

Tennessee arrived along the road near to the right of General Slocum's XIVth Corps of the Army of Georgia, and it there encamped. Slocum's XXth Corps encamped many miles in the rear.

It was a very unusual occurrence that a corps each of the two wings of Sherman's army came so near together in their great march as were Slocum's XIVth and Howard's XVth Corps the night of March 18th. General Sherman was greatly elated in the opening of communication with the Union fleet at Wilmington, and with the receipt of his mail and of supplies at Fayetteville as well as with the easy capture of the last named city. He saw nothing in the skirmishes following it and in the strong opposition of the enemy at Averysborough to lead him to surmise further opposition. In fact his mind was to the contrary. He had been riding with General Slocum from Fayetteville, and was constantly endeavoring to imbue his mind with the belief that all real opposition was over. The keen insight of affairs and the cautious judgment of General Slocum could not be led far astray, however, and he acted wisely in halting the advance column of his XIVth Corps, as he did. It would have been far better for Sherman's reputation had he deferred to Slocum's intuition and better judgment here as well as in several previous instances where Slocum saw clearer and safer than he.

CHAPTER XLV

SLOCUM HARD BESET AT BENTONVILLE

On the morning of March 19th there were two notable small groups of ragged wall-tents on a sloping hill-side about twenty-five miles east of Fayetteville and about the same distance from Goldsborough, North Carolina, toward which last named place the union armies were to move. Those tents formed the headquarters of General Slocum, who was host that night to General Sherman, and the other group was the headquarters of General J. C. Davis commanding Slocum's XIVth Corps.

The early spring morning was soft and balmy, and the shrubbery and some trees were covered with such delicate verdure as the soldiers were wont to see in May in their north-

ern homes. Fruit trees were in full bloom around Mr. Underhill's farm-house nearby and in other places by the roads. The reveille had sounded in the camps of the various regiments in the woods and fields around before 5 o'clock A. M. and the yet fatigued soldiers were enjoying their scant breakfast of hardtack and coffee with here and there a small morsel of choicer food the remains of a chance forage by the roadside or that had been conserved from the last supply at Fayetteville. It was Sunday morning, and a brigade band that had encamped in the little valley of Mill Creek below now played the familiar hymn of Old Hundred. Probably never before had the sweet notes of this grand old music sounded more sweetly than they did in the stillness of that bright spring morning to the weary soldiers whose thoughts they wafted to homes and the dearest of friends to the northward. Everything seemed to happily forebode a Sunday of peace to the ragged, many coatless, hatless and shoeless, but undismayed and strong hearted patriots. While the pride of glorious war was yet in full glow in their breasts, the 'pomp and circumstance' had temporarily fled. A hardier army of soldiers never carried a gun or helped a supply wagon out of the mire. Years of such experiences had resulted in retaining in the ranks only the most hardy and self-reliant. "The deeper the mud and the harder the march, the jollier they were; and a heavier rain pouring down on them as they went into camp, or a wetter swamp than usual to lie down in, only brought out a louder volley of jokes. An army of military Mark Tapleys, they strode onward, uncomplaining and jolly under the most difficult circumstances possible."¹⁰⁰

General Sherman's 'supposing that all danger was over'⁹¹ had infused buoyancy of spirit in all those of his officers who had been hearing him say, nearly as he wrote, "all signs induced me to believe that the enemy would make no further opposition to our progress, and would not attempt to strike us in the flank while in motion"—just what the enemy did do at once! Sherman expected to ride with the main officers of his Right Wing this day, March 19th. About 7 A. M. General Carlin's division of Slocum's XIVth Corps started on the forward march, and General John A. Logan's XVth Corps of Howard's Right Wing turned to the right and marched away about the same time.

Sherman, Slocum, and J. C. Davis commanding Slocum's XIVth Corps, rode together to the parting of Sherman's and their roads, and listened for a time to the early skirmishing noise of the enemy's opposition to the advance of Carlin's leading column. To Davis's remark that there was more than the usual opposition, Sherman replied from his preconceived opinion, "No, Jeff, there is nothing there but Dibble's cavalry. Brush them out of the way. Good morning; I'll meet you to-morrow morning at Cox's Bridge" and turning to the right he rode away to join Howard.¹⁰⁰

General Slocum's men had marched but a short distance from their night's encampment when their advance guard met a strong skirmish line of the enemy's cavalry which was inclined to dispute the further progress of Slocum's men, most of whom had seen much experience as foreagers, and were among those misnamed as 'Sherman's Bummers' who had generally made short work of the enemy's cavalry desiring to keep between them and needed food supplies. But now their experience appealed to the better part of their and their officers' valor; and all of General Hobart's first brigade was rapidly brought forward, deployed, and pushed against the enemy. But slow progress was made, however, with hard fighting. At 10 A. M. the Union advance line had progressed but five miles, and the opposition increased. General Slocum directed General Kilpatrick to reconnoiter again with his cavalry, and to determine more fully the numbers and positions of the enemy; but his report was not more comprehensive than before. Slocum now sent Major Eugene W. Guindon of his staff to tell Gen. Sherman that he had been advancing, but slowly, and with great opposition. Colonel George P. Buell's second brigade was then ordered to make a detour to the left, and attack the enemy's line in the flank; but in the meantime Hobart's right flank was being attacked by the overlapping enemy, and Lieutenant Colonel Miles's third brigade was deployed against him there. All of General Carlin's division was now in line of battle, and confronting strong lines of the enemy all along. Both the right and left of the Union line were ordered to assail the enemy and, with severe fighting they gained possession of several hundred yards more of the enemy's ground. Upon order they made another bold dash and found themselves

"all unprepared against a line of earth-works manned with infantry and strengthened with artillery. The enemy opened upon them such a destructive fire that they were compelled to fall back with great loss. Many men and officers and two regimental commanders had fallen, and the whole line was severely shattered; but very important information had been gained. Observations and the reports of prisoners captured left little reason to doubt that General Joseph E. Johnston's whole army was in position in our immediate front, and the persistent fighting of the enemy's cavalry had been intended to give the main body of the enemy time for ample preparation."

The morning was now gone. General Slocum had been closely studying the situation, and he was now in close conversation with his commander of this (the XIVth) corps in the woods to the left of the road when a deserter from the enemy approached them in charge of a member of General Carlin's staff. This deserter from the enemy was an interesting specimen of the 'galvanized Yankee' class, men of the Union forces who had been captured by the enemy and who, rather than suffer an uncertain prison existence, had enlisted in the enemy's army. He was anxious to tell his story, and it was full of interest to General Slocum. He said that General Joseph E. Johnston had gathered an army of over thirty thousand men, and that this force was strongly intrenched immediately in front of Slocum's advance line. That Johnston, Hardee, Cheatham, and Hoke, had just ridden among their men, and that all were in the highest degree of expectation of capturing all of Sherman's forces scattered as they were along different roads, they 'could easily crush him in detail;' and that Slocum's XIVth Corps was now in their power, and that they 'would now take in those two light divisions [immediately opposing them] out of the wet.' All doubt of this man's sincerity and truthfulness was dispelled by his recognition as John T. Williams by a member of General Slocum's staff and as a comrade soldier who enlisted with him at Syracuse, New York. Further evidence of Williams' truthfulness soon came in and the confirmatory report of Colonel Henry G. Litchfield of General J. C. Davis's staff and assistant inspector-general of the XIVth Corps. This officer had been inspecting the lines of Slocum's two divisions, and making observations and gathering

data regarding the enemy and, in answer to Slocum's inquiry he replied: "Well, general, I find a great deal more than Dibrell's cavalry: I find infantry entrenched along our whole front, and enough of them to give us all the amusement we want for the rest of the day."

General Robinson's small brigade of Slocum's XXth Corps had now arrived, making General Slocum's forces now at hand less than ten thousand men and one battery of artillery, which were opposing an enemy composed of between thirty and forty thousand troops who had chosen their own ground, strengthened it with earth-works and artillery, and in choice positions. These forces were fully prepared and confident of success, while Slocum had been deceived by his ranking confidant and friend! He was now fully undeceived, and he continued his energetic work to make the most vigorous defensive fighting possible to him. We will now let General Alexander C. McClurg, chief of General J. C. Davis's staff, tell of the battle that followed, as he witnessed it: "Every precaution was taken, and the men all along our line were in the act of throwing up hasty field-works, when the attack [of the enemy] came upon us like a whirlwind. I had gone to the rear, by direction of General Slocum, to order General Williams, commanding the XXth Corps, to push his troops to the front with all possible speed. I found him less than a mile in the rear, whither he had ridden far in advance of his troops. Receiving the order, he galloped back to his command, the greater part of which was still several miles to the rear and clogged in almost impassable roads; and I again started for the front, where the roar of musketry and artillery was continuous. Almost immediately I met masses of men slowly and doggedly falling back along the road, and through the fields and open woods on the left of the road. They were retreating, and evidently with good cause; but there was nothing of the panic and rout so often seen on battle-fields earlier in the war. They were retreating but they were not demoralized. Minie-balls were whizzing in every direction, although I was then far from the front line as I had left it only a short time before. Pushing on through these retreating men, and down the road, I met two pieces of artillery—a section of the 19th Indiana battery—and was dashing past it, when the lieutenant in command called out

'For Heaven's sake don't go down there! I am the last man of the command. Everything is gone in front of you. The lieutenant commanding my battery and most of the men and horses are killed, and four guns are captured. These two guns are all we have left.' Checking my horse, I saw the rebel regiments in front in full view, stretching through the fields to the left as far as the eye could reach, advancing rapidly, and firing as they came. Everything seemed hopeless on our center and left; but in the swampy woods on the right of the road our line seemed still to be holding its position. An overwhelming force had struck Carlin's entire division and Robinson's brigade, and was driving them off the field. The onward sweep of the rebel lines was like the waves of the ocean, resistless. Nothing in Carlin's thin and attenuated line, decimated as it had already been, could stand before it. It had been placed in position on the theory of the morning, that it was driving back a division of cavalry; but in view of the fact that it was fighting an army, its position was utterly untenable. As it fell back, General Carlin himself, unwilling to leave the field, was cut off from his troops, and narrowly escaped death or capture. General Morgan's division on the right, had also been heavily assailed; but it was better situated, and not being at this time outflanked, it held its position. One of Morgan's brigades—that of General Fearing—being in reserve, had not been engaged. When the left first began to give way, General Davis sent Colonel Litchfield to Fearing with instructions to hold his brigade in readiness to march in any direction. A few moments later, when the left was falling back and the rebel line was sweeping after them in hot pursuit, General Davis came plunging through the swamp on his fiery white mare toward the reserve. 'Where is that brigade, Litchfield?' 'Here it is sir, ready to march.' It was in columns of regiments, faced to the front. Ordering it swung round to the left, General Davis shouted, 'Advance upon their flank, Fearing? Deploy as you go! Strike them wherever you find them! Give them the best you've got, and we'll whip them yet!' All this was uttered with an emphasis and fire known only upon the field of battle. The men caught up the closing words, and shouted back, 'Hurrah for old Jeff! We'll whip 'em yet!' as they swung off through the woods at a rattling pace. Officers and men, from

General Fearing down, were alike inspired with the spirit of their commander and 'We'll whip them yet!' might well be considered their battle-cry. They struck the successful enemy with resistless impetuosity, and were quickly engaged in a desperate conflict. Upon this movement, in all probability, turned the fortunes of the day. It was the right thing, done at the right time. Seeing at once that, as Fearing advanced his right flank must in turn become exposed, General Davis sent to General Slocum begging for another brigade to move in upon Fearing's right and support him. Fortunately, Coggswell's fine brigade of the XXth Corps arrived not long after upon the field, and it was ordered to report to General Davis for that purpose. Not often does an officer, coming upon the field with tired troops, (for his men had marched all the night previous) display the alacrity which General Coggswell showed on receiving his orders from General Davis to move forward into that roaring abyss of musketry firing. It was splendidly done. The men of these two brigades—Fearing's and Coggswell's—seemed to divine that upon them had devolved the desperate honor of stemming the tide of defeat, and turning it into victory; and magnificently they responded. Finer spirit and enthusiasm could not be shown by the troops; and it is no wonder that, after a fierce and bloody contest, the flushed and victorious troops of the enemy, thus taken in their flank, gave way, and in their turn fell back in confusion. So stunned and bewildered were they by this sudden and unexpected attack that their whole line withdrew from all the ground they had gained, and apparently re-entered their works. And now there was a lull along the whole front, which gave invaluable time for the re-formation of our shattered lines. It was late in the afternoon, and if the ground could be held until night-fall the right wing would undoubtedly be within supporting distance by the next morning at daylight."¹⁰⁰



