Massachusetts and Rhode Island westward, beginning about the year 1775, separated different families from the church society of their fathers. The families so separated united with the church in their new locality which was thought by them nearest in belief to that of the Friends, opposition to war and all strife being a principal feature of their desire.

Notwithstanding this careful rearing by precept and example, numbers of young men, and some older ones, in New England and westward were carried away from the desires and teachings of their parents by an awakened spirit of loyalty to their country, and they enlisted in the Revolutionary War of 1775-1783. General Nathaniel Greene, second only to Washington in command, was the most notable instance of Slocum blood in that war.¹ Other instances show as many as three sons of a prominent Friend's family enlisting, two of whom saw much army service, and both rose from the ranks to the commission of captain. The older of these two, Edward, was a charter member of the revolutionary officers' Society of the Cincinnati, which yet exists by membership succession of the eldest male lineal descendant in each generation. But in Edward's line no one has thus far applied for membership. Edward's brother Ebenezer's service was both on land and sea and continued through the War of 1812.² Another instance yet more interesting, to the writer particularly, is that of Eleazer Slocum and Caleb Wright, Friends and great-grandparents of the writer, who took with them the first son and nephew, Joseph Slocum, grandfather of the writer, then very young in years but large of stature, and the three enlisted in the Thirteenth New York Regiment to aid in saving their homes from desecration by the English General Burgoyne's army, which was marching down from Canada—and the three fought to the capture of this British army at Saratoga in October, 1777, freely volunteering

of their substance and their service, to the changing of the tide of war against the British invaders. Of this action they made no boast; neither did they tell the story to their descendants; the writer's father, Captain Caleb Wright Slocum, did not know of it, and the writer learned of it only from the New York State Records.³

The Society of Friends was one of the most remarkable results of the Reformation in England. Americans are indebted to this Society for religious liberty to a far greater degree than for political liberty. Its members well deserve the name of the Protestants of the Pilgrims in New Plymouth, and particularly of the Puritans in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, in New England. They would not pay tithes, nor anything, for the pecuniary support of any church other than their own. They were willing, however, to concede to all others the same right to the liberty they desired for themselves. They were a noble band of men and women, very generally of wholesome minds and characters, who won, in principle and fact, religious liberty by patiently suffering imprisonment, savage mutilations, and even death, from the authorities of the Colonial Church desiring the name 'established' in New England. To the great principles of their well founded religious belief they remained firm, while quietly enduring all persecutions without resentment, until they were formally released from persecution by the Declaration of Indulgence issued in April, 1687, by King James II. of England.

The Friends were very methodical, full and accurate in keeping the records of their different meetings, and of their vital statistics. Fortunate indeed is the genealogist who has such wealth of resource from which to draw for his American data, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries particularly.

The name Slocum has been well represented in every prominent war of the United States. In the great Civil War, 1861-1865, the number of Slocums engaged was relatively large from its beginning to its ending—different families contributing three, four, and even five, volunteers—and their patriotism and valor were thoroughly tested, and found not wanting. The large number who gave up their lives on the battle-fields for their country during this war, are recorded in the United States Roll of Honor;⁴ and the numerous others who died later of wounds

and disabilities received in this war lie buried at their several homes scattered throughout the States of the preserved Union.

Among this large number suffering death early in the war there were several who, undoubtedly, would have risen to high command had their lives been spared. Of this number but two will be mentioned here.

First. John Stanton Slocum, Colonel of the Second Rhode Island Regiment of Volunteer Infantry, was killed in the First Battle of Bull Run, at Sudley Ford, Virginia, July 21, 1861. He was a cultured officer of good judgment, great energy and coolness in danger. His regiment was hard pressed by superior numbers of the enemy, but it bravely and steadily held its ground, even beating back its foe, until their heroic Colonel fell mortally wounded. He was Major of Colonel Ambrose E. Burnside's First Rhode Island Infantry Regiment until the Second Regiment was organized, when he was chosen its Colonel. Colonel (afterwards General) Burnside reported of him in high terms.⁵ He served with distinction as an officer in the Mexican War, 1846-1848; and his monument in Providence, Rhode Island, proudly bears the words Contreras, Cherubusco, Chapultepec and Sudley Ford.⁶ It was in honor of the memory of Colonel John Stanton Slocum that one of the strongest defenses of Washington, District of Columbia, during the Civil War, was named Fort Slocum.⁷ It was situated about a mile north of the Soldiers' Home in Washington.

Second. Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Enos Slocum was born in Steuben County, New York, and resided in Indiana from the age of nineteen years. He enlisted in Company K, Fourteenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry; was commissioned Lieutenant and went with his company into Virginia in May, 1861. After participating in several skirmishes he was shot through the right thigh in the Battle of Winchester May 25, 1862, the ball shattering the bone five inches below the hip joint. He made fairly good recovery, was commissioned Major of the Eighty-second Indiana Volunteers, and was assigned to General Don C. Buell's command. After being in several engagements with the enemy, including the Battle of Stone's River, Tennessee, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel. He served thus in the battles of Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, and in the pursuit of the

enemy. February 25, 1864, while in command of two regiments, the Eighty-second Indiana and the Eighty-ninth Ohio, in the battle near Tunnell Hill, Georgia, he received a mortal wound through his left breast while passing along his line, encouraging his men.⁸ He died March 3, 1864, at Chattanooga.

Of the other Slocum officers in the Civil War, the one next in rank to Major-General Henry W. Slocum, was Willard Slocum, a prominent attorney at Ashland, Ohio. He volunteered early for army service, was retained at Columbus, Ohio, as recruiting, disciplining, and assignment officer. He was successful in this work, and was urged to continue it; but he went to the front with a regiment and, for bravery displayed in the field, particularly in the unfortunate Red River Campaign in Louisiana, he was commissioned Brigadier-General.⁹ He died at his home in Ashland, Ohio, September 23, 1894.

CHAPTER II

LINEAGE

Major-General Henry Warner Slocum was in the eighth American generation of Slocums, six generations of whom were born members of the religious Society of Friends.

His lineage runs back as follows: Seventh, Matthew Barnard Slocum married Mary Ostrander; sixth, Benjamin married Elizabeth Coggeshall; fifth, John married Martha Tillinghast; fourth, Benjamin married Meribah Earl; third, Eleazer married Elephel Fitzgerald; second, Giles married Joan ———; first, Anthony married twice, names of wives not ascertained up to this time.

Anthony Slocombe, the first American ancestor in this line, was born near Taunton, Somersetshire, England, A. D. 1590. He was one of the first proprietors and settlers of Taunton, New Plymouth, now Massachusetts, in the year 1637, and here the first clerk wrote his surname from sound as Slocum,¹⁰ which form has since prevailed with his descendants in the Northern States. Anthony was chosen to several offices in the new settlement, and he was most active in developing at Taunton the first permanent iron works in America, using the bog iron ore

found in the vicinity. After residing at Taunton twenty-five years as a freeman, and as a successful and leading though quiet citizen, he sold his holdings there, and went to the Albemarle region, Carolina, as a Lord Deputy Proprietor to aid his boyhood friend, the Duke of Albemarle, in the settlement of, and the establishment of government in, the Carolina Grant. He died at Edenton, North Carolina, aged one hundred years, having been a staunch American pioneer colonist in a double sense.¹¹

General Slocum's other ancestors were industrious, thrifty, and good citizens, generally rising to considerable prominence in their communities.

Matthew Barnard Slocum, the father of the General, our subject, was the second child and first of four sons in a family of eight children. He was born in Marietta, Ohio, in 1788, and was reared from the year 1802 at Newport, Rhode Island. In his early manhood he went to Albany, New York, and there engaged as clerk in a general merchandising business of small capital; and it appears that he invested part of his earnings in the business. He married here, April 9, 1814, Mary, daughter of John Ostrander. The business in which he was employed not proving profitable, it was closed in 1817, and later this year he moved his wife and two children to the small hamlet of Delphi, Onondaga County, near the center of New York State. Here he reared a large family, and completed his life work as a retail general merchant, using a room for his merchandise on one of the corners of the crossing of two country roads which formed the streets of the hamlet. His dwelling was attached to the rear of his business room. Later he purchased between ten and fifteen acres of land, embracing his residence and business room, which gave him facilities for keeping a horse, cow, and the smaller animals then deemed necessary for his business and rapidly increasing family. He died August 11, 1853, while visiting his son George at Scottsville, New York. He was interred at Delphi. His widow died October 31, 1865, in Syracuse, a few miles from Delphi, where she was interred.

The children of Matthew Barnard Slocum numbered eleven. Two of the six sons enlisted in the Civil War. John Ostrander Slocum, the second son and third child, was born June 9, 1820. He studied medicine and surgery and was graduated at Castle-

ton, Vermont, Medical College in 1847. He enlisted in the Civil War as assistant surgeon of the One Hundred and Twenty-second Regiment of Volunteer Infantry, in August, 1862. The next year he was commissioned Surgeon of the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, and remained with this regiment until the close of the war in 1865, excepting occasional detailings for service in the Divisional Hospital. At the Battle of Rappahannock Station, Virginia, he was the only surgeon at hand, and the untiring manner in which he cared for the wounded won for him the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet. The last year of the war his rank was that of Brigade Surgeon. His was a very sensitive nature, with high regard for honest duty. Returning home at the close of the war he completed his life work as a general physician and surgeon with residence and office at the Village of Camillus, Onondaga County, New York.

CHAPTER III

HENRY'S SCHOOLING AND EARLY TRAINING

Henry Warner Slocum, our subject, was named in honor of a favorite uncle by marriage. He was the sixth child and the fifth of six sons in a family of eleven children. He was born September 24, 1826, and was reared in the family rooms adjoining his father's small general merchandizing room. In common with all other children in the school district, he was sent to the Delphi Public School, at first only during the summer terms of three months each and, later, to the winter terms of the same length.

The average teachers of these short session schools soon failed to interest him, and his active mind found more congenial work in helping in his father's business. He was anxious to do more, and his father soon permitted him to earn money for his clothing, and for accumulation, in other work and ways during the odd moments when not needed in the home business—and this proved of great aid to his father, who was often hard pressed for money to maintain his large family with his small income. Henry bought sheep, a few at a time, paying for their keeping by a percentage of their increase and wool. He was thoughtful,

energetic and successful in small degrees in other ways of earning money until his brothers and other young friends called him Speculator, 'Spec' for short, after the all-too-common way of teasing or badgering people. His brother William, a little more than two years younger, expended the little money he obtained for a dictionary, and he soon became the definition oracle of the family, and school, he receiving the nickname 'Dic' on that account,¹² and Henry profited in knowledge thereby.

A new teacher in the winter term of the public school, a Mr. Belding, found in Henry an apt pupil, and he soon won a place at the head of his classes in arithmetic, algebra, geometry and other studies, in quick succession.

An incident exhibiting Henry's thoughtfulness and leadership among his associates about this time, also communicated to the writer by his brother William, will be here mentioned: In the early part of summer about a dozen boys near his own age united with him in the purchase of a cheap two-pounder cannon to aid in celebrating the Fourth of July, particularly. Much enjoyment was obtained from it the next Fourth without serious harm resulting. The gun was then given to the care of one of the company for safe-keeping until it was wanted for another celebration. In the meanwhile this caretaker's parents took residence in Woodstock, Madison County, about five miles southeast of Delphi; and the custodian carried to the neighboring, and competing, village the Delphi gun without permission of its owners. The abstraction of the gun caused great commotion among the Delphi boys, and the voice was generally favorable for a march to Woodstock for the purpose of capturing the gun by force. Young Slocum, who had been reading the Life of Napoleon, opposed such movement as most likely to cause a rallying not only of the Woodstock boys but of their older friends also in overwhelming numbers to defeat the capture. He would have them remain quiet until they could devise a plan for the capture of the gun by strategy, and not force. His suggestions were favored by the majority, which at once chose him as leader for the work. He accordingly appeared in Woodstock July 3rd, and overheard the plans agreed upon for the sunrise gun to open the celebration next day. He returned home and matured his plans. Before the time for firing this first gun the next morning,

two squads of Delphi boys and a large farm wagon with a span of horses were secreted behind a barn in Woodstock near the place where the gun was to be fired. Immediately after the firing the attention of the gunners and onlookers was successfully attracted by a sham fight away from the gun by one squad of the would-be captors, while the other squad hurriedly loaded the gun into the wagon and hurried their pace with it back to Delphi, where it was again used with much pleasure by its rightful owners. Another year, however, as has been experienced in numerous similar cases, this gun was exploded by an overload, and the person nearest it was killed.

Young Slocum's energy and thrift continued until he was able to attend Cazenovia Seminary, in the adjoining County of Madison. At the age of sixteen years he was thought worthy of a Public School Teacher's Certificate by the County Superintendent of Schools. A school was secured, which he taught with advantage to his pupils and honor to himself. He continued teaching at intervals for about five years, carefully saving his meager receipts; and in the meantime during vacations he attended the State Normal School at Albany part of the time, when he could be spared by his father. All of this was valuable experience to him, contributing to that necessary introspection and rounding of character that have given many thousands of American youths vantage in after life.

News of the United States' claim against Mexico, and the declaration of war with that country in 1846, particularly, brought forcefully to the notice of our subject the names of young men, educated at the West Point Military Academy, who were being appointed officers in the different commands for service in this war; and, having been stimulated to an admiration of historic military men by some of the books read, the desire for education at West Point soon assumed definite form with him. The quiet, unassuming Quaker spirit of his father was without particular political influence, however; and some lengths of time elapsed before Henry's own quiet persistency impressed itself upon Daniel F. Gott, congressman of the Onondaga, New York, district.

It was the happiest day of his life thus far when he received notice of his being named for cadetship. It was not without

many misgivings, however, that he presented himself at the West Point Military Academy July 1, 1848, with his certificate of appointment. The dreaded entrance examination was passed favorably, and he entered upon the course successfully, though modestly according to his nature.

As a cadet he suffered uncomplainingly whatever of hazing the upper classmen were disposed to subject him to; which proved to be infrequent and rather mild. He won the respect of all, notwithstanding his free expression of opinion when it was desired on questions of the time, including that of the negative side of human slavery and other questions allied with it of increasing concern between the Northern and Southern sections of the Republic, and which were often brought to discussion by the strong Southern sentiment then pervading the Academy. His frank and kindly personality deeply impressed itself upon all classmen.¹³

During his military course at West Point young Slocum often felt, and lamented, his want of the broader culture possessed by many of his fellow students who had experienced, and were constantly experiencing, the advantages of a full college course. But his persistent and circumspect efforts, which often compensate for a longer course, kept him well toward the head of his class.

His ranking the first year was quite favorable to him, the rating being twelve in mathematics, forty in French, and nine in English studies. In the order of general merit he ranked fourteen in a class of sixty. His demerit marks numbered twenty-three during the year, while those of numerous students were in excess of this number, some ranging toward two hundred. In the conduct roll he was rated sixty-five in the entire school then numbering two hundred and eighteen. His second year's ratings were, eleven in mathematics, thirty-four in French, and nineteen in drawing. In the class order of general merit he stood thirteenth in the class numbering fifty-five, with no demerits during the year. In order merit in the entire school he ranked eleventh among two hundred and twenty-one. During his third year he was rated third in philosophy, tenth in chemistry, and fourteenth in drawing. In order of general merit his rank was third in a class of fifty-three. This standing gave him the honor

of being number three of the five most distinguished cadets, to be so publicly reported at the annual examination and in the Register. He was given no demerits during this year. In the general conduct roll he ranked number eight among the entire attendance of two hundred and twenty-nine. For his fourth, and last, year he was rated ninth in engineering, sixth in ethics, sixth in mineralogy and geology, fourteenth in infantry tactics, and sixth in artillery. He stood seventh in the order of general merit in the class of forty-seven. In the general conduct roll he ranked number twenty among the entire school of two hundred and twenty-four.¹⁴

General Philip H. Sheridan was a classmate of Henry W. Slocum at West Point. In his *Memoirs*, written after his great reputation was secure, Sheridan remembered his fellow student in the following terms: "Good fortune gave me for a roommate a cadet whose education was more advanced than mine, and whose studious habits and willingness to aid others benefited me immensely. This room-mate was Henry W. Slocum, since so signally distinguished in both military and civil capacities as to win for his name a proud place in the annals of his country."

CHAPTER IV

IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY. STUDIES LAW

Henry Warner Slocum was graduated at the United States Military Academy in June, 1852. He was at once commissioned Second Lieutenant and assigned for service in the First United States Artillery, which was soon ordered to Florida to maintain the peace of the yet disquieted Seminole Aborigines. In the latter part of 1853 his company was ordered to Fort Moultrie, South Carolina.

Obtaining a short furlough, Lieutenant Slocum returned home and, February 9, 1854, he was married to Miss Clara, daughter of Israel and Dorcas (Jenkins) Rice of Woodstock, New York, with whom acquaintance began while both the young people were students at Cazenovia Seminary. He returned in due time to his post of duty accompanied by his wife.

At Fort Moultrie, with abundant leisure from garrison duty, the enticing opportunities for boating, fishing, hunting, and the attractions of Charleston society, together with a variety of post duties, the time passed rapidly and pleasantly for a time. But Lieutenant Slocum could not remain long satisfied with so little of work and so much of pleasure. He decided to devote a considerable part of this time outside of his military duties to the study of law. Fortunately he secured the good services of Honorable B. C. Presley of Charleston as preceptor, who was as much pleased with his student as was the Lieutenant with his teacher, a cultured, progressive man, who was later called to the South Carolina Supreme Court as judge. Lieutenant Slocum entered upon the new study with a zest that promised good success to all persons knowing his enduring qualities. In the meantime his military duties were fully performed.

Our subject was commissioned First Lieutenant March 3, 1855, and he was continued in the First United States Artillery service. For some length of time previous to receiving this promotion Lieutenant Slocum had been considering the question of resigning from the army. His advancement in rank, while not changing his mind, delayed his action for the important change of profession.

The summer of 1855 was unusually warm. His family—a daughter, Caroline, had been born meantime—were ill from the heat and miasms; and the better health, vigor, and business of his native State appealed to him with greater force than ever before. His regiment was to be ordered again to Florida. There was no cloud of war visible, and he was becoming anxious for more useful and energetic employment. He had fully recompensed the general government for his military education. October 20, 1856, his child died in Charleston; the 31st of the same month he resigned from the United States Army.

Lieutenant Slocum returned to Onondaga County, New York, where he was admitted to the bar. He opened office in the city of Syracuse, and soon had a good clientele in the practice of law. He now saw even greater cause for thankfulness for the habit of economy and thrift which was well formed in his youthful days. From care regarding clothing and expenditures, he had been able to save money even during his cadetship,

and he was thereby able to aid his father during the time of his poor health, and business depression. During the four-and-a-third years of his army service he had saved enough from his pay receipts to pay for a modest home in Syracuse, also to pay for a row of vacant lots, upon which he built residences a few years later. The Syracuse authorities named the street, along which these lots are situated, Slocum Avenue in honor of the man whose thrift and energy improved this part of the city.

Without special effort on his part, in November, 1858, our subject was elected Assemblyman, member of the lower house, of the New York State Legislature, from Syracuse on the Republican ticket. He was not a politician but acted regarding each measure or law brought before the House in the quiet, conscientious, and thoughtful way now become habitual with him. For two years, 1859-1860, he answered the call, and served his State as Instructor of Artillery Service to the Militia with the rank of Colonel.

In the election of November, 1860, his friends chose him for the office of Treasurer of Onondaga County for a term of three years. He entered upon this important duty in due time. His patriotism, and conscientious recognition of a higher duty, however, did not permit him to serve in this lucrative and peaceful office, but called him, propelled him, to the battle-field, where life itself was in the balance.

CHAPTER V

VOLUNTEERS IN THE CIVIL WAR. AT BULL RUN

Neither local office, the practice of law, nor even the love of family and friends, could hold Colonel Slocum at home when his country needed his services.

When South Carolina, after the ordinance of secession from the United States, opened guns upon the United States supply boat *Star* of the West January 9, 1861, and particularly when she began the bombardment of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor April 12, 1861, Colonel Slocum's artillery services, and his duty to his country, were uppermost in his thoughts. He went to Albany and, calling on Governor Edwin D. Morgan, asked for

permission to recruit a battery of light artillery for United States service, from the good offices of the State of New York. The Governor received him urbanely and listened to his request with interest, but seriously sought to assure him that the rebellion of the South could be subdued without the use of artillery; and declined to comply with his request.

A regiment of infantry was organized in Colonel Slocum's native county, and a friend suggested to the company officers that Colonel Slocum would make a desirable leader. A popular officer of the militia, however, received the majority of the votes for the position. In the meantime great influence was at work to induce him to remain quietly in his important office at home.

Another regiment, the Twenty-seventh New York Volunteer Infantry, was at this time being organized at Elmira, a great rendezvous of volunteers. The companies forming this regiment were mainly enlisted in the counties of Broome, Monroe, and Livingston, one company being mostly composed of students of Lima Seminary, a prominent Methodist institution, and all the other companies were composed of like choice men. The suggestion of one officer that a West Point graduate be chosen to lead the regiment was well discussed, and prevailed by a large majority. Although known only by reputation to most of this regiment, Colonel Slocum was chosen on account of his ability shown as Instructor of the Militia. Upon the coming of the regiment's committee with its message, Colonel Slocum promptly accepted the proffered position. To his brave wife, and doubting friends, he said, "I was educated at the expense of our country and it is my duty to answer this call affirmatively." Colonel Slocum's third United States commission bore the date May 21, 1861. His Major was Joseph J. Bartlett, a man of good ability and character, who also rose to the rank of Major-General, and the other officers were well chosen men.

The active work of drilling and disciplining the Twenty-seventh Regiment was at once begun on the Elmira grounds, and the men of all the companies partook of the general interest. By working many hours each day, early and late, they soon attained a good degree of efficiency, and their first, and early, service on the battle-field showed it to be one of the best regiments then in the army.

In compliance with orders, Colonel Slocum, with his regiment, left the barracks at Elmira July 10, 1861, by steam cars and, upon his reporting to the Secretary of War in Washington the same day, his regiment was assigned to Colonel Andrew Porter's First Brigade of General David Hunter's Second Division of General Irvin McDowell's army, then a few miles south of Washington; and the brigade was joined without delay.

The regiment had but a short time to rest, and to get somewhat adjusted to its brigade surroundings, before being ordered forward to meet the enemy. The Twenty-seventh united with other regiments to form the Union center, which marched at 2 o'clock A. M. for the First Battle of Bull Run, or Manassas, July 21, 1861. This was one of the most trying days from the heat, the long march, fatigue and trying engagements under strong fire and rout, to which untried troops could have been subjected. But, in the unfortunate battle that ensued, Slocum and his men were conspicuous for their good discipline and bravery, notwithstanding the long hours they were under arms. For some length of time victory appeared to be with the Union forces when Colonel Henry W. Slocum completed the rout of the enemy's center by a well conceived, and well executed charge, in which he fell with a severe musket ball wound through his left thigh.

Fresh reinforcements rallied the enemy, who, in turn, routed the Union center in which Slocum's regiment remained true to the rigid training of their Colonel, and did great service by being the first to rally upon the first position and form a nucleus for gathering the regiments scattered by the reinforced enemy.¹⁵ But the Union army was in retreat, and but a part of the panic stricken men could be arrested to orderly pace.

At the present distance it is quite impossible to fully comprehend the conditions of the fear stricken young soldiers who, in their efforts to flee from danger, brought upon themselves more suffering than they would have experienced in an orderly retreat, if retreat was necessary. The conditions of the enemy were but little better than those of the retreating men. The weather was hot and dry. The perspiration, dust, and smoke, with the loss of sleep and rest; with short or no rations of both water and food; the great excitement, worse from being the first battle; fear and overwrought exertion to escape by crowding,

pushing, struggling, and using every means of taking advantage of every apparent help to quicken the pace, even encroaching on the wounded and adding greatly to their surgical shock, all conspired to the permanent disablement of many of the weaker ones. It was a very severe ordeal for those who were the strongest. Rain fell during the night which, while adding to the difficulty of traveling over unimproved roads, conduced to some relief in other ways. The casualties in Colonel Slocum's regiment were 26 killed, 44 wounded, including two officers, and 60 missing.

Colonel Slocum's men, from their good state of discipline, and the wise management of Major Bartlett, escaped much of the personal injury and serious results experienced by many regiments.

The Colonel, in common with other wounded who could be moved, received as good attention as could be given by the new and not fully equipped surgical force before starting for the hospital in Washington. As he rallied from the shock of his wound, his thoughts were on his men; and he was not relieved in mind until all the details of their good work were recounted to him. His joy over the favorable report was prominent in his letter to his wife, namely:

Washington, July 25, 1861.

My Dear Clara:

I attended services at Manassas last Sunday, but before the meeting closed I was obliged to depart for this city. For particulars see the New York daily papers.

I am bolstered up in bed, making my first attempt at writing. I am as happy as a clam in high water. My regiment covered itself with glory. It was one of the first in, and last out. Not a man showed the white feather. They fought until all their ammunition was expended, and when the stampede commenced, General McDowell ordered the officers to form all the regiments in line so as to make another stand, or, at least, make an orderly retreat. . . . Finally he gave up the attempt, and we were ordered to retreat.

After going a few rods the General made another attempt to check the utter rout of our troops. He again ordered the regiments to form in line, but ours was the only one that could be formed again. The General then cried out in a loud voice, "Soldiers, form on that noble regiment! We must make a stand!" . . . This same attempt was repeated a

third time, with the same result. A person told me to-day that General McDowell reported all this to General Scott, with high encomium on the regiment.

All this may appear singular in view of the accounts of the battle given in the New York papers, wherein our regiment is not even mentioned.

But the truth is known in quarters where I desire to have it known. It is all right.

I had almost forgotten to tell you about my wound. It is doing well, and pains me but little. I would agree to take another just like it if I could thereby secure as good conduct on the part of my regiment when it takes the field again.

As soon as his wound was in condition for the journey, Colonel Slocum returned to his home in Syracuse where he made rapid recovery.

CHAPTER VI

BRIGADIER-GENERAL. RECOVERS FROM WOUND

About the middle of August Colonel Slocum was highly pleased in the receipt from the Department of War of a commission of Brigadier-General, bearing date August 9, 1861. This may have hastened his return to the field of action, where he reported for duty September 9th after an absence of only fifty days from the time of receiving his wound.

Upon his reporting to the Secretary of War he was assigned to command the Second Brigade in General William B. Franklin's Second Division of General Irvin McDowell's First Army Corps. His brigade was composed of the following regiments: The Sixteenth and Twenty-seventh New York, the Fifth Maine, and the Ninth Pennsylvania. These regiments became noted for their good discipline and general efficiency.

The following report of General Slocum to his ranking officer under date Alexandria, October 5, 1861, shows his alertness and initiative in every good act for his country:

"General: Several Union men have recently been arrested by the enemy in the vicinity of Accotink. On Saturday last three worthy and inoffensive men were taken from their houses solely on account of their sympathy with the Government. I have to-day caused the arrest of two open and avowed secessionists residing in the same neighborhood. I am confident that the

retention of these men as prisoners for a few days will have a wholesome effect, and will tend to restore quiet in the vicinity of Accotink by convincing the enemy that the practice of capturing unarmed men is one which can be followed by both sides.

"Mr. Nevitt (one of the men arrested) frankly admits that he is a secessionist; that he has sufficient influence with the enemy to secure the discharge of parties arrested by them; that he has been to Fairfax and secured the release of some of his Union friends. All this he freely admits. There is no doubt about his position. Mr. Lee occupies the same position. He admits that he is opposed to the United States Government; that his house is often visited by the enemy, and that some of his family are in the army. I think the position of both is sufficiently defined by themselves to justify the Government in retaining them as hostages for the good treatment of their neighbors and our friends who are now in the hands of the enemy. I have therefore placed them in charge of the provost-marshal at Alexandria to be held until further orders."

General Franklin, Slocum's ranking officer, passed this report on upward with the recommendation that these men be sent to Washington for imprisonment until further orders.

The efficiency and good standing of Slocum's command was brought about by his insistence upon good discipline. His first enforced lesson to this command, and its result, are shown in his call for a court of inquiry regarding disobedience of his orders, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE,
Alexandria, Va., October 6, 1861.

Sir: I received information on the 3d instant that a body of the enemy's cavalry was at Pohick Church, about 12 miles from these headquarters, together with such other information as led me to suppose that the force could be captured without difficulty. The plan for an expedition for this purpose was fully matured and was verbally communicated to Colonel Christian, Twenty-sixth New York Volunteers, who was detailed to the command. An order was then issued of which I herewith enclose a copy.

The expedition proved an entire failure, and this result I am informed and believe is to be attributed to the fact that my orders relative to the manner of the execution were not obeyed; and what is still more annoying to me and disgraceful to my command, is the fact that instead of being marched back to the camp in good order, a large portion of the command was allowed to disband beyond our line of pickets, and, as might have been anticipated from such a proceeding, this force sent to operate against the troops of the enemy was converted into a band of marauders, who plundered alike friend and foe.

I deem it my duty to lay these facts before the commanding general, and to suggest that a court of inquiry be convened for the purpose of a thorough investigation of all the circumstances attending the expedition.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,

Brigadier-General Volunteers, Commanding.

MAJ. S. WILLIAMS, Assistant Adjutant-General.

[Inclosure.]

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE,

COL. WILLIAM H. CHRISTIAN:

October 3, 1861.

Sir: You will take command of a detachment of 300 infantry from the regiments composing this brigade and one company of cavalry, and will endeavor to cut off and take prisoners a body of the enemy's cavalry, numbering probably 50 men, stationed at or near Pohick Church.

You will proceed with 225 infantry, according to verbal directions already given you, to certain points in the rear of the enemy's position, and make your attack at precisely 6 o'clock to-morrow morning.

You will send out 75 infantry and the company of cavalry on the Richmond road, with instructions to them to be at Potter's store, 4 miles from Pohick Church, and 6 miles from these headquarters, at 5:45 o'clock, driving in the enemy's pickets and advancing as rapidly as possible towards Pohick Church, in order to cut off the enemy or to render assistance to the other detachments of your command.

The object of the expedition being accomplished, you will return without delay.

By order of Brigadier-General SLOCUM.

JOSEPH HOWLAND,
Assistant Adjutant-General.¹⁶

The result of this discipline is expressed in General Slocum's letter to a friend at home, as follows:

October 11, 1861.

I have been very fortunate in securing control of my brigade. One day last week eighteen officers of the Sixteenth addressed a communication to me relative to one of my orders on the subject of depredations on private property. They thought it very severe, and "respectfully demanded" its modification. I at once placed every one of them in arrest, and confined them to their tents. Within a day or two the most humble apologies commenced pouring in, and finally every one was released. But it had a wonderful effect for good discipline.

General Slocum was at this time commanding one of the defenses of Washington, situated near Alexandria, Virginia.

The 15th of October, 1861, the Ninth Pennsylvania Regi-

ment of Slocum's command was replaced by the Twenty-sixth New York. Such changes made necessary a continued systematic instruction in camp and picket duties, with thorough drilling and discipline of the command in whole and in part. Self control in all emergencies was much dwelt upon. The brigade was constantly "on the firing line" as the enemy's cavalry might dash against the pickets at any moment in the night, or in certain places by day. Scouting parties for observation and discipline were often sent out. These exercises were all the more frequent as the time neared for advancing upon the enemy. These thorough drillings appealed to the best judgment and regard of the excellent officers and men in the command; and General Slocum so impressed his ability and consideration upon them that they became noted for their good work; and "in times of the greatest danger and emergency he was a rock upon which all could and did rest with confidence and support."¹⁷

In several details the medical and distinctively military authorities of the army had not been working in harmony from the beginning of the Civil War. This discord was due to the want of proper foresight, and proper orders of the Secretary of War and of his aged Commander-in-chief of the armies. The medical men had, during previous years of peace, been held in too close subservient rank and authority. A new class of medical and surgical men had arisen, and the old military commanders could not, or would not, extend to them due consideration. This resulted in confusion and no little discord in some commands. General Slocum, however, being very considerate regarding the physical condition of his men, saw to it that they received proper medical attention, and he was highly pleased to co-operate with all worthy medical men and, having confidence in their ability, he deferred to their judgments and aided in the enforcement of their directions.

In December, 1861, there were found in Slocum's brigade fifteen hundred soldiers not protected against small-pox; and by his order this unwholesome condition was at once remedied. He united with the medical authorities to stop malingering, and the true health condition of his command January 21, 1862, is shown in comparison with the report of the Assistant Adjutant General of 14.34 per cent., while General Slocum's brigade surgeon re-

ported only 6.8 per cent. of sickness. At the same time the ratio of his companion brigade's reports were 27.75 and 14.52 respectively. Measles raged severely and quite generally among the soldiers from certain parts of the different states, and re-appeared from time to time during the winter of 1861-62; the amount of sickness in some parts of the army being so great as to cause serious concern among the relatives at home. The strength of General Slocum's brigade and its health condition February 6, 1862, were as follows:

Regiments.	Mean Strength.	Total Sick.	Percentage Sick.
Twenty-seventh New York	840	49	5.83
Sixteenth New York	900	101	11.22
Fifth Maine	828	92	11.11
Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania	927	32	3.45
Batteries of Artillery	434	23	5.30
Lincoln Cavalry	1,100	111	10.00

Total number in brigade, 5,029; total number sick, 408; percentage of sickness as a brigade, 8.11.¹⁸

On April 6, 1862, General Slocum's brigade was yet in the defense of Washington, and the Secretary of War stated his position as "on the advance to Manassas."

General George B. McClellan, who had secured to the Union that part of Virginia north of the Kanawha River and west of the mountains, was called to Washington after the First Battle of Bull Run to take charge of the defenses of Washington and of the Union troops in northeastern Virginia. He soon brought order out of chaos and, notwithstanding many limitations, restraints, and embarrassments received from the War Department, some of which were probably necessary or well directed, he accomplished good results in reorganizing the Army of the Potomac. McClellan favored advancing upon the Confederates, and their capitol city, Richmond, by way of the Peninsula between the York River and the James. After many delays, concessions to the authorities, and re-adjustments, a council of four army corps commanders, organized by the President of the United States March 13th, coincided with McClellan that Fort Monroe, Virginia, was the proper base of operations for move-

ment of the Army of the Potomac against the Confederates and Richmond.¹⁹ The leading division of troops for this Peninsular Campaign was started by transport from Alexandria March 17, 1862. Other troops followed, and General McClellan arrived at Fort Monroe April 2nd. There were again great delays from want of means of transportation, the want of additional gunboats, and of army reinforcements, as McClellan had determined, as he thought, that his land force was outnumbered by the enemy, many of whom were intrenched.

McClellan wanted General Franklin's division; and his persistency in calling for additional troops, and Franklin's in particular, foreboded their transfer to the Peninsula.

CHAPTER VII

TRANSFERRED TO THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

In compliance with a specially urgent request from General McClellan, General Franklin's division, including Slocum's brigade, was ordered to the Peninsula. They arrived at McClellan's headquarters near Yorktown April 22, 1862, and were disembarked from the transport on the north bank of the York River, under protection of gunboats then there, to operate against Gloucester.

At this juncture the Confederates abandoned their fortifications in and around Yorktown that were being besieged by McClellan, and retreated on Williamsburg in the night of April 30th.

Slocum's brigade, with Dana's brigade of General Sedgwick's division, was then sent up the York River by boats, while McClellan with his besieging army followed the retreating enemy by public roads. The York being at flood and the current rapid, but slow progress could be made by the heavily laden transports. They steamed only by day, and could not arrive at their destination, at the mouth of the Pamunkey River, until the forenoon of May 7th.

The troops disembarked on the right bank opposite West Point, and took defensive positions near Eltham's Landing. Here they were soon attacked by the enemy composed of the Confeder-

ate General Whitney's division, and others. Although at considerable disadvantage, the Union force was victor. This Battle of Eltham's Landing, McClellan reported, was the most important in which these Union troops had been engaged, and it was highly creditable to them. General Franklin stated in his report that "General Slocum displayed great skill in the placing of his troops, and that the control of his brigade in action was admirable." The battle began between ten and eleven A. M. and continued until three P. M., when the Confederates acknowledged their defeat by hastily retreating. General Slocum's official report is brief and characteristically non-assertive, namely:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE,
Near West Point, Va., May 7, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor to report that in the engagement which occurred to-day I was in command of the center and left wing of our forces. It was apparent soon after the commencement of the engagement that the efforts of the enemy were to be directed mainly against our right wing, and at the request of General Newton I sent reinforcements to him, consisting of the Fifth Maine Volunteers, the Sixteenth and Twenty-seventh New York Volunteers, which are attached to the brigade under my command. The brigade of General Dana, and the Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania Volunteers, of my brigade, were retained on the left.

All of our troops, so far as my observation extended, behaved with great coolness and bravery. The First Massachusetts Battery, under command of Captain Porter, is entitled to great credit for the accuracy of its fire.

I am greatly indebted to Capt. H. C. Rodgers, Captain Hopkins, Captain Sturdevant, and Lieutenants Wead and Shannon, members of my staff, all of whom were actively engaged during the entire day; also to Lieutenant Harbert, Fourth New Jersey Volunteers, and Lieutenant Landon, Adjutant Seventh Michigan Volunteers, who volunteered their services as staff officers, and proved of great assistance to me.

I am sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,

CAPT. E. SPARROW PURDY,

Brigadier-General Volunteers.

Assistant Adjutant-General.²⁰

Consonant with orders, these troops awaited at Eltham's Landing the oncoming of the commands of Generals Sedgwick, Fitz J. Porter, and Richardson's divisions, and protected their landing. Communication was soon opened between this force and the other part of the army after its Battle of Williamsburg and the general retreating of the enemy toward Richmond; and

all supplies for the Union army were then received by the York River at Eltham's Landing.

On May 13th the headquarters of the general commanding the Army of the Potomac, McClellan, also of Franklin's division, embracing Slocum's brigade, and those of F. J. Porter, George Sykes, and William F. Smith, arrived at Cumberland, Virginia, which place was made a temporary depot of supplies. It was a very wet season, copious rains being frequent. The 15th of May the divisions of Franklin, Porter and Smith were started for White House at the crossing of the Pamunkey River and the Richmond Railroad. The distance was but five miles, but it required thirty-six hours of serious effort to complete the march through the deep and tenacious mud with the heavy guns, baggage and supplies.

At White House General McClellan, with permission of President Lincoln, organized two additional army corps, to be known as the Fifth and Sixth Provisional Corps; the Fifth to be composed of the divisions of Porter, Sykes, and the Reserve Artillery, to be under command of General Fitz John Porter; and the Sixth Corps, composed of the divisions of Franklin and Smith, to be under command of General William B. Franklin. General Smith remained in command of his division, and General Slocum was promoted to the command of the division in which he had been serving with the Second Brigade. This promotion to a command of three brigades was a high honor for a young brigadier-general of short service with one brigade. McClellan knew his men, however, and he met with no disappointment in Slocum.

General McClellan's headquarters were moved to White House May 16th, and the depot of supplies was there established, the supplies to come by water and be transported thence by railway. The 19th, the headquarters of the army, including those of the two new corps, were moved to Turnstall's Station, an advance of five miles toward the main body of the enemy. The rain continued, but by the 21st of May the position of the Union troops had been advanced as follows:

General Stoneman's advance guard to within one mile of New Bridge over the Chickahominy River; Franklin's Sixth Corps, with Slocum's division, three miles from New Bridge

near the main body of the enemy with the river between and at high flood stage; Porter's Fifth Corps at supporting distance in the rear; E. V. Sumner's corps by the railway about three miles from the Chickahominy, connecting the right of the army with the left; E. D. Keyes' corps on the New Kent Road near Bottom's Bridge; and General S. P. Heintzelman's corps at supporting distance in the rear.

The ford at Bottom's Bridge was in possession of the Union army. The bridge there had been destroyed by the enemy, and a new bridge was begun by the soldiers now in possession. Army headquarters were removed to Cold Harbor May 22nd. The railroad was in operation by the Unionists on the 26th to the Chickahominy, and a new bridge for it there was nearing completion.

McClellan was very expectant of success in the capture of Richmond, as he was now dominating the principal approaches to its defenses on the east. He at the same time realized that he was near an alert Confederate army which he persisted in reporting as outnumbering his own; but the river separating them was at high flood, and he was expecting reinforcements again from Washington.

The Union center and right flank were advanced to the river above the left; and the 24th of May the enemy was driven from Mechanicsville to within ten miles of Richmond, the fleeing foe destroying the bridge after crossing it. The same day the enemy was driven from Seven Pines fifteen miles southeast of Mechanicsville on the south side of the Chickahominy, and the advance Union line secured a strong position near there.

The effective Union forces were being greatly reduced daily by wounds, sickness, deaths, garrisons, and guard duties and, while the Confederate army was being reinforced daily, no reinforcements came to the Union army.

McClellan had telegraphed the War Department that, "It is possible that the enemy may abandon Richmond; but I do not believe he will—and it would be unwise to count upon anything but a stubborn and desperate defense, a life and death contest. I see no other hope for him than to fight this battle, and we must win it. I shall fight them whatever their force may be; but I ask for every man that the Department can send me."¹⁹

The 26th of May, learning that a considerable force of the enemy was at the village of Hanover Court House, to the right and rear of his army, McClellan dispatched General Porter with one division of his corps to that place. Porter was soon involved in two or three sharp engagements, in which the enemy was routed each time and some prisoners captured. The enemy persisted in demonstrations toward the Union capitol as a feint, or to get vantage ground in the rear of the Union army. In the meantime the Union left continued to cross the Chickahominy and to threaten Richmond. This flank was attacked by a strong force of the enemy at Fair Oaks where a bloody battle was fought May 31st and June 1st. Here the enemy was routed with greater loss than suffered by the Union forces; and his pickets were pressed back to within five miles of Richmond. Further advance against the enemy at this time seemed impracticable, and the men in the new Union lines contented themselves with the thought of being well in advance of their former front.

The composition of General Slocum's division June 20th, 1862, was as follows: Officers, 393; men in the ranks, 8,853; present and equipped for duty, 9,246. The aggregate number in camp was 9,841. Those absent, sick and wounded numbered 1,236.

CHAPTER VIII

ENDING OF THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

Among the reinforcements of the enemy at this time, hurriedly brought from a distance to aid in the protection of Richmond, was General Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson's command of rapid fighters. The approach of this formidable command decided McClellan to change his base of supplies and operations from the York and Pamunkey to the James River, but a few miles south of the Chickahominy. McClellan fully realized the great danger of this movement at this time when about to be assailed by a supposed superior force in numbers; but the dangerous Confederate gunboat *Merrimac* having been destroyed by the Union *Monitor* in Hampton Roads left the James River open to Union gunboats which could be used in different ways as supports. The change of base was, therefore, hopefully entered up-

on the evening of June 26th. An unexpected advance of the enemy across the Chickahominy above the Union forces disarranged some of McClellan's plans, which were soon righted, and the change was more than compensated for by the delay of Jackson's expected attack.

This attack occurred soon after noon of June 27th near Gaines' Mill, and it was rapid and general along General Porter's chosen position upon an elevation known as Gaines Hill. At two P. M. General Porter asked for reinforcements. General Slocum's division hastily responded from the south side of the Chickahominy, and succeeded in arriving to his support at 3.30 P. M. Slocum's troops were immediately distributed along the weaker parts of Porter's hard-pressed line, increasing his force to about thirty-five thousand men, which was estimated, as usual by McClellan, to be contending with at least double this number of the enemy.¹⁹ The distribution of Slocum's men prevented Porter's line from being broken by the enemy, and thus saved the battle, "as its being pierced at any one part would have been fatal." (McClellan.) About seven P. M. the enemy again attacked the Union line impetuously with fresh troops, and succeeded in pressing back Porter's left and causing there some confusion, which was righted by the time of the arrival of fresh Union troops and without their entering the contest. The shade of night was now come, and the enemy retired.

The following extracts from his Diary of the Battle of Gaines Mill was contributed to the National Tribune, Washington, D. C., of February 27, 1913, by William B. Westervelt of Newburgh, New York, member of Company F, 27th Regiment, New York Volunteers. It possesses features of interest, namely: "On Friday, June 27, at 8 A. M. we were called into line and, after receiving a fresh supply of cartridges, we moved in light marching order about two miles and stopped near the Chickahominy River. Our brigade never looked better than it did that morning. General Slocum (our first Colonel) had been advanced to the command of our division, while General J. J. Bartlett (our second Colonel) commanded our brigade that was made up of the 5th Maine (hardy lumbermen from the north-eastern part of that State, and were commanded by Colonel Jackson); the 96th Pennsylvania (from the coal regions of Lu-

zerne County and commanded by Colonel John Cake, whom the soldiers dubbed Johnnycake); the 10th New York (from St. Lawrence County, commanded by Colonel Joseph Howland who, the day before at his own expense, had furnished his regiment with neat, comfortable straw hats). We who were wearing our fatigue caps that hot morning looked with envious eyes at Howland's regiment. As the Colonel rode at the head of his regiment no one would have believed him to be the brave and dashing officer that ere the sun went down he proved himself to be. My regiment, the 27th New York, was also in this brigade, and was commanded by Colonel Alexander D. Adams, of Lyons, New York, a man of education and refinement, but lacking the dash of our former Colonel Slocum. We remained quiet during the day, stretched out in the shade, where we ate our dinner. We could hear the sound of cannon on the opposite side of the Chickahominy, little thinking that it would be the last day on earth for many of our immediate comrades. General Fitz John Porter with his corps was gradually falling back from Mechanicsville and Gaines Mill, but gallantly disputing the ground inch by inch, under the incessant hammering of Stonewall Jackson's army, heavily reinforced from Lee's army from around Richmond. About 4 P. M. the Duc de Chartres, a young officer from France who was on General McClellan's staff arrived and, after a few hurried words with General Slocum, galloped away. Soon our division was in line, and we supposed we were to return to camp. However, we turned to the left and took the road towards Woodbury's Bridge across the Chickahominy. Years afterwards General Porter paid the following tribute to our division: 'While withdrawing from Beaver Dam I had seen, to my delight, Slocum's Division of Franklin's Sixth Corps crossing the river to my assistance. McClellan had promised to send it, and I needed it; it was one of the best divisions of the army. Its able, experienced and gallant commander and his brave and gifted subordinates had the confidence of their well-trained soldiers. They were all worthy comrades of my well-tried and fully trusted officers, and of many others on that field subsequently honored by their countrymen.' After crossing the river we ascended a hill, when there was plain evidence that our army (Porter's command) was getting the worst of the fight. One evidence was

that of a company of pioneers was cutting the spokes out of some of our army wagons, to render them useless if they fell into the hands of the enemy. This clearly proved that Porter's command anticipated retreating, if it was not already doing so. We halted a few moments in a small ravine, when up rode a staff officer and called out 'Bring up Bartlett's Brigade at double-quick.' With an agility that would have done credit to an athlete General Bartlett sprang into his saddle and, calling 'Attention,' we were soon quickly moving to the front. One hundred yards brought us face to face with the enemy, when we relieved (took the places of) the 5th New York (Duryea's Zouaves) whose showy uniforms were strewn thickly over the ground, showing some desperate fighting. We immediately got to work and for a few minutes the fighting was fast and furious. We lost many, but managed to hold our ground. Soon the firing slackened in our immediate front as the enemy fell back under cover of some woods where they seemed to be massing on our right in front of one of our batteries which was supported by the 16th New York, holding the extreme right of our line. We were not kept in suspense long. On looking to the right of our regiment we saw them forming just outside of the woods and here we witnessed as complete a move by the enemy as could be made on drill or parade. They came out of the woods at double-quick with guns at right-shoulder shift (Hardee's tactics) and by a move known as 'on the right by file into line' they formed the line of battle complete. Every man on taking his place brought his gun to shoulder, and stood waiting until the battalion was formed (unless knocked over by a shot), when they moved forward and made room for another battalion to form in the same way. We thought that troops who could make that move under concentrated fire of artillery and musketry were, to say the least, 'safe to bet on.' We had not long to admire them. Forward they came, intending to strike our line on the right. Not a gun did they fire until within less than fifty yards when, after a volley, they gave a yell and charged, five lines deep. No single line, as ours, could withstand such onslaught. The 16th New York was crowded back, disputing the ground inch by inch, while the artillerymen stood by their guns until the enemy closed in and actually struck them down or knocked the cartridges out of their

hands. Now Colonel Howland got in his grand work. He was riding from right to left of his regiment, urging his men to stand firm. Soon they rallied and under the lead of the Colonel they drove the enemy back and recaptured the battery. Here Colonel Howland was severely wounded, and was carried from the field. Once more the enemy came forward, and the word was passed down the line, 'help the 16th.' Without waiting for Colonel Adams to give the order, but following the example set by General Bartlett and led by his brother Lieutenant L. C. Bartlett of the General's staff, we turned by the right flank and were soon among the 16th, each man on his own hook! There was then done some of the most desperate fighting. The blue and the gray were mixed, and in the gathering darkness we could scarcely detect friend from foe. The ground was fairly covered with the dead and wounded of both sides. Every artillery horse was killed. Finally the enemy dragged off two of the cannon, while we held possession of the ground and kept the other two. As night closed upon us the second of the 'Seven Days' Fight' in front of Richmond was ended; and the writer, with a dislocated ankle, limped to the rear using his Springfield rifle as a crutch."

During the night the Union forces retired to their comrades with their trains, on the south side of the Chickahominy, the rear guard being composed of infantry regulars who crossed early in the morning of June 28th, destroying the bridge behind them. The result of this Battle of Gaines' Mill resulted as favorably as the commanding general expected—to hold the enemy in check on the left (north) bank of the river until night in order that the wagon trains and artillery might be safely crossed and well on the way to the James River before morning.

The evening of June 28th General Slocum received orders from McClellan to move his division to Savage's Station early the next morning, and to hold that position during the day to cover and protect the movement of wagon trains, and then to fall back across the White Oak Swamp and join the army. Slocum arrived at the Station as directed, and there received orders to cross the Swamp at once and relieve General Keyes' corps. Keyes, being thus relieved, moved his corps to the James River where he arrived safely with all his artillery and supplies. This change of order for General Slocum kept him away from the

beginning of the battle at Savage's Station. General Franklin was ordered to hold the passage of White Oak Swamp Bridge and to cover the withdrawal of the army trains from that point. The trains were delayed by taking the wrong road, repairing the road, and from causes not reported at the time; and the engineers did not send their report as ordered.

About 12.30 P. M. of June 30th, while General Slocum with his division was on the right of the Charles City Road, the enemy attacked the divisions of Smith and Richardson and the brigade of Naglee at White Oak Swamp Bridge. At two P. M. the enemy advanced in force by the Charles City Road and was met by such vigorous opposition from Slocum's artillery that he deflected and attacked McCall's division which was compelled to retire after a severe engagement. Generals Slocum, Kearney, and Taylor soon occupied the field vacated by McCall, and drove back the enemy, who then retired from the contest. These engagements were styled the Battle of Glendale, which "was the most severe action since the Battle of Fair Oaks." (McClellan). Among the enemy at Glendale were the commands of the strong Confederate Generals Longstreet and A. P. Hill.

"There is a story told, by those who know, of a night when Colonel Calvin E. Pratt (afterward general, now judge of the Supreme Court) stumbled into Slocum's tent, drenched from head to foot with his own blood, having come two days' march from the Gaines Mill battle-field, where he had been left for dead. Slocum was asleep, but hearing that he had had nothing to eat for thirty-six hours, Pratt woke him and tendered him some French soup put up in a metal phial that gave up its contents when squeezed. Slocum did not recognize the exceeding grim-looking angel of mercy, but he took the soup, and afterwards said that though by waking he had left a wonderful banquet, of which he had been dreaming, that soup was well worth the loss of the delusion."¹¹³

This nearly exhausted condition of General Slocum is briefly mentioned in his letter to his wife, given on the following page.

Early in the morning of July 1, 1862, that part of the Union army engaged at Glendale arrived at Malvern Hill by the James River with the Reserve Artillery and supply train, to take part in the battle there already begun. Slocum, with his division, took position on the right wing of the Union army. The

enemy was here in force, and was repulsed with great loss. The Union gunboats in the James River acted a part in this battle. This ended the Seven Days' Battles of General McClellan with his Army of the Potomac in its Peninsular Campaign.

This army then moved a few miles down the left bank of the James and chose, and occupied, desirable ground for encampment at Harrison's Landing and Harrison Bar. Here was afforded time and opportunity for the much needed rest and recruiting of greatly depleted strength; and the first opportunity for writing at much length to friends at home, and for the officers' preparation of their official reports of the momentous Seven Days' Battles.

CHAPTER IX

LETTERS. REPORTS. PROMOTED MAJOR GENERAL

Harrison's Landing, Virginia, July 10, 1862.

Dear Wife:

My last letter to you, written two or three days ago, was rather blue I think. I had then been here a day or two, and the reaction from the excitement of the previous ten days weighed heavily upon me. I felt weak and sick. I now feel better. But I must say that although this army is safe, I do not think the prospect of an early and successful termination of the war is bright.

I spoke in my letter of the twenty-sixth of being unwell. I was very weak on the twenty-seventh; was taken with a fit of vomiting and was obliged to dismount for a few minutes. I soon returned to the field, or rather did not leave the field, but went to a place in the shade.

On Monday I had a position assigned to my division which I was to defend. I did it in my own way, and have the satisfaction of knowing that I saved hundreds of lives. I tried to save life by carefully posting my troops and using my artillery. I have allowed matters connected with our movements here to worry me until I came near being sick; but I know it can do no good. Things must take their course, and I made up my mind to get a good novel and try to forget everything here.

I feel better to-day than I have for several days. Rest and quiet will soon make me all right. I dreamed every night after our arrival here of being on the march, of losing wagons, artillery, etc. I do not want you to think I have been sick, but I got rather worn and nervous.

Reports of Brigadier-General Henry W. Slocum, U. S. Army, commanding First Division, of the Battle of Gaines' Mills,

action at Bracketts, and Battles of Glendale (Frazier's Farm) and Malvern Hill.

Hdqrs. First Division, Sixth Provisional Corps,
Camp near Harrison's Landing, Va., July 8, 1862.

Sir: On the 27th June last, in obedience to orders received from General Franklin, I ordered the brigade commanded by Brigadier-General Newton to cross Alexander's Bridge to the left bank of the Chickahominy to the support of General Porter. The order was received at 2 o'clock p. m. and the brigade immediately moved in light marching order. At 2.30 p. m. I was ordered to cross at the same point with the remainder of my division. The movement was executed at once, and General Taylor's brigade crossed at about 3 p. m., followed by the brigade of Colonel Bartlett.

On my arrival near the field I was met by a member of General Porter's staff, who directed me to place one brigade near the right of the line of battle and another on the left of the first brigade. General Newton's brigade was at once formed in two lines, of two regiments each, the first line deployed, the second in double column, and moved to the point designated, accompanied by Lieutenant Upton's battery (D), of the Second U. S. Artillery.

This brigade was subsequently, by order of General (Fitz John) Porter, directed to enter the woods in front of them, two regiments at one point and two at another. The Thirty-first New York and Ninety-fifth Pennsylvania, under the immediate command of General Newton, stormed the woods which were then occupied by the enemy in very strong force, and maintained their position more than two hours under a most galling fire and against greatly superior numbers. The other two regiments of this brigade, the Eighteenth and Thirty-second New York, under command of Colonel Roderick Matheson, of the latter regiment, occupied a position on an eminence near the woods occupied by General Newton until nearly all their ammunition was exhausted, when they were ordered to retire to a position in the rear, where a new line was formed.

The New Jersey brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. G. W. Taylor, on its arrival on the field was formed in the same order as that of General Newton, and on arriving near the line of battle its regiments were ordered into the woods. The Fourth New Jersey, under command of Col. J. H. Simpson, was detached from the brigade and ordered to an advanced position in the woods, where cut off from the rest of our troops, the greater portion of it, together with its gallant Colonel and all of its officers except those who had already fallen, were taken prisoners. The remaining regiments of the brigade maintained the positions assigned to them until their ammunition was expended and our entire line withdrawn. This brigade was accompanied by and supported Hexamer's battery (A), of the First New Jersey Artillery.

Having received no specific directions as to the disposition of the remaining brigade under command of Col. Joseph J. Bartlett, of the Twenty-seventh New York, I directed Colonel Bartlett to take position on the ex-

treme left of the line, near the new road leading through the valley from Doctor Gaines' house to Alexander's Bridge. On approaching the point indicated Colonel Bartlett found our troops engaged to the right of his position, and immediately moved his brigade to their support. He was subsequently ordered to the right of the line to support General Sykes, whose troops, fatigued by the long contest of this and the previous day, were nearly overpowered by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. Porter's battery (A) of the First Massachusetts Artillery, was assigned to the command of Colonel Bartlett, and remained with his brigade during the day.

For detailed accounts of the operations of the several brigades of my command I would respectfully refer you to the reports of the brigade commanders, copies of which are herewith inclosed. It will be seen from the reports that not only were the brigades of the division separated from each other, but at least in two instances was the brigade organization broken up and regiments detached to hold isolated positions in the woods. As to the conduct of the officers and men of my division, I have only to say that the division entered the field 8,000 strong, and that the list of killed, wounded and missing amounts in the aggregate to 2,021. These lists attest the devotion and heroism of officers and men. Notwithstanding this fearful loss (including as it does many of the bravest and best officers of the division) all the regiments left the field in good order, and returned to their camps in the same compact and orderly manner that characterized their march to the scene of conflict.

The brigade commanders, Generals Newton and Taylor and Colonel Bartlett, are each entitled to the greatest praise, not only for their heroic conduct on the field, but for their untiring efforts after the close of the action in bringing off the wounded and in maintaining order and steadiness amid the prevalent confusion.

The loss of the division in officers was particularly severe, not only in numbers but in the character of those killed and wounded. Colonel Tucker and Major Ryerson, of the Second New Jersey, and Lieutenant-Colonel Heath, of the Fifth Maine, were killed while gallantly discharging their duty. Their loss is deeply felt in their regiments and throughout the division, and will be lamented by a wide circle of friends. Colonel Gosline and Major Hubbs, of the Ninety-fifth Pennsylvania, and Lieutenant-Colonel Marsh, of the Sixteenth New York, were mortally wounded while in the thickest of the fight and have since died. Colonel Howland, of the Sixteenth New York; Colonel Pratt, of the Thirty-first New York; Colonel Jackson, of the Fifth Maine; Major Gardner, of the Twenty-seventh New York, and Major Hatfield, of the First New Jersey, were so severely wounded as to be rendered unfit for duty. Over the fate of Colonel Simpson, Lieutenant-Colonel Hatch, and Major Birney, and the other officers of the Fourth New Jersey, hangs a painful uncertainty. They either rest in a soldier's grave or have fallen into the hands of the enemy.

Of the many other officers of less rank—the non-commissioned officers and soldiers—I cannot here write in detail. Like soldiers and like men

they performed their duty and met their fate, and a grateful country will long bear them and the thousand nameless heroes of this conflict, who have offered up their lives at the nation's shrine, in lasting and honored remembrance.

H. W. SLOCUM,

Brig.-Gen. of Volunteers, Commanding First Division of Sixth Corps.
CAPT. FRED T. LOCKE, Asst. Adj.-Gen. Hdqrs. Fifth Provisional Corps.

Hdqrs. First Division, Sixth Provisional Army Corps,
Camp near Harrison's Landing, Va., July 10, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor to submit the following report of the movement of the division under my command from the close of the Battle of Gaines' Hill, on the 27th ultimo, until its arrival at its present position.

The division returned from the field of battle at Gaines' Hill at about 11 P. M., leaving on the field in killed, wounded and missing one-half of its regimental commanders, about one-fourth of all the other officers, and at least one-fourth of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who had so recently crossed the river to the support of General Porter. The men, weary with the labors and excitement of the day, were allowed but little rest. Early the following morning their camps at Courtney's were changed to a position where they could be better sheltered from the fire of the enemy's batteries planted at Garnett's and Gaines' Hills. The same evening (the 28th) orders were received by me to move the division to Savage's Station, there to await further orders. The movement commenced at 11 P. M., but was so delayed at Trent's Hill by the passage of other troops that the division did not arrive at Savage's until about 5 A. M. on Sunday, the 29th.

At this place I received orders from General McClellan in person to move the division across the White Oak Swamp. We crossed at 2 P. M., and at 5 P. M. I was ordered to proceed to a point on the Long Bridge Road, about 1 1-2 miles beyond the swamp, to relieve the divisions of Generals Couch and Peck, both of whom were under orders to proceed to the James River on the arrival of my command. The division reached this place at 7 P. M., and full one-half of the effective force was immediately sent out on picket duty for the night. On the following morning I took position on the Charles City Road, about 1 mile from its junction with the Long Bridge Road and about an equal distance from Brackett's Ford.

In anticipation of an attack by a force said to be approaching on the Charles City Road this road was blockaded as thoroughly as possible. Soon after our arrival our line was established, and Upton's battery (D), Second Artillery, and Porter's and Hexamer's Volunteer batteries placed in position. The infantry necessary to support the artillery was posted on the flanks of the batteries, and the remainder so disposed as to be entirely protected from the fire of the enemy's artillery. The bridge near Brackett's Ford was destroyed by our troops immediately after our arrival, and an infantry force, with one 12-pounder howitzer of Hexamer's battery, placed to defend the position. At 10 o'clock the enemy appeared at this point and attempted a reconstruction of the bridge, but was repulsed.

At 11 A. M. our pickets on the Charles City Road were driven in and the enemy immediately appeared in full force in a large open field in our front, their position being partially screened from our view by a narrow belt of woodland. They opened fire from two batteries, which was at once replied to by Porter's and Upton's batteries and two pieces of Hexamer's battery. Our artillery, with the exception of the two pieces of Hexamer's battery, was exceedingly well served.

About this time a large body of infantry and some artillery which had approached our lines by the Charles City Road and moved to our left, and were brought against the troops of Generals Kearny and McCall. The artillery fire was continued by the enemy in our front until nearly dark, but our troops were so well covered that we suffered but few casualties, our total loss not exceeding 25 in killed and wounded.

At 7 o'clock it was reported to me that the left of our line, held by General Heintzelman, was severely pressed, and the fire of the enemy in our front having ceased, I ordered the brigade of Colonel Bartlett to move to the front and gain possession, if possible, of the field on which the enemy first appeared. As soon as his brigade moved down the road leading to this position a strong force of the enemy's infantry appeared, drawn up in line a short distance beyond a creek separating our position from that held by the enemy. Upton's battery of light 12-pounders was at once moved to the front and a very effective fire of canister opened upon them, which caused their well-formed lines to disappear.

At this time General Heintzelman arrived on the field, and at his suggestion I ordered the First New Jersey Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General Taylor, to the support of General Kearney. Under the circumstances I deemed it imprudent to attempt an advance.

Our position during the entire day was defended mainly by our artillery, which on this, as on all other occasions, was most admirably served. Of Upton's battery (D) Second Artillery, and Porter's battery (A) First Massachusetts Volunteer Artillery, I cannot speak too highly. The officers and men of both these batteries have on all occasions manifested that coolness and bravery so necessary to this branch of the service. Hexamer's battery has usually been well served, but on this occasion the two pieces under command of a lieutenant (since resigned) were poorly handled, and proved of but little assistance. Captain De Russey's battery, of the Fourth Artillery, and Captain Randolph's Volunteer battery were in position on our line during a portion of the day, and did good execution. To Captain E. R. Platt, chief of artillery, I am greatly indebted, not only for his services during both the recent engagements, but for his unceasing care and vigilance on the march. The fire on our left was continued until a late hour in the evening, and at times the shells and even musket balls from the enemy fell in the road directly in rear of our position.

At 9 P. M., having expended nearly all our ammunition and being entirely destitute of rations, I sent a staff officer to general headquarters to report our condition. At 11 P. M., having permission of General Heintzel-

man, I moved the division to Malvern Hill. We arrived at this point at daylight, and at 9 A. M., the 2d instant, moved to a position on the right of our line. From the time of our arrival until the commencement of the engagement on this day the men were employed in constructing abatis and otherwise strengthening our position. During the engagement on our left the division was under arms.

At 11 P. M. orders were received to move to our present position, where we arrived at daylight on the 3d instant. During this entire week the troops were allowed scarcely an hour of undisturbed rest either by night or day, yet the division marched into its present camp in good order, leaving very few stragglers, and without the loss of any arms, ammunition, clothing, or wagons, and with a cheerfulness prevailing among the soldiers as well as officers which to me was as astonishing as it was gratifying.

Great credit is due to the brigade commanders, Generals Newton and Taylor, and Colonel Bartlett, for their vigilance and untiring efforts on the field as well as on our night marches. They were constantly with their commands, cheering them by noble example as well as by words.

To the members of my staff, Captain Rodgers, assistant adjutant-general; Captain Hopkins, quartermaster; Captain Sturdevant, commissary of subsistence; Lieutenants Wead, Shannon, and Guindon, aides, and Surgeon Burr, I am greatly indebted. They were with me during the entire week, and proved very efficient in the discharge of their respective duties.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,

Brigadier-General Volunteers, Commanding.

CAPT. E. SPARROW PURDY, Assistant Adjutant-General.

The opposing forces engaged in the Seven Days' Battles numbered as follows: The Army of the Potomac was composed of 150 regiments of infantry; 2 regiments and 1 battalion of engineers; 1 regiment of heavy or siege artillery; 58 batteries and 10 regiments of cavalry. The Confederate forces were composed of 173 regiments and 12 battalions of infantry; 71 batteries; and 12 regiments of cavalry.

The Union losses during the Seven Days Battles were: Killed, 1,734; wounded, 8,062; missing, 6,075; total, 15,849. The Confederate losses were: Killed, 3,478; wounded, 16,261; missing, 875; total, 20,614.¹¹³ The losses at the Battle of Gaines Mill alone were: Union, killed 894; wounded, 3,107; missing, 2,836; total, 6,837. Confederate, total, killed and wounded, 8,751.

General Slocum was again cheered by even greater recognition and appreciation of his services than before, in his promotion to the rank of Major-General by President Lincoln, Chief,

and the War Department, the commission bearing date July Fourth, 1862. Surely this was a rapid rise to the command of numerous batteries of artillery, and of many thousands of men by a man who, but a little over one year before, could not get the consent of the Governor of his State to organize one light battery. This was a graceful recognition unsolicited by himself or friends of his conscientious devotion to duty, a characteristic that led to yet broader and more valuable service; as the President and War Department were anxious to advance their worthy officers.

A period of comparative quiet to the Army of the Potomac now followed. The camps were put in good condition, and the defensive features were strengthened. The Richmond forces of the enemy often appeared threateningly, and then withdrew their main forces, leaving at Malvern Hill a medium force, which was soon routed, and the scattered enemy disappeared. Coming down the south side of the James, the enemy placed a battery of artillery one night at Coggins' Point opposite the Union encampment, and with it killed ten Union soldiers, and did other harm. This battery was soon silenced by Union artillerists who then constructed a battery in its place that stopped further mischief. The country on both sides of the James was kept well under observation, and numerous scouting parties of the enemy were punished and scattered.

All parts of the army were in different ways kept in good exercise. The hot season caused much malaria, and this, with its complications, caused much sickness. August 3rd the sick list of the Union army at Harrison's Landing and vicinity numbered 12,500 persons.

Reinforcements for advance on Richmond had repeatedly been requested by McClellan; and at times they were promised; but the enemy again began to threaten Washington and, August 3rd, the authorities there sent an order for McClellan to withdraw the army at once from the James River and to transport it up the Potomac to the mouth of Aquia Creek, to aid General Pope in the protection of Washington, and to there combat the enemy while formulating plans against Richmond from that quarter. This was a severe blow to McClellan's plans and desires, but he at once began preparations to comply with the order, and at the same time renewed correspondence with Washington

in defense of his plans for the attack of Richmond by way of the James River. Better protection of Washington was insisted upon by the War Department, and McClellan was urged, harshly he thought, to hasten the army's coming to the aid of General Pope, who was south of Washington.

The shipping facilities for even the wounded and sick were inadequate on the James, and it was necessary for those able to walk to join the marching columns.

When the order to break camp was sounded, the readiness with which the army, artillery, and army wagons disappeared from the grounds was astonishing. Major-General Slocum's command took up the march August 16th, and moved this day to Charles City Court House, a distance of seven miles; the next day they crossed the Chickahominy River at Barrett's Ford, marching a distance of fourteen miles; the 18th they passed through Williamsburg, having marched fifteen miles; the 19th to Yorktown, twelve miles on the way; the 20th to Young's Mill, fourteen miles; the 21st the march extended nine miles to Newport News, where the soldiers embarked on transports for the Potomac River, August 22nd and 23rd.

CHAPTER X

TO ALEXANDRIA. BATTLE OF MANASSAS

After seeing his men and subordinate officers on board transports at Newport News, General Slocum was fortunate in obtaining more rapid transit to his destination that he might make arrangements for their landing and reorganization. His corps, the Sixth, arrived at Aquia Creek, the designated landing, late the 24th of August and, Slocum having found the wharves there small and fully occupied, it was decided to disembark the troops at Alexandria, a few miles above. Report had been made to the authorities at Washington, who directed that the Sixth Corps go into camp at Alexandria immediately upon its arrival.

There was not full feeling of accord between Generals McClellan, Pope, commanding the Union troops of the advance guard of Washington, and Halleck, their ranking officer at Washington, who had been most active in the correspondence with McClellan, and who would not now give definite answer to

McClellan's question regarding his future relation to Pope and the future operation of the army.

During the last few days the enemy had been appearing at intervals, here, there and elsewhere, and he had succeeded amazingly well in causing loss to the authorities in Washington of his whereabouts, and of even the Union General Pope and his troops. The authorities were even doubtful of proper protection to Washington before the arrival of the Army of the Potomac. Surely an evasive and wily enemy were the Confederates at this time.

Gradually McClellan learned something of the whereabouts of the parts of what he yet considered his own army, which had been quietly scattered by Halleck. Fitz J. Porter's Fifth Corps was marching on Warrenton Junction to reinforce Pope; Kearney had been at Rappahannock Station the day before, and Williams was at Falmouth.

The cavalry and artillery horses had not been received from the Peninsula. McClellan continued alert and acted promptly, so far as possible, on all orders received from Washington for the arrangement of troops and supplies.

In a communication dated August 31, 1862, Halleck released McClellan from all participation and responsibility in the battle thought then to be in progress by General Pope's command, closing in these words: "You will retain the command of everything in this vicinity not temporarily to be Pope's army in the field. . . . I beg of you to assist me in this crisis with your ability and experience."¹⁹

The infantry of General Slocum's division of the Sixth Corps arrived at Alexandria August 25th and 26th. The horses and artillery were received separately, only sixteen of the former being received by the 28th. On the 27th order came from General Halleck to send a brigade to Centerville, the enemy being reported at that place. In compliance with this order, General Slocum dispatched from his division General Taylor's brigade by railway train, which inadvertently ran into serious disaster. As this train arrived at the bridge over Bull Run it was assailed by four brigades, with artillery, of the Confederate A. P. Hill's division of Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson's corps. The Union loss here was great, including the death of General Taylor,

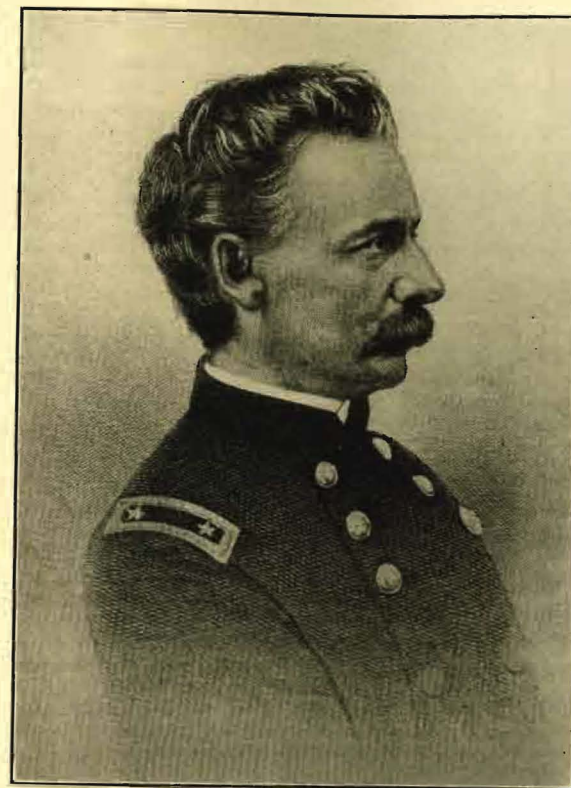
a watchful and efficient officer. The brigade was withdrawn in good order, however, evidencing the high degree of discipline it had attained under directions of its chief commander, General Slocum.

With the meager receipts of horses and artillery August 28th by Slocum's command, attempts were made to collect a train to carry food to Pope's troops at the front, but facilities for accomplishing much in this work were wanting. Friday, August 29th, however, the Sixth Corps started for the front with orders to communicate with General Pope and, at the same time, guard communication with Alexandria, the starting point. The advance at Annandale, ten miles in front, reported that fugitives from Pope's command were constantly arriving there and giving information of a large force of the enemy near Fairfax Court House six miles distant. The ammunition of Slocum's men was short, they now having only ten rounds for each gun, and McClellan ordered a halt at Annandale during the night, and to proceed at six o'clock next morning. In the meanwhile ammunition and provision wagons had been hurried forward; and the Sixth Corps was further ordered to withhold movement for the protection of the oncoming trains.

Upon arrival at Fairfax Court House August 30th, General Slocum detached a brigade of infantry and a battery, under command of Colonel Alfred T. A. Torbert, with order to guard the junction of Little River and Warrenton Turnpike, between Centerville and Alexandria. Colonel Torbert later reported that about 8 o'clock of August 31st his brigade was attacked by the enemy with three pieces of artillery which caused confusion among the wagon teams then under his protection. He succeeded in driving the enemy away, and thereby preventing catastrophe to Pope's men, as well as avoiding loss of the trains. Pope had not placed protection at this point; and only to Slocum's keen discernment and good judgment were due the credit of providing for the driving of a dangerous part of the enemy from this vulnerable place. It was afterwards determined that this attack on Slocum's men was made by General J. E. B. Stuart the enemy's noted cavalry leader.

At 1.30 P. M. order was received from McClellan directing the other part of the Sixth Corps to join General Pope at once.

The troops accordingly moved through Centerville and, when about three miles beyond, many of Pope's men were met in wild retreat. The remaining part of Slocum's division, being in advance, was formed across the road in effort to arrest the frightened, fleeing mass, the different parts of which were promiscu-



MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY W. SLOCUM
At the Close of the Peninsular Campaign. Age 36 Years

ously struggling to get at the head of the retreat—a mass and press “as great as the First Bull Run Battle retreat of July 21st, 1861,” said General Slocum. With great effort, by himself and men, they succeeded in gathering about three thousand of these panic-stricken soldiers in a somewhat protected place nearby; but from a flying report of a force of Confederate cavalry being

seen, though a mile distant, the fugitives forcibly broke through all guarding lines and continued a precipitate retreat. General Pope soon appeared, and directed the Sixth Corps to return to Centerville, at which place he desired to reform his line.

The next morning, August 31st, a detachment of the Sixth Corps, including artillery, was sent to Cub Run Bridge as rear guard to Pope's troops, the only protection between them and the enemy; and it secured peaceful movement of the long trains to safe stations. The Sixth Corps followed Pope to Fairfax Court House, and the next evening, September 2, it returned to guard and recruiting duties near Alexandria.

As soon as the Confederate general commanding, Robert E. Lee, became aware of the severity of the defeat of Pope's troops, and the somewhat disorganized condition of the Army of the Potomac, he left cavalry to watch and harass the broken Union forces, and the other defenses of Washington, and with his main army he moved rapidly to the invasion of Maryland, hoping to find there a double, or triple, gain—recruits for his own depleted forces; army supplies; and prestige at home and abroad, all or either one of which would detract from the Union. As a matter of course, the possibility of capturing Washington could but form at least a hope. This was the Confederacy's first bold, well-conceived, extra-Confederate territorial offensive movement.

Affairs were now, to some degree, in worse chaotic condition in Washington than at the defeat of General McDowell at the First Battle of Bull Run the preceding year. President Lincoln and his aids of the War Department again sought the counsel and assistance of General McClellan. He had been "released" from the Army of the Potomac, and was now restricted to duty in and immediately around Washington. After a long conference with him the President favored, under date of September 2, the brief order, that "Major-General McClellan will have command of the fortifications of Washington, and of all the troops for the defense of the capitol." This order was signed by Major-General Henry W. Halleck, and it was interpreted by McClellan to embrace soldiers in the field as well as those in the immediate fortifications; and it was well that he acted accordingly.

The same day McClellan ordered General Pope to distribute his forces near Washington. Franklin's Sixth Corps, with Slo-

cum's division, was in the advance at Alexandria. The Army of Virginia, composed of McDowell, Banks, and Fremont's commands, was consolidated with the Army of the Potomac, and General Pope was relieved from the service September 5th.²³

CHAPTER XI

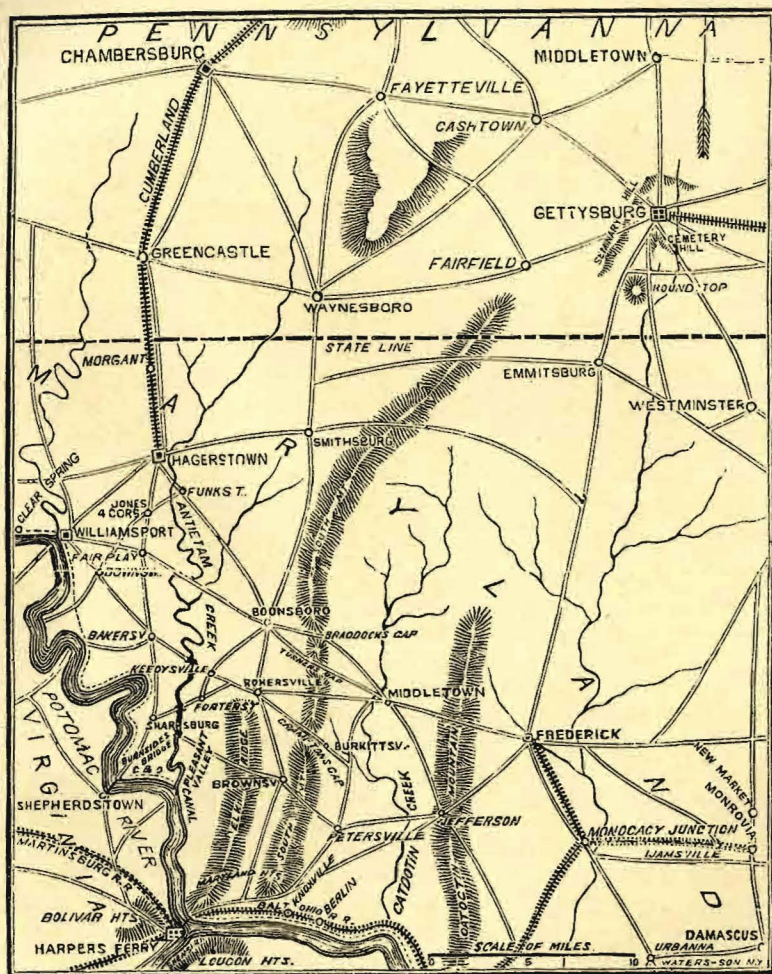
MARYLAND. CRAMPTON'S PASS AND ANTIETAM

Again General McClellan demonstrated his excellent organizing ability. He visited the different commands, chose his subordinate officers for the field, and incited them to immediate action for the filling of their depleted ranks by various newly recruited troops in or near Washington, or by those about to be received, and to otherways make preparation for immediate pursuit of the invading enemy, whose movements meantime had been kept under observation by scouting and harassing detachments of cavalry accompanied by artillery. Much work of preparation was necessary for the determined march against the foe, but the officers were generally equal to the arduous task required of them. All of the supplies of recruits and subsistence readily available were gathered and, trusting to be overtaken by others, the different forces moved rapidly forward.

From September 2nd to 6th General Slocum with his First Division of the Sixth Corps was at Alexandria, Virginia. On the 6th he marched by way of the Long Bridge over the Potomac, through Washington to Georgetown. The 7th the march was to Rabbit's farm beyond Tenallytown, District of Columbia. The 8th to Muddy Run, Maryland. Ninth, to Seneca Run beyond Darnestown. Tenth, to Barnesville. The 12th to near the Monocacy River, by way of Urbana. The 13th to the foot of Catoctin Mountain near Jefferson. September 14th the march extended across the Mountain, and through Jefferson and Burkittsville.

It was determined that the enemy was in Pleasant Valley at the west side of South Mountain, and guarding the two principal passes, Crampton's and Turner's, against the Union forces, which were on the east side. It was McClellan's desire to drive the enemy away from these passes in order that his own men could go through and defeat the enemy in sections.

Early in the afternoon of September 14th General Slocum was leading the column of his division toward Crampton's, and the work of clearing this pass devolved on him. Near Burkitts-



Showing the Relative Positions of South Mountain, Crampton's Pass, The Antietam, Harper's Ferry, Gettysburg and Frederick

ville he drove away the enemy's pickets, and found the enemy occupying the entire Pass with infantry intrenched behind stone walls at the foot of the east, proximal side; also with infantry

and batteries of cannon along up the side of the Mountain and Pass, the sharpshooters being behind trees and inequalities of the steep side. General Slocum led the attack in person. It required but few shots from his batteries and infantry to convince him that nothing but a vigorous and continued bayonet charge would rout the advantageously placed enemy. The lines were immediately formed accordingly, the men obeyed promptly, and they rushed over the intervening space, and stone wall, with a cheer and with volleys of handarms' fire that sent panic to the hearts of the Confederates not wounded, and caused a rout that extended throughout the Pass. Slocum and his men were quick to follow the dislodged and fleeing foe and, continuing as rapid a pace as possible, drove the part not slain or wounded of his enemy up and through the narrow, rough gap of great steepness and down into Pleasant Valley on the other side. The charge was so continuous and energetic that the enemy had no time to make a stand. This great feat required about three hours of most active and serious work.

The report of Major-General Slocum, U. S. Army, of the Battle of Crampton's Pass, Maryland, is as follows:

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION, SIXTH ARMY CORPS,

Camp in the Field, September 24, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor of submitting the following report of the action of this division in the engagement at Crampton Pass on the 14th instant:

The division encamped on the night of the 13th about 3 miles east of Jefferson, on the road leading from Urbana to Jefferson. At daylight on the 14th instant the division left camp, moved through Jefferson, and at 12 M. met the pickets of the enemy near Burkittsville. Colonel Bartlett, commanding the leading brigade, at once deployed the Ninety-sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers as skirmishers, who drove in the enemy's pickets and advanced to the village. The other regiments of the division were then advanced to a position about half a mile east of the village, where they were completely concealed from the view of the enemy and covered from the fire of his artillery. Wolcott's First Maryland Battery was then advanced to a point to the left of the infantry, and replied to the enemy's artillery until preparations for the attack of the infantry were completed.

At 3 P. M. the column of attack was formed in the following order: The Twenty-seventh Regiment New York Volunteers deployed as skirmishers, followed at a distance of 200 yards by the Fifth Maine and Sixteenth New York Volunteers in line of battle; the brigades of General Newton and Colonel Torbert followed, each brigade being in two lines, the regiments in line of battle and the lines 200 yards from each other; the Ninety-

sixth Pennsylvania Volunteers, of Bartlett's brigade, which had advanced into the village, formed in rear, and joined the column as it advanced; the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York Volunteers was held as a reserve at the point where the column was formed. As soon as the advance began, the enemy opened with a heavy and well-directed artillery fire, but the troops advanced steadily, every line in the entire column preserving its alignment with as much accuracy as could have been expected at drill or review. The line of skirmishers soon drew the fire of the enemy's infantry, which appeared in strong position in rear of a stone wall, which afforded them an admirable cover.

The position and strength of the enemy having been ascertained, the skirmishers were withdrawn, and Colonel Bartlett led the first line to a point within 300 yards of the enemy's line. A severe engagement ensued, the enemy having greatly the advantage in position, and being aided by at least eight pieces of artillery posted on the sides of the mountain. The position of this pass and its approaches rendered it evident that in the attempt to carry it reliance was to be placed mainly upon the infantry. I had, therefore, left all the artillery of the division in rear, but fearing that the stone wall behind which the enemy had taken cover would prove an insurmountable obstacle to the advance of my lines, I at once used every effort to bring forward a battery, with the view of driving the enemy from his position. But before the battery was fairly in position this obstacle had been overcome by a most gallant charge of the infantry, and the enemy were fleeing in confusion up the mountain, closely pursued by every regiment of the division except the one in reserve, each vying with the other in the pursuit. The enemy made another stand at the crest of the mountain, but were speedily dispersed and pursued through the pass and into the plain below. The victory was complete, and resulted not only in the utter rout and dispersion of the forces opposed to us, but in the capture of 300 prisoners, 3 stand of colors, over 700 stand of arms of the most approved pattern, 1 piece of artillery, and a very large number of knapsacks, haversacks, blankets, etc. The advance of General Brooks' brigade, of Smith's division, on the left of the pass, simultaneously with the advance of my division, did much toward the accomplishment of the work assigned to the corps, and rendered our victory more complete than it would otherwise have been.

Of the gallantry of the officers and men under my command I cannot speak too highly. Although greatly reduced in numbers by losses on the Peninsula, although fatigued by long marches and constant service since the opening of the spring campaign, each regiment—indeed, every man—did his whole duty, not reluctantly, but with that eagerness and enthusiasm which rendered success certain.

To attempt to designate any regiment, or any regimental or line officer, as being entitled to particular notice would be an act of injustice to all others. I cannot, however, without great injustice omit to call attention to the conduct of the brigade commanders, General Newton, Colonel Bartlett, and Colonel Torbert, all of whom led their brigades in the action, and

gave renewed evidence of their skill and courage. Colonel Bartlett, commanding the leading brigade, was, on this, as on all former occasions, conspicuous for his gallantry and skill with which he handled his troops under a most galling fire. I sincerely trust that both Colonel Bartlett and Colonel Torbert, commanding their respective brigades, both of whom have given abundant proofs of their qualifications for the position which they now occupy as brigade commanders, may be rewarded by the promotion they have so well earned.

I append a list of casualties, showing the number of officers killed, 5; wounded, 16; men killed, 109; wounded, 381. Total killed, 114; wounded, 397; aggregate loss, 511.

This list embraces many of the bravest and most gallant officers and soldiers of the division, for a more particular reference to whom I respectfully refer to the reports of the brigade commanders, which are herewith inclosed.

I am greatly indebted to the members of my staff, Major Rodgers, assistant adjutant-general; Lieutenants Guindon and Shannon, aides-de-camp, and to Captain Urquhart, of Colonel Bartlett's staff, for the zealous manner in which their respective duties were discharged.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Major-General

SLOCUM,

Commanding.

LIEUT. COL. OLIVER D. GREENE,

Assistant Adjutant-General, Sixth Army Corps.²⁴

General Franklin reported that "the advance of General Slocum was made with admirable steadiness through a well directed fire from the enemy's batteries on the Mountain. . . . This single charge, sustained as it was over a great distance, and on a rough ascent of unusual steepness, was decisive. The enemy was driven in the utmost confusion from a position of strength and allowed no opportunity for even an attempt to rally, until the Pass was cleared and in possession of our troops. . . . The victory was complete, and its achievement followed so rapidly upon the first attack that the enemy's reserves, although pushed forward at the double-quick, arrived but in time to participate in the flight and add confusion to the rout. Four hundred prisoners, from seventeen different organizations, seven hundred stand of arms, one piece of artillery, and three stand of colors, were captured. . . . It was the completest victory gained up to that time by any part of the Army of the Potomac."²⁴

"Slocum was a conspicuous figure in the charge, his soldierly bearing and fearless exposure of his person to the enemy's fire winning enthusiastic praise from the troops who fought by his side."²⁵

The enemy contending for Crampton's Pass was numerous and from strong commands, including Munford's brigade of cavalry in Pleasant Valley, comprising the Second and Thirteenth Virginia Regiments, with Clem's battery and a section of the



Monuments at the Crest of Crampton's Pass to General Slocum's Men, and War Correspondents

Portsmouth battery of naval howitzers, supported by two regiments of Mahone's brigade of R. H. Anderson's division. General McLaws had, also, stationed the remainder of Mahone's brigade and the brigades of Semmes and Howell Cobb, of his own division, within supporting distance. General Cobb was in command of the Pass, with his strong forces well placed, and hidden by the trees on both sides of the narrow defile, with orders from McLaws to "hold the Pass if it cost every life in my command."

Generals Cobb and Semmes reported that after their lines were broken, all efforts to rally their troops were unsuccessful.²²

General Slocum assailed a formidable position of the enemy and its carrying was a brilliant action, reported McClellan.

President Lincoln visited McClellan and the Army of the Potomac near the Battle-field of the Antietam in October, going through Crampton's Pass on his way thither. His attendants, from the army, pointed to the enemy's position and explained the work done by Slocum and his command. Lincoln expressed astonishment at what had been done, reported General Franklin.

General Slocum's 1st Division of General Franklin's Vth Corps was composed, September 14th to 17th, of three brigades of four regiments each, and four batteries of artillery, namely:

First Brigade, Colonel Albert T. A. Torbert commander; with the 1st New Jersey Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Mark W. Collet; 2nd New Jersey, Colonel Samuel L. Buck; 3rd New Jersey, Colonel Henry W. Brown; and 4th New Jersey, Colonel William B. Hatch. The IInd Brigade, Colonel Joseph J. Bartlett commander; with the 5th Maine Regiment, Colonel Nathaniel J. Jackson; 16th New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Joel J. Seaver; 27th New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander D. Adams; and the 96th Pennsylvania, Colonel Henry L. Cake. The IIIrd Brigade, Brigadier-General John Newton commander; with the 18th New York Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel George R. Myers; 31st New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Francis E. Pinto; 32nd New York, Colonel Roderick Matheson and Major George F. Lemon; and the 95th Pennsylvania, Colonel Gustavus W. Town. Artillery, Captain Emory Upton; Maryland Light, Battery A, Captain John W. Wolcott; Massachusetts Light, Battery A, Captain Josiah Porter; New Jersey Light, Battery A, Captain William Hexamer; and the Second United States Battery D, Lieutenant Edward B. Williston.²⁶

General Slocum took great pride in his artillery arm, as well as in his infantry and other parts of his command. Having been several years in the United States artillery service as a young officer, and two years or more as instructor of artillery to the New York State Militia, he was able to bring this arm of his command to the same high degree of discipline and efficiency as were all the others always exhibited.

After his Battle of Crampton's Pass, General Slocum with his command bivouacked for the night literally astride of South Mountain, occupying the hard-won Crampton's Pass, and extending through it into Pleasant Valley not far from a considerable

force of the enemy that had there assembled. The next morning the other part of the Sixth Corps joined Slocum and formed in line of battle to attack the enemy; but he was, upon further investigation, found by General Franklin so numerous, and occupying such well chosen positions, that it was decided unwise to lead an attack. Later in the day the enemy withdrew toward Sharpsburg. September 15th and 16th were, therefore, passed in accordance with McClellan's directions, in guarding the rear of the Union Army, in more fully caring for the wounded, in completing the burial of the dead, and in getting the much needed rest from the previous day's exhausting work by Slocum and his men.

The evening of the 16th orders were received from McClellan directing that the Sixth Corps join the army next morning. The march was begun at 5.30 A. M. and the distance of twelve miles to the Battle-field of the Antietam creek was covered in about four-and-a-half hours. This corps had been needed near the Union center as a reserve that might be called to the point where most needed but, on its nearing the field, the Union right was so hard pressed by the enemy that it was immediately stopped for support there. Two brigades of General Slocum's division were formed in column to assault the woods that had been so hotly contested by Generals Hooker and Sumner, and the other brigade was formed as reserve. This enabled the Union forces on the right to reclaim and hold much ground that was important to them. Upon the arrival of these troops there was a lull on the part of the enemy, and General Sumner, in command of the Union right, directed postponement of further offensive operations. McClellan joined in this order "as the repulse of this [the Sixth], the only remaining corps available for attack, would imperil the safety of the whole army." The enemy, also, desired respite. Slocum's troops suffered somewhat from some further bombardment by the enemy to feel the temper of the Union forces, but they not continuing to reply the enemy soon ceased firing. September 18th more quiet prevailed, and the Union forces that were best able to work took the wounded to safe places, buried the dead, and prepared for renewal of the battle, orders having been issued to attack at daybreak next morning. But here, as elsewhere, McClellan was too slow. But

the enemy had received enough of battle at the Passes of South Mountain and the Antietam Creek. The latter part of the 18th, Confederate troops were brought over the nearby Potomac River from the Virginia shore and posted near the Union right as a ruse; and under cover of the night the main body of the enemy retreated into Virginia, leaving a bold front to the Union troops meanwhile. In the morning two reconnaissances discovered well stationed rear guards of the enemy strong enough to make the main body's retreat secure for some length of time.

General Slocum's report shows a severe strain upon his troops with comparatively small loss, namely:

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION, SIXTH CORPS,
Camp near Bakersville, September 26, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor to report that, early on the morning of the 17th instant, the division under my command left Crampton's Pass to join the main army, then already engaged with the enemy near Sharpsburg. We reached the battle-field about 12 M., and immediately took position in front of the white church, on the Hagerstown and Sharpsburg turnpike, relieving a portion of General Sumner's corps. Our infantry, though not actively engaged, were exposed to a heavy artillery fire from the enemy until sundown, and are entitled to great credit for their gallantry under a severe fire, which they were unable to return. The artillery of the division, under command of First Lieutenant Emory Upton, Fifth U. S. Artillery, was well served and did good execution. The batteries of Captain Hexamer, First New Jersey Volunteer Artillery; Captain Wolcott, First Maryland Volunteer Artillery; and Lieutenant Williston, Battery D, Second U. S. Artillery, were all engaged, and their fire proved very accurate and effective, twice silencing the enemy's guns, and holding in check a large force of his infantry.

The officers and men of the division lay or rested upon their arms in line of battle for over forty hours without leaving their position, and deserve great credit for their fortitude displayed on that occasion.

I append a list of casualties, showing a loss of 5 men killed, 2 officers and 56 men wounded, and 2 men missing, making a total loss of 65.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,

Major-General Volunteers, Commanding.

LIEUT. COL. OLIVER D. GREENE,

Asst. Adj. Gen. and Chief of Staff, Sixth Army Corps.²⁷

The Union forces engaged in the battles of Crampton's and Turner's Pass, of South Mountain, and at the Antietam Creek, Maryland, numbered 87,164, against 97,445 of the enemy. The Union forces did not lose a flag or cannon, but they captured

from the enemy 13 pieces of artillery, 39 flags, upwards of 15,000 stand of small arms, and more than 6,000 prisoners, besides the fields of battle (McClellan).¹⁹

The casualties of these battles were: Union, killed, 2,108; wounded, 9,549; missing, 753; total, 12,390. Confederate: Killed, 2,700; wounded, 9,024; missing, 1,800; total, 13,524.¹¹³

Report was received by McClellan September 19th, that Stuart's Confederate cavalry 4,000 strong, with 10,000 infantry and artillery, had appeared up the Potomac at Williamsport, Maryland. This was probably a ruse to divide the Union forces to favor Lee's badly shattered corps seeking rest in northern Virginia. McClellan dispatched General Couch with good force, however, to hasten to Williamsport, also directing the Sixth Corps with Slocum's division to keep within supporting distance. Slocum was encamped for the night of the 19th by the Potomac opposite Shepherdstown, West Virginia. About midnight the 20th, he was called to advance on Williamsport, which place he occupied about two days. Stuart and his forces made good their escape without giving the Union forces opportunity for an engagement. General Slocum then proceeded down the Potomac, and his division encamped at the cross roads about a mile northwest of Bakersville, Maryland.

Good results of the United States Signal Service were well illustrated in the Battle of Antietam, and with the detachments of Union troops following the enemy afterward. A few excerpts relating to our subject are here given, viz.:

Sept. 17, 1862. At Hdqrs. Station, near Sharpsburg, Md.

To General McClellan:

Reinforcements are badly wanted. Our troops are giving away. I am hunting for French's and Slocum's divisions. If you know where they are, send them immediately.

General Sumner.

To MBN Station:

Where is General Sumner?

Major Myer.

To Major Myer:

We are in communication with General Sumner.

MBN Station.

To Major Myer:

We have found General Slocum. He is near us.

Pierce and Barrett.

To General McClellan:

All is quiet this morning so far. The enemy's pickets are in front of us.

General Sumner.

To General McClellan:

18th.

The rebels sent flag of truce this morning, asking to bury their dead. Flag was sent back.

General Slocum.

To Officers at Williamsport:

Ascertain and report if any movements of the enemy have been visible near Williamsport to-day.

Major Myer.

To Major Myer:

There have been no movements visible. I report to Couch. Franklin is in command.

Owen.

To General Franklin, Williamsport:

I have just sent you an order to move your command to near Bakersville; General Couch to Downsville, on the same road. You can move at once. The orderly will meet you. E. B. Marey, Chief of Staff.²⁸

At the termination of the enemy's invasion of Maryland, President Lincoln decided that this overt act required more active measures by him regarding human slavery, the great institution of the Southern States. He, therefore, published his historic Proclamation of Emancipation, September 22nd, and two days later this great article of liberty was officially proclaimed in the armies of the United States.

CHAPTER XII

SUPPLY DELAYS. COMMANDS XIITH ARMY CORPS

The recent losses of the Army of the Potomac from battle, sickness, wounds, other deaths, and expiration of term of enlistment, had been so great that thorough reorganization was necessary. This work began at once, but progressed slowly from want of men and horses. Also most of the men remaining could not continue in very active service for want of clothing. A violent and often fatal disease rapidly spread among the horses of the different branches of the service, to the extent that the death and disabling of about four thousand were soon reported. Other serviceable horses could be obtained only in small number. McClellan was very active in his efforts to place his army upon a proper war basis. He obtained authority for the cavalry and artillery officers to purchase the necessary horses for their use; but the

contractors for the main supply remained unable to ship horses and other supplies only in small numbers and quantities, while the delays in the railway deliveries were embarrassing. Such were also the conditions of the clothing supply for the winter.

General McClellan, notwithstanding his difficulties in getting the army in favorable condition for an autumn campaign, had repeatedly received orders from Washington to move against the enemy who yet lingered not far from him across the Potomac. In his efforts to please these superiors before his departure, he placed the important protective point, as they thought Harper's Ferry to be, in charge of Major-General Henry W. Slocum, in whom they had implicit confidence.

General Slocum was assigned to the command of the XIIth Corps, of the Army of the Potomac, October 15th, with request that he enter upon its command as soon as practicable. This promotion was in acknowledgement of his eminent ability, and desirable soldierly qualities. This corps formerly belonged to the Army of Virginia as General N. P. Banks' corps and, also, as the IInd Corps, its number being changed September 12th, one week after the merging of the Army of Virginia in the Army of the Potomac. The XIIth Army Corps had been under command of Brigadier-General Alpheus S. Williams until September 15th, when he was succeeded by the venerable Major-General Joseph K. F. Mansfield, an officer of large and creditable experience. He was mortally wounded the next day in the Battle of Antietam, after which the command again devolved on General A. S. Williams.

The 20th of October General Slocum assumed command of the XIIth Army Corps when it was on duty in and around Harper's Ferry, and General Williams, an able officer, was again assigned to the command of the 1st Division of this corps, most of which division was then on Maryland Heights. General Slocum brought the discipline of this corps to such high degree of excellence as to make the names Slocum, the XIIth Army Corps, and efficiency, synonymous terms.

The same day General McClellan issued, in triplicate, to Generals Stoneman of the cavalry at Poolesville, Slocum at Harper's Ferry, and Couch now commanding Sumner's corps, a circular informing them that he was just notified by two refugees

that a large force of the enemy with artillery and cavalry were within two miles of the Potomac, and moving toward the ford two miles below Knoxville where there was a large corral of horses; and directing them to be on the alert to prevent the loss of the horses. General Slocum hastened forward with the 1st and IInd Brigades of the IInd Division of his XIIth Corps, also three hundred of the 6th New York Cavalry, and Knap's Pennsylvania battery, and they reconnoitered the Loudoun Valley, found traces of the enemy, pursued and overtook him at Hedgesville, West Virginia, where they routed him, capturing a number of prisoners.

The 25th of October General Slocum was directed by McClellan to move, the next morning, his IIIrd Division under General A. W. Whipple, across the river to occupy the ground between the bridge and Lovettsville. This division was thus detached from the XIIth Corps to accompany General Burnside's corps into Virginia in pursuit of General Lee's army. Slocum was further directed to keep the remainder of his corps in readiness to receive further orders, without taking down their tents at night.

On October 26th, Slocum moved his IInd Division from Loudoun Heights east of Harper's Ferry into the Shenandoah Valley. The 29th he moved this division to Bolivar Heights west of the Ferry, there relieving General Sumner's corps and doing picket duty along the south bank of the Potomac to the Shenandoah River.

General Slocum assigned the 124th and 125th Pennsylvania Regiments to the IInd Brigade of his 1st Division on October 26th. This brigade remained in Pleasant Valley near Sandy Hook, Maryland, until October 30th, when it was moved to Loudoun Heights and the eastern slope. The IIIrd Brigade remained on Maryland Heights at work strengthening the fortifications until October 29th when it was ordered to relieve General Fitz John Porter in guarding the country near the Battle-field of the Antietam, including the hospitals for the wounded and sick soldiers who had remained there. Thus, with a much weakened corps directly in hand, General Slocum kept active in visiting his not widely scattered detachments; and he kept them active in their work of drilling, fortifying, and in picketing duty.

The report of Brigadier-General Rufus Ingalls, Chief Quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac, under date 1st of November, credited the forces of Major-General Henry W. Slocum's XIIth Corps as follows:

TWELFTH ARMY CORPS.	Officers.	Enlisted Men.	Means of Transportation.						
			Horses.	Mules.	Army Wagons.	Two-horse Wagons.	Ambulances.	Cavalry.	Artillery.
Headquarters of Corps, including									
Artillery of First and									
Second Divisions	38	1,170	106	459	121	8	10	54	747
First Division—									
General A. S. Williams ..	572	13,374	444	551	188	1	61	23	
Second Division—									
Gen. J. W. Geary	436	8,501	480	189	128	1	39	5	
Third Division—									
Gen A. W. Whipple	272	5,508	171	331	79	23	10	7	215
Total	1,318	28,553	1,201	1,530	516	33	120	89	962

With the advance of the main part of the Union Army into Virginia, the Confederate forces became more active and threatening at every available place. General Slocum's task at Harper's Ferry was not an easy one. It required the exercise of broad soldierly training and high executive qualities. He was fully and well prepared for his duties as a corps commander. He had made rapid study of the XIIth Corps in general and in detail. He had rearranged a number of batteries, regiments, brigades, divisions and officers, placing the weaker ones where the duties likely to be required of them would be lighter. The stronger and more experienced were placed for heavy and important picket duty several miles along the Potomac to guard against the active cavalry detachments of the enemy which were now more frequently invading the region under his authority. Fortifications were hastily prepared of earth, trees and rocks on

the heights surrounding Harper's Ferry and covering approaches in all directions. Detachments of varying forces were made, in addition to those at Frederick, Sharpsburg, and Berlin, in Maryland, and at Keyes' Ford and Keyes' Gap, Virginia, and for reconnaissances far and near, thus keeping well informed regarding the country and of the enemy's trespassers.

Major-General George B. McClellan was relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac by the War Department authorities at Washington November 7th, upon his arrival at Rectortown, Virginia, after he had issued his commands for the centering of the army around Warrenton the 8th and 9th. Major-General Ambrose E. Burnside had been chosen to succeed him and, his corps being near, he reported to McClellan at once when the command was turned over to him. This was information necessary for all Corps commanders to know. That this change was a grave mistake will be made apparent on a later page without intimation that no change was necessary.

Slocum made extended reconnaissance November 9th, with his IIInd Division, up the Shenandoah Valley to Rippon, six miles from Berryville. A fleeing detachment of the enemy was discovered, which escaped but not without losing to Slocum's men a number of prisoners, arms, horses, and beef cattle. It was discovered that both of the Confederate Generals Hill, Ambrose E. and David H., also Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson had recently crossed the Blue Ridge Mountain at Front Royal, going toward the Army of the Potomac now under Burnside. This was important information which Slocum transmitted to Washington, and to Burnside. The enemy left in the Shenandoah Valley five regiments of cavalry and eight or ten pieces of artillery, part of which force fled before Slocum's men.

Frequent reports were required of commanders regarding the numbers and condition of their men and arms. November 10th, General Slocum's XIIth Corps was so scattered that there remained at Harper's Ferry ready for duty only 573 officers, with 14,864 enlisted men, and 6,393 sick and wounded in hospitals and camp, and including the few absent on furlough. Slocum had at this date fifty-one pieces of artillery.

A threatening report from the dangerous Confederate cavalry under Stuart and Munford came to Slocum November 12th.

This information was transmitted to Burnside, who turned it over to a nearer officer for his observation and possible action. There were frequent transmissions to, and receipts from, Washington and different headquarters, which conduced to a general knowledge of the situation throughout the field of all the army operations.

Slocum made another reconnaissance up the Shenandoah Valley November 26th with 600 infantry and two pieces of artillery, going as far as Charlestown. A skirmish was had at Cockrall's Mills with the enemy who was "routed with injury" to him. A number of prisoners, arms, and horses were captured by this Union force, also a quantity of flour. A cloth factory between Charlestown and Hallstown was destroyed. The VIIth and XIIth Virginia Cavalry were also met, routed, and their camp was destroyed. Return was made without casualty to this detachment, the members of which much enjoyed the expedition as a pleasant change from guard duty where they were being often harassed by the enemy's cavalry which was without serious harm but no opportunity offered to retaliate at the time. Altogether the expedition was quite like a holiday excursion to them.

Upon the return of this detachment, General Slocum made returns to Henry W. Halleck, General-in-Chief, Washington, of the information gained from this and other sources regarding General T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson's movements with his 30,000 men, the indications being that he might cross the Potomac between Harper's Ferry and Washington, and destroy railway communication if he did no other harm. Thereupon General George W. Morell at Hagerstown, Maryland, was ordered to patrol the Potomac with cavalry. The 28th of November General Halleck telegraphed Slocum asking: "What of the rebel forces? Anything about Jackson?" Slocum replied on the 30th, that the pickets of the enemy at his front had again disappeared, and his scouts reported that Jackson had left the lower Shenandoah Valley; that he passed through Strasburg Wednesday, and was moving toward Staunton; also that four contrabands (Southern negroes, former slaves) came to him this morning with the same report.

As General Burnside advanced with the main part of the army, rapidly moving detachments of Confederates, large and

small, became even more active. The authorities at Washington also became more active in their inquiries from the scattered commands regarding these raids. Slocum continued his surveillance of the Potomac and Shenandoah regions particularly. He reported to Halleck that he had sent General Geary, of his IIInd Division, with about 4,000 infantry and artillery, with instructions to go up the Shenandoah to Winchester if he deemed it prudent. He also reported that he had not up to that date, December 4th, received any cavalry with which to facilitate reconnaissances. The next day he reported to Washington that four deserters from the enemy had come to tell that his reconnoitering force had arrived at Winchester. This force returned December 8th, and General Slocum at once reported to Burnside that it passed through Berryville, Winchester, and Bunker Hill; that it had captured 125 prisoners, including four officers, killed four and wounded twenty of the enemy. There was no Union loss of men or property. General Geary reported that Jackson's command passed through Thornton's Gap about the first of December and went towards Fredericksburg, Burnside's objective point, and the two Generals Hill went the same way. It was also gathered that the combined forces of these three commands did not exceed at that time 35,000 men.

CHAPTER XIII

HARPER'S FERRY. IN THE GRAND RESERVE

Upon his assuming command, General Burnside divided the Army of the Potomac into four Grand Divisions composed as follows: The IIInd and IXth Army Corps to form the Right Grand Division under command of Major-General E. V. Sumner; the Ist and VIth Corps to form the Left Grand Division under command of Major-General William B. Franklin; the IIIrd and Vth Corps to form the Central Grand Division under command of Major-General Joseph Hooker. All three divisions were for unhampered advance against the Confederate army. Also there was to be a reserve force, called the Grand Reserve for what the War Department considered the most important work, the more immediate defense of Washington. This reserve was at first composed of the XIth Corps under Major-General

Oliver O. Howard, to be increased if necessary by such other forces as might be assigned to it from time to time, all to be under the general command of Major-General Franz Sigel. To this Grand Reserve Major-General Slocum and the principal part of his XIIth Corps were called December 9th, the call dispatch bearing date 3 A. M. when General Burnside was about to attack Fredericksburg.

General Slocum was advised of the best road to take from Harper's Ferry through to Dumfries, a few miles north of Burnside's headquarters, to aid in the defense of Washington principally, as Confederate cavalry were making frequent and annoying raids upon many places in that vicinity. Hastily forming his lines for the march, Slocum and his troops passed over the pontoon bridge across the Shenandoah River a little above Harper's Ferry, thence through Hillsborough, Wheatland, Leesburg, and Chantilly to Fairfax Court House, where one division arrived December 13th. Here Slocum telegraphed to Halleck, at Washington, that inasmuch as he was obliged to leave his Purnell Legion and the Third Delaware Regiment at Frederick, Maryland, and his Fifth Maryland regiment at Harper's Ferry, for the protection of those places, one of his best brigade commanders now had but two regiments; and Slocum requested three or four regiments sent to him from troops at Washington or elsewhere that could be spared. This request was complied with by troops sent from Washington by water, and Slocum received them by way of Aquia Creek.

The roads were in very bad condition, and at Fairfax Court House it was desirable that Slocum's artillery and cavalry horses be shod; but his call was urgent, and he was about to resume the march when he received dispatch from General Sigel requesting him to retain only three wagons for each regiment—one for officers, one for cooking utensils for the rank and file, and the other for small arms ammunition to contain ten boxes, all other necessary ammunition to be put in extra wagons—brigade and division staff one wagon; corps staff and Grand Reserve Division Headquarters two wagons, respectively; also to send all his baggage to Alexandria to be there transferred to Aquia Creek by water; to take two days' provisions besides cat-

tle; and to change the route of his march to Stafford Court House, nearer the place of battle. Another dispatch from General Sigel was received the 14th upon his, Sigel's, arrival at Stafford Court House at 6 P. M., which reads in part "I invite your attention again to the terrible condition the roads are in." Slocum's command resumed the march early next morning, but his progress was necessarily very slow on account of the deep and tenacious mud.

The day that Slocum's first division arrived at Fairfax Court House, Burnside's Battle of Fredericksburg, Virginia, was being fought with the advantage all in favor of the Confederates. In the afternoon of December 13th General Franklin of the Left Grand Division dispatched to Burnside that his left flank was in danger of being turned, and asked, "What hope is there of getting Sigel or Slocum across the river?" In Franklin's sore distress he longed for Slocum, his former right arm.

On December 16th, Sigel telegraphed to Slocum to remain where he was (between Wolf Run Shoals and Dumfries); to stop his baggage at Alexandria; to keep his cavalry well out to the right; and to call his (Sigel's) cavalry to his (Slocum's) command, and to order provisions and forage sent to Fairfax Station.

The General-in-chief of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, Robert E. Lee, was kept constantly informed by his cavalry and signal corps of General Slocum's whereabouts, as shown by Lee's official reports.

General Slocum's headquarters remained at the Village of Fairfax Court House for some length of time. His picket lines were very long, and for greater protection his command was divided into picket and more defensive centers, Dumfries being among the more important, next to Fairfax Court House.

On December 27th Slocum received dispatch from Colonel Charles Candy, commanding a XIIth Corps brigade at Dumfries, that he was attacked and needed reinforcements, which Slocum started immediately; but he soon recalled them on learning that the enemy had been repulsed by Candy. The enemy in this skirmish numbered about 2,500 cavalry with artillery under General Fitzhugh Lee. December 28th Slocum's advance line sighted

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the enemy's cavalry and artillery at a distance of about three miles from Wolf Run Shoals; but they escaped and, Slocum passing on to Dumfries, telegraphed from there to the commanding general, Burnside, at Falmouth, as a suggestion to other commanders, that his, Slocum's, disposition of troops would be such that the enemy could not come his way "without a fight," Lee having escaped between other commands.

The report of the organization of the Army of the Potomac, December 31, showed the following composition of Major-General Henry W. Slocum's XIIth Corps, viz.:

Escort of the commanding general (Slocum), 12th Illinois Cavalry, Company A, Captain P. E. Fisher.

Ist Division, Brigadier-General Alpheus S. Williams; 1st Brigade, Colonel Joseph F. Knipe, composed of infantry regiments as follows: 5th Connecticut, Colonel George D. Chapman; 10th Maine, Colonel George L. Beal; 28th New York, Lieutenant-Colonel E. W. Cook; 46th Pennsylvania, Lieutenant-Colonel James L. Selfridge, and the 128th Pennsylvania, Colonel J. A. Mathews. IIInd Brigade, Brigadier-General Thomas L. Kane; with the 20th Connecticut, Colonel Samuel Ross; 123rd New York, Colonel A. L. McDougall; 124th Pennsylvania, Colonel J. W. Hawley; and the 125th Pennsylvania, Colonel Jacob Higgins. IIIrd Brigade, Colonel John K. Murphy; with the 27th Indiana, Colonel Silas Colgrove; 2nd Massachusetts, Major C. R. Mudge; 13th New Jersey, Colonel E. A. Carman; 107th New York, Colonel A. S. Diven; 29th Pennsylvania, Major Michael Scott; and the 3rd Wisconsin Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel W. Hawley. Artillery, Captain Robert H. Fitzhugh; with the First New York, Battery K, Lieutenant E. L. Bailey; First New York, Battery M, Lieutenant C. E. Winegar; and the Fourth United States, Battery F, Lieutenant E. D. Muhlenburg. Cavalry: First Maine, Company H, Captain George S. Summat; and the First Michigan, Company L, Captain Melvin Brewer.

The IIInd Division, Brigadier-General John W. Geary; 1st Brigade, Colonel Charles Candy: with the 5th Ohio Regiment, Colonel John H. Patrick; 7th Ohio, Colonel William R. Creighton; 29th Ohio, Colonel Lewis P. Buckley; 66th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Eugene Powell; 28th Pennsylvania, Captain Joseph B. Copeland; 147th Pennsylvania, Lieutenant-Colonel Ario Pardee; 12th Illinois Cavalry, Colonel Hasbrouck Davis; 1st Maryland Cavalry, three companies, Captain J. H. Cook. IIInd Brigade, Colonel Joseph M. Sudsburg: with 3rd Maryland Infantry, Lieutenant-Colonel Gilbert P. Robinson; 60th New York, Lieutenant-Colonel John C. O. Redington; and the 145th New York, Major R. L. Van Wagenen. IIIrd Brigade, Brigadier-General George S. Greene: with the 78th New York Regiment, Major H. C. Blanchard; 102nd New York, Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Lane; 137th New York, Colonel David Ireland; 149th New York, Major Abel G. Cook; 109th Pennsylvania, Colonel

H. J. Stainrook; and the 111th Pennsylvania, Lieutenant-Colonel George A. Cobham. Artillery, Major L. Kieffer: Sixth Maine Battery, Lieutenant Edwin Dow; Pennsylvania Battery E, Captain J. M. Knap; and Pennsylvania Battery F, Captain R. B. Hampton. Cavalry: First Maine, Company M, Captain G. M. Brown.

Different parts of this XIIth Corps were on more distant duties, and are not enumerated here.

During the first part of January, 1863, General Burnside prepared for another attack on the enemy at Fredericksburg and, as in his former unwise plan of attack, he wanted General Slocum's aid. January 13th he dispatched to Slocum at his headquarters, Fairfax Court House (where he had continued to guard the advance defense of Washington throughout a wide range westward from the Potomac) to have his XIIth Corps in readiness to move to his, Burnside's, support in twelve hours' notice, with three days' cooked rations in haversacks, and from six to eight days' bread and small rations in wagons, and with beef cattle for that length of time. But, as before, the enemy discerned Burnside's intentions, and began to strongly threaten Harper's Ferry and other Union forces guarding Washington; and Burnside saw that he must get permission from Washington to call Slocum to his support. Such permission was granted January 17th, and Burnside notified Slocum that he need not commence his march until the next Monday. January 19th at 3.25 P. M. another dispatch was received from Burnside directing Slocum to move his command "with all speed possible without breaking down his men, to the vicinity of Dumfries where he would receive further orders."

Copious rains had fallen, but the XIIth Corps entered nevertheless boldly upon its part of the "Mud March," though not to be defeated in humiliation like Burnside in his further unwise efforts in the mud nearly opposite Fredericksburg. The 1st Brigade and the 6th Maine Battery of Slocum's IIInd Division had garrisoned the post at Dumfries for some weeks, and had near there an extended picket line. The main part of this division, and the 1st Division started from Fairfax Court House duty late in the afternoon of January 19th and took different ways to avoid each other's stirring of the mud.

The 1st Division halted for the night two miles beyond Wolf Run Shoals and by Occoquan Creek. The next day the march was continued to Dumfries. January 21st a three miles' march took the division to Chopawamsic Creek where it was obliged to bivouac during the night while a bridge was being built above the high flood waters. Upon arrival at Aquia Creek the next day its flood was too high to cross, and the division was again compelled to bivouac in the mud. Part of the men were without shelter, and most of them without rations, the supply train being deep in the mud three or four miles in the rear. January 23rd Aquia Creek was crossed, and the march was extended to Stafford Court House where the division went into camp; and it there remained on guard duty during the month.

The IInd Division marched three miles from Fairfax Court House in the evening of January 19th, and fifteen miles to Dumfries the 20th. The next day only three or four miles could be marched because of the flood of Quantico Creek. January 22nd return was made to the Quantico, and the march was continued to the Chopawamsic, a distance of four miles, through mud nearly impassable. The next day the march extended to Aquia Creek, four miles further; and the 24th another four miles to Stafford Court House, where it, also, took up guard duty near the other division.

This exceedingly difficult, and fruitless, march of General Slocum was thought by the Confederate commanding general, Lee, worthy of his report, in order to keep Slocum's advance in the mind of his generals. The march was only in keeping with General Burnside's unwise decision to advance on the enemy through such nearly impassable mud; which efforts were soon stopped by the protests of Burnside's nearby generals. General Slocum made no formal complaint against Burnside; but the generals of Burnside's three Grand Divisions carried complaints to the authorities at Washington. The result of the investigation that followed was the cause of General Slocum's former commander, the brave and efficient Major-General William B. Franklin, leaving the army. General Burnside's usefulness in the Army of the Potomac being at an end, he was transferred to a southwestern command.

CHAPTER XIV

PREPARES FOR CHANCELLORSVILLE CAMPAIGN

Major-General Joseph Hooker succeeded General Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac January 26th, 1863. The Chief Quartermaster's report at this date gave the transportation facilities of General Slocum's XIIth Corps as follows: Wagons, 450; ambulances, 125; team and ambulance horses, 1,185; cavalry horses, 171; artillery horses, 656; mules, 1,270; total number of animals, 3,282.

A period of rest was now enforced upon the Army of the Potomac by the inclemency of the weather, and the necessity for reorganization from losses in battle, and expiration of terms of enlistment. To this last named need the new commanding general gave prompt and energetic attention. Reports were required from officers showing character of their commands in detail January 31st, 1863. The report of General Slocum's Twelfth Corps was quite like the report of the month before, given on a preceding page, excepting a few changes of lower officers, with some new recruits.

Notwithstanding the severe weather, there was sufficient exercise of mind and body, in army schools including military recitations with ample practical examples in correct camp and picket duties, with the requirement of constant thoughtfulness conducive to good health, and to self control at all times and particularly in emergencies; and in all forms of military exercises.

By the report of February 2nd it is shown that the lesser part of the XIIth Corps, consisting of one division and one brigade, was stationed near Stafford Court House, fronting west, deriving the quartermaster's supplies from Hope Landing five miles distant, and the commissary supplies from Brooke's Station four miles distant. One brigade of the IInd Division was stationed at Aquia Creek Landing, convenient to all supplies. The main position extended its line of infantry pickets from Potomac Creek to Aquia Creek, connecting with the pickets of General Meade's Vth Corps.

The division of the Army of the Potomac into Four Grand

Divisions by Burnside was discontinued by the new commanding general February 5, 1863, the War Department concurring. It was thought that this doubling of army corps impeded the dispatch of its current business; and that the service the army was likely to be called on to perform would be adverse to the movements and operations of heavy columns. From this date each corps was to be considered a unit for the organization of the artillery.

General Slocum, as part of the Grand Reserve, had been reporting to General Sigel; but upon Sigel's general order announcing discontinuance of the Grand Division plan, Slocum was to report directly to army headquarters. In Sigel's order he "sincerely thanked Major-General Slocum for his assistance and constant operation while serving in the Grand Reserve."

The demands for special service continued to scatter Slocum's command. This required alertness at many places to avoid accidental conflicts with Union cavalry and other detachments which were often passing near his lines on their way to special service, and liable to be mistaken for scouting parties of the enemy. This rearrangement of the positions of camps kept the troops active, and gave new zest to alertness on picket duty in new places. February 9th, the picket line of infantry of the XIth and XIIth Corps extended from Embury's to Aquia Creek, making necessary the detailing several times each twenty-four hours of 3,000 or more soldiers for this important duty.

New soldiers had been received from time to time and, up to February 10th, General Slocum's XIIth Corps had been recruited to 664 officers and 12,184 enlisted men present for duty, while his present and absent forces aggregated 21,860. At this time he had 34 pieces of artillery. Two days later a squadron of cavalry was sent to him, by the First Division of the Cavalry Corps, to serve as orderlies, messengers, and an emergency force for reconnaissance.

Road improvement demanded the attention of the different corps from February 15th, in order that the road from the Fitzhugh House, a noted landmark, to the bridge across Potomac Creek half a mile below the railway bridge, thence to Stafford Court House passing about one mile west of Brooke's Station, be

put in such condition as to be practicable for artillery during the muddy seasons. The part of this road between Accakeek Creek and Stafford Court House was assigned to General Slocum's command at this place, part of the distance to be corduroyed double track. Severe storms interrupted the progress of this road improvement.

Before this muddy work was completed, inspecting officers of high rank were detailed by the commanding general to visit each regiment without announcing their coming, and to immediately order the regiment formed in line for general, and special, inspection. There were three hundred and twenty-four infantry commands in the Army of the Potomac at this time, from which number only eleven received honorable mention in the General Orders November 18th that were issued after the inspection was completed. These eleven regiments "earned high commendation from inspection officers" entitling them to additional privileges, leaves of absence, or furloughs. The army was then composed of seven army corps of infantry, and four of the regiments thus honored belonged to Slocum's XIIth Corps notwithstanding the fact that it was at this time about one-third smaller than any of the other corps. General Slocum's relatively numerous honor regiments were the 10th Maine, 2nd Massachusetts, 111th Pennsylvania, and the 3rd Wisconsin. This high proportion of merits was due to Slocum's excellent, and persistent discipline, and drillings.

The enemy continued watchful for a vantage opportunity. With a change of a XIIth Corps picket line toward the last of February, a scout brought information that the enemy's Prince William Cavalry with five pieces of artillery, and the Black Horse Cavalry at Warrenton, contemplated a raid on Dumfries to capture the commissary and other stores there. General Slocum was well prepared to receive them, and their coming would have been welcomed; but their discretion in not coming showed their wisdom. Movements of the enemy's forces of cavalry, infantry and artillery, aggregating five thousand under General Fitzhugh Lee, and other strong forces under General T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson, were reported as being near Fredericksburg. At this time General Robert E. Lee reported to "The

President of the Confederate States'' the supposed position of the Union forces, being positive of only General Slocum's command.²⁹

It was impossible for General Slocum to keep the necessary number of cavalry in his central command for efficient duty, much less for reconnoitering the enemy, on account of the constant tendency to concentrate this arm in General Stoneman's Cavalry Corps, and the constant call by Slocum's necessarily scattered forces for additional detachments for their support. The Twelfth Illinois Cavalry was on these accounts withdrawn from Slocum's command at Dumfries March 2nd, which left an important part of the country open to the unimpeded approach of the enemy.

On March 4th there was a sharp skirmish between the enemy and the Eighth New York Cavalry then on picket duty at Independent Hill, Prince William County, Virginia, about nine miles from Dumfries, in which two of the latter were killed, one wounded, and fifteen taken prisoners. It appeared that Colonel W. R. Creighton then commanding the 1st Brigade of General Slocum's IInd Division defending the post at Dumfries, and the cavalry assailed on picket, did not have his command well in hand; which condition was rectified immediately upon General Slocum's receipt of the report of the skirmish. This illustrated the necessity for the commanding general to have detail observation of every part of his scattered command, even to minor picket lines. General Slocum placed the command of Dumfries in charge of Colonel Charles Candy who exercised great alertness against the ever vigilant enemy so likely to raid this important region. Frequent and detailed reports were required. Colonel Candy reported direct to General Slocum March 9th that a red signal had been displayed between the Brentsville Road and Quantico Creek, four miles from Dumfries, and that his pickets had fired on a squad of the enemy's cavalry there.

On March 10th there were reported in the XIIth Army Corps 11,933 enlisted men ready for action. The 11th, Colonel Candy reported to Lieutenant-Colonel H. C. Rodgers, General Slocum's Assistant Adjutant-General, that the cavalry pickets of the command on his right had been taken away by their com-

mander, thus leaving the entire country between the Quantico and Occoquan open to the enemy; and he asked what he should do for patrols. Later the same day it was reported that twenty cavalymen were to patrol the road by the telegraph line every six hours.

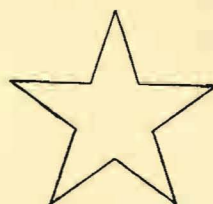
Active preparation for advancing in full force against the enemy had been carried forward in the Army of the Potomac during the winter by the commanding general, Joseph Hooker, ably seconded by his corps commanders. The discipline had been thorough, even severe at times, with the requirement of greater vigilance on picket and all other duties. At the dawning of the spring it was not strange that the thoughts and desires of many enlisted men should long for freedom from such exacting cares. A desertion was reported, and others were feared. Favored by General Slocum, and other corps commanders, the Secretary of War instructed General Hooker to have the commander of each regiment, battery, independent battalion, and company serving in the Army of the Potomac, prepare immediately duplicate lists of deserters then absent from their respective commands, and to transmit the same without delay to the Provost Marshal-General. Also a stringent order was repeated for more humanitarian care of horses and mules by teamsters.

For greater facility in carrying shelter tents and extra rations during the proposed general advance, pack-saddles had been provided for the different corps, General Slocum receiving two hundred and fifty-seven.

Colonel Charles Candy again called for cavalry March 20th to beat off squads of the enemy which were pressing residents of the country into the Confederate service, and were despoiling and driving Union families from their homes.

Commanding General Hooker was very fortunate in having as his chief of staff Major-General Daniel Butterfield, who was untiring in aiding in devising ways and means of putting and continuing the army in the best possible condition of efficiency within bounds of simplicity; and he was greatly aided in this by the War Department and the corps commanders. The 21st of March, acting on suggestion received from a piece of flannel stitched to the caps of General P. A. Kearney's division of the

Third Corps, they issued a circular providing for the ready recognition of the corps and divisions to which soldiers belonged for the purpose of preventing injustice by mistake in reports of straggling, misconduct, and otherwise. This circular directed the chief quartermaster to supply, at the earliest practicable moment, serviceable metal badges that could be secured to the top, or above the forepiece of the cap or hat of every soldier. The form of the badge distinguished the corps then in the Army of the Potomac, as follows: The 1st Corps, a circular plate; the 2nd, an upright trefoil; the 3rd, a square or lozenge turned diagonally; the 4th, a maltese cross; the 5th, a cross of uniform straight arms; the 6th, a crescent with both points upright; and the 7th, a five pointed star. In size these badges were at first required to be full one inch in diameter so as to be readily distinguishable. They were in three colors to distinguish



XIIth Corps' Badge

the corps divisions: those for the First Division, red; the Second, white; the Third, blue. The soldiers became greatly attached to these badges, each to his own; and many a veteran fought strenuously for the honor of his corps and its insignia.

As the time drew near for the contemplated advance of the army, the subject of passes to or from the different commands or through their pickets, naturally became of greater importance, and the restrictions more severe. The general commanding on March 24th requested General Slocum to give his infantry pickets orders to permit the officers and messengers of the Union cavalry while on duty to pass through their lines at such points, and with such pass, as agreed upon between Slocum and Pleasonton of the cavalry.

About this time the practical and, perhaps impractical, jokers abounded anew in some tents, and caused some fear in the

tents at first by reporting the enemy near, usually late at night. It is possible that some new army recruits required some special discipline, or experience, for their peculiarities, similar to that which boys not infrequently combine to give one or more of their peculiar playmates. In the experience of the army at this time several night alarms were of sufficient extent and force as to call considerable commands hurriedly to arms. In some of these instances, possibly the officers were privy to the effort and effect.

The Medical Director of the Army of the Potomac reported the ratio of sickness to the thousand in General Slocum's corps March 28th as 52.78, while most other corps were reported over sixty, sixty-eight, seventy-five, and one even over ninety.

The abstract report of the strength of the XIIth Corps March 31st showed that the officers present for duty numbered 711; of enlisted men, 12,452, with an aggregate present and absent of 20,126. Artillery, 34 pieces.

More wakeful nights were caused General Slocum and some of his general officers by reports from General Sickles at 2.30 A. M., and General Averell at midnight, of April 1st, stating that the Confederates had appeared at their front; but no general call to arms by Slocum was found necessary.

On April 13th General Slocum received official notice that a large part of General Stoneman's Union Cavalry Corps was moving toward the Shenandoah Valley to be absent several days. This movement increased the responsibility of Slocum and his corps. At this date Brigadier-General T. H. Ruger was ordered to report to General Slocum for assignment to the command of a brigade in his XIIth Corps. He was given command of the 3rd Brigade of the 1st Division, and he proved himself an efficient officer.

On the 14th Slocum was notified to have his brigade at Dumfries ready to join him at Stafford Court House, as it was about to be relieved of duty at that place for this purpose. The relieving force was part of General Averell's cavalry under Colonel Duffie. When they did arrive, of the 1,027 men, but 95 had carbines, which caused greater delay in the departure of Slocum's brigade; and Slocum finally left a battery of cannon, dismounted cavalry, and a regiment of infantry, for duty until

Averell's men could be supplied with arms. Slocum's men thus left were directed to return to their places in the XIIth Corps April 25th.

The assignment of corps commanders in the Army of the Potomac by the War Department at the instance of President Lincoln, after the rearrangement by the commanding general February 10th, was not made until April 15th. This act was merely formal, no change being made.

The routine of recruiting and preparation for another campaign while doing active guard duty, was brightened April 19, 1863, at General Slocum's headquarters by the receipt of flowers from Mrs. Abraham Lincoln. This bouquet brought to the mind of Slocum, in a reminiscent way, the receipt of a simple flower "from a young country girl" while he was attending the Albany State Normal School in his youth; and it incited to some well expressed paragraphs in his letter this day to his wife, who was the girl mentioned, namely:

Headquarters, Twelfth Corps d'Armee,
April 19, 1863.

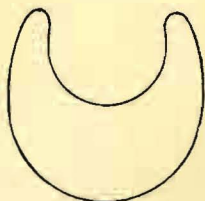
My Dear Clara:—

I received a beautiful bouquet this morning from Mary. The flowers are all from the President's garden. It is beautiful. The flowers are arranged according to color in three rows—red, white, and blue—with a fine japonica at the apex. I send you two or three samples.

I thought Mary would remember me. I take back all I have said unless she has sent to all the other generals.

I do not think I was so happy over this bouquet of rare flowers from the wife of the President as I was over a single blue forget-me-not received by me while in Albany from a young country girl.

Yours affectionately,
H. W. SLOCUM.



XIth Corp's Badge

CHAPTER XV

COMMANDS THREE CORPS TO CHANCELLORSVILLE

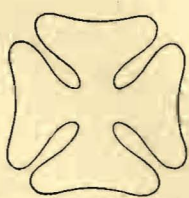
The Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, under command of General Robert E. Lee, remained intrenched at Fredericksburg on the south bank of the Rappahannock River, and most of the Union Army of the Potomac had remained in winter quarters at Falmouth on the north bank of the river a little above Fredericksburg.

The general commanding the Union forces, Hooker, while recruiting and bringing his army to a good condition for encountering the enemy, had formulated a good plan for capturing him, or breaking him in pieces. The Union Cavalry Corps had been recruited and reorganized to an effective corps of 11,500 men. General Stoneman, commander of this corps, was directed to move two weeks before the other arms, to cross the upper Rappahannock, turn eastward and southward between Fredericksburg and Richmond, destroy the railways, canals, and telegraphic communications, thus cutting off supplies for Lee's army. Severe rains at this time and river floods made it unpleasant to do this work by the cavalry at the time desired; and Hooker, becoming impatient, would not delay the army's movement to get the material aid the cavalry should afford him.

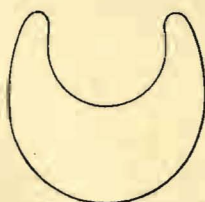
General Slocum, with his XIIth Corps, started early in the morning of April 27th from his encampment at Stafford Court House on what became later known as the Chancellorsville Campaign. His route of march was out of sight of the enemy at Fredericksburg, and as direct as practicable to Kelly's Ford of the Rappahannock, about twenty-seven miles above the main force of the enemy.

Upon arrival near the Ford he was directed by Hooker to assume command of General Howard's XIth Corps, the 1st Cavalry Brigade of Brigadier-General Pleasonton, and to a degree the command of the Vth Army Corps of Major-General George G. Meade, all in addition to his XIIth Corps, which for a time was nominally under General A. S. Williams of its 1st Division. This large command, excepting the Vth Corps, crossed on pontoons at Kelly's Ford, then turning south marched about ten

miles to Germania Mills by the Rapid Ann (Rapidan) River. Here Slocum's advance brigade, Ruger's, surprised a detachment of about one hundred and twenty-five Confederates who had started to build a bridge across the swollen, rapid stream. A skirmish ensued, Slocum directing in person. The enemy soon surrendered after suffering some losses, and those on the opposite bank waded through the armpit deep chilly water to make the surrender complete. Ruger's and Knipe's brigades, with Battery M, First New York Light Artillery (Fox), then led the 1st Division of the XIIth Corps in fording the river which was high, about four feet in depth with rough rock bottom. Some soldiers were swept from their feet, necessitating rescue by cavalrymen or small boat. The engineers and soldiers of the 1st Division of the XIIth Corps, now being across, they soon built a bridge of the timbers prepared by the enemy for their



Vth Corps' Badge



XIth Corps' Badge



XIIth Corps' Badge

own purpose, on which bridge the other parts of the large command crossed, also most of the artillery and pack mules.

While General Slocum was admiring his men who were struggling so successfully with the Rapidan current, an officer rode up with the compliments of General Meade, and stated that Ely's Ford of the Rappahannock where Meade had been ordered to cross was at flood, 'hip deep.' General Slocum pointed to his men breast deep in the rapid current, and replied that the Vth Corps must cross at once.

The XIth Corps, now the rear of Slocum's command, was followed by Stuart's Confederate Cavalry with two light cannon which annoyed, and did some harm to the troops. The only way to stop this annoyance was to drive Stuart's men away with cavalry. But the small force of Pleasonton's cavalry with Slocum was not strong enough for this work, being outnumbered by

the Confederate General Stuart's two to one, and the annoyance had to be endured for a time.³⁰

From Germania Ford General Slocum's course led to the south of east about twelve miles to Chancellorsville, the first objective point, General Geary of the IIInd Division of the XIIth Corps leading. Parts of the enemy's cavalry and infantry were met, and many of them were captured with very little delay to the march. General Slocum, with his present command of about 42,000 men, arrived at Chancellorsville, the designated meeting place of the commanding general, April 30, about 2 o'clock P. M., and he at once took positions for defense according to orders; but having at the time a strong impelling thought that he ought to advance immediately to the higher vantage ground nearer the enemy.

General Meade arrived at Chancellorsville about the time of Slocum's arrival, his road leading to the left of that taken by the latter. Meade was jubilant, saying: "This is splendid Slocum; hurrah for old Joe [General Joe Hooker]; we are on Lee's flank, and he does not know it. You take the Plank Road, and I'll take the Pike, or *vice versa*, as you prefer, and we will get out of this Wilderness." His anticipations were at once dampened by Slocum's reply: "My orders are to assume command on arriving at this point, and to take up a line of battle here, and not to move forward without further orders."³¹

General Hooker did not arrive at Chancellorsville until 6 P. M., when Slocum turned the general command over to him. Then was issued Hooker's remarkable General Order Number 47, reading as follows: "It is with heartfelt satisfaction the commanding general announces to the army that the operations of the last three days have determined that our enemy must either ingloriously fly, or come out from behind his defenses and give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him. The operations of the Fifth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Corps have been a succession of splendid achievements."³²

This order was read to each regiment and, generally, it was greeted with enthusiastic cheers. Some of Slocum's veterans, however, did not cheer, and received the 'brag' of Hooker in thoughtful mood. Being rallied regarding this soberness one re-

plied that Lee had never been known to 'ingloriously fly,' and it would be better to wait until after the battle before doing any cheering.²⁵

General Hooker did not make good use of the advantages so well gained for him by General Slocum and others. He was slow in arriving upon the field where the Union generals were obligated to await his coming. He then delayed action many most valuable hours, while his great opportunity waned. Slocum was impatient, Banks' Ford and other important points of vantage were then easily at his command for occupancy. "It is a maxim of war that a single hour's delay when an enemy is strengthening his position, or when reinforcements are coming up, will frequently cost the lives of a thousand men. In the present instance it was simply suicidal for Hooker to delay action."²³

General Darius N. Couch, second to Hooker in general command, afterward wrote that "If the possession of Banks' Ford [on the north bank of which was the depository of the Union Reserve Artillery] had been foreshadowed in Hooker's instructions to General Slocum, there would have been accomplished all that could have been desired." And, again, "I think it was a signal misfortune to our arms that he [Hooker] did not delay joining that [right] wing until the morning of May 1st, when he would have found Banks' Ford in our possession."²²

A detachment of Pleasonton's Union cavalry was doing picket duty near the Confederate pickets in front of Chancellorsville and, finally, next day, May 1st, at 11 A. M., General Slocum was permitted to move forward with his XIIth Corps followed by the XIth Corps under General Howard, they forming the right wing, and moving along the Plank Road, the main thoroughfare. Other corps also moved forward on other roads to the left.

The enemy's skirmish line was met about one mile from Chancellorsville. This line and the enemy's lines beyond were rapidly driven back by Slocum whose artillery participated with good effect. Good progress was being made and the troops were exulting in their success, when orders came from Hooker, about one P. M., for every command to return to its original line at Chancellorsville and to its left. Slocum was very much vexed

with this order, as he wanted to get out of the wilderness, and by this order he was commanded to leave vantage ground for the enemy to immediately occupy with guns which would cost the Union troops many lives if they did not defeat them entirely. Generals Couch, Warren, Sykes, and Hancock, agreed that the advance gained should not be abandoned; Warren, the chief engineer, even advising Couch the second in general command to disobey Hooker's command to return.²²

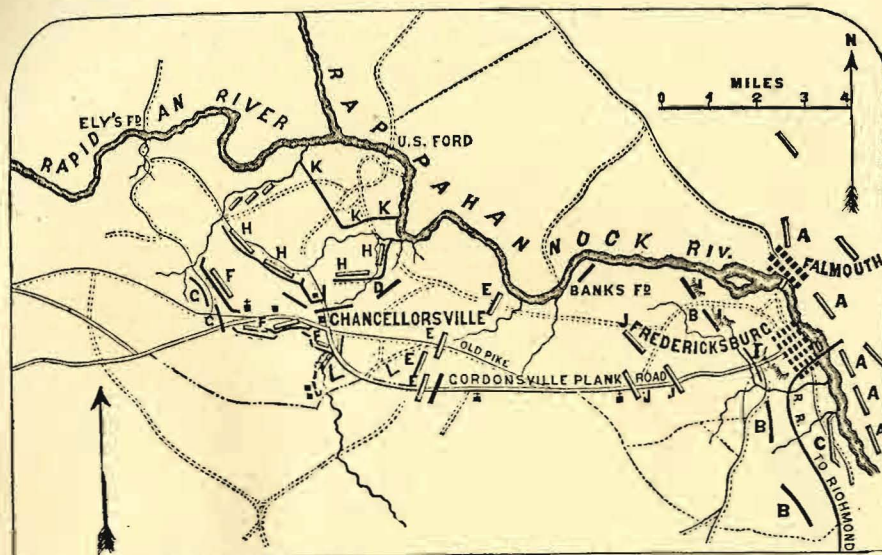
Reluctantly, the command of Hooker was obeyed by all, and the enemy was quick to follow to the vantage ground vacated by the retiring Union forces. Hooker was vacillating and, when too late, he desired Couch to hold the position won in advance, which so exasperated the old veteran that he returned a sharp reply 'unbecoming a subordinate.'

General Slocum, when retiring from this advance, ordered Captain Clermont L. Best, of the Fourth United States Artillery, his Chief of Artillery, to proceed to Chancellorsville and post his corps artillery in good positions for defense against the probably following enemy. Upon the arrival of the corps at its former lines, Slocum ordered the position to be hastily fortified. This work was well done by the XIIth Corps, but not by the XIth Corps. The enemy followed in strong force, was attacked, and he was defeated with great loss, the artillery doing good service on both the Fredericksburg and Gordonsville roads.²⁴ The Union army was, however, now on the defensive, notwithstanding the fact that its forces far outnumbered those of the enemy.

Slocum visited Hooker's headquarters in the lull of affairs, expressed regrets for his recall, and asked for reconsideration of the positions now occupied—even urging the immediate assailing of the enemy, rapidly with all the available Union forces. Hooker was irascible and, while wavering in mind, was inclined to let conditions remain as they were. Slocum was not confident of the corps on his right but he did not attempt to urge anything further. He returned to his headquarters deeply impressed by the thought that Hooker was not in fit condition to lead or direct the army in the battle then impending. "Indeed had Hooker listened to Pleasonton; had he listened to Slocum; had he listened to the

first inspirations of his own genius, he had nine out of ten chances in favor of winning one of the greatest and most decisive battles of the war.³⁵

The wounded of the day were taken to the nearest house where the surgeons gave them the best attention possible. Some ambulances were brought on the field later, and the wounded were taken by them to the field hospitals. The urgent requests



THE BATTLEFIELD OF CHANCELLORSVILLE.

A—Positions held by the Union forces before the movement. B—Positions held by the enemy. C—Positions taken and held by Union forces April 29th. D—Small force of the enemy routed April 30th. E—Farthest advance made by Union forces May 1st. F—Line to which Union forces retired and intrenched May 1st. G—Jackson's attack on the 11th Corps May 2nd. H—Position to which Union forces retired and intrenched May 3rd. I—Heights of Fredericksburg carried by 6th Corps May 3rd. J—Advanced position attained by 6th Corps. K—Interior line intrenched by General Slocum before retiring of Union forces across the river night of May 5th. L—Route taken by Jackson's forces to surprise the 11th Corps.

for medicine wagons were not answered, and medical supplies, brought on the backs of horses and mules, were not sufficient.³⁶

The next morning Hooker and Sickles rode around and inspected the positions and lines of the right wing then composed of the IIIrd, XIth and XIIth Corps.

Discovery in the morning of Saturday, May 2nd, of an ominous movement of the enemy beyond Howard's corps led to the

opening of one of Slocum's batteries on the moving foe. This fire was returned with much spirit for a time, but soon two caissons of the enemy were exploded, one gun dismounted, and the enemy's entire battery silenced. Slocum continued to strengthen his breastworks during the day. Soon after the first skirmish of batteries, another apparently heavy column of the enemy was discovered slowly and cautiously defiling around a point of the Plank Road nearer Slocum's guns than the other. This column was made the target of Slocum's infantry, and artillery with canister, which brought confusion upon it, and caused its rapid retreat leaving many dead and wounded in the road and woods adjoining.³⁷

The activity of General Sickles had been increased in the meantime. He requested help from General Slocum, who sent nearly all of his Ist Division with its commander, General A. S. Williams, to Sickles's support. About the same time Slocum advanced part of his IIInd Division to investigate the enemy in his own front. This was opportune as the enemy had, quietly under cover, advanced in force, and Slocum called his men back to their intrenchments.

About this time there were evidences of an attack and great confusion on the army's extreme right. The Confederate General Thomas J (Stonewall) Jackson's command had attacked Howard's neglected (generally unfortified even by breastworks) XIth Corps, turned its right and overlapped its rear causing a disastrous rout.³⁸ Fortunately General Pleasonton was near and, by rare good and cool judgment and quick action, succeeded in gathering twenty-two cannon and, loading them with double canister, he repeatedly fired them into the enemy at close range, thus giving check to this part of Jackson's rapidly advancing men. Jackson was wounded accidentally by one of his own men about this time. He died a few days later from blood poisoning.

Early in the attack on Howard's corps, Slocum recalled his Ist Division. The return was started immediately, and by moving rapidly by flank and turning, it presented a front and opposition that checked the advance of the enemy in this quarter;³⁹ but before all could return to their original position, the enemy began to occupy the right of their intrenchments; and in at-

tempting to regain their full line in the dark some became mixed with the enemy who overpowered and captured one hundred and fifty or more of Slocum's men. The division held its own remarkably well, however, in the midst of so much excitement and wild rumors of the rout on its right. Its line was soon reformed by General Slocum at right angle to its former line.

Slocum now opened his thirty-four pieces of artillery by which, with the infantry, some guns of Sickles' command, and a few from Howard's unrouted contingent, the enemy was fully checked. The work of the artillery was continued irregularly until late in the night, at times the fire being terrific. During the entire night both Union and Confederate forces did what they could to strengthen their positions and lines, particularly near Chancellorsville.

At midnight, Sickles, who was separated from the other Union forces, 'fought his way back' to supporting distance of them.

Even Saturday night, and Sunday morning, May 3rd, "It only required that Hooker should brace himself up and take a reasonable common sense view of the state of things, when the success gained by Jackson would have been turned into an overwhelming defeat [of the enemy]. But Hooker became despondent," vacillating, and this part of the enemy was permitted to begin the battle on the weakened right wing without reinforcements of men or ammunition.²²

The best position for the Union forces at any time was with their right at Talley's farm. This was literally given to the enemy by Hooker. The position of Sunday morning, with Hazel Grove and the position formerly held by the 'sharp and astute Slocum' were highly defensible, if Slocum had been reasonably supported against the overwhelming enemy.³⁵

The order for the abandonment of General Pleasonton's preparations for holding Hazel Grove where he discomfited and checked the enemy immediately after Jackson's attack was an order for the abandonment of "the proper key to the situation which should have been held at all hazards."³³ It was the worst of all movements, inasmuch as it was indispensable for the enemy to capture Hazel Grove before he could advance against the main

body of Sickles' IIIrd Corps; and this corps and Pleasonton's forces being removed during the night and early morning of Sunday May 3rd, enabled the enemy to immediately post his cannon at the Grove, drive Sickles' men further back, and enfilade Slocum's entire IIInd Division, a result showing continued most serious want of a sober, comprehensive, and steadfast commanding general.

But for the prompt, and proper, meeting of this emergency by General Slocum, all of Hooker's right wing, possibly the entire army, would have been routed by the enemy. With thirty pieces of the enemy's artillery from one quarter, also the Confederate General McLaws' batteries from another direction in full play upon Slocum's line, "It seems almost miraculous that he was able to hold it at all."³³ Here again was exhibited General Slocum's coolness, thoughtfulness, prompt action, and success in the proper disposition of his men.

CHAPTER XVI

BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE. REPORTS

The Army of the Potomac 'was disjoined' wrote the venerable General Couch, for want of a proper general leader. The morning of the ill-fated Sunday, May 3rd, 1863, the attack of the enemy began at daybreak from their vantage ground gained as mentioned on the preceding pages. Slocum's Ist and Sickles' IIInd Divisions were the only Union forces to withstand the first unequal contest.

The enemy soon gained another material advantage by turning the right flank of Sickles' men, and yet another advantage by the retiring of Sickles' men from the field. The enemy was quick to place cannon on the gained positions, from which, he could further enfilade and otherwise distress Slocum's forces. Slocum's ammunition was running low, and none came in answer to calls for more.

Solid columns of the enemy were also repeatedly advanced against Slocum's front and now unsupported right flank. They were repeatedly repulsed with great loss on both sides. Several

times the enemy was followed into the thick underbrush by Slocum's men, he retreating in superior numbers but to reload, reform line and renew the attack at close quarters on Slocum's rapidly attenuating line.

Colonel Fox in his *History of the XIIth Corps*²⁵ quotes the following from *Caldwell's History of McGowan's South Carolina Brigade* that was in front of part of Slocum's men this Sunday morning, namely:

We could not see much for the morning was foggy and the smoke of both lines became so dense that I could not even distinguish the colors of the enemy. The firing was furious. Our advance was checked, the cheering hushed; all on both sides addressed themselves to loading and firing as rapidly as possible. The two right regiments were hotly engaged. Indeed the Thirteenth and Fourteenth South Carolina had to fire at right oblique. The slaughter of Orr's Rifles, and the First South Carolina was immense. General McGowan, just behind the colors of the First, huzzahed lustily, seeming to be at the highest enthusiasm. The Federals fired with unusual accuracy. It was to be expected, for we stood in full relief upon the crest of the hill. The few men they had scattered along the ravine behaved with provoking composure. They deliberately loaded their pieces behind the trees, stepped out, picked their men, fired, and returned to the trees to reload. [The Twenty-seventh Indiana was among this number]. In the course of time, however, they were discovered, and forced to lie close. Archer's brigade, as I understand it, was to move clear to our right, and at some inclination to us, so as to strike the enemy in flank. The latter must have apprehended something of the sort, for they hugged the fortified hill with singular pertinacity.

But now we were at a standstill. The enemy became emboldened, and advanced upon the unprotected right flank of our brigade. At last he swung forward so as to almost enfilade our line. The Rifles gave way. The First followed slowly, and the movement extended gradually to the left of the brigade. But we halted at the line of works about seventy or eighty yards from the last position; and the enemy continuing to advance, we resumed battle. General McGowan was wounded upon the works. Brigadier-General Colston brought in a fresh line, saying they would show us how to clear a Federal line. But their reckoning was not accurate; they were forced back with us into the works. The firing continued unintermitted, deadly.

Slocum's 34 pieces of artillery won the admiration of all observing Unionists; but his IIInd Division of infantry was now so 'hemmed in' and in danger of being cut off by the enemy that was near and not much disturbed by his artillery, that Slocum

ordered it to retire and form line at right angles with the former line of battle, the right to rest at the brick house headquarters of Hooker. While its commander, General John W. Geary, a capable officer, was executing this order Hooker came to him and personally commanded Geary to return to his vacated position 'and hold it at all hazards.'⁴⁰ Here was another cause for the serious grievance of General Slocum against the commanding general of the army who had not been issuing any orders recently.²² Apparently Hooker had left Slocum and his men now for the third time, to any fate that might prevail against them after placing them at great disadvantage before the able, alert enemy, and withholding all reinforcements from the thousands of idle Union forces within easy call!

But General Slocum, realizing the full significance of his position and forsaken condition, rallied his shattered columns anew. Some were without ammunition but they kept their places with bayonets fixed.

Geary's men refilled their cartridge boxes while near the Chancellor House, and in the hurry and confusion that followed with the return according to Hooker's orders, Geary's orders were misunderstood by Greene and Kane's brigades which took position north of the Chancellor House and did not accompany Geary back to their former position. Geary with his Ist Brigade, upon their return to their breastworks, found that he had left behind there the 60th and 102nd New York Regiments, which were yet in sore conflict; and they had captured thirty prisoners and a battle flag, and the last named regiment had also captured the flag of the Twelfth Georgia Regiment. The enemy continued to make breaches in the breastworks and, in the fierce battle, more of the enemy were captured.

The enemy's fire was now of even greater volume than before, he being emboldened by what appeared to him as sure victory, in the capture or total destruction of Slocum's command. Such condition of affairs could not have happened had Slocum not been deprived by the commanding general of his rightful supports.⁴¹ The hand to hand battle continued between the intervals of the enemy's artillery enfilading fire. Such unequal contest could not be much longer continued.

The order of General Slocum for his command to retire

from the field 'was obeyed in a soldierly and masterly manner,'²⁰ notwithstanding the use of the enemy's rifles against Slocum's cannoneers until sixty-two of their number were killed or wounded; and not until eighty horses had been shot in harness, was the artillery retired, and then without leaving a gun. The enemy at once occupied much of the ground vacated.

Major-General Slocum reformed his XIIth Corps upon the extreme Union left, which position he rapidly fortified to protect the retreat of the Union army notwithstanding the sadly depleted ranks of his men and their greatly exhausted condition. This corps had been constantly on exhausting duty three days, most of the time on scant rations, and for the last twenty-four hours or more without any food.

While Hooker was standing beside a column on the porch of his headquarters on Sunday, it was struck and broken by a cannon ball and Hooker was thrown to the floor. He arose, mounted his horse, held nearby, and joined his staff in reviewing the situation vacated by Slocum's men. There was some additional work done by artillery in the afternoon, but little further, of importance, was effected.

During Slocum's most active work, among the bravest and hardest fighting in this or any war, several corps of Union troops were idle, and could have been readily sent as reinforcements where the Union lines were so strongly opposed by the numerous enemy. But the commanding general practically ignored Slocum and his command, as well as President Lincoln's parting injunction when visiting army headquarters before the army started on this campaign, which was to 'Put in all your men.'

Hooker called his corps commanders to a council of war at midnight of May 4-5. Generals Couch, Howard, Meade, and Reynolds, were present. Howard, Meade, and Reynolds, favored continuing the battle. Couch favored this decision if he could designate the point of attack, but under the conditions he voted with Sickles to retreat to the previously long-occupied camp at Falmouth. Hooker at once settled the question by declaring for such retreat. General Slocum was notified of the council, but at an hour too late for him to arrive from his distant position until the very brief session was over; but he did arrive just in time to hear General Reynolds say while passing out of the tent

'what was the use of calling us together at this time of night when Hooker intended to retreat anyhow.'²²

Some time before this council of war, Hooker told General Couch, commander of the IIInd Corps and second in general command, to take charge of the army; but he continued to ignore Couch and, after giving directions himself for retreat, he crossed the river.

General Slocum's artillery was placed early to protect the army while crossing the Rappahannock at the United States Ford about one mile below the mouth of the Rapidan River. The enemy soon appeared and began to construct batteries to oppose the crossing, but Slocum's artillery kept them in check by slow firing on account of scarcity of ammunition. Finally the enemy succeeded in placing two batteries, one with four 24-pounder cannon, both of which batteries were soon silenced by Slocum's guns. With his command Slocum crossed the river Tuesday night May 5th, and by comfortable marches returned to his former encampment at Stafford Court House.

The Signal Service was well organized for the army's operations in this campaign on the south side of the Rappahannock. The services of T. S. C. Lowe, the chief operator of balloons at that time, was also engaged to operate two balloons to be held captive by anchored ropes. Lowe was first stationed on the north bank near Banks' Ford, and the other balloon, in charge of E. S. Allen, was to be near General Sedgwick's command to operate on the southeast side of Fredericksburg. Here, as elsewhere, it appears that a large proportion of what was of proper initiative, continuity, and effectiveness pertaining to the general direction of the army and its affairs at this time, should be attributed to Hooker's Chief of Staff Major-General Daniel Butterfield. Unfortunately Butterfield was much hampered by Hooker's nervous demands, of a generally worrying and impracticable nature, and with manifold duties with dispatches to and from a distance, detracting from attention to duties nearby. Butterfield was also frequently sent on errands at a distance, he being near Falmouth at 8 P. M. May 2nd, and at 5.40 P. M. May 3rd. He was also sent to Banks' Ford, and other places.

Lowe reported to Butterfield at 9 A. M. April 28th that the balloon could not then ascend on account of the high wind; and

the service was often so delayed, also by rain, mist, fog, and smoke which obscured even close observations. Campfires at night, however, were available often to mark position and number of the enemy.

Active service of the balloons began April 29th, and some little movement of the enemy into their rifle pits opposite Sedgwick's command below Fredericksburg, showed that the enemy was diverted from Chancellorsville. Heavy smoke was also reported in the woods about six miles up the river from Lowe's station near Banks' Ford. Later in the day the enemy was reported in line of battle in the woods opposite Fredericksburg. The same day Allen reported that Lieutenant Libby took his balloon 'in tow' along the river bank to opposite the south end of the city, where he saw heavy earthworks well supported by a large force. Only a few army wagons were seen. May 1st it was reported from the balloons, that the greatest activity of the enemy was towards Chancellorsville, diminishing the number at Fredericksburg, which should have aroused Hooker to the mistake of his own inactivity. General Sedgwick received the same dispatch, and then was an opportunity for him in the rear of the foe. The balloon at Banks' Ford was in the air continuously this day, Lowe answering questions and reporting his observations in all directions. There were also frequent communications between different commands by signal service. Lowe changed to the balloon near Sedgwick, and Allen to the Balloon 'Eagle' near Banks' Ford. The former suggested that it was a good time for a staff officer to ascend for personal observation. The two balloonists checked each the other in observation of important points. May 2nd there was too much wind for balloon observation until afternoon, and then only from low heights. There were frequent reports, however, the Signal Service acting an important part. The principal reports of the afternoon showed withdrawal of the enemy from the Union left and its concentration with men and artillery in Slocum's front; but Slocum was obliged to learn of this fact by his own initiative.

It appears that there were no balloon observations May 3rd, and but two of little importance the 4th; and then like other arms of the service, the balloonists probably had to look out for themselves.

The cause of Hooker's nervous vagaries, enervation, and general inefficiency at Chancellorsville, is not obscure, nor difficult of being understood. The shattered condition of his system was the result of the 'large quantities' of alcoholic beverages he had continued to take 'for a long time.' From the evidence at the trial that followed, it was shown that he was not drunk at Chancellorsville, at least not early in the battle. General Couch, his intimate friend for a long time, states that Hooker's trouble at this time was due to his discontinuance there of the alcoholic beverage, or beverages;²² and it is a truism that such habit soon unfits any person for any position of trust, be the craving of the habit satisfied or unsatisfied. The monstrous evil of the alcoholic addiction has been sadly prevalent, in all modern wars at least, and with very sad results.

"Hooker's thorough inability to grasp the situation, and handle the conditions arising from the responsibility of so large a command, dates from Thursday noon, or at latest Friday morning, May 1st. And from this time his enervation was steadily on the increase. For the defeat of the Army of the Potomac in Sunday morning's conflict was already a settled fact, when Hooker failed at early dawn so to dispose his forces as to sustain Sickles and Williams [Slocum's First Division] if overmatched, or to broach some counter maneuver to draw the enemy's attention to its own safety.

"It is an ungracious task to heap so much blame upon any one man. But the odium of this defeat has for years been borne by those who are guiltless of the outcome of the campaign of Chancellorsville; and the prime source of this fallacy has been Hooker's ever-ready self exculpation by misinterpreted facts and unwarranted conclusions, while his subordinates have held their peace."²⁴

General Alpheus S. Williams, commander of the 1st Division of General Slocum's XIIth Corps, closed his long official report of his division at the Battle of Chancellorsville, as follows: "In conclusion, I beg to congratulate the major-general [Slocum] commanding the corps upon the faithful, orderly, and gallant conduct of the XIIth Corps during the twelve days' campaign. On the marches and on the battle-field the conduct of the officers and men almost universally was that of veterans; obedient to

orders, faithful to duty, and firm and unyielding under the most vigorous and overwhelming assaults of the enemy. On the march we had no stragglers and on the battle-field few skulkers. The insignia of our 'star' [badge of the XIIth Corps] is a badge of honor of which we may all be proud. To the patient, able, and judicious efforts of the commander of the corps, I desire, in this official report, to attribute mainly the efficient and superior condition and conduct of this command.'"⁴²

The official report of General Slocum regarding Chancellorsville, like all his papers, is direct and clear. In it he exhibits commendable pride in the good discipline of his men and in their admirable efficiency at all times, even under the great excitement of stampeding troops from other commands, and when forced, unnecessarily by conditions he could not control, into impracticable positions where, almost famished and exceedingly fatigued, they fought desperately, refusing to surrender or to leave a gun, and after sustaining loss of about thirty per cent. of their number, holding firmly to their commanding general's orders until there was a lull in the fierce assaults of the enemy, enabling them to retire honorably, and safely, from the field. No better troops ever complimented their general by greater bravery in upholding the admirable discipline received from him.

Official Report of Major-General Henry W. Slocum, U. S. Army, commanding Twelfth Army Corps in Chancellorsville Campaign:

Headquarters Twelfth Corps, Army of the Potomac, .
[Stafford Court House, Va.] May 17, 1863.

GENERAL: I have the honor of submitting the report of the operations of the troops under my command, from April 27 to the 6th instant:

In obedience to instructions from headquarters Army of the Potomac, the Twelfth Corps marched, on April 27, from its present position [Stafford Court House, Va.] to a point near Hartwood Church. On the 28th, the march was continued, and the entire corps encamped at 4 P. M. near Kelly's Ford. At this point I was instructed to assume command of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, and to move both corps to Germanna Bridge on the following day, and, if possible, effect a crossing at once.

The Twelfth Corps commenced the march at 4 A. M. on the 29th, and was followed by the Eleventh Corps. Soon after leaving Kelly's Ford, the advance guard met a small force of the enemy's cavalry, and captured 1 captain and several privates within 4 miles of the ford.

During the entire march from the Rappahannock to the Rapidan, the advance guard, consisting of the Sixth New York Cavalry, Lieutenant-Colonel McVicar commanding, was opposed by small bodies of cavalry, but the progress of the main body was but little delayed, and several captures were made on the march. On arriving at Germanna Ford, our crossing was opposed by a body of infantry, consisting of 125 men, who were posted in a mill and behind timber, which had been collected on the opposite side of the river for the purpose of rebuilding the bridge at this place. The Second Massachusetts and the Third Wisconsin Volunteers were at once marched in line of battle to the bank of the river, and, after an exchange of a few shots, the enemy surrendered. The passage of the river was at once effected by the cavalry, followed by Generals Ruger's and Jackson's brigades, of William's division, and all the artillery of the corps.

While the troops were fording the river, the pioneers of the First Division were engaged in the construction of a bridge. This work, under the supervision of Generals Geary and Kane, was soon completed, and the remainder of the Twelfth Corps, with its pack trains and the entire Eleventh Corps, crossed the river on this bridge. A strong position was taken on the opposite side of the river.

At daylight on the following morning, the march was resumed, Geary's division leading. Just before the head of the column reached the Wilderness, an attack was made on our right flank by a small body of cavalry and two pieces of artillery. Two regiments were sent to drive away this force, while the main body continued its march.

The two corps arrived at Chancellorsville, Va., at about 2 P. M. on the 30th. The Twelfth Corps took position in the woods, on a line nearly parallel to the Plank road, with the left resting near Chancellorsville and the right near a church about 1 1-2 miles therefrom. The Eleventh Corps joined the right of the Twelfth, with its right resting on Hunting Run. The Fifth Corps, which had crossed at Ely's Ford and arrived at Chancellorsville before either of the others, extended from Chancellorsville toward the United States Ford. The Major-General commanding the army [Major-General Hooker] arrived at Chancellorsville on Thursday evening, the 30th, and I then resumed the command of the Twelfth Corps.

On Friday, at 11 A. M., pursuant to orders, I moved the Twelfth Corps from Chancellorsville toward Fredericksburg, on the Plank road. We met the skirmishers of the enemy about a mile from the Chancellor house; formed in line of battle and advanced, the enemy falling back toward the heights of Fredericksburg.

About 1 P. M. orders were received to return to our original line. In this movement our loss was only 10 killed and wounded. Friday night and Saturday morning were spent in strengthening our position.

At 3.30 P. M. on Saturday, I received a note from General Sickles, stating that he was advancing a strong line of two brigades to ascertain whether the enemy was retreating; that General Birney reported that he had reached a brigade of the enemy in rifle-pits, posted, as he (General

Sickles) thought, to cover the retreating column; that he would attack him if he was not stronger than reports so far represented, and occupy the road by which he was retreating, and that he desired me to support his advance. This note was at once referred to the commanding general, and, with his consent, I sent nearly all the First Division, under General Williams, to the support of General Birney, and at the same time advanced a portion of the Second Division, under General Geary, to feel the enemy in its front. It soon became evident that the enemy was in force in this position and strongly posted. The Second Division was, therefore, recalled, and directed to hold its original line.

While this Division was retiring as ordered, the enemy attacked the extreme right of our line, which was held by the Eleventh Corps. I at once rode in that direction; but before arriving within a mile of the line met large numbers of that corps retiring in the utmost disorder. I at once dispatched two staff officers with orders to General Williams to return as rapidly as possible to his original line, hoping to make such disposition of his troops as would assist in checking the advance of the enemy. This order was promptly obeyed; but the enemy had possessed himself of the right of the line formerly occupied by General Williams before his arrival, and, in attempting to regain his position, Colonel Mathews, of the One hundred and twenty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, and nearly 200 of his regiment, were captured. Williams' division at once took possession of the line formerly held by him, and formed Ruger's and Knipe's brigades in line on the left of and at right angles to the Plank road leading toward the Wilderness, his right connecting with the division of General Berry, formed on the right of the Plank road.

In the meantime Captain Best, chief of artillery of the Twelfth Corps, had by great exertions got thirty-four guns in position on the crest of the hill in rear of these divisions. The divisions of Generals Williams and Berry, with a well-directed fire from our artillery, checked the advance of the enemy. A portion of the troops under General Birney, on returning, took position on the crest of a hill nearly in prolongation of the line held by Geary's division. At about 12 o'clock Saturday night, a portion of these troops advanced against the enemy directly in front of Williams' division. As I had not been informed that a night attack was contemplated by our forces, I supposed, on hearing the firing, that the enemy were advancing on William's division, and at once opened upon them with our artillery. General Williams also fired upon all lines that made their appearance in his front. I have no information as to the damage suffered by our troops from our own fire, but fear that our losses must have been severe.

At daybreak on Sunday, May 3, the enemy commenced the attack on Williams' and Berry's divisions. The troops of Birney's division, above mentioned as occupying the hill in prolongation of Geary's line, soon retired. A battery belonging to the same division, which was with these troops, was, I am informed, captured by the enemy. I know that imme-

diately after the infantry had retired from this position a battery was used on this point against Geary's line with fearful effect, as it enfiladed his position completely. The efforts of the enemy for three hours were directed mainly against the divisions of General A. S. Williams and Berry.

Repeated efforts were made by heavy columns of the enemy to break these lines, but without effect; our troops held their ground with a determined bravery seldom equalled. Our artillery was advantageously posted and handled with great skill and effect.

At 8 A. M. I informed the commanding general of the fact that our small-arm ammunition was nearly exhausted, and that a new supply was necessary or that my troops must be relieved. As there was no ammunition on hand, a brigade of Birney's division was ordered to relieve a portion of Williams', which was done, but too late to prevent the advance of the enemy. Our artillery, also, which had been firing constantly for about three hours, was nearly exhausted of ammunition.

At about 9 A. M. the troops on the right of my command fell back, which was soon followed by a portion of my line. The enemy at once gained a position which enabled him to use his infantry against our batteries. The artillery, however, held its position until two battery commanders, Captain Hampton and Lieutenant Crosby, were killed beside their pieces, until 63 cannoneers were killed or wounded, and until 80 horses had been shot in the harness. The batteries were then retired to a position in rear of our second line without the loss of a single piece. The infantry also retired in much better order than could reasonably have been anticipated, and formed in rear of the new line. At 9 P. M. on Sunday, I was ordered to take a position on the extreme left of the line, which was done at once, and every hour was occupied in strengthening our position until we were ordered to recross the river.

We recrossed on Tuesday night, and on Wednesday evening the entire command was in its former camps.

The events of the past few days have greatly increased my confidence in my command. Most of my corps marched more than 60 miles in three and a half days, over bad roads and through a severe rain-storm, the men carrying on their persons eight days' rations (more than double the amount ever before carried by any troops in this army), besides 60 rounds of ammunition and the usual amount of clothing. On this march the command crossed two rivers, a portion of it fording one of them. I have never witnessed a scene that tended more to increase my confidence in our troops, or that so strongly excited my admiration, than that presented by two brigades of Williams' division in fording the Rapidan River. This ford is a very difficult one at all times, the current being very rapid, the bed of the river uneven and very rocky, and the water in many places being at least 4 feet in depth. Not only the officers, but every soldier, seemed to appreciate the necessity of speedily gaining a position on the opposite bank, and they seemed to vie with each other in their eagerness to execute their orders. The fact that from nearly every regiment one or more men were

swept down the river by the rapid current, and were only saved from drowning by cavalymen and the boatment stationed below the ford for the purpose of rescuing such as might lose their footing, did not seem in the slightest degree to dampen their ardor.

The command was in camp every night at the point designated by the commanding general at an earlier hour than that named in his instructions to me.

Notwithstanding the severity of the march, I have never seen so few stragglers. The conduct of the officers and men in each engagement with the enemy was equally gratifying. The Second Division on Sunday held its line until forced to retire by the appearance of the enemy in its rear. The First Division maintained its position until long after every round of ammunition had been exhausted.

I cannot designate any particular regiment as worthy of special commendation without doing injustice to others, nor can I, with justice, name any of my officers as having particularly distinguished themselves where all did so well. Every one of the general officers discharged his full duty.

I am greatly indebted to General Pleasonton [cavalry leader] for his services on our march from Kelly's Ford to Chancellorsville. He was with me constantly, and greatly assisted me not only by his knowledge of the country, but his experience in conducting a march of this nature.

The members of my staff—Lieut. Col. H. C. Rodgers, Maj. E. W. Guindon, Capts. William W. Moseley and William G. Tracy—each did his duty to my entire satisfaction, in the performance of which the latter was very severely wounded. I am also indebted to Capt. C. F. Morse, provost-martial; Capts. F. W. Butler and I. Thickstun, signal officers, and Lieut. E. Diven, aide-de-camp to General [Nathaniel J.] Jackson, and G. L. Birney, acting assistant quartermaster, who acted during all engagements as volunteer aides.

To other members of my staff—Lieut. Col. S. H. Sturdevant, commissary of subsistence; Lieut. Col. W. R. Hopkins, and Surg. J. McNulty—I am greatly indebted for the able manner in which they discharged the duties of their several departments.

I have to lament the loss of many valuable officers, all of whom were killed in the discharge of their duties. Among them was Colonel Stainrook, One hundred and ninth Pennsylvania; Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, Third Wisconsin; Major Chapman, Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania; Captain Hampton, Hamton's battery, and Lieutenant Crosby, commanding Battery F, Fourth U. S. Artillery.

For further details, I beg leave to refer you to the accompanying reports of my division, brigade and regimental commanders.

I annex a sketch showing the positions occupied by my command on the 1st, 2d, and 3d of May, and inclose a list of the killed, wounded and missing, from which it appears that the loss of the corps was 2,883. [A revised statement shows the loss at 2,822]. Of those reported missing, a large number have been brought in to day, wounded. Many others are

known to have been captured in attempting to reach their original lines on Saturday night, after the rout of the Eleventh Corps.

My command consists of but two small divisions, the Third (Whipple's) Division having been temporarily detached for special service by virtue of Special Orders, No. 303, Headquarters Army of the Potomac, and having never been permitted to rejoin my corps.

My losses, as stated above, were, therefore, about 30 per cent. of my entire effective force.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,

Major-General Commanding.

Brig. Gen. S. WILLIAMS, A. A. G., *Army of the Potomac.*⁴³

CHAPTER XVII

BEGINNING OF THE GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN

There was much for General Slocum to do after the return of his command to Stafford Court House. The picket duty was resumed throughout its long lines. The work of replenishing his depleted ranks, with new recruits or chance companies and regiments from the near defenses of Washington, was at once entered upon with all of its many details too numerous to even mention here. He was insistent upon knowing by personal inspection that all of these details received the attention his orders required. The labor of proper adjustments, and the bringing of new troops of the different arms to the high standard of discipline required, gave no time for listlessness among the officers or men. Dress parades were frequent, and valuable as conducive to proper pride and self respect, individually and collectively. General Slocum possessed the faculties necessary to secure a very high standard of excellence among his men in all soldierly qualities and, at the same time, to secure and retain their respect and confidence.

The larger part of the Army of the Potomac remained encamped at Falmouth, Virginia, again watching the enemy across the Rappahannock, sending out detachments of cavalry to checkmate the enemy's cavalry and other detachments, and changing, often strengthening, pickets and guards in different places throughout the wide extent of country under its possible range.