

mountain and down its side well toward the valleys below. Practically all of the enemy's fortifications, and equipment, were in possession of the victors. The battle-fields were strewn with the dead of Union and Confederate troops.

Relative to the prisoners captured by the Unionists, possibly overestimated as two thousand or more, there were conflicting claims inasmuch as Slocum's men, being in the van and continued fighting and turning prisoners over to those in their rear, many, if not most of the prisoners were claimed by each, or most, of the subordinate commands seeing or guarding them, while Slocum's men were the real captors.

The advance columns of Slocum's men had vantage in the necessary right-wheel movement in turning the angle of Lookout Point and slope crest, which afforded Geary's slower moving right flank a continued enfilading fire, thus greatly relieving the center and left columns on the slope below for their necessarily more rapid movement. Rapid, persistent action was necessary throughout for success in storming the enemy's works. Be quick to displace the man in front of you, was the order of the day, and it meant that several of the enemy were displaced by each persistent assailant, which accounted for the wonderful accomplishments by the determined energy of the storming force. Slow, deliberate movement would have been followed by quick defeat of the smaller Union force engaged.

Southern officers have written that the Union force in this battle far exceeded the Confederates; and that the far-famed Battle of the Clouds was largely a pretty fiction. It is well to bear in mind the facts that those writers much underestimate the number of Confederates engaged; also that but a part of those who started with Slocum's men who composed only a very small division, participated particularly in the engagements. It was the able directions of Geary, the impetuous Colonel Ireland and his inspired men, ably supported by the steadfast Cobham and Candy, to whom the victory is due. The Confederate General John B. Gordon wrote in his *Reminiscences* that "Whatever may be its proper designation, it was a most creditable affair to both sides." Also that "The conception of moving upon an unknown force located in such a series of strongholds was bold and most creditable to the high soldierly qualities of General

Geary and the men who moved at his command through the fogs and up the steeps." Gordon, like most other writers, gives all the honor to General Hooker who did not plan the action and who was during all of the time of its execution several miles distant from the field of action. The credit is due to General Slocum who made these soldiers for this work, all of whom were under the command of his trustworthy General Geary. Each one, and all of them deserve the honor of the brilliant results at Wauhatchie and Lookout Mountain; also of their brilliant work at Missionary Ridge, and throughout the Chattanooga-Atlantic campaign. Much of this brilliant work was done, however, notwithstanding the gross mistakes, unfortunately, of Hooker, as have previously been several times shown, and will be later necessarily referred to from high authority.

CHAPTER XXIX

BATTLES OF MISSIONARY RIDGE AND RINGGOLD

In accordance with General Hooker's order received from General Thomas, General Geary's division of Slocum's corps, took up the march about 10 o'clock A. M. of November 25th in pursuit of the retreating foe. The route of his retreat led down Lookout Mountain to Chattanooga Creek. Here about three hours were passed by the Union forces in building a bridge in place of one burned by the enemy. There was some artillery opposition by the enemy a little beyond the creek, but his guns were soon silenced, and one was captured.

At three P. M. when near Rossville Gap, Georgia, Hooker, who was now with the column, directed Geary to turn to the left and follow the trend of the western base of Missionary Ridge in a northeasterly direction. The left of the Union army was at this time hotly engaged with the enemy on the knobs a little to the north. Geary's division of Slocum's men pressed forward, with their five batteries, until much in advance of his supporters (Generals Charles Cruft on the crest of the ridge and Osterhaus along the eastern base) then forming his three small brigades, Cobham and Creighton's along the base in column of regiments, and Ireland's in support of the artillery, Geary opened Captain

Landgraeber's horse artillery upon the flank and rear of the enemy's lines, compelling him to fall back, Cruft and Osterhaus following after him. Geary, now seeing another opportunity, continued a brisk artillery fire while he reformed his lines in brigades, Creighton's in front and Cobham's second, and marched them rapidly up the craggy side of the ridge, moving obliquely to effect proper junction with Major-General John M. Palmer's right of the IVth Army Corps of Thomas's troops, which was then just discerned approaching a half mile to the north. Slocum's men under Geary were thoroughly imbued with enthusiasm for quick and more active participation in the battle, and Geary had to exert his commanding power to hold them back to prudent pace. The enemy was losing ground. As he attempted to make a new stand at the front, Geary's artillery would open anew on his flank, throwing him into worse confusion. Geary's skirmishers were also doing active work; and now his line gained the summit through the crags and arrested the flight of Confederate Stuard's (?) brigade of Breckenridge's corps just as the Union General Richard W. Johnson's division of Palmer's corps arrived on the crest at the left. The Union victory was decisive; the battlefield of Missionary Ridge, many prisoners, guns, and colors were in possession of the victors. General Geary, with his division, descended to the western base of the ridge and there bivouacked for the night in the vacated enemy's winter quarters. Several hundred more prisoners were brought in by the strong lines of night guards.

The next morning at 10 o'clock, November 26th, General Hooker directed his command forward on the line of retreat of Confederate General Bragg's army in the following order: General Osterhaus's division of Sherman's XVth Army Corps in front; General Geary's division of Slocum's XIIth Army Corps in the center; and General Cruft's division of the IVth Army Corps in the rear. The direction was southeasterly, through Rossville Gap and along the road toward Graysville. West Chickamauga Creek was crossed by the troops over a foot bridge. The horses swam across, and the artillery awaited the arrival of the pontoon bridge.

The entire route showed evidences of the rapid pace of the enemy and of his great efforts to facilitate his escape. Aban-

doned artillery caissons and limbers filled with ammunition, broken wagons, camp equipment, tents, arms, accouterments, burning wagon trains and supplies, filled and lined the road. All the bridges for miles had been destroyed by fire. The enemy had bivouacked for a time in the night. His fires were yet burning in places, and numerous stragglers were captured there. General Geary deployed detachments of troops through the brush, which captured several secreted parties of the enemy, some of them surrendering without opposition.

At evening twilight it was necessary to halt for the building of a bridge over Pea Vine Creek. Here the rear guard of General John C. Breckenridge's command was discovered. General Geary formed his division in line of battle on both sides of the main road, and advanced. The result was the capture by him of three cannon of Ferguson's battery with the gunners and part of their infantry support. The desire of the main body of the enemy was to get away as fast as possible, which he did without waiting to fire a gun.

The Union forces crossed the creek, and proceeded through Chickamauga Swamp about ten P. M. It was then ascertained that the enemy had forces on Pigeon Hills nearby. General Osterhaus advanced and, meeting the enemy's skirmishers, Creighton's brigade of Slocum's men hastened forward and formed in line on a road at the base of the hills at right angle with the Ringgold Road. Cobham's brigade was placed in line in open field about three hundred yards to the rear. Geary's skirmishers were at once advanced to the hills which they scaled and drove the rear guard of the enemy from the heights. It was now late, the night was dark, the country was strange to the Union troops, and they prudently bivouacked at the base of Pigeon Hills.