CHAPTER XLVI

CONQUERS THE LAST CHANCE OF THE CONFEDERACY

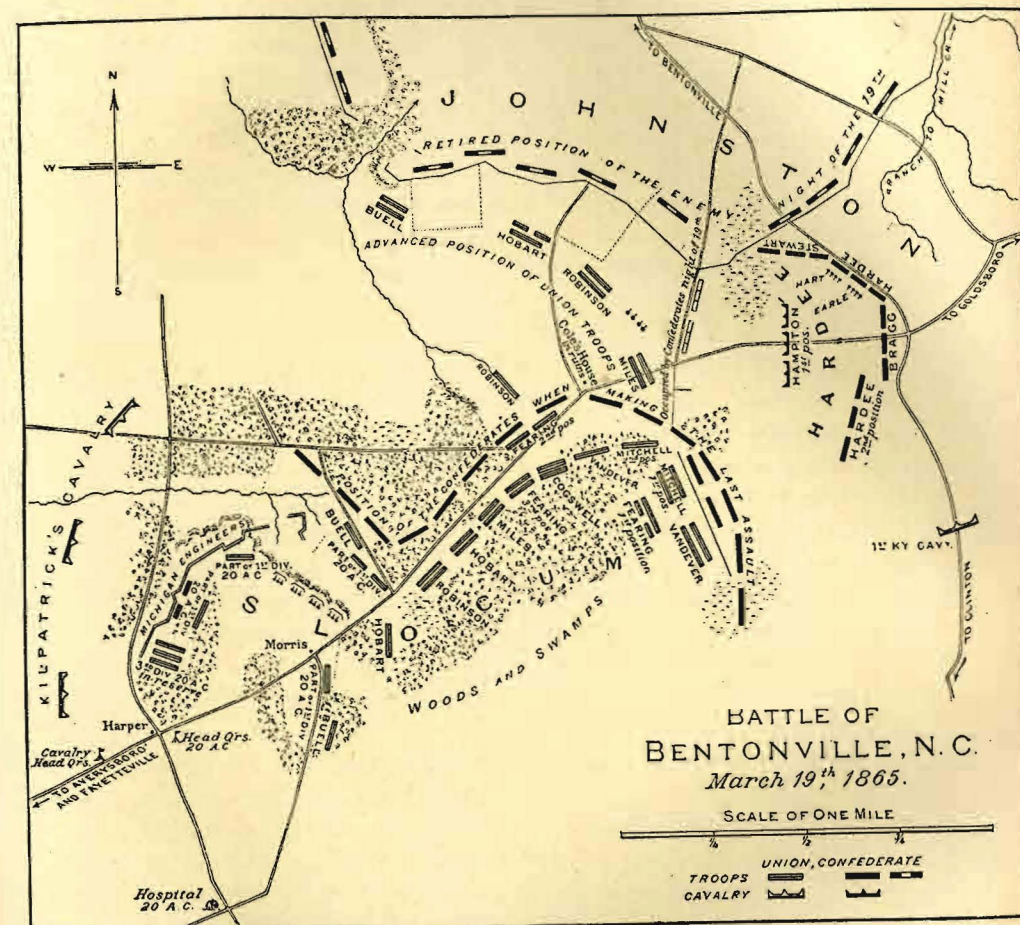
"Rapidly the work of reorganization and re-formation was carried on. Morgan's line, on the right of the road, was yet intact, and its left needed only to be slightly refused. Carlin's troops—veterans as they were, and used to all the vicissitudes of the battle-field—were easily rallied in a new line, considerably to the rear of their former position, with the left sharply refused, and supported by such troops of the XXth Corps as had reached the front. The center of the new line rested upon a slight elevation, with open fields in front, across which the enemy must advance to a second attack. Here several batteries of artillery were massed with a certainty of doing good service. To the surprise of every one, a full hour was allowed by the enemy for these new dispositions; and it was about five o'clock before their long line was again seen emerging from the pine woods and swampy thickets in front and began sweeping across the open fields. As soon as they appeared our artillery opened upon them with most destructive effect. Still they pressed gallantly on, but only to be met with a well-delivered fire from our infantry, securely posted behind hastily improvised field-works, such as our troops were then well skilled in throwing up in a brief time, and of which they had dearly learned the value. Attack after attack was gallantly met and repulsed, and the golden opportunity of the enemy upon our left was lost. Meanwhile, the heat of the conflict was raging in front of and around Morgan's division, in the low swampy woods to the front and on the right of the road. This Union division had filed into position between one and two o'clock in the day with two brigades—General John G. Mitchell's and General Vandervere's—in line of battle. When, a little later, the troops upon the left had been swept away, the third brigade, Fearing's, had been faced to the left, as we have seen and, supported later by Coggswell, had made their gallant and effective charge upon the advancing enemy, checking him and forcing him back to his works. In this charge many had fallen, and the young and dashing Brigadier Fearing had been severely wounded and disabled. Retiring from the field he left his brigade, shattered and still heavily pressed, to the command

of the gallant officer Lieutenant-Colonel James W. Langley of the 125th Illinois Regiment. After their charge the brigades of Coggswell and Langley held position in a gap which existed between the divisions of Carlin and Morgan. But the gap was so large that these two decimated commands could but partially fill it. Morgan's whole division was now so stretched out over such an extent of ground that all his troops were in the front line, and he had no men left for a second line or a reserve. As all old troops were wont to do at that time when in the presence of the enemy, they had at once fallen to building such field-works as could be hastily thrown up with rails and light timber. As one of their officers expressed it, they had often attacked works, but they had rarely had the pleasure of fighting behind them themselves, and they rather enjoyed the prospect. They were there, and they meant to stay. Their skirmishers were heavily engaged from the time they took position, and they found the enemy in front in force and shielded by well-constructed works. They were fighting more or less severely until about half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy attempted to carry their position by assault. The charge was desperate and persistent, and the roar of musketry, as it rolled up from the low wood, was incessant. For half an hour it continued, and the commander of the corps, General Davis, sat uneasily on his horse a short distance in the rear and listened to it. He could do nothing but let these men fight it out. Not a maneuver could be made, and not a regiment could be sent to their assistance; even his escort and headquarters guard were in the line. Still that terrible and continuous roar came back through the woods, and the smoke obscured everything in front. No ground seemed to be yielded, and not a straggler could be seen. After a while a slight cessation was noticed in the firing; and by direction of General Davis I rode forward toward the line to ascertain definitely how matters stood. The ground was swampy, and here and there were openings through the trees, while generally bushes and thickets obstructed the view. I had gone but a few rods when I caught a glimpse through a vista, obliquely to the left, of a column of men moving to the right straight across my path and directly in the rear of our line, though out of sight of it. They looked like rebels and my sharp-sighted orderly, Batter-

son, said they were 'rebs;' but the view was obscured by smoke, and the idea that the enemy could be in that position was preposterous. I hesitated but a moment, and pressed on. An hundred yards further through the bushes, and I broke out suddenly into a large, nearly circular, open space containing perhaps half an acre. Here the view was not a cheerful one. On the opposite side of the opening, at perhaps twenty-five yards' distance, was a body of unmistakable rebel troops, marching by the flank in column of fours toward the right. Beyond the column, under a wide-spreading tree, dismounted, stood a group of Confederate officers, whose appearance and uniforms indicated high rank. As I broke through the bushes, and my horse floundered in the mire for the ground was very soft, I was greeted with cheers and shouts of 'come down off that horse, Yank!' Two or three years earlier I should have quietly accepted the invitation; but we had all grown used to dangers, and preferred a little risk to the prospect of a Confederate prison. I gathered up my plunging horse, and struck my spurs vigorously into his sides turning him sharply to the right and rear just in time to become entangled with my orderly who came through the bushes behind and on the right of me. Both horses went down together; and perhaps it is well they did, for just then my hilarious friends across the way, finding their summons not likely to be obeyed, sent a volley of minie-balls recklessly about our heads, and I saw the little twigs and leaves which were cut off by the bullets flutter down around us as we, having extricated our horses, disappeared through the bushes. Neither man nor horse was hit. As usual in their haste, our friends [the enemy] had fired high. I rode about a hundred yards to the right and tried again to reach our line, but again encountered the enemy. This time I was more cautious, however. A third attempt a little further to the right carried me beyond their column. In my ride I had met General Morgan. He was now thoroughly informed of his perilous situation. Mitchell's brigade had already discovered the intruders in their rear, who at first were thought by them to be reinforcements. At this time the division had successfully resisted the persistent attacks from the front, and General Vandevere's brigade, leaping over their works, had pursued the retreating rebels into their own works again. In this pursuit the

14th Michigan regiment had captured the colors of the 40th North Carolina regiment. Fortunately, all was now quiet in front, and General Morgan quickly got his men to the reverse of their own works. In other words they were now in front of their works, and prepared to sustain an attack from their former rear. Hardee's corps, or a considerable part of it, had passed through the opening in the line on the left, and Hardee and his staff were the group of officers I had seen under the tree superintending the movement, or so I was informed the next day by a captive Confederate captain. The enemy attacked vigorously but instead of taking Morgan by surprise, he found him ready. Again the struggle was sharp and bloody, but brief. Nothing could stand that day before the veterans of the old second division. Truly they were enjoying the novelty of fighting behind works. Hardee was repulsed with severe loss. The men again leaped over their own works, and charged to the rear taking many prisoners. The 14th Michigan captured the battle-flag of the 54th Virginia in the rear of their works just as, a short time before, they had captured the North Carolina flag in front. An incident like this where troops resist in quick succession attacks from front and rear, is exceptional in the annals of any battle; and yet it was repeated several times in the eventful history of Mitchell's and Vandervere's brigades that afternoon. Not once, but several times between four and half past six o'clock, they scaled their works and met and repelled the charges of the enemy from their rear. It is impossible to accord too high admiration to troops who, knowing themselves without connection or support on their right or left flanks, and overwhelmingly attacked in front and in rear, who could preserve all their steadiness and generally good soldierly qualities, fighting now in the rear and now in the front of their own works, and could successfully hold their position during several hours of almost continuous fighting. This, these two brigades had done. They had not lost a foot of ground, and had contributed their full share on that trying field to wrest victory from seemingly inevitable defeat. At length daylight faded, and gradually the firing along the whole line ceased. Never was coming darkness more welcome to wearied soldiers. Every one knew that before morning the troops of the Right Wing would have marched to our assist-

ance, and that General Johnston's great effort was handsomely foiled.⁷¹⁰⁰ The foregoing description of the remarkably good work of this part of General Slocum's command, was but the result of true American patriots who had been carefully trained



and disciplined for the best possible work of this high character by General Slocum well supported by his line of admirable subordinate officers. Into what irregular and detached positions the troops upon the field had been thrown by the desperate wrestle

of the afternoon is shown by another dramatic incident which occurred soon after night-fall, namely: "General Mitchell, tired and worn out, had borrowed a rubber blanket and was just comfortably settled on the ground, when an officer came and waked him, saying, 'Here is a staff officer with a message for you.' He sat up and was confronted by a bright young fellow who said, Colonel Hardee presents his compliments to you, and asks that you will apprise your line that he is forming in your front to charge the Yankee lines on your left.' General Mitchell sprang to his feet and asked him to repeat his message, which he did. The General inquired what Colonel Hardee it was; and was told Colonel Hardee of the 23rd Georgia, commanding a brigade in Hoke's division. General Mitchell asked the young gentleman if he had had his supper and being told that he had not he was politely sent in charge of a staff officer to the officer in charge of the prisoners in the rear. General Mitchell then drew in his entire picket line, and gave orders that at the tap of a drum his whole line should fire one volley, and that the picket line should then resume its position without further orders. By the time this was arranged the marching and even the talking of the Confederate line in front could be distinctly heard. One loud tap was given on a bass drum, and one volley was fired low; and General Mitchell says, 'I never expect to hear again such a volume of mingled cries, groans, screams, and curses. The next morning there was displayed in front of our works, among the dead, a line of new Enfield rifles and knapsacks, almost as straight as if laid out for a Sunday morning inspection. When we reached Raleigh a week or two later, some of my officers went to see Colonel Hardee who was there in hospital wounded. He told them that his men had been in the fortification in and around Wilmington during the whole war; that they had never before been in battle, and had not participated in this fight during the day. They were brought out for this night attack, and were determined to go right over the Yankee lines; and, breathing fire, they had vowed to take no prisoners. But out of the stillness of that dark night came that tremendous volley right in their faces and flank. 'The fools'—these were Colonel Hardee's words—'thought they were discovered and surrounded. They ran, and I have no doubt they are still running, for we have never been

able to get ten of them together since their flight.' No further attempt, it is needless to say, was made to disturb the Yankee lines during the night. Considering the great disaster which was imminent, and which was averted, it is not too much to claim for this engagement that it was one of the most decisive of the lesser battles of the war. When Johnston, with skillful strategy, and with wonderful celerity and secrecy, massed his scattered troops near the little hamlet of Bentonville, and placed them unknown to his great adversary in a strong position directly across the road upon which two 'light divisions' as he expressed it, were marching, he proposed to himself nothing less than to sweep these two divisions from the field in the first furious onset; and then, hurrying on with flushed and victorious troops to attack, in deep column and undeployed, the two divisions of the XXth Corps which, through heavy and miry roads, would be hastening to the assistance of their comrades. These divisions he expected to crush easily, while General Sherman and the Right Wing were many miles from the field. Then, with half his army destroyed, with supplies exhausted, and far from any base, he believed General Sherman and his Right Wing only, would no longer be a match for his elated and eager troops. Never before, in all the long struggle, had fortune and circumstances so united to favor him, and never before had hope shone so brightly. If Sherman's army were destroyed, the Confederacy would be inspired with new spirit, and ultimate success would be at last probable. Doubtless such dreams as these flitted through General Johnston's mind on that Sunday morning, when his well-laid plans seemed so sure of execution. With what a sad and heavy heart he turned at night from the hard-fought field, realizing that the last great opportunity was lost, we can only imagine. As the sun went down that night it undoubtedly carried with it in the mind of General Johnston, at least, the last hopes of the Southern Confederacy."¹⁰⁰



CHAPTER XLVII

BATTLE OF BENTONVILLE CONCLUDED. OFFICIAL REPORT

After the close of the war Captain Joseph B. Foraker—a lieutenant in the signal service, and the youngest member of General Slocum's staff at the time of the Battle of Bentonville, and who in later years was during different terms Governor of Ohio, and United States Senator—seeing some misstatements regarding this battle, wrote to General Slocum substantially as follows: Firing between the men on the skirmish-line commenced before Sherman left us on the morning of the 19th of March, but he asserted that there was nothing but cavalry in our front. The firing was continued steadily, and it constantly increased in volume. Finally there was a halt in the column. General Slocum expressed anxiety and sent Major W. G. Tracy and J. B. Foraker of his staff to the front to ascertain definitely the condition of affairs. At the edge of open fields next to the woods in which the barricades were, they found the halted Union skirmish line. After a few minutes it again moved forward, and the enemy partly reserved their fire until it got half-way or more across the field. This induced Tracy and Foraker to think there was but little danger and they followed closely until the enemy again began a spirited firing "in the midst of which we were sorry to find ourselves. I remember we hardly knew what to do—we could do no good by going on and none by remaining. To be killed under such circumstances would look like a waste of raw material, we thought. But the trouble was to get out. We didn't want to turn back, as we thought that would not look well. While we were thus hesitating a nearly spent ball struck Tracy on the leg, giving him a slight but painful wound. Almost at the same moment our skirmishers charged and drove the rebels.

. . . I rode back with Tracy only a very short distance, when we met General Slocum hurrying to the front. I found that Slocum had been already informed of the enemy's strong intrenchment, and had sent orders for everybody to hurry to the front. I remember, too, that a little later Major Mosely, I think, though it may have been some other member of General Slocum's staff, suggested that Slocum ought to have the advance division charge and drive the enemy out of the way; that it could

not be possible that there was much force ahead of us, and that if we waited for the others to come up we should lose a whole day, and if it should turn out that there was nothing to justify such caution it would look bad for the Left Wing. To this General Slocum replied patiently but in an earnest manner, 'I can afford to be charged with being dilatory or over cautious, but I cannot afford the responsibility of having my command crushed and captured as another command was at Ball's Bluff.' These remarks made a lasting impression on me. It excited my confidence and admiration, and then was the first moment that I began to feel that there was really serious work before us. . .

General Slocum handed me a written message to take to General Sherman. The last words he spoke to me as I started were, 'Ride well to the right so as to keep clear of the enemy's left flank, and don't spare horse-flesh.' I reached General Sherman just about sundown. He was on the left side of the road on a sloping hillside, where, as I understood, he had halted only a few minutes before for the night. His staff was about him. I think General Howard was there, but I do not now remember seeing him—but on the hillside twenty yards farther up Logan was lying on a blanket. Sherman saw me approaching and walked briskly toward me, took Slocum's message, tore it open, read it, and called out 'John Logan! where is Logan?' as though fully aroused to his duty from deep reverie. Just then Logan jumped up and started toward us. He too walked briskly but before he had reached us Sherman had informed him of the situation and ordered him to turn General Hazen and his command back and have him report to General Slocum. It was not yet dark when I rode away carrying an answer to General Slocum's message. It was after midnight when I got back, the ride back being so much longer in point of time because the road was full of troops, it was dark, and my 'horse-flesh' was used up."²²

The afternoon of this day, March 19th, occurred some of the most stubborn fighting experienced at any time during the war, against great odds in numbers, and first behind the meager breastworks and then in front of them both in pursuing the enemy and, again, when assailed in the rear, as portrayed on a previous page. Fortunate it was for General Slocum's small and nearly exhausted force when the clouds from the sky joined the

smoke of battle and the shadows of the trees thus preventing a seventh charge of the enemy's strong force which was then withdrawn for more desultory skirmishing. General Slocum's men bivouacked for the night at their advanced line after strengthening here and there their shattered breastworks.

Two of General Geary's brigades of Slocum's XXth Corps arrived on the field at daybreak next morning, March 20th, and they relieved the most fatigued and depleted brigades which then retired from the front. Other changes of the troops conduced to the rest of those who had been in the most vigilant places during the night, and were nearly exhausted. A heavy rain was falling, but Slocum early ordered a strong line of skirmishers to advance against the enemy's line, which offered strong resistance, but was driven back.

General Morgan was directed to advance against the enemy on the right which he did and, finding his lines changed, he changed his own line accordingly and, also, to accommodate the XVth Corps of Sherman's Right Wing which was now approaching the enemy's left flank. Upon reconnoitering the situation in that quarter by General Howard, he reported to Generals Sherman and Slocum that the enemy would soon retreat. This had become a foregone conclusion as the enemy was now surrounded on three sides by the combined Union forces, and Mill Creek was in his rear.

Johnston's army was badly crippled in the battle with General Slocum; and his chief object now was to get away as soon and as easily as practicable. His plans had been altogether different from those for retreat, and some time was required for this change. The Union forces continued to skirmish and harass him during the day of the 21st, and the next morning, March 22nd, the enemy's defensive works were found deserted. General Sherman had been in command two days against the shattered enemy and, again, he had let Johnston escape.

General Sherman's reports regarding the condition of affairs preceding this Battle of Bentonville, and his action regarding it, are very much mixed. Sherman accompanied Slocum from Fayetteville, and continually overshadowed his characteristic caution with his own belief that there would be no further trouble with the enemy on the south side of the Neuse River. Sher-

man wrote in his report that, "All signs induced me to believe that the enemy would not attempt to strike us in the flank while in motion. I therefore directed Howard to move his Right Wing by the new Goldsborough Road, which goes by way of Falling Creek Church. I also left Slocum and joined Howard's column."¹⁰¹ On the next page of this report, after merely mentioning Slocum's successful battle against his (Sherman's) old enemies in Tennessee (the Confederate Generals Robert F. Hoke, William J. Hardee, Benjamin F. Cheatham, and Joseph E. Johnston and their near forty thousand men) and mentioning their full expectation of defeating Slocum's scattered forces first and then the other parts of Sherman's army one by one, Sherman continues his report in a chuckling mood, and confusing statement, namely: "But he [Johnston] reckoned without his host. I had expected just such a movement all the way from Fayetteville, and was prepared for it."¹⁰¹ In this connection see H. V. Boynton's book on Sherman's Memoirs in the Light of the Record.⁹⁶ Later, Sherman expressed regrets that he did not earnestly attempt a capture of Johnston's army.¹¹⁶

General Sherman minimized Slocum's battle of March 19th, devoting but a few words to it in his Memoirs while he devoted long space to his events of the next two days in letting Johnston's army escape. The facts of the losses of the first day speak loudly for Slocum's small force, namely: Out of ten thousand men actually engaged with Slocum, his loss during that memorable day was 1,200; and his enemy, General Johnston in his narrative of the battle admits his loss as 1,915. In all the fighting of the next two days, Sherman's loss in both his armies was but little over 400; and Johnston states his loss as 428. These figures should have been enough for Sherman; but he would neither believe Johnston nor his own officers. Again he wrote in his Memoirs: "I doubt if, after the first attack on Carlin's division [of Slocum's men] the fighting was as desperate as described in Johnston's narrative;" and the full reports of his officers had been passed by him as correct!

A prominent officer of General Sherman's staff who saw much of General Slocum during this great march wrote of him at the time of this battle in part as follows: "The Battle of Bentonville was General Slocum's fight. While his name is

most honorably associated with almost every great battle of this war from Bull Run to Gettysburg in the East, and since his advent in the Southwest, the bloody combat at Bentonville was peculiarly his own affair, out of which he has come with fresh laurels. The unexpected attack, the fierce assaults by far superior numbers, several times repeated, called for all the resources of a brave, cool, experienced soldier; but Slocum was more than equal to the necessities of the hour, for he was victorious, and his success justified General Sherman's selection of him as the commander of the Left Wing of the army. General Slocum enjoys the reputation of a thoroughly accomplished soldier. It is probably owing to his complete mastery of all the details of his profession, his keen sense of order and discipline, and his energetic and magnetic manner, that the XXth Corps, which he commanded for a long time, has gained its splendid reputation. He is a native of New York, and is as proud of his State as his State is proud of him. His personal appearance is prepossessing. Long, wavy brown hair, brushed back behind his ears, sparkling brown eyes, a heavy brown mustache, a height above the medium, and a manner which inspires faith and confidence, make up a most attractive figure. He seems to know precisely what he has to do, and to be perfectly sure that he can do it. It is very certain that he is one of those rare men who has made few if any mistakes."¹¹⁵

Another prominent writer of the time reads, that: "Like Hood's at Atlanta the onset of Johnston on Slocum at Bentonville was one of the most desperate of the war. In successive waves, one column followed another, determined to carry Slocum's position at any sacrifice. Mowed down by Slocum's terrible fire, the first column reeled backward and broke, when the second column came on in the same headlong desperation. The whole fury of the attack spent itself at this time in less than an hour, and yet in that time the enemy made six successive assaults. The last charge broke for a moment Slocum's line; but it recovered its position, and the rebel army, baffled and discouraged, fell back to its entrenchments. So close and murderous was the combat, that many of the enemy's dead lay within the Union lines, and even around the headquarters of the generals. For the time it lasted, it was one of the most sanguinary

battles of the war, and the only serious one fought after leaving Atlanta. No better fighting was seen during the war then at Bentonville, on the 19th of March, for Johnston must have had double the number of Slocum, and a less able general would have been overborne . . . General Slocum is a man of fine personal appearance, being above the medium height, and possessing a manner that at once attracts the beholder. His long brown wavy hair is pushed back behind his ears, which gives additional force to the frank, open expression of his countenance. His eyes are brown and sparkle with light, while his whole expression inspires confidence and trust, and gives him a sort of magnetic power over his troops. Probably there is no general in the service who is more thoroughly master of all the details of his profession than he. A lover of order and a strict disciplinarian, he brought the XXth Corps to a state of perfection that has given it a national reputation. It was of vital importance to Sherman in the novel campaigns he was entering upon, to have commanders over the two wings of his army that never made mistakes, and it was on this account he brought Slocum from Vicksburg to be his left hand in the long march he contemplated. Probably no commander ever leaned with such implicit confidence on three subordinates as Sherman did on Thomas, Howard and Slocum. Slocum's character cannot be better summed up than in the language of an eminent judge, who in a private letter never designed to be made public, says: 'He was always equal to the task set before him, and never was known to fail in any enterprise which he undertook. He is certainly one of the most persevering and indefatigable men I ever knew, and was always esteemed lucky, while it was plain to me that his successes were the result of calculation and the most indomitable energy. While he is modest and unobtrusive, he possesses genius of the highest order, and a well balanced mind; always cool and ready to baffle difficulties, whether small or great; for he has inexhaustible mental resources in an emergency, and can bring them to bear with wonderful power in the right direction and at the proper moment to insure success. I consider him qualified for the highest stations in the gift of the Government; but his proverbial modesty will probably keep him back from reaching any of them. And he seems to have no ambition in that

direction."¹¹⁷ . . . These estimates of General Slocum's character have been proved correct by many witnesses; also his modesty and non-assertiveness in civil affairs were later shown at different times when the highest offices were open to him, as will be shown later in this book.

The reader understands from the preceding pages that the Campaign of the Carolinas was far more difficult and hazardous than was the Atlanta-Savannah Campaign. Naturally the country averaged more flat and swampy in the Carolinas, the season was more wet and cold, and the enemy was far more numerous to be guarded against and contended with.

General Sherman well knew that General Joseph E. Johnston, his enemy in Tennessee and northwestern Georgia, had been called to North Carolina to gather the scattered commands of Hardee, Hood, Wheeler, Hoke, Cheatham, Hampton and other officers, and that they had been gradually closing in around him most of his way through these States; and he rightly estimated their strength as near forty thousand men. After crossing the line into North Carolina evidences of their nearness became more and more apparent, as Sherman's course became more apparent to them. Sherman was a profuse letter writer, as evidenced by the Official Records. He passed his time in Fayetteville in writing of his enemies. In one letter he wrote: "I can whip Joe Johnston provided he does not catch one of my corps in flank, and I will see that the army marches hence to Goldsborough in compact form." But this resolve was soon forgotten, and the enemy's plans to break his army into pieces and thus to capture all, went rapidly on. In justice to Slocum's characteristically circumspect attention to his army, of its surroundings, and of its good work in strategy and in all details, we must class Sherman's strong efforts to throw Slocum off his guard while on their way from Fayetteville to the place of their parting in proximity to the fully combined forces of the enemy, as the worst feature and act of this nerve-shattered, erratic, but great commander.

The enemy retreated during the night of March 21st toward Smithfield, leaving many of his dead unburied and of his wounded and prisoners in the possession of the Unionists. He was followed but two miles when Sherman recalled the troops to march to Cox's Bridge, the former objective point of Slocum's

army at the Neuse River, where his XIVth Corps arrived in the evening after marching eleven miles. His XXth Corps marched by way of Troublefield's store and encamped for the night at the crossroads near Falling Creek. The next morning this corps followed the XIVth across the river and it encamped at Beaver Creek. Late at night the wagon trains of the XXth Corps were moved toward Goldsborough, and they were followed in the early morning by the troops. Here General Sherman's armies were passed under review, Thursday March 23rd, of their generals, namely: General Slocum's Army of Georgia, General Howard's Army of the Tennessee, and General John M. Schofield's Army of the Ohio which had recently been transferred from the West to Wilmington, North Carolina, whence communication with Sherman was opened by way of Fayetteville.

As General Slocum's men were approaching Goldsborough General Schofield paraded his XXIIIrd Corps in their honor, as they had fought near each other in different battles in Tennessee. Slocum's men being directly from the Battle of Bentonville, all were nearly and some entirely shoeless, and what was left of their other clothing was indelibly stained with mud of every color they had encountered in their long march; and their faces were firmly begrimed by the soot of their pine-knot camp fires; but their guns were in good condition like their spirits. Schofield's men were clothed in new uniforms, and they had time to keep them in as good condition as their guns. While Slocum's men were marching past their reviewers the spirit of good natured chaffing was rife. 'Well sonnies' one of Slocum's men called to the freshly shaved and dressed men of General Jacob D. Cox's XXIIIrd Corps, 'do they issue butter to you regularly now?' 'Oh, yes, to be sure!' was the instant retort; 'but we trade it off for soap!' This reply, with emphasis on the word *we*, was greeted with hearty laughter on both sides, followed soon by rousing cheers by Cox's men when they realized the name of the passing command.¹⁰² General Slocum's men passed into comfortable encampment in the neighborhood of Goldsborough, and there they received in remarkably short time complete outfitting of clothing, and some time for comparative rest.

On account of General Slocum's Army of Georgia having been hastily organized during the stress of preparation for the Savannah Campaign, and the breaking of communication with all Union armies other than General Howard's Army of the Tennessee, record of Slocum's army organization was not transmitted to the War Department, or was not received there for record. General U. S. Grant recognized this fact when Slocum's army arrived at Goldsborough, and he at once telegraphed to the War Department to have the missing data there recorded, and a copy of it sent to General Sherman. This was necessary for the forwarding of army business, enabling every commander of an army to sign discharges from military service, and other important papers relating to the conduct of his command.¹⁰³

A division of the enemy's cavalry passed a little east of Slocum's encampment at Goldsborough, and he suggested to Sherman the necessity for his (Sherman's) train to New Berne having a strong guard, as Sherman was inclined to go beyond the Union lines without sufficient protection.

On the 31st of March General Slocum was requested to recommend worthy officers in his command for division quartermasters with the rank of Major.

The officers now prepared their respective Official Reports at Goldsborough, that of General Slocum being as follows:

HEADQUARTERS LEFT WING, Army of Georgia.
Goldsborough, N. C., March 30, 1865.

MAJOR: I have the honor of submitting the following report of the operations of the Left Wing of the army from our arrival at Savannah to the present date:

The Second Division of the Twentieth Corps entered Savannah on the morning of December 21, and was encamped in the city doing garrison duty from that date until January 19, when it was relieved by Grover's division of the Nineteenth Corps; General Geary, the division commander, performing the duties of military governor of the city. The duties devolving upon General Geary and his command, during our occupancy of Savannah, were important and of a delicate nature, and were discharged in a most creditable manner. Private property was protected and good order preserved throughout the city. General Geary discharged his duties to the entire satisfaction of the military and civil authorities, and won the confidence and esteem of all who had business connections with him. The Fourteenth Corps and the First and Third Divisions of the Twentieth Corps were encamped north of the city. On

the last of December a pontoon bridge was constructed, under charge of Colonel Buell, across the Savannah River, and on the 1st day of January Ward's division moved over to the Carolina side, encamping about six miles from the river, on the Union Causeway.

On the 17th of January Jackson's division crossed the river and, together with Ward's moved forward to Hardeeville. It was intended the Twentieth Corps should march to Robertsville as soon as the Right Wing commenced the march from Pocotaligo, while the Fourteenth Corps, moving up on the Georgia side of the river, should cross at Sister's Ferry and effect a junction with the Twentieth near Robertsville. An extraordinary freshet occurred before Geary's division could be moved over, when swept away a large portion of the Union Causeway from Savannah to Hardeeville and overflowed all the lowlands bordering the river. It soon became impossible to communicate with the troops on the Carolina side except by boats. On the 19th Jackson's division moved to Puryburg, from which point both his division and that of General Ward drew their supplies. On the 20th of January the Fourteenth Corps commenced its march for Sister's Ferry, but its progress was slow and difficult. It was followed by Geary's division of the Twentieth Corps and Corse's of the Fifteenth, which had also been prevented by the high water from crossing at Savannah. On the 29th of January the Fourteenth Corps, Geary's division of the Twentieth Corps. Corse's division of the Fifteenth Corps, and Kilpatrick's cavalry were encamped at Sister's Ferry, on the Georgia side of the Savannah River. On the same day the First and Third Divisions of the Twentieth Corps moved to Robertsville, three miles from Sister's Ferry, on the Carolina side of the river. On the morning of the 29th I crossed to the Carolina side and endeavored to open communication with General Williams, commanding the Twentieth Corps, who had accompanied the first and Third Divisions of his corps, but did not succeed in doing so until the following day. Nearly all the country bordering the river was overflowed by water from one to ten feet in depth. After landing on the side on which Williams troops were encamped I was obliged to use a row-boat in opening communication with him, yet I had not only to open communication with him but had to place at the point he occupied at least 20,000 troops, with an immense train of wagons, numbering at least 1,000. A pontoon bridge was constructed on the 29th, and five days were spent in removing obstructions placed in the road by the enemy, and in building bridges, trestle-work, and corduroy. In addition to the obstacles presented by the flood and fallen timber (most of which was under water) we found torpedoes buried in the road, many of which exploded, killing and wounding several soldiers.

On the evening of February 3rd, the road was finished so that we could pass from the bridge to the high ground three miles distant, and Kilpatrick's cavalry at once commenced crossing. The troops and trains were kept moving constantly during the night, as well as the day, but the condition of the road was such that the rear of the command was

not on the Carolina side until the evening of February 5th. Geary's and Corse's divisions followed the cavalry with orders to load their wagons at the depots, which had been established above the ferry, and proceed at once to join their respective corps. Williams had been ordered on the 2nd of February to proceed with the two divisions of his command from Robertsville to Graham's Station on the South Carolina Railroad and to report in person to General Sherman. He moved by way of Lawtonville and Duck Branch Post-office, reaching Graham's Station at 12, noon, on the 7th inst. (February). He met with some opposition from the enemy, particularly near Lawtonville, where barricades had been constructed and the roads blockaded. He soon forced the enemy to retire. His loss was fourteen killed and wounded. I accompanied General Geary on his march from Savannah River to Blackville at which point he rejoined his corps. General Davis, commanding the Fourteenth Corps, was directed, as soon as his wagons were loaded, to move by way of Barnwell to a point on the South Carolina Railroad near Williston Station. He was delayed on account of a deficiency of subsistence stores, being compelled to send to Savannah for a quantity and keep one division awaiting the return of the boat. His entire command reached the South Carolina Railroad at the point ordered on the 12th of February. The railroad was thoroughly and effectually destroyed from Johnson's Station to Williston by the Fourteenth Corps, and from Williston to Graham's Station by the Twentieth Corps. On the 11th of February Geary's and Jackson's divisions crossed the South Edisto at Duncan's Bridge, and encamped on the north side. Ward rebuilt Guignard's Bridge, crossed at that point and rejoined the corps on the north side. On the 12th the Twentieth Corps reached the North Edisto. The enemy had destroyed the bridge and taken position on the north side with two pieces of artillery. He was soon driven away with a loss to us of three killed and ten wounded. The bridge was rebuilt during the night by the First Michigan Engineers, Colonel Yates commanding, and on the following morning the march was resumed toward Lexington.

The Fourteenth Corps crossed the South Edisto on the 13th of February, at Guignard's Bridge, and the North Edisto on the following day at Horsey's Bridge. On the evening of the 15th of February both corps were concentrated within two miles of Lexington. On the morning of the 16th both corps moved toward Columbia, the Fourteenth by way of the Lexington road, and the Twentieth on a road to the right of the one taken by the Fourteenth Corps. When the heads of the two columns were within three miles of Columbia, I received orders from General Sherman to cross the Saluda River at Mount Zion Church, and push on to Winnsborough, crossing the Broad River at the same point below Alston. I at once ordered the Twentieth Corps into camp and moved the Fourteenth to Mount Zion Church, where a bridge was constructed and one division of the Fourteenth Corps crossed during the night. The other two divisions followed on the morning of the 17th, and moved forward to the Broad

River near the Wateree Creek. The cavalry followed the Fourteenth Corps and moved to our left, the Twentieth Corps crossing immediately after the cavalry. A pontoon bridge was constructed across the Broad River, near the mouth of Wateree Creek, at a place known as Freshly's Mills. My entire command was across the Broad River before 2 p. m. on the 20th of February, and on the following morning both corps moved forward to Winnsborough, which we occupied without opposition. Before our columns reached the town several buildings had been burned, but by the exertions of our soldiers, assisted by the citizens, the fire was prevented from spreading. The Charlotte and South Carolina Railroad was destroyed from Winnsborough to White Oak by the Twentieth Army Corps, and from White Oak to Cornwall by the Fourteenth Army Corps. On the 22nd Ward's division of the Twentieth Corps was moved rapidly forward to Catawba River at a point known as Rocky Mount Ferry. A pontoon bridge was at once constructed at this point, and on the 23rd the Twentieth Corps commenced crossing. The river banks on both sides were very precipitous. Unfortunately soon after our arrival at the river a heavy fall of rain made the crossing still more difficult and endangered our bridge.

The Twentieth Corps, together with all the cavalry and one division of the Fourteenth Corps, succeeded in crossing under great difficulties, when our bridge was swept away by floodwood brought down by the freshet. The Twentieth Corps, from the 23rd to the 26th, only succeeded in reaching Hanging Rock, a point sixteen miles distant from the river, having been compelled to corduroy the road nearly the whole distance. I accompanied this corps on its march, and at this point first learned of the destruction of our bridge. The Twentieth Corps was ordered to remain in camp at Hanging Rock on the 27th, and I returned to the Catawba to expedite, if possible, the crossing of the Fourteenth Corps. On my arrival here I found that General Davis and his officers were fully impressed with the importance of effecting a crossing with the least possible delay, and were laboring incessantly to accomplish the work. On my arrival it was impossible to communicate with the troops on the opposite bank. A pontoon boat, manned by the best oarsmen of the train, in attempting to cross was swept far below the point at which the bridge was to be constructed, and the men narrowly escaped drowning. Fortunately the water commenced falling, and during the night of the 27th the bridge was again in position and the troops and trains at once moved across. General Davis was ordered to move direct to Sneedshorough by way of McManus Bridge and Mount Croghan, and if possible to reach that point simultaneously with the Twentieth Corps, which had been ordered to move to the same point by way of Chesterfield.

Every possible effort was made to accomplish this result. General Davis marched his command from daylight until late at night each day, and reached the point designated on the 4th of March. The Twentieth Corps crossed Big Lynch's Creek at Miller's Bridge and advanced to-

ward Chesterfield. On approaching the town a few of the enemy's cavalry were met and driven rapidly through the town and over Thompson's Creek. On the 4th of March the corps reached a point near Sneedsborough. A bridge was constructed over the Great Pedee at a point three miles below Sneedsborough, and the Fourteenth Corps crossed at that point. In order to gain time the Twentieth Corps was sent to Cheraw to cross at that point, with instructions to move at once to McFarland's Bridge over Lumber River. The Fourteenth Corps moved to Love's or Blue's Bridge, a few miles above. McFarland's Bridge was destroyed two or three days before General Williams reached the river, but General Davis found Blue's Bridge but slightly injured, and crossed one division over it on the evening of the 8th of March. On the following day the Fourteenth Corps moved on on the plank road to a point about sixteen miles from Fayetteville. On the 10th this corps moved to the Nine-mile Post and was massed near that point, one brigade of Baird's division being thrown well in advance on the road toward Fayetteville. On the 11th at 10.30 A. M., Baird's division after some slight skirmishing with the enemy entered Fayetteville, the other two divisions and the entire Twentieth Corps encamping near the town. General Baird was directed to take command of the city and garrison it with his command. He was instructed to destroy all public and private property useful to the enemy, but to protect all other private property. The duties imposed upon him were all performed in a satisfactory manner. He destroyed under these orders 2 foundries, 4 factories, and considerable railroad property.

On the 13th and 14th of March both corps crossed the Cape Fear River, encamping on the road leading toward Averysborough. On leaving Fayetteville I was informed that Goidsborough was our next objective point, and was instructed by the commanding general to move with a strong column, unencumbered by wagons, on a road by way of Averysborough and Bentonville, sending my wagons by a road to the right of the one taken by my light column. I accordingly ordered two divisions of each corps to move, with only such wagons as were absolutely necessary, on the road to Averysborough, while the remaining divisions of each corps with the trains were sent on the direct road to Cox's Bridge. On the night of the 15th the four divisions, Jackson's and Ward's of the Twentieth Corps and Morgan's and Carlin's of the Fourteenth, encamped near Taylor's Hole Creek. Hawley's brigade of Jackson's division, was sent forward late in the evening to support the cavalry. On the 16th the enemy was discovered intrenched about one mile and a half from the point at which the road to Bentonville branches off from the Smithfield and Raleigh road. Hawley's brigade commenced skirmishing with them at an early hour. The roads were almost impassable, and it was nearly ten o'clock before other troops could reach the field. As soon as Ward's division came up it was thrown to the left of the road, its right connecting with Hawley's left. As the two remaining brigades of Jackson's division came up they relieved the cavalry, which moved to the right of our line.

Selfridge met the enemy as he moved into position and drove him back into his line of works. As soon as the troops were posted (the artillery occupying a position commanding a good view of the enemy's line) I ordered Case's brigade, which was on the left of our line, to advance and, if possible, turn the enemy's line. This he accomplished in a very handsome manner, and as soon as he was discovered to have accomplished his purpose, and the enemy commenced moving, our artillery did fine execution. The enemy was speedily driven back about one mile to a third line of works, making a brief stand at his second line. He was closely pursued into the works on this new line, but so much delay had been caused by the bad state of the roads that I could not get the troops into position for another attack until it was too late to make the attempt. During the following night the enemy retreated, taking the road through Averysborough.

In this action we captured 3 pieces of artillery, 1 caisson, and several ambulances; also 175 prisoners. We buried on the field 128 of their dead. The loss in the two corps was 66 killed, 441 wounded, and 51 captured and missing. Of the cavalry, 17 killed, 58 wounded, and 3 captured and missing.

All of our troops behaved extremely well. The cavalry under General Kilpatrick exhibited great gallantry and, although the ground was unfavorable for the movement of cavalry, it did excellent service.

On the 17th of March the Fourteenth Corps crossed Black River and encamped near Mingo Creek. The Twentieth Corps encamped near Black River. On the night of the 18th the Fourteenth Corps encamped near Mill Creek, and the Twentieth Corps about five miles in rear of the Fourteenth. On the 19th the march was resumed at 7 A. M., the Fourteenth Corps still in advance. Our advance was stubbornly resisted from the commencement of the march, but one of our cavalry officers came to me while our advance was skirmishing with the enemy and informed me that he had escaped from the enemy only two days before, and that when he left Smithfield he knew the main army under General Johnston to be at or near Raleigh. This statement was confirmed by deserters. I believed the only force in my front to consist of cavalry with a few pieces of artillery, and sent word to this effect to General Sherman. Under this impression I pressed forward rapidly. On reaching the point at which the road from Smithfield runs into the Goldsborough road on which we were marching, I found the enemy intrenched. Carlin's division was at once deployed, Buell's brigade being sent some distance to the left of the road for the purpose of developing the enemy's line. Morgan's division was thrown on the right of Carlin, with two brigades in line and one in reserve. Both Carlin and Morgan were ordered to press the enemy closely and force him to develop his position and strength.

I soon became convinced that I had to deal with something more formidable than a division of cavalry. While still in doubt, however, as to the strength of the enemy, a deserter was brought to me who stated

that he was formerly a Union soldier, had been taken prisoner, and while sick had been induced to enlist in the rebel service. He informed me that General Johnston had, by forced marches, concentrated his army in my front; that it was understood among the rebel soldiers that this force amounted to 40,000 men; that they were told that they were to crush one corps of Sherman's army. He stated that General Johnston had ridden along his line that morning and been loudly cheered by his old Tennessee army. While he was giving me these interesting particulars a member of my staff approached and recognized in this deserter an old acquaintance. They had entered the service in 1861 as private soldiers in the same company. The statements of this man and the developments made by Morgan and Carlin placed me on my guard. I at once concluded to take a defensive position and communicate with the commanding general. Robinson's brigade of the Twentieth Corps had already reached the field and been ordered to support a battery in rear of Buell's position. I had given orders to General Williams to move with the balance of his corps to the right of Morgan with a view of turning the left of the enemy's position. This order was at once countermanded, and Williams was directed to send all of his wagons to the right on the road taken by the Fifteenth Corps, and bring forward with the least possible delay every regiment of his command. All foragers were dismounted and placed in the ranks. Williams was ordered to take position on Morgan's left resting his left flank on a ravine. Not more than one-half of his command was in position, however, when the enemy left his works in strong columns and attacked Buell, driving both him and a portion of Robinson's brigade back, and capturing three pieces of artillery. Before he had reached the line I had designated, however, General Williams had succeeded in getting a sufficient force in position to check his advance. In the meantime Davis had ordered Morgan to refuse the left of his line, and had thrown the reserve brigade on Morgan's division into line of battle on the left of the two brigades of Morgan's division already in line. The connection between Morgan's left and the right of Williams' line not being complete I ordered Cogswell's brigade of the Third Division, Twentieth Corps, which was in reserve, to report to General Davis to enable him to complete the connection between the two corps. This brigade was at once moved forward and filled the gap, giving us a continuous line. The enemy was repulsed at all points along our line, but continued his assaults until a late hour in the evening.

The fighting was most severe in Morgan's front, and too much credit cannot be awarded General Morgan and his command for their conduct upon this occasion. Our artillery was well posted and did excellent execution on the assaulting columns of the enemy. Buell's brigade and the three regiments of Robinson's, which were first driven back, were readily reformed and placed in line, where they did good service. Soon after dark the enemy retired to his works, leaving in our hands a large number of killed and wounded. General Kilpatrick reported to me while I was

placing my troops in position, and was directed to mass his cavalry on my left and rear, which was done at once, and the cavalry occupied this position until the retreat of the enemy. On the following morning Generals Baird and Geary, each with two brigades of their respective divisions, and General Hazen of the Fifteenth Corps with his entire division, arrived on the field. Hazen was moved to the right of Morgan. Baird was moved out in front of our works beyond the advance position held by us on the preceding day. Orders were given to Hazen, Morgan and Baird to press the enemy closely, which was done, Morgan gaining possession of a portion of his line on our right. On the morning of the 21st the Right Wing came up and connected with Hazen. The enemy during this day was forced into his works along the entire line and closely pressed, particularly of his extreme left. During the following night he retreated across Mill Creek, burning the bridges in his rear.

The conduct of our troops on this occasion was most gratifying to me. General Davis and General Williams handled their commands with great skill. After our line was formed the troops without exception met the enemy with coolness and bravery. No ground was lost after the first attack, and all that had been lost in this attack was speedily regained.

On the 22nd, both corps moved to Cox's Brigade, and on the following morning crossed the Neuse at that point and moved into Goldsborough.

My loss during the entire campaign was as follows: Killed, 242; wounded, 1,308; missing, 802; total, 2,352.

For detailed statements as to our losses I respectfully refer to the reports of Brevet Major-General Davis commanding the Fourteenth Corps, and Brevet Major-General A. S. Williams commanding Twentieth Corps. These reports also contain interesting statistics as to the amount of supplies drawn from the country and the amount of property useful to the enemy destroyed by their respective commands.

During this campaign (of the Carolinas) my command has marched about 500 miles, subsisting mainly upon the country and traversing a region which the enemy regarded inaccessible to us on account of the natural obstacles presented to the march of a large army. These obstacles were but little overrated by them, but by the indomitable perseverance and energy of our troops all were overcome.

I have not attempted in this report to enter into such details as to the labors and privations endured by the troops as justice to them really demands, but the brief period allowed me for this work must be my excuse.

I have witnessed on the campaign, scenes which have given me a more exalted opinion than I ever before entertained of the earnest patriotism which actuates the soldiers of this army. I have repeatedly seen soldiers of my command, who were making parched corn supply the place of bread, and who were nearly destitute of shoes or change of clothing, go cheerfully to their labor in the swamps of South Carolina, working hour after hour in the mud and water to bring forward our immense trains, and

yet during all these privations and hardships I have never heard from an officer or soldier one word of complaint.

To the members of my staff—Maj. Robert P. Dechert, acting assistant adjutant-general; Maj. E. W. Guindon, Capt. William W. Moseley, and Capt. William G. Tracy, aides-de-camp; Capt. P. M. Thorne, acting chief of ordnance, and Lieutenants H. W. Howgate, and Joseph Benson Foraker of the signal corps—I am greatly indebted. All have discharged their duties to my entire satisfaction.

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

H. W. SLOCUM,
Major-General, Commanding.

Maj. L. M. DAYTON,

Assistant Adjutant-General, Mil. Div. of the Mississippi.¹⁰⁴

During the Campaign of the Carolinas the Union forces, under Generals Slocum and Howard, captured about 4,500 Confederate prisoners in addition to those paroled at the time of the capture, not counting the wounded, the refugees, and the deserters from the enemy in this list. The enemy reported about 2,000 Union prisoners captured by them during this Campaign, without mentioning the details given above. Many of these Union prisoners were recovered from their captors during the march.

Remarkably full record was kept of the supplies gathered along the route of march by the different thoroughly organized foraging parties. These parties were under thorough discipline, excepting possibly a few occasional temporary stragglers. All had definite orders from General Slocum to demean themselves as true soldiers, and to be gentlemanly in their dealings with people and property—but the army must be fed and, probably, most of the foragers felt like the one who was chasing chickens in front of a house and was interrupted by the loud talk and threats of the women. He replied: "Can't help it, ladies; the rebellion must be stopped if it takes every chicken in Georgia."



CHAPTER XLVIII

THE CONFEDERATE ARMIES SURRENDERED. THE WAR ENDED

Many of General Slocum's officers, from the highest including the lowest, now received higher rank commissions upon his recommendations. Those heretofore with brevet were advanced to full grade at least. Abstract of the organization of the United States forces in Slocum's Army of Georgia March 31, showed there had been several changes, including accessions, during the few days they had been in camp at Goldsborough. The summing was as follows: Pontoniers, Downey commanding, 25 officers and 431 enlisted men present for duty; XIVth Army Corps, Major-General Jefferson C. Davis commanding, 519 officers and 12,792 men; XXth Army Corps, Major-General Alpheus S. Williams, commanding, 662 officers and 12,182 men. Total number present ready for duty, 1,210 officers, and 25,405 enlisted men. Present, wounded and sick unfit for duty, 4,886. Slocum's artillery at this time numbered thirty cannon. His command April 30th numbered about thirty thousand ready for duty.

On the 2nd of April General Slocum in accordance with the new reports announced to his command the following reappointments and additions to his staff: Major J. A. Reynolds, 1st New York Artillery, chief of artillery; Captain H. M. Whittelsey, U. S. Volunteers, acting chief quartermaster; Surgeon H. E. Goodman, U. S. Volunteers, medical director; Captain Platt M. Thorne, 150th New York Volunteers, acting assistant inspector general.

While at Goldsborough report was received, April 6th, of the enemy's evacuation of Richmond and Petersburg on the 3rd, and great joy was exhibited throughout the army. Particulars of the Confederate General R. E. Lee's disastrous retreat, and of his probably early surrender to General Grant, were received the 8th, and the army gave regular artillery salutes, and the soldiers extemporized all sorts of demonstrations of their joyfulness.

On the 9th of April General Slocum announced Captain R. M. McDowell, 141st New York Volunteers, member of his staff as chief topographical engineer.

Now, that Grant's work with Lee was finished, only Joseph E. Johnston and his command remained in this latitude of the East for Sherman to capture. Monday, April 10th, the forward march was resumed, General Slocum taking the direct road to Smithfield near which place the enemy was supposed to be. Slocum moved in two columns, with Howard on the road to Pikeville at the north, and Schofield's Army of the Ohio on roads to Slocum's left marching in echelon near Kilpatrick and his cavalry. Slocum's men advanced despite a continual skirmishing with the enemy who had destroyed the bridge and road at Moccasin Swamp, erected barricades, and posted cannon to oppose Slocum's crossing; but the opposition was soon scattered. Here Slocum's loss was two killed (one Captain) and five wounded. Advance was made without further opposition thereabouts, and the pontooniers laid two bridges across the Neuse River. Slocum's XIVth Corps was the first to enter Smithfield, an old town. Not finding any considerable part of the enemy at Smithfield, and learning that Johnston was at Raleigh with his army, on the 12th the march was continued toward that city.

This day it was learned that Lee had surrendered to Grant. The report was hastily copied, and it was read to the troops as a Special Field Order, including Sherman's expression: "Glory to God and to our Country, and all honor to our comrades in arms toward whom we are marching. A little more labor, and a little more toil on our part, and the great race is won, and our Government stands regenerated after four long years of bloody war." The reading of this paper to the troops standing on the roads, aroused anew their spirits, and revived fresh thoughts of home and of the loved ones there.

Sherman was with Slocum on this march and, late in the afternoon, a car came down the railway under a flag of truce, with a letter from Governor Zebulon B. Vance expressing his desire to end the war at once so far as North Carolina was concerned. The car also bore several former leaders in the secession movement; but they brought no authority from the Confederate Government for a treaty; and Sherman so replied to Vance in a letter which expressed his own desire for peace and

his willingness to contribute what he could to such result. Minor Confederate officers were opposing Vance in his efforts for peace, and they defeated the personal meeting of Sherman and Vance at this time.

The march was continued toward Raleigh, which city Slocum's Army of Georgia was the first to enter April 13th without any opposition just in time to prevent the Confederate Wheeler's cavalry from outraging and pillaging the citizens, as they had here commenced to do, and had been doing in other places during the great march.¹¹⁵ General Wade Hampton's cavalry had also been continually appearing in front, and much of the time within skirmishing distance. The American flag was soon raised above the capitol building, and was welcomed by many citizens.

Major-General Carl Schurz, formerly commander of a division in the XIth Army Corps under General Howard, had reported from the War Department to General Sherman by whom he was well received, and who referred him to General Slocum while at Goldsborough. There was no vacancy for Schurz in the Army of Georgia, but Slocum received Schurz cordially and, after learning from him his strong desire to be with his army at the end of the war, Slocum offered him the position of his chief of staff which office was thankfully accepted. In a Special Field Order Slocum announced to his army that Captain Montgomery Rochester, U. S. Volunteers, should be recognized as his assistant adjutant general, and 'during the ensuing campaign Major-General Schurz, U. S. Volunteers, will act as chief of staff.'^{105 100}

General Sherman established his headquarters at Raleigh in Governor Vance's mansion according to the request of the Governor, who then left the city. Johnston was, apparently, yet defiant and, April 14th, Sherman issued a special field order for advancing against him and his yet belligerent subordinate officers. General Slocum's army was to move rapidly by the Aven's Ferry Road, through Carthage, Caledonia, and Cox's Mills. Immediately after this order was published, it was countermanded on account of Sherman's "receipt of dispatches from General Johnston, C. S. Army, which are tending to the end of making unnecessary our contemplated long march." Sherman and John-

ston met, and the latter was offered the same terms for ending the war that Lee accepted; but he desired time to consider them.

It was Sherman's intention to review all of his commands before entering upon another campaign, to assure himself of their proper condition for active work; but he highly complimented Slocum's careful attention to business, including discipline, by addressing him a note asking to be excused from making such review of his men.

Slocum's XXth Corps remained near Raleigh until the 25th of April when it was moved to Jones's Cross Roads. He moved his XIVth Corps toward the Cape Fear River April 14th. General Davis was directed to collect forage for his men and animals along the north bank of that river, and that the foragers should treat all the people with civility. Part of this corps crossed the river at Aven's Ferry the next day, and the 16th other parts of the corps including the wagon trains were directed to cross over their pontoon bridge and encamp there. The 19th Slocum directed that this corps be moved to any point of good forage between this river and three miles distant from Raleigh, leaving guard for the bridges.

At his headquarters in Raleigh April 17th, General Sherman issued a special field order announcing the assassination of President Lincoln in the evening of the 14th. This dispatch Sherman carried to Johnston the next day for their appointed meeting. The next day Sherman visited Johnston again, and they then signed a treaty for the surrender of Johnston and all of the Confederate soldiers subject to his command, such treaty to be subject to the approval of General Grant, the War Department at Washington, and of the President, Andrew Johnson. Meanwhile hostilities were to cease until April 26th.

Sherman and Slocum were much together whenever convenient to both and, upon the return of the former the night of the 18th, the latter called at his headquarters where he was shown a copy of the conditional treaty. Sherman was not often inclined to ask the opinion of any one, much less advice but, to the contrary he was generally positively assertive. At the time of this call he was fatigued in both body and mind, and not so talkative. Slocum now did most of the talking, and expressed his doubts of the agreement being approved. In fact his legal

mind saw objections to its approval on account of Sherman having permitted civil questions to be embodied with the military. Returning to his headquarters at midnight he found General Schurz up and waiting anxiously to learn the result of the opposing commanders' last interview. When told the conditions of surrender his opinion coincided with Slocum's, and he also predicted what would follow.¹⁰⁸

The 19th of April General Sherman issued a special field order announcing cessation of hostilities and, until further orders, the line between Tyrrell's Mount, Chapel Hill, University, Durham Station, and West Point by the Neuse River, would separate the Confederate from the Union armies.

The 20th of April General Sherman received from Lieutenant-General Grant notice of the disapproval of his terms of agreement with General Johnston, by himself, by the War Department, and by President Andrew Johnson. The evening of this day there was a notable meeting of 'a dozen or so' of the leading generals at Sherman's headquarters. The room was large and bare, the officers standing rather together, giving their chief room to continue his pacing back and forth and, without addressing anybody in particular, he unbosomed himself with an eloquence of furious invective which made us all stare.

A day or two later General Slocum entered my tent with a happy face, saying 'all is well. Grant is here. He has come to save his friend Sherman from himself.'¹⁰⁹ Readers desiring to learn more regarding this treaty, should consult reference 96 in the Appendix.

General Sherman sent invitation to General Slocum to attend his review of General Howard's XVIIth Army Corps near the Market House in Raleigh April 23rd. This was a compliment well received as the time had been passed in rather monotonous camp duties for some days. The next day it was necessary to place Slocum's XIVth Corps on half rations from the scarce supplies from foraging and by railway. This order was followed after a few hours, however, by an order for this corps to advance to Aven's Ferry, and to begin crossing the river at noon, the 26th. Slocum also ordered his XXth Army Corps to move the 25th in specified order to Jones's Cross Roads. These orders immediately followed General Sherman's announcement

that the truce with the Confederates was at an end, and hostilities would be immediately renewed, General Johnston having been so notified.

In a letter to Stanton, Secretary of War, under date of April 25th, General Sherman admitted his 'folly' in attempting to embrace civil questions with the military in the terms of peace. General Johnston again wrote to Sherman who again visited him hoping to receive his surrender on the Grant-Lee terms; and Slocum again stopped his army. Sherman met Johnston again the 26th at Greensborough, leaving Grant at Raleigh where he had remained in council with Sherman, who had written from Raleigh April 25th to different commanders that he expected Johnston to surrender his army the next day; that they had 'much negotiation, and things are settling down to the terms of General Lee's army.' General Grant telegraphed to the War Department from Raleigh April 26th, that Sherman and Johnston had another interview this day, and Johnston had surrendered on the same terms Lee accepted. Other Confederate commands made haste to lay down their arms, and to give all required evidence of their desire to quit the Rebellion.

General Sherman's special field order announcing to his armies the happy event ending the war east of the Chattahoochee River, was issued from Raleigh April 27th. Readjustments of commands in the Carolinas, and further south, were mentioned. Also permission was given to local commanders for loaning to the inhabitants, farmers, such of the captured horses, mules, and wagons, as could be spared from immediate use; that the commanding generals of armies might issue provisions and any other surplus needful supplies to farmers.

Another special field order the 27th provided for the immediate disposition of the armies in the field. The armies of Generals Slocum and Howard were to march to Richmond, Virginia, in their former respective order; Slocum to pass through Oxford, Boydton, and Nottaway Court House, and Howard to move to the right. Before starting on this march, which might be styled the great triumphal march, as they could have been transported by water to Washington, they turned over to the proper authorities the contents of their ordnance wagons, which wagons were then used by them for food and forage. The chiefs quartermas-

ter and commissary, Generals Easton and Beckwith, were directed to prepare for their rapid travel to Richmond, and there have preparations made for their proper reception, and to provide for their further journey. This same day General Slocum relieved General Schurz from further duty on his staff, and directed him to report to General Sherman who turned him over to General Grant.

General Slocum brought his army together at Raleigh and there the changes were made in their wagons and trains. The infantry retained twenty-five rounds of ammunition per man, and the artillery only one chest for each gun. Slocum's order was for at least fifteen days of subsistence stores for men, and from ten to fifteen days for the horses and mules.

Sherman sent invitation to Slocum to visit him at his headquarters in Raleigh the evening of April 28th, for conference with Howard, Schofield, Logan, and Blair.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE TRIUMPHAL MARCH TO WASHINGTON. FAREWELL

General Slocum started the march in a northerly direction for Richmond at 7 o'clock A. M. April 30th, with his XXth Army Corps in the following order: General Geary's IIInd Division leading; next the artillery, and then the IIIrd and Ist Divisions, respectively. The Neuse River was crossed at Manter's Mills, then following the road west of and nearest to the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, passing through the towns of Lemay's and Williamsburg Postoffices, and crossing the Dan River near Haskinton.

His XIVth Army Corps marched on the roads to the left of the XXth Corps, and passed through Kilvin Grove, Wilton, and Oxford to Boydton.

The pontoon trains were divided equally between the two corps. This march was ordered conducted so as to fatigue the troops as little as practicable. The three divisions of each corps were permitted to encamp nights from three to five miles apart as might be convenient, each to march about fifteen miles per day. Foraging was not permitted. Soldiers were forbidden to enter a dwelling house on any pretext. A system of roll call was

established. Any soldier straggling, or found guilty of committing robbery, or any other outrage on citizens along the route of march, was promised summary punishment. Stress was laid upon the fact that, while hostilities had ceased strict military discipline would continue in force, and that every effort of everyone should be made to prevent inclination to lawlessness, dishonesty, and every act likely to bring disgrace or even a shadow of reflection upon commands which had such uniformly good record in the service of their country, and for their country's honor. For all purchases by the way immediate payment was ordered, and the march was enjoined to proceed as strictly as it would in any loyal State in the Union. The location of the headquarters of General Slocum and of each of his corps commanders was not definitely announced for the night encampments to any one but the provost guards.

General Slocum's XIVth Corps also started from Raleigh for Richmond April 30th in the following order: General Baird's IIIrd Division to lead on the most direct road to Oxford with the pontoon train in advance of the other trains, to construct bridge over the Neuse River; then the artillery; then General Charles C. Walcutt's Ist Division and, the next morning, General Morgan's IIInd Division. Day by day changes, and shiftings of divisions and brigades were necessary to meet the changing conditions, all of which had become thoroughly well known to these conquering veteran volunteer soldiers, and their ever alert officers, from Slocum the commanding general down through all of the numerous subordinates necessary for a large army.

The Dan, or Roanoke, River at Taylor's Ferry was found by the XIVth Corps to be at least 750 feet in width with an average depth of ten feet. It was necessary to extend the pontoon train by trestle-work May 2nd, which extension was completed near midday the 3rd. On account of this favorable crossing the XXth Corps was deflected from its intended crossing at Haskin's Ferry to Taylor's Ferry where two divisions were able to cross in the night of May 3rd on their own pontoon bridge and the XIVth Corps' trestle this corps having removed its pontoon and continued the march with it. The advance columns took up the march at daybreak and the others followed systematically

according to orders issued the evening before. Ambulances were distributed throughout each corps of the army so that the sick, and weaker, soldiers could ride; and so every detail of full discipline and provision for comfort prevailed.

The commander of the Military Department of North Carolina, Major-General John M. Schofield, and Major-General Halleck at Washington, yet Chief of Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant's staff, were kept informed day by day, and night by night, of the whereabouts and condition of Slocum's and Howard's armies, so that no vigilance for continued peace, or war, was permitted to relax.

The 5th of May General Slocum's cipher telegraph operator, D. F. Berry, dispatched to Major T. T. Eckert at Washington, the position of the Army of Georgia as at and near Blacks and Whites Station on line of South Side and Petersburg Railroad that night; and that it would be in or near Richmond the next night. General Slocum also kept in communication with the Union authorities in Richmond. Close surveillance was kept of supposed designing malcontents everywhere, and orders for arrests were frequently received and fulfilled.

The 5th of May General Slocum notified the Union commanding officer of Richmond of his near approach, and requested that supplies be ready for the continuation of his march toward Washington. At the close of this day General Morgan reported that his IIInd Division of the XIVth Corps had marched 27 miles the 4th on rough and heavy roads from the rain. Slocum's staff, with his corps' staff officers, were now carefully observing the country opposite Richmond for desirable fields in which to establish encampments for their respective commands about three miles from Manchester across the James River from Richmond, the evening of May 6th and 7th, upon their arrival. During the time of this encampment no soldier was permitted to visit Manchester without a pass signed by his division commander, or to visit Richmond without pass signed by his corps commander, for reasons obvious to the average reader. The evening of May 8th the XXth Corps encamped at Falling Creek, near the encampment of the XIVth Corps, after a march of 21 miles that day. They remained here until the day of their passing through and leaving Richmond. General Slocum secured comfortable

headquarters in the residence of a Mr. Wren near the edge of Manchester to the left of Hull Street.

It had been contemplated to send the Army of Georgia, at least, from Richmond to Washington by water transports, as at first thought to send them from Raleigh; but later counsels prevailed for the march from Richmond also. On account of the large trains, the difficulties attending the transportation by water, and the sentiment attending another look over the battlefields of Virginia, the decision for marching was well received by the soldiers and officers alike.

Major-General H. W. Halleck, Chief of Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant's staff, very kindly met Generals Slocum and Howard's commands at Richmond and helped to facilitate the refilling of their wagon trains for their final march. Undoubtedly Halleck had in mind also the pleasure of meeting with General Sherman and of renewing the friendship between them that had been estranged by the latter's opinion that Halleck had been too officious against the first agreement regarding the surrender of Johnston. Halleck was now certainly courteous, and desirous of good will. May 8th he dispatched to Sherman, then at Fort Monroe, that: "General Slocum's army will leave Richmond on the morning of the 10th, and General Howard's will soon follow. Can't you meet them as they pass through? When you arrive here come directly to my headquarters. I have a room for you, and will have rooms elsewhere for your staff." Ill will yet brooded in Sherman's heart, and he replied: "After your dispatch to the Secretary of War of April 26, I cannot have any friendly intercourse with you. I will come to City Point tomorrow and march with my troops, and I prefer we should not meet."¹⁰⁷ There was some delay in Sherman's arrival, and he telegraphed to Slocum not to start on his march the 10th. But Sherman was with Slocum the 10th, and there he replied to Grant's order from Washington for the march, that Slocum's army would march the 11th, and Howard's the next day. This was another thrust at Halleck.

The orders for the march of the Army of Georgia May 11th at 7 A. M. were issued by General Slocum the 10th. The XIVth Army Corps led across the pontoon bridge over the James River, and through Richmond without the contemplated review of Gen-

eral Halleck, who had in the meantime received from Sherman a remarkable letter including the statement that he would best keep out of sight as violence might be done him.¹⁰⁸

The course of march from Richmond, as outlined by General Slocum's special field orders, led through the towns of Hanover Court House, Oxford, and Chilesburg to a point near Chestnut Hill; thence by the most direct route to Rappahannock Station by the Rappahannock River; thence through New Baltimore, Hay Market, Centerville, and Fairfax Court House. General Slocum also informed his army that he would accompany the XIVth Corps as far as Hanover Court House, and the XXth Corps thence to Alexandria. Many details requiring thought and proper action were again necessary to preserve sanitary places for the night camps, as much of the country had been overrun and encamped upon by large bodies of troops during the previous four years. Great and continual effort was necessary to prevent one part of the army obstructing the advance of other parts which were to take the advance the next morning. Many incidents, if not accidents, occurred to interfere with the desired regularity. One part of a command must at times be hastened to make room for unexpected emergency; also to let the men of certain commands rest part of the day from having been compelled to work all the previous night in bridging or crossing a river made dangerous by flood. In times of peacefulness on the march an army is liable at any moment to need the watchful eye and the ready action of the commanding general who has surveillance over all parts.

General Howard was called to Washington in advance of his army for the purpose of entering upon other work for the War Department. General Sherman marched with General Slocum to Hanover Court House where he wrote to General John A. Logan, successor to Howard, one of his remarkable letters. It began with the information that it had been his (Sherman's) purpose to join Logan's column here and to travel with it by way of Fredericksburg but, being anxious to see the ground about Spottsylvania Court House, and Chancellorsville with Slocum, he would accompany Slocum that far and then pass over to Logan's command. After giving directions for the conduct of the march of the Right Wing, that it might not obstruct Slo-

cum's roads, he advised a slow march and a continued good condition of the men by keeping them long on the road, as far better than a long rest in camp at the end of the journey. Then Sherman proceeded in his letter to again express his animosity toward General Halleck and some other eastern men. He wrote in part that: "The manner of our welcome [at Richmond] was a part of a grand game to insult us—us who had marched a thousand miles through a hostile country in midwinter to help them. We did help them, and what has been our reward? Our men were denied admission to the city where Halleck had invited all citizens (rebels of course) to come and go without passes. If the American people sanction this kind of courtesy to old and tried troops, where is the honor, satisfaction, and glory of serving them in constancy and faith? If such be the welcome the East gives to the West, we can but let them make war and fight it out themselves. I know where is a land and people that will not treat us thus—the West, the Valley of the Mississippi. I for one will go there."

When he arrived at Fredericksburg, May 15th, Sherman reported to Grant at Washington, that he had parted from Slocum at noon that day at Chancellorsville, who would cross his XIVth Corps over the Rappahannock River the next day at Raccoon Ford and his XXth Corps the same time at the United States Ford. He further reported that Logan had not arrived with Howard's army on account of the roads having been badly worked up by Meade's Army of the Potomac which had preceded him.

Major-General Slocum preceded his Army of Georgia to Alexandria, Virginia, whence he reported to General Grant and his armies in Washington, giving his headquarters' address as two miles from Alexandria by the direct road to Washington. He also sent orders to General Davis of his XIVth Corps not to approach nearer than Cloud's Mills that night, and to send a staff officer to Cloud's Mills the next morning to meet Lieutenant-Colonel Guindon of General Slocum's staff for assignment of camping sites in which to await the Grand Review of the different armies that were assembling thereabout. The XXth Corps was intercepted the 19th on its march from Fairfax Station for like purpose.

Special orders for the Review were issued by General Grant the 18th; and the 20th General Sherman issued his special orders to the officers of his armies to be ready for the Review the next Wednesday, May 24th. This necessitated active work for all concerned. General Slocum's special orders Number 72 supplemented those of Generals Sherman and Grant in details regarding his own command. The Army of Georgia was to gather near the Long Bridge across the Potomac River, opposite Washington, and march from there at daybreak Wednesday, the morning of the review, the XXth Corps leading, followed by the XIVth Corps, without knapsacks but with two days' cooked rations in haversacks. They were to move across the bridge and to the vicinity of the Capitol building, and there to await the signal gun to begin the march around this building, up Pennsylvania Avenue, passing the reviewing stand of President Johnston which contained the members of his cabinet, Lieutenant-General Grant and his staff, Members of the United States Congress, foreign diplomats, and other dignitaries.

General Sherman exhibited much just pride in riding at the head of his armies and he took post near the chief reviewing officer on arriving at his stand. The commanders of each army, corps, and division each attended by one staff officer, dismounted from their horses after passing the general-in-chief, Grant, joined him while his own command was passing, then remounted and rejoined his command. Officers commanding regiments and above, carried their swords in a present position when passing the reviewing officer; company officers gave no salute. Brigade bands and consolidated field music joined the parade and discoursed while each was passing the stand, the drummers giving three ruffles while moving. The flags of each battalion were given the dropping salute to the reviewing officers. Six ambulances, three abreast, were in line with each brigade.

After passing the reviewing stand, near the Presidential Mansion, each command continued the march to the place assigned for its encampment, which had previously been carefully chosen. General Sherman had rooms at Mrs. Carter's home on Capitol Hill, with business headquarters in tent on grounds of the Finley Hospital. General Slocum had rooms for himself and family, who came from their home in Syracuse to be with

him here, at the Metropolitan Hotel, Pennsylvania Avenue. His headquarters and staff were about one mile eastward by the Bladenburg Road passing north of Finley Hospital; and his Army of Georgia was encamped further to the northeast near Hoover's farm, and all within a distance of two miles of General Slocum's headquarters.

It was deemed necessary by General Grant May 27th to address General Sherman a note regarding some wordy demonstrations of Sherman's soldiers (without specifying whether of Slocum's or Howard's, now Logan's, command) against General Halleck while they were under the influence of strong drink in Washington; and Grant suggested to Sherman more careful guardings, and issuing of passes for visits to the city. Here was an unfortunate echo of the unwise criticisms of his superior officer by Sherman before the general soldiery of his commands at different times.

It was now the general effort to get all of the many thousands of soldiers now in and near Washington reorganized, assigned for further service, and forwarded to different parts of the country where this service was to be rendered. Also to muster out of service those whose terms of enlistment were about to expire, and those volunteers who from good cause desired to retire from army life, which number, fortunately, was by far the greater of the two. It was announced by M. C. Meigs, Quartermaster-General, that 5,000 men for any destination, were as many as should go together. Ten thousand per day could be taken to Relay House, and there sent in different directions.

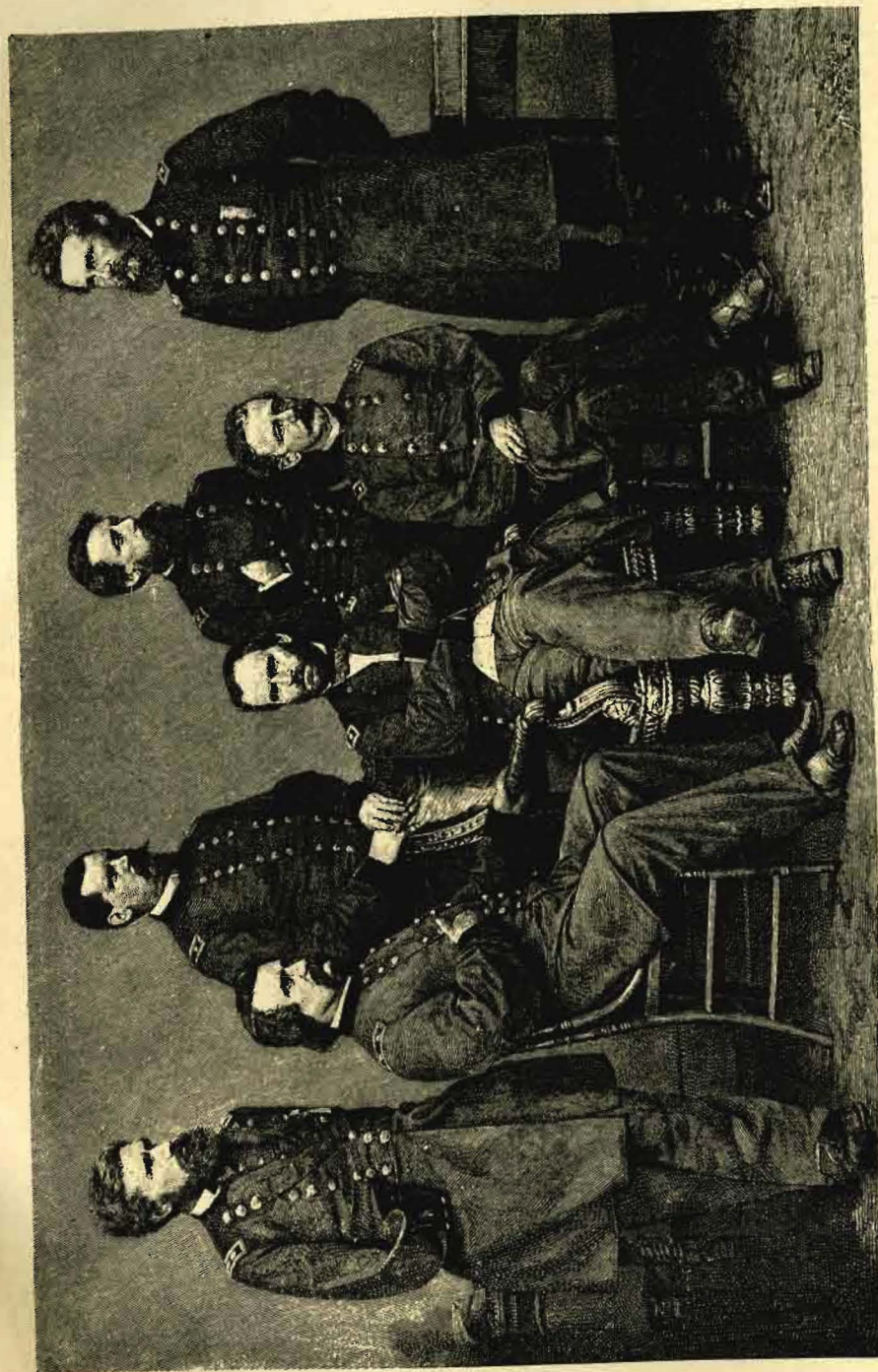
General Slocum settled down to this earnest work at his headquarters. Discontinuance of the signal service in his army had separated his signal officers, but he called Lieutenant J. B. Foraker (now brevetted Captain on Slocum's recommendation for his satisfactory service during the Battle of Bentonville) and he was again of great service, now with his facile pen. Other men were yet with General Slocum's command who were destined to do as good work in the civil service of their country as they had done good service during this historic march, and before on the field of battle, namely: Major-General John W. Geary, later Governor of Pennsylvania; Benjamin Harrison, now Brevet Brigadier-General 1st Brigade IIIrd Division XXth Corps, later

President of the United States; Major-General Alpheus S. Williams, commanding XXth Corps; Major-General Jefferson C. Davis, commanding XIVth Corps; Major-General Joseph A. Mower, who now succeeded to the command of the XXth Corps; Brevet Major-Generals George S. Greene, C. C. Walcutt, James D. Morgan, and William T. Ward; also a commendable list of Brevet Brigadier-Generals; George P. Buell, Harrison C. Hobart, J. G. Mitchell, B. D. Fearing, William Vanderver, Absalom Baird, Alexander C. McClurg, later at the head of the large publishing house bearing his name in Chicago, Daniel Dustin, and many others of like strong and worthy character.

Thorough and general discipline was maintained by General Slocum in this last encampment of the Army of Georgia near Washington. Roll calls, dress parades, and formal guard mountings were enforced daily, and all soldiers were required to keep within the limits of their division encampment. Those permitted to visit Washington with card, were limited in number to five per cent. of those present.

Announcement was made by General Slocum May 30th, that such progress had been made with the muster out and rolls of discharges, that actual mustering out of military service would begin this day; and Sherman gave notice that regiments would begin their return to their respective homes the next day at the rate of about 7,000 per day; and within ten days all members of his armies should be on their way home or to their new camps of rendezvous for continued service.

After consultation, and much consideration, General Grant wrote to the Secretary of War recommending discontinuance of the Army of Georgia inasmuch as it had completed its work as such, and he further recommended the transference of all the veteran troops of it not now discharged, to the Army of the Tennessee. Preparatory to entering upon this plan General Slocum issued his Special Orders Number 84, June 4th, transferring certain officers and regiments of his XXth Army Corps to his XIVth Corps, and certain officers and regiments of his XIVth to his XXth Corps, and directing other officers to report to other headquarters for assignment to future service. His work now being completed with this organization, his farewell address was forthcoming, namely:



GENERAL O. O. HOWARD.

GENERAL WM. B. HAZEN.
GENERAL JOHN A. LOGAN.

GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN. GENERAL HENRY W. SLOCUM.
GENERAL JEFF. C. DAVIS. GENERAL J. A. MOWER.

Gaunt from the March of 1,000 Miles Through the Heart of the Confederacy

General Orders,)
No. 15.)

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF GEORGIA,
Washington, D. C., June 6, 1865.

With the separation of the troops composing this army, in compliance with recent orders, the organization known as the Army of Georgia will virtually cease to exist. Many of you will at once return to your homes. No one now serving as a volunteer will probably be retained in the service against his will but a short time longer. All will soon be permitted to return and receive the rewards due them as the gallant defenders of their country. While I cannot repress a feeling of sadness at parting with you, I congratulate you upon the grand results achieved by your valor, fidelity, and patriotism. No generation has ever done more for the permanent establishment of a just and liberal form of government, more for the honor of their nation, than has been done during the past four years by the armies of the United States and the patriotic people at home who have poured out their wealth in support of these armies with a liberality never before witnessed in any country. Do not forget the parting advice of that great chieftain (Sherman) who led you through your recent brilliant campaign: 'As in war you have been good soldiers, so in peace be good citizens.' Should you ever desire to resume the honored profession you are now about to leave, do not forget that this profession is honorable only when followed in obedience to the orders of the constituted authority of your government. With feelings of deep gratitude to each and all of you for your uniform soldierly conduct, for the patience and fortitude with which you have borne all the hardships it has been necessary to impose upon you, and for the unflinching resolution with which you have sustained the holy cause in which we have been engaged, I bid you farewell.

H. W. SLOCUM,
Major-General, Commanding.¹¹⁰

On the 9th of June the 1st Division of the XIVth Army Corps started from Washington by railway trains for Louisville, Kentucky, and further south. Different parts of this and the XXth Corps were at this time already at their homes or nearly there with their honorable discharge papers. This day General Slocum was granted twenty days leave of absence by the War Department, and he accompanied his family to their home in Syracuse, New York, where he received a rousing and joyful welcome.

Although scattered after General Slocum's farewell address, the Army of Georgia was not fully and formally dissolved until June 17th when the War Department in its General Orders Number 117 transferred all of its undischarged men to the Army of the Tennessee, thus completing the record at Washington.