The march was resumed the next day at daybreak, in the same order as before. It led over the Pigeon Hills and across ranges of hills beyond. Many prisoners were taken before arriving at the bivouac fires of the retreating forces of Breckenridge, about two miles from the bivouac of the pursuers. At eight A. M. Slocum's men, under Geary, arrived at Ringgold, Georgia, and marched through the town with quickened step under musketry fire of the enemy, from the bridge beyond, which wounded several

men. The preceding afternoon and night Confederate General Braxton Bragg's army had retreated along the Western and Atlantic Railway through a gap in Taylor's Ridge which is much higher than the Missionary Ridge and with very steep and precipitous sides. Bragg had left, among the timber and rocks on the top of Taylor's Ridge, Major-General Patrick R. Cleburne's division of Lieutenant-General William J. Hardee's corps, to hold this important gap. General Hooker, now with the Union troops, directed Osterhaus to attack the enemy in front; and Hooker directed Geary to move one brigade of Slocum's men to the left, to scale the ridge, attack the enemy in flank, and to charge along the ridge with vigor. Creighton's brigade, which was sent in advance, was soon met by the much stronger enemy's fire poured upon it from heights five hundred feet above while the men were, with the other difficulties of the steep ascent, making slow progress. Creighton's fire was withheld until he was half way up and within close range when his musketry had disastrous effect on the enemy, who, with great advantage in freedom from fatigue and in reloading, returned fire with greater rapidity. The enemy was now reinforced against Creighton and in effort to change his line the enemy succeeded in enflading and compelling its retirement, which was, however, slow. Twelve of its thirteen officers, and nearly half of the men of the Seventh Ohio Volunteer Regiment taken into this action were killed or disabled. The steadfast Lieutenant-Colonel Crane was among the killed. The 147th Pennsylvania Volunteers gained a position on the left near the top of the ridge, it being somewhat protected behind a ledge of rocks. Here both of its flanks being soon endangered by the retirement of the 7th Ohio and the enemy's advance over the crest, it was ordered to retire. The 28th Pennsylvania and 66th Ohio on the Union right, being more protected by the contour, gained position within forty yards of the ridge's crest, but could not advance further without being captured dead or alive by the far more numerous foe watching them. They were ordered by General Geary to retire, and to reform their line near the base of the ridge. In this retiring movement the brave Colonel Creighton was killed by the foe.

Cobham's small brigade of Slocum's men was massed on the edge of the town of Ringgold toward Taylor's Ridge. The enemy

soon pressed back some of Osterhaus's regiments on the right, and Geary sent Cobham to their support. He so hotly engaged the enemy as to cause their retirement for reforming lines. Upon Cobham's forward movement Geary called Ireland's brigade from its reserve position in Ringgold and formed it in column of regiments in mass at Cobham's former position. The battle continued in front. At 10.40 A. M. the enemy concentrated his artillery and infantry on Osterhaus's right which began to give away with danger of the flank being turned. Geary at once ordered Ireland's brigade on the double-quick to drive back the enemy on that quarter. Ireland's small but very effective force ran rapidly and compactly across a clear swampy space of nearly half a mile, turned to the left along the Catoosa Creek, passed Osterhaus's hard pressed men, toward Taylor's Ridge Gap, and hastily formed a line of battle with its 149th New York Volunteers for his right at an old barn in the lowland by the creek, and the 137th New York for his left, on the railway adjoining Cobham's right. These troops continued the battle at close quarters with their characteristic energy and soon compelled a check of the enemy whose active sharpshooters abounded on both sides of the gap, and whose cannon were hurling shell and grape. Confederate Cleburne's men had the reputation of 'being hard to drive' but they had not before met Slocum's men who possessed the reputation of both driving and winning—and they won here, the enemy being soon compelled to seek protection on the ridge and out of the range of Slocum's men. A piece of Confederate artillery, with infantry supports, was brought to the edge of the woods, and within one hundred yards of Ireland's line. A detachment of sharpshooters from the 149th New York at once began to drop the artillerists and their protectors, and the others retreated hastily. Others of the enemy advanced several times with like result. A company finally succeeded in drawing away the gun, losing several of their men in so doing. It was necessary for the officers to restrain the desire of Slocum's men to charge the foe on Taylor's Ridge. Such effort was thought by General Geary very dangerous, and unnecessary.

Ireland and Cobham maintained their positions, with occasional sharp skirmishing, until Major John Reynolds, Chief of Slocum's artillery, arrived at midday with his necessarily de-

tained batteries. One section of Knap's Pennsylvania battery was wheeled into position near Ireland's right, in front of the gap, and one section of Landgraeber's 12-pounder howitzers was placed on Knap's right. The fire of the enemy's sharpshooters was now directed at the gunners who soon silenced the enemy's efforts and drove back his supporters. Another section of Knap's battery had been placed by Geary's order on the railway at the Union left and in front of the massing enemy. All of these guns did excellent work and, at one P. M., the enemy showing evidences of withdrawing, Osterhaus was now directed to send several of his regiments upon the ridge to speed the foe's departure, or to capture him. Ireland sent his skirmishers into the gap where the 149th New York captured two flags, one being the guidon of the companies of the enemy's artillery. A number of prisoners were also captured. General Geary complained of the barbarous treatment by the enemy of some of his wounded and helpless men at Ringgold. They were robbed of all clothing and valuables, and left thus exposed to the cold mountain air.

This series of skirmishes at Ringgold lasted about five hours. Skirmishers were sent after the retreating foe. They stopped the destruction of bridges, and captured additional prisoners which were added to former lists and sent to Chattanooga.

General Geary appointed a provost guard for Ringgold which, in accordance with Hooker's orders, destroyed the manufactories, tanneries, and mills, likely to be serviceable to the enemy.

Hospitals for the wounded and sick were opened in Ringgold; and soldiers were quartered in forsaken houses of the town during the inclement weather.

General Geary reported the depleted numbers composing his Second Division of the XIIth Corps of Slocum's men as follows: In Battle of Lookout Mountain, 1st Brigade 58 officers and 952 enlisted men; IInd Brigade, 36 officers and 538 men; IIIrd Brigade, 47 officers and 728 men. In the Battles of Missionary Ridge and Ringgold: 49 officers and 845 men; 33 officers and 438 men; 37 officers and 587 men, respectively.

The casualties of Slocum's men were remarkably light, namely: In the Battle of Lookout Mountain, 2 officers and 20 enlisted men were killed, and 14 officers and 102 enlisted men

wounded. In the Battle of Ringgold, 5 officers were killed and 29 enlisted men; and 19 officers and 150 men were wounded. The casualties of the enemy were far greater as then reported, namely: Left on the field, Lookout Mountain, 125 killed and 300 wounded; at Ringgold, 130 killed. The enemy buried many of his killed, and carried away most of his wounded. Prisoners taken by Slocum's men numbered 1,940 on Lookout Mountain; between 600 and 700 on Missionary Ridge, and 230 at Ringgold. There were captured on Lookout Mountain 2,800 stand of arms, two cannon, five battle flags, fifty officers' swords; with 1,000 intrenching tools, and large quantities of supplies.⁶⁷

The writer will now let Charles A. Dana, of New York, Assistant Secretary of War, who was on the battle-field of Missionary Ridge, tell what he observed and learned: "Battle of yesterday [November 25th] was fought by corps of Hardee (late Polk's) and Breckenridge, twenty-five to thirty thousand men in all. Hardee was before Sherman; Breckenridge before Thomas [whose forces included Slocum's men]. Breckenridge was with Bragg at the moment of the rout, and they escaped together. The storming of the ridge was one of the greatest miracles in military history. No man who climbs the ascent by any of the roads that wind along its front can believe that eighteen thousand men were moved up its broken and crumbling face unless it was his fortune to witness the deed. It seems as awful as a visible interposition of God. Neither Grant nor Thomas intended it. Their orders were to carry the rifle-pits along the base of the ridge and capture their occupants, but when this was accomplished the unaccountable spirit of the troops bore them bodily up those impracticable steepes, over the bristling rifle-pits on the crest and the thirty cannon enfilading every gully."

Under date of November 28th, Dana further wrote from Ringgold: "Yesterday the first great fault in this admirable campaign occurred at this place. General Hooker arrived here about nine A. M. with Geary's division, Twelfth Corps, Osterhaus's division of Sherman's army, lately commanded by Woods, and two divisions Fourteenth Corps under Palmer. The enemy was drawn up in a narrow gorge where the railroad passes between Taylor's Ridge on the right and White Oak Ridge on the left, the two ridges being in fact but parts of the same range of hills.

It was a very dangerous defile to attack in front, and common sense plainly dictated that it should be turned. This could be done without difficulty by way of White Oak Ridge, which can be passed with ease in many places, while Taylor's Ridge is steeper, though infinitely easier to go over, than Missionary Ridge at Chattanooga. However, Hooker attacked in front, and the result was officially reported by him last night in the loss of five hundred killed and wounded, where there was no necessity of losing fifty! Having been repulsed in his first attempt Hooker tried to turn the position, but in this blundered yet worse, for he sent his troops through the nearest gap in White Oak Ridge, not more than half a mile distant from the gorge, where the movement was fully visible to the enemy, and where they had time to prepare a destructive cross-fire, which made this attack quite as fatal as the former. Having thus failed in this flank movement, in which the Twelfth Missouri lost nearly all its officers, he sent Geary's troops again at the front, and finally carried it by Geary's New York regiments of Slocum's men.'⁶⁸

CHAPTER XXX

DISCIPLINE. GUERRILLAS. REINLISTING VETERANS

General Geary, with his division of Slocum's men, left Ringgold, Georgia, December 1st, and marched to Chattanooga, where they were shown special honor two days later in a review by Major-Generals U. S. Grant, G. H. Thomas, M. C. Hunter, Daniel Butterfield, and others, who were accompanied by a large cavalcade of staff officers. General Geary and his command were in fairly good physical condition considering the severe work and strain of mind and body of the preceding ten days. With their shaved faces, new uniforms, and arms all in excellent condition, they won high commendation for the precision of their marchings and evolutions. They soon returned to their former encampment in Lookout Valley.

Charges were here made against a member of one of the Pennsylvania regiments of gross unsoldierly conduct by robbing the clothing of the dead on the battle-field of Lookout Mountain. He was accorded a fair trial before a court-martial which, upon

due evidence, sentenced him to be dishonorably discharged from the army, and drummed out of camp. The soldiers now comprising the three brigades of Slocum's second division were formed in hollow square, and their dishonored comrade was marched to the middle of the square, and seated for the barber's work in the punishment. An eye and ear witness described this work, and the parting as follows: "General Geary approached, and a scene followed which can only be appreciated by those who knew the man [Geary] and his fiery temper. He commenced an address to the culprit by saying he was sorry any man in his division, and especially from his native State, had been guilty of the damnable crime of profanation of the dead. Here his temper gave way, and then followed a tirade of invectives, curses, abuse, and an exhibition that was frightful. The barber was paralyzed, the guards dumbfounded, and the members of the division, if not of heroes, would have taken to cover. The General, however, must have forgotten himself, for he did not boot the man, who looked disappointed at the omission. When this diatribe was over, the barber finished shaving the man's head, and removed his mustache, beard, and eyebrows. The culprit, led by a drum and fife playing the 'Rogue's March' and followed by the guards with 'charge bayonets,' was then marched up and down the division lines weeping like a child. The men were encouraged to jeer when the procession passed, but they remained silent. When the march was over the culprit, like the 'scape goat' of old bearing the sins of the nation, was let loose in the wilderness of Wauhatchie and he was never heard of afterward.'⁶⁹ The reader may remember, in extenuation, that Geary's sensibilities were yet exceedingly sensitive from the loss of his son in the Battle of Wauhatchie.

Early in December, the 60th and the 149th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiments marched to General Hooker's headquarters accompanied by General Geary and Colonel Henry A. Barnum who, in short addresses, presented the six flags captured from the enemy by this division on Lookout Mountain and at Ringgold, these being the only colors captured in these engagements. Major-General Butterfield, Chief of Staff, received the flags, and complimented the work of the division highly. In recognition of the valuable services of Colonel Barnum and his 149th New York

Regiment he was deputized to take the flags to the War Department in Washington, with permission to exhibit them in the principal cities along the way.

The term of enlistment of many regiments was about to expire, and the work of reorganization was now begun. During December twenty regiments of the Army of the Cumberland reinlisted as Veteran Volunteers. All of the old regiments of Major-General Slocum's 1st Division of the XII Corps reinlisted and, up to January 1st, the following named regiments reinlisted in Slocum's Second Division, viz.: The 60th, 78th and 102nd New York Volunteer Infantry; the 29th and 60th Ohio, and the 28th, 29th, 111th and 147 Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry.

General Slocum's first division remained in control of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railway, mainly from Murfreesborough, Tennessee, to Stevenson, Alabama, for some length of time, and then his extended line was contracted on the north to Bell-buckle.

After the Union victories about Chattanooga and northern Georgia, bushwhackers and guerrillas became more numerous again, and more insinuating by connivance with many of the old residents through the country near the railway who joined the annoying force as 'rangers.' Between 7 and 8 o'clock in the evening of December 23rd, a United States wagon became detached from a foraging train within a mile and a half of the village of Mulberry, Lincoln County, Tennessee, and the officer in command of the foraging party, First Lieutenant Porter, Company A, 27th Indiana Volunteers, the teamster, wagon-master, and two other soldiers who had been sent to load the train (the last named four unarmed) were captured by guerrillas who started with their captives for the Elk River by a way to avoid meeting any comrades of the captured. About one o'clock in the morning the party halted on bank of the Elk, the prisoners being told they were going into camp for the night. They submitted to the tying of their hands behind them; but they did not submit so quietly while being robbed of everything of value, and while being aligned a few paces distant as targets for their captors, all of whom immediately shot at them. One was instantly killed by ball through his head, and three were wounded. Lieutenant Porter, not being wounded, ran, was closely followed, was

fired upon and, jumping over a precipitous bank into the river, succeeded in getting his hands loose, and by great exertion and exposure in the cold evaded his pursuers and finally met friends who took him to Tullahoma in a critical condition. The wounded were thrown into the river thus completing the murder of three: Newell E. Orcutt of the Ninth Independent Battery Ohio Volunteer Artillery, John W. Drought of Company H, and George W. Jacobs of Company D, 22nd Wisconsin Volunteers. The other wounded man, James W. Foley of the Ninth Independent Battery Ohio Volunteer Artillery, succeeded in getting his hands free in the river, although severely wounded, and was finally picked up by his comrades.

These barbarous acts were at once reported to General Slocum with the names of the guerrillas suspected of committing the crime; also the names of citizens sympathizing with them and harboring them. Slocum ordered all of these people, who could be found, placed in arrest, and he reported all the names and circumstances to General Thomas, who also acted promptly. He assessed all Confederate sympathizers living within a circuit of ten miles of the place where these men were captured, according to their wealth to make up a sum to be divided in ten thousand dollar portions to the widow of John W. Drought of North Cape, Racine County, Wisconsin, for the support of herself and two children; to the widow of George W. Jacobs, of Delevan, Walworth County, Wisconsin, for the support of herself and one child; and the third ten thousand dollars to be divided between the aged mother and sister, of Newell E. Orcutt of Burton, Geauga County, Ohio. General Thomas's General Orders Number 6, also provided for the punishment of the murderers and their sympathizers. These orders also include the statement that "Major-General H. W. Slocum, United States Volunteers, commanding XIIth Army Corps, is charged with the execution of this order" of collecting and distributing the pecuniary penalty. These orders also provided for the execution of the murderers when caught, and for arrest and trial by military commission of those who aided, abetted, or harbored these guerrillas. Several of the latter had already been arrested by order of General Slocum. As in all other of his undertakings, Slocum was a successful collector of General Thomas's assessment, much of the

amount being paid in gold and, February 16th, he reported a surplus of \$5,654.57 in his possession therefrom, it resulting from unexpected sources and from higher price than expected for cotton sold. This surplus was divided, \$2,500 each, between the families of two soldiers of the 150th New York Volunteer Infantry who were killed by guerrillas a few days before Slocum's report; and the \$654.57 was divided between certain persons who should not have been assessed, and those who assisted in the collection. Colonel John H. Ketcham was deputed to take the amounts to the New York families, and Captain W. W. Moseley to deliver the amounts to the Wisconsin families.

The first days of January, General Slocum directed General Geary to send one regiment of his second division from Lookout Valley to Stevenson, Alabama, and three regiments strong to Bridgeport for defensive duty along the intervening railway line.

On January 11th, Brigadier-General Joseph F. Knipe, then in command of Major-General Slocum's Ist Division of the XIIth Corps, with headquarters at Tullahoma, Tennessee, reported the condition of the defenses of the division practically as follows: A redoubt one mile south of Bellbuckle, Tennessee, and one at Tank, two and a half miles north of Wartrace, were completed. The former was garrisoned by two companies and the latter by one company of the 107th New York Volunteers. The stockade at Wartrace was not completed, the force there being inadequate for the work. The other defenses at that point were completed and garrisoned by 80 men of the 3rd Wisconsin and one company of the 107th New York Volunteers. Rations and supplies at all of these places were sufficient for seven days.

Defenses at the bridges one mile south of Wartrace were completed, and the garrison of two companies of the 140th New York Volunteers had over one week's ration and supplies in hand. The railway tanks, at Duck River and two miles south, were inside the defenses with rations and supplies for ten days. In the garrison at the former point there were nine companies of the 13th New Jersey Volunteers and at the latter one company of the same regiment. A stockade at Normandy and a blockhouse two miles south were completed; the former was garrisoned by seven companies and the latter by one company of the 150th

New York Regiment. The defenses at Tullahoma were sufficient and well garrisoned. This point had a large supply of rations in the commissary depot. The post at Elk River, and one at the railway tank one mile north of the river, were garrisoned by about 160 men, five companies of their comrades of the 2nd Massachusetts Regiment being then on furlough as reinlisted Veteran Volunteers. The above mentioned garrisons were all of the IIIrd Brigade, Ist Division of the XII Corps. The Ist Brigade was mainly stationed at Decherd and Cowan in ample defenses. The garrison at Tantalum had been recently changed by substituting the 20th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry for the 145th New York whose term of enlistment had expired. The artillery remained at Stevenson and Bridgeport, Alabama, with the Infantry of the IIInd Division.

The soldiers, who were not well protected against inclement weather in blockhouse or other fortification, built for themselves log cabins that well served their purpose.

CHAPTER XXXI

SOCIAL AMENITIES. GOES TO VICKSBURG

Shelbyville, Tennessee, though not on the main line of railway, was a county capitol and one of the largest towns subject to Confederate raids and despoliation. The 107th New York Volunteer Infantry was sent to protect this city and it was there well received, and the soldiers vied with the citizens in making their sojourn pleasant to each other. The soldiers were invited to parties and dances; and they prevailed upon their brigade commander, General Thomas H. Ruger, for a visit of their brigade band of music, which pleased the people very much. Major-General Slocum, with headquarters then at Tullahoma, was also prevailed upon to attend one of the social meetings and he, with his staff officers, had a pleasant evening. It is probable, however, that some guerrillas and other plotters took advantage of the fraternal feeling thus engendered to forward their schemes; but they had run their course; General Slocum having learned more of them during his visit to Shelbyville.

The Abstract of the returns of the Department and Army

of the Cumberland for the month of January, shows the strength of the XIIth Army Corps as follows:

General Slocum's headquarters at Tullahoma, present for duty, 13 officers and 150 enlisted men; aggregate present 232.

His 1st Division, headquarters also at Tullahoma, present for duty 176 officers and 4,734 men; aggregate present and absent 7,469 men, and 20 pieces of field artillery.

The IIInd Division, headquarters at Bridgeport, Alabama, present for duty 43 officers and 1,810 enlisted men; aggregate present and absent 7,318 men, with ten pieces of artillery.

Total present, and absent in field hospitals, home on sick, or other furlough, and detached for special duty, 232 officers and 15,019 men, with 30 pieces of artillery.

Inasmuch as General Slocum was not reporting to General Hooker, who was yet nominally his commanding general, the following historical document was addressed to General Thomas's headquarters. It shows the injustice that had been, and was yet being, done to Slocum; and that he was not at this time the only commander dissatisfied with the order of things then prevailing, namely:

Headquarters Twelfth Corps,
Tullahoma, Tenn., February 2, 1864.

Brig. Gen. WILLIAM D. WHIPPLE, GEN. G. H. THOMAS'S

Chief of Staff, Hdqrs. Department of the Cumberland.

GENERAL: Believing that the organization known as the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, now under command of Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker, was not designed by His Excellency the President to be a permanent organization, and being convinced by the instructions given by him to General Rosecrans, then in command of the Army of the Cumberland, that it was not his design or desire that the Twelfth Corps should in any event continue a part of the organization, I desire respectfully to call the attention of the commanding general to the subject. I think the only instance in any army of the United States in which an officer has occupied a position intermediate between that of corps commander and the commanding general of the army, occurred in the Army of the Potomac, which by order of General Burnside was organized into what were termed grand divisions, consisting of two corps each; which grand divisions were commanded by the senior general officers present with the army. The order constituting these divisions specified the powers intrusted to their respective commanders. (General Orders, No. 184, headquarters Army of the Potomac, November 14, 1862).⁹⁹

After an experience of less than two months, General Hooker, then commanding the Army of the Potomac, discontinued this organization,

announcing in paragraph I, General Orders No. 6, headquarters Army of the Potomac, February 5, 1863: 'The division of the army into 'grand divisions' impeding rather than facilitating the dispatch of its current business, and the character of the service it is liable to be called upon to perform being adverse to the movement and operations of heavy columns, it is discontinued, and the corps organization is adopted in its stead.'

If the fact that the appointment of a commander to a position intermediate between that of corps commander and the general commanding the army, he being authorized by the War Department to take final action on certain matters previously referred to the commanding general, had a tendency to 'impede rather than facilitate business' I respectfully submit that the appointment of a commander to a similar position without authorizing him to take final action on any matters cannot tend very strongly to expedite current business.

But whatever may be thought of the expediency of the system of organizations of this character, it cannot be denied that, if adopted, it should be general. As the matter now stands, although I am senior in rank and have served in the capacity of corps commander for a longer period than any officer in command of a corps in this army, yet so far as communicating with the general commanding the army is concerned, I am in precisely the position held by a division commander of other corps.

If the general commanding does not feel authorized to make any change in the organization of the army, so as to place me in a position similar to that held by other corps commanders, I respectfully request that this communication may be forwarded, together with a copy of the letter from his Excellency to General Rosecrans, to which reference is made.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,

Major-General of Volunteers, Commanding.

This communication was referred to General Thomas who sent it to General Hooker who endorsed it in Lookout Valley, 'Respectfully forwarded, with the request that it be referred to the War Department' and he returned it to General Thomas who endorsed it 'Respectfully forwarded through headquarters Military Division of the Mississippi.' Upon its being read by General Grant, he appended his, the third, endorsement which was as follows:

Headquarters Military Division of the Mississippi,
Nashville, Tenn., February 9, 1864.

Respectfully forwarded and attention invited to General Slocum's statement.

The position occupied by General Hooker is embarrassing to the service, and I think injurious. I am inclined rather to recommend that the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps be filled up from new levies to having them

consolidated, but what to do with General Hooker is the question. I have no command to give him at present. While the States north of the Ohio were in my command I recommended that they be called one district and General Hooker placed in command. They are now a separate department.

U. S. GRANT,
Major-General.⁷⁰

General Slocum's letter, bearing its several endorsements, on being received in Washington was handed to Major-General H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief of all the armies. He replied to General Grant, acknowledging its receipt and stating that it had been submitted to the Secretary of War, with the closing sentence that "This arrangement having been made directly by the President, I have no authority to effect any change"—and he might as well have added, neither has the Secretary of War. However, preparations were being made for a decided change in general and in particular, that pleased President Lincoln.

All of the principal Confederate commanders were commissioned lieutenant-generals, each independent of the others and all outranking the major-generals. The United States had had but one lieutenant-general, George Washington, the commission of Winfield Scott as such reading by brevet. March 1st, the Congress revived this title for the commander of all the armies of the United States. President Lincoln at once approved, and nominated Ulysses S. Grant for the place, and the Senate confirmed the appointment the next day. This law, with its necessary general adjustments, was promulgated by the War Department March 12th, announcing that Major-General H. W. Halleck was relieved from duty as General-in-Chief at his own request and that Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant was assigned to the command of the armies, with headquarters in Washington and, also, with him in the field. Halleck was assigned to duty in Washington as Chief of Grant's Staff.

Major-General William T. Sherman was assigned to the command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, composed of the Departments of the Ohio, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Arkansas, this vacancy resulting from the promotion of Grant. Major-General James D. McPherson was assigned to the command of the Department, and Army of the Tennessee, previously held by Sherman.

General Grant issued his General Orders Number One from Nashville, March 17th, assuming command of the armies of the United States, with headquarters in the field and, until further orders, with the Army of the Potomac. All communications to him except those from the army, were to be sent to the office headquarters, Washington, District of Columbia.

Reports of the enemy becoming more active in many places, General Slocum's scouts ranged to the Sequatchie Valley, from the way of LaFayette, Georgia, to the southward, and they found no material indications of the enemy. General Slocum also sent scouts in different directions, and made personal visits to the parts of the railway under his immediate command, and he was thereby enabled to report directly to General Grant February 27th, that the fords were well guarded, the field works were well garrisoned, and all parts of the line were in good condition. The general report of his XIIth Corps for February was but little different from that of January.

In the meantime work had been in progress preparatory to advancing on the Atlanta Campaign. Hundreds of men were at work repairing the railway from Chattanooga to Ringgold. At this time Slocum was asked to send 'a brigade in numbers if not in organization' to the defense of the Columbia and Decatur railway, Tennessee, against Confederate General N. B. Forrest's men. March 18th Slocum's XIIth Corps was therefore, reported in detachments stationed at Fort Donelson, Clarksville, Gallatin, Nashville, and along the Nashville and Chattanooga railway as far south as Bridgeport, Alabama. This same day General Geary reported to Slocum that he had just returned from a reconnoissance to Trenton, Alabama, and southward without learning of any gathering or special activity of the enemy in that direction. He had captured six Confederate soldiers who had separated from Cleburne's division.

On March 24th Slocum was directed by Thomas, who was yet at Chattanooga, to come to the front with all of his command not needed for garrison duty at Nashville, Murfreesborough, and at blockhouses further south. The 30th General Slocum was yet at Tullahoma, his headquarters, and he was informed that Colonel J. B. Weaver, commanding the post at Pulaski, Tennessee, was ordered to send the Confederate Lieutenant Mosely and all

of his company of General Nathan B. Forrest's scouts, who had been captured, under strong guard to Slocum by rail, by way of Nashville. Mosely was wounded, but surgeon March reported him able to travel. The report of Slocum's XIIth Army Corps for March showed a small increase in number over previous months.

Lieutenant-General Grant assigned Major-General Slocum April 4th, to command the fortified post and District of Vicksburg, Mississippi, he to report to Major-General James B. McPherson whose headquarters for the time were at Huntsville, Alabama. This appointment was made while Grant was in Washington and by the consent if not by the direction of President Lincoln.

In Sherman's communication to McPherson April 6th he wrote that 'Slocum will be a good commander for Vicksburg and Natchez.' McPherson replied the 8th 'I think the assignment of Major-General Slocum to the command of the District of Vicksburg an excellent arrangement.' In another communication to McPherson the 11th of April, Sherman told more of the motive of Slocum's appointment as follows: "Slocum's assignment to Vicksburg was made at Grant's [and he might have added, Lincoln's] suggestion. I did name Newton, having in mind his engineering qualities, but Grant feared Newton might entertain a natural prejudice against the negro element which will hereafter enter so largely into the means of defense to the Mississippi River."

The communications between Sherman and McPherson were frank and cordial. A letter from Sherman about this time states that their great problem in hand was to defeat Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston which required a 'surplus' of their best troops on the line of the Tennessee. When Johnston was defeated more attention could be given to the Mississippi. This condition foreboded no easy task to General Slocum.

The evening of April 7th the officers of the different regiments on duty at Tullahoma, with the brigade band, marched to General Slocum's headquarters to show their great regard for him, and to express regrets for his departure from them. They were made welcome by Slocum, and the freedom of the house and grounds was extended to them. Colonel William Cogswell,

of the 2nd Massachusetts Regiment, made a warm address, and General Slocum replied in kind.

General Slocum voiced his regard for his command two days later, as follows:

Headquarters Twelfth Army Corps,
Tullahoma, Tenn., April 9, 1864.

General Orders, No. 7.

By virtue of General Orders, No. 5, Headquarters Military Division of the Mississippi, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps are consolidated, and will hereafter compose the First [later changed to the Twentieth] Army Corps.

The official history of the Twelfth Army Corps, from its organization to the present day, and particularly its action at Antietam, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and its recent services in the Department of the Cumberland, justifies every soldier in the indulgence of a feeling of pride from his connection with it and of regret at the loss of the insignia by which the corps has been distinguished, and which has become a badge of honor. [The Twentieth Corps succeeded in retaining the star as its corps badge].

This consolidation separates me from the troops with whom I have been identified for the past eighteen months. I know, however, that the measure has been adopted solely with a view of promoting the interest of the service, and I would not have my personal interests or feelings, nor those of my command, considered for a moment against any measure having this object in view.

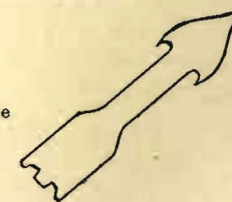
The credit accorded to the soldier at the present hour is not his true reward for the privation and hardships he is enduring, nor does this reward depend upon the army or corps to which he may be attached. Let us bring this contest to a successful termination; let us restore peace and prosperity to the country. To him who loves his country, and the consciousness of the fact that he has borne his part in the contest, and been an instrument in the accomplishment of great work, will be the highest and best reward that can be bestowed upon him.

The cordial and earnest support afforded me upon all occasions by the officers of my command, and the soldierly bearing and uniform good conduct of the men, have rendered me deeply attached to my corps, and I leave it with feelings of profound regret.

H. W. SLOCUM,
Major-General.

Official: H. C. RODGERS,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

Badge of the



XVIIth Army Corps

CHAPTER XXXII

COMMANDS VICKSBURG. GENERAL ORDERS

General Slocum reported to General McPherson April 12th, for duty, and then his District of Vicksburg, Mississippi, was further outlined to him as extending from the mouth of the Arkansas River on the west side of the Mississippi, and the Tallahatchie River on the east side, down to the Department of the Gulf. His headquarters were to be at Vicksburg.

The troops for his District of Vicksburg were nominally the XVIIth Army Corps, which was in various size bodies widely separated, two divisions being at Cairo, Illinois. General Slocum called on General Sherman at Nashville when on his way to Cairo for the purpose of getting into personal touch with his men and the condition of affairs generally. We next learn of him at Woodville in southern Mississippi whence he telegraphed to Sherman April 17th. He then proceeded to Vicksburg, where he organized a force for advancement through the Yazoo City region, and toward Grenada, for the purpose of preventing the sending of Confederate General Stephen D. Lee's cavalry to the northward to aid General Forrest, or to the eastward to aid General Johnston. Slocum also saw the necessity for frequent excursions and demonstrations in different directions, and from different stations of his troops. He kept in communication with the Marine Brigade, and other gun boats within and near his district, and he commanded their operations. Detachments of troops were sent toward Clinton, Raymond, and other points where Confederate troops and disaffection, were reported, or likely to be found. From Natchez, also, frequent detours were made on both sides of the Mississippi.

General Slocum continuously held the line of the Big Black River from its mouth up to Birdsong's Ferry and thence across to Haynes's Bluff, which controlled the Yazoo River and its vicinity. Vicksburg and Natchez were his principal stations. Small isolated bodies of troops were not left long anywhere for roaming bodies of the enemy's cavalry to capture.

General Slocum was also the War Department's protector of the freedmen, and particularly in their leasing, and working, the plantations which had been abandoned by their owners, ac-

cording to the policy of the United States Government. Of course he could consider this question, and act for the freedmen's protection, only from the military standpoint; and he did not have sufficient force of soldiers to spread through the country generally for police work.

There were in the larger towns of his district not a few men engaged in different kinds of business who were expecting, claiming the right of, protection by General Slocum. He decided they should be organized into Home Guard companies with United States officers from his command, who should regularly drill them and hold them to strict military discipline under himself. Drill rooms, caps, and blouses were provided and, later, arms and other accouterments were provided those who withstood the tests, and remained.

General Sherman sent notice to Slocum April 21st that no special distant expeditions need be made by him until he had reason to believe the main armies were in motion against the enemy when "all the forces of the United States should occupy the detachments of the enemy as much as possible." The main stations of General Slocum's XVIIth Army Corps were: Vicksburg and Natchez divisions, the 1st with 6,461 white troops, and the 2nd with 7,775 negro troops. The 3rd and 4th Divisions, each composed of about 6,000 white troops, were temporarily rendezvoused at Cairo, Illinois.

General Sherman asked General McPherson April 24th to give Generals Slocum of Vicksburg and C. C. Washburn of Memphis "orders to seem most active; to hold there all of the enemy possible, even at a small risk to the river; for if we whip Joe Johnston good, everything lying west will feel the blow. . . . The worst we have to apprehend is that the Confederate General Forrest in Tennessee may come across to act against our right flank; but this would be prevented if Washburn and Slocum threaten Grenada, Mississippi.

Major-General Hurlbut who was stationed at Cairo and was supervising all movements of troops from the North against Forrest, wrote to General Washburn April 30th that by his stopping the 4th Iowa Cavalry en route to Vicksburg he had exceeded his authority and probably crippled General Slocum. The resourcefulness of Slocum, however, enabled him to so manage that the

service of his immediate command was not particularly crippled by Mansfield's interference.

At this time the XVIIth Army Corps was described as follows:

Major-General Henry W. Slocum at Vicksburg, with the 1st Division under Brigadier-General Elias S. Dennis, and composed of:

The 1st Brigade, Colonel F. A. Starling; with the 72nd Illinois regiment of Volunteer Infantry, Colonel Joseph Stockton; 1st Kansas, mounted, Lieutenant-Colonel Newell W. Spicer; 30th Missouri, Captain William T. Wilkinson; 58th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Ezra P. Jackson. IIInd Brigade, Colonel James H. Coates; with the 11th Illinois, Major George C. McKee; 95th Illinois (on the Red River Campaign) Colonel Thomas W. Humphrey; 14th Wisconsin, Colonel Lyman M. Ward.

Artillery, Captain William H. Bolton, with the 2nd Illinois Light, Battery L, Captain William H. Bolton; 1st Missouri Light, Battery M, Lieutenant John H. Tiemeyer; Ohio Light, 7th Battery, Lieutenant Harlow P. McNaughton.

IVth Division, IIInd Brigade, Colonel Benjamin Dornblaser; with the 46th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel John J. Jones; 76th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles C. Jones.

Mississippi Marine Brigade, Brigadier-General Alfred W. Ellet, with 1st Mounted Regiment, Colonel George E. Currie; 1st Cavalry Battalion, Captain John R. Crandall; Sagebarth's Pennsylvania Battery, Captain Daniel E. Walling; Ram Fleet, Lieutenant-Colonel John A. Ellet.

The Garrison of Vicksburg, Brigadier-General Jasper A. Maltby; with 17th Illinois, Major Frank F. Peats; 81st Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew W. Rogers, on the Red River Campaign; 124th Illinois, Colonel John H. Howe; 7th Missouri, Major William B. Collins; 8th Ohio Battery, Captain James F. Putnam; 26th Ohio Battery, Captain Theobald D. Yost.

Cavalry: 2nd Wisconsin, Colonel Thomas Stephens. Cavalry Brigade, Major Horace P. Mumford; with the 5th Illinois, Captain Alexander S. Jessup; 11th Illinois, Captain Thomas O'Hara; 10th Missouri, Captain Jeremiah F. Young.

1st Division, Negro troops, Brigadier-General John P. Hawkins: 1st Brigade, Brigadier-General Isaac F. Shepard, with the 46th United States Colored Troops, Colonel William F. Wood; 48th U. S., Colonel Frederick M. Crandall; 49th U. S., Colonel Van E. Young; 53rd U. S., Colonel Orlando C. Risdon. IIInd Brigade, also of U. S. Colored Troops, Colonel Hiram Scofield, with the following regiments: 47th, Captain DeWitt C. Wilson; 50th, Colonel Charles A. Gilchrist; 52nd, Colonel George M. Ziegler.

Additional forces at Vicksburg, also of U. S. Colored Troops were: The 3rd Cavalry, Colonel Embury D. Osband; 2nd Artillery, Battery A, Captain Robert Ranney; 4th Heavy Artillery, Colonel Herman Lieb.

Forces at Goodrich's Landing and near, also of U. S. Colored Troops, under Colonel A. Watson Webber: 51st, Lieutenant-Colonel Julian E.

Bryant; 66th, Colonel William T. Frohock; 2nd Light Artillery, Battery B, Captain William M. Pratt.

At the Defenses and Post of Natchez under Brigadier-General James M. Tuttle were the White Troops, 28th Illinois, Major Hinman Rhodes; 29th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel John A. Callicott; the 58th U. S. Colored Troops, Colonel Simon M. Preston; 4th Illinois Cavalry, Lieutenant-Colonel Martin M. R. Wallace; 2nd Illinois Light Artillery, Battery K, Captain William F. Rodgers; 5th U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery, Colonel Bernard G. Farrar.

IIIrd Division, Brigadier-General Mortimer D. Leggett: 1st Brigade, Brigadier-General Manning F. Force; with the 20th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel Bradley; 31st Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert N. Pearson; 45th Illinois, Major John O. Duer, IIInd Brigade, Colonel Robert K. Scott; with the 20th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel John C. Fry; 32nd Ohio, Colonel Benjamin F. Potts; 68th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel George E. Welles; 78th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Greenberry F. Wiles. Additional part of IIIrd Brigade Artillery, Major Thomas D. Maurice; with 1st Illinois Light, Battery D, Lieutenant George P. Cunningham; 1st Michigan Light, Battery H, Lieutenant William Justin; 1st Missouri Light, Battery C, Captain John L. Matthaui; Ohio Light, 3rd Battery, Lieutenant John Sullivan. Cavalry, 2nd Wisconsin, Company H, Lieutenant Charles Doerflinger.

IVth Division, Brigadier-General Marcellus M. Crocker: 1st Brigade, Brigadier-General Thomas Kilby Smith, on the Red River Campaign: 41st Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel John H. Nale; 53rd Illinois, on Veteran furlough, Lieutenant-Colonel John W. McClanahan; 3rd Iowa, Lieutenant-Colonel James Tullis; 33rd Wisconsin, Colonel Jonathan B. Moore. IIIrd Brigade, Brigadier-General Walter Q. Gresham; with the 32nd Illinois, Colonel John Logan; 23rd Indiana, Colonel William L. Sanderson; 53rd Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel William Jones; 12th Wisconsin, Colonel George E. Bryant. Artillery, Captain Edmund Spear, with the 2nd Illinois Light, Battery F, Lieutenant Richard Osborne; Minnesota Light 1st Battery, Captain William Z. Clayton; Ohio Light, 10th Battery, Lieutenant William J. Mong; Ohio Light, 15th Battery, Lieutenant James Burdick. Cavalry: 11th Illinois, Company G, Lieutenant James M. Gregory.

Total XVIIth Army Corps: Present for duty, 862 officers, 18,684 enlisted men. Aggregate present, 24,022. Aggregate present and absent, 38,768. Artillery, 79 pieces.⁷²

From the first of General Slocum's experience at Vicksburg he was annoyed by the desire of people from all parts of the country to roam everywhere, intent on business of all kinds, much of which he thought improper. Many of these people were too bold, and Slocum issued his General Orders, Number Four, for the benefit or protection of all worthy persons and for the discipline or banishment of others, which reads as follows:

Headquarters District of Vicksburg,
Vicksburg, Miss., May 5, 1864.

General Orders, No. 4.

I. No persons except those in the employ of the United States Government, and loyal citizens, or those who have taken the oath of allegiance, will hereafter be permitted to pass the picket-lines at any post within this district.

II. No goods or merchandise of any kind will hereafter be allowed to pass outside the lines, except the necessary supplies for planters working lands leased from the United States, and limited quantities to citizens who have taken the oath of allegiance. No citizen will be allowed to take out supplies for any person except himself and his immediate family, and in no case will more than thirty days' supplies be taken out.

III. The provost-marshal at every post will keep an accurate record of every pass granted, and of all permits approved by himself, or the post commander. Books for this purpose will be supplied by the quartermaster's department and the records will be kept open for the inspection of any officer of the government, at all hours between 8 A. M. and 6 P. M. A record will be kept by the officers of the picket-line of all passes and permits presented, which record will be compared with that of the provost-marshal, and any discrepancy will at once be reported.

IV. All trade stores within the district at points not garrisoned by at least one regiment of troops will at once be discontinued. No goods or merchandise will be landed at any point on the river within the limits of the district which is not garrisoned by troops, except necessary supplies for planters working land leased from the government, in which case the goods may be landed under cover of a gun-boat at the nearest practicable point to the plantation.

V. All boats laden with merchandise detected in landing in violation of the order will be seized and brought to this post.

VI. All persons charged with the duties of imposing taxes on citizens, or of seizing property for the government, will keep an account of all such transactions, specifying the persons from whom the money or property was received and the disposition made of it. This account will be kept open for the inspection of any officer of the government, or of any citizen who has been taxed, or from whom property has been taken.

VII. No Government wagon, transport, or vessel of any kind will be used in bringing cotton or other stores to market, except in cases where such stores have been seized for the Government.

VIII. All clerks and citizen employes in every department whose services are not absolutely necessary will at once be discharged.

IX. No rations will be issued, nor property of any kind transferred to citizens to reimburse them for losses sustained by the operations of the war. The persons to whom damages are to be paid, and the amounts due, are questions which no military officer is authorized to adjust.

X. It is the duty of every person in the employ of the Government

and of every loyal citizen to aid in the correction of all evils. Any practice on the part of either civil or military officers or citizens which tends to aid the enemy or defraud or injure the Government should be promptly reported, and sustained by such proof as will aid the commanding general to correct the evil, and bring the guilty parties to punishment.

By command of Maj. Gen. H. W. SLOCUM.

H. C. RODGERS,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THOROUGH WORK IN VICKSBURG. HARASSMENTS

By command of General Slocum, May 6th, the names of the members of his staff were officially announced to all of the several parts of his command throughout the District of Vicksburg, namely: Colonel Herman Lieb, chief of artillery and ordnance; Lieutenant-Colonel S. H. Sturdevant, chief commissary of subsistence; Surgeon George S. Kemble, medical director; Major E. W. Guindon, Captain William W. Moseley, and Captain William G. Tracy, aides-de-camp, and it was ordered that they be duly respected accordingly. Most of these tried gentlemen, and soldiers, were with General Slocum at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg.

Further disciplinary work being necessary, Slocum published the following rules as his General Orders Number 6, under date of May 12th, namely:

I. The United States Government having adopted the policy of leasing abandoned plantations and giving employment to freedmen, it is the duty of the military authorities to give protection as far as possible to the lessee and laborer. This protection can only be given by holding responsible the districts in which the bands of guerrillas, who are constantly committing depredations upon them, are organized and encouraged.

II. It is therefore ordered that hereafter in every instance where a Government lessee is robbed of his property, the commanding officer of the nearest military post shall send a sufficient force to the locality, with instruction to seize from disloyal citizens property sufficient to fully indemnify the lessee, which property will be sold at public auction and the proceeds paid to the injured person. If the crops of the lessee are destroyed, or in any manner injured, crops of the same kind will be seized from disloyal citizens, and harvested for the benefit of the injured party. If any lessee is killed by guerrillas, an assessment of \$10,000 will at once be levied upon the disloyal people residing within thirty miles of the place where the

offense was committed. Property of any kind will be seized and sold for this purpose. The amount so assessed will be appropriated for the benefit of the family of the lessee. Full reports of all seizures and sales of property under this order will in all cases be forwarded direct to these headquarters.

III. In deciding upon the class of persons who are to be assessed, it should not be forgotten that the oath of allegiance is not an infallible test of loyalty. If a citizen has relatives and friends among these, if he harbors or protects them, or if having the means of doing so he fails to inform the lessee of their approach, he must be held accountable. Men must be judged by their acts and not by the oaths they have taken.

At Vicksburg General Slocum had command of many negro soldiers, some of whom were not so considerate of the rights of others, and of soldierly honor, as those soldiers who had been longer under his command. It was his rule not to discriminate between any parts of his command, all things being equal, and he refrained as much as possible from mentioning color or any disparaging feature. He soon found it necessary, however, to issue his General Orders Number 7, dated May 8th, which contain all that has been found regarding the disgrace mentioned therein, namely:

The attention of the officers of this command is called to the importance of maintaining discipline and preventing all marauding and pillaging on the part of soldiers, while every effort should be made to punish citizens who aid the enemy, or who in any manner violate military law or orders. The punishment in every case should be inflicted by authority, and in a proper and lawful manner. Every act of pillage and every unjustifiable encroachment upon the rights of citizens serve only to bring disgrace upon our armies and encourage a spirit which should be unknown among brave men engaged in a noble cause. The recent murder of a citizen by colored soldiers in open day in the streets of this city [Vicksburg] should arouse the attention of every officer serving with these troops to the absolute necessity of preventing their soldiers from attempting a redress of their own grievances. If the spirit which led to this act of violence is not at once repressed, consequences of the most terrible nature must follow. The responsibility resting upon officers in immediate command of colored troops cannot be overestimated. The policy of arming colored men, although at first strongly opposed, has finally been very generally approved by loyal men throughout the country. If this experiment is successful, if these troops prove powerful and efficient in enforcing obedience to law, all good officers connected with the organization will receive the credit which is due them as pioneers in the great work. But if in teaching the colored man that he is free, and that, in becoming a soldier, he has become the equal of his former master, we forget to teach him the first duty of a soldier, that of obedience

to law, and to the orders of those appointed over him; if we encourage him in rushing for his arms and coolly murdering citizens for every fancied insult, nothing but disgrace and dishonor can befall all connected with the organization. Every wrong done to the colored soldiers can and shall be punished, but he must not be permitted to take the law into his own hands, and hereafter the officers of any regiment guilty of such crimes as that which has to-day brought disgrace upon the colored troops, will be held to a strict accountability.⁷³

Major-General Cadwallader C. Washburn, a capable and efficient officer, was appointed to command the District of Western Tennessee, with headquarters at Memphis. He found in General Slocum a congenial and worthy neighbor. Slocum invited him to Vicksburg, and requested his full cooperation against the conspirators for improper gains and disloyal acts along the river and towns of their districts.

General McPherson, while very active in the command of the Army of the Tennessee in the field and advancing on Atlanta, found time to write to Slocum and Washburn of the good progress his and Thomas's armies were making, and requesting that they keep the enemy in their districts fully occupied in defending himself that he might not be called to help his comrades while they were being hard pressed by the Union forces on the Atlanta Campaign.

The report of General Slocum's command May 31st showed a reduced and more scattered condition than at the close of the previous month. Major-General Frank P. Blair, Jr., had been assigned to command the XVIIth Army Corps composed of that part formerly rendezvoused at Cairo, with accessions from different points, for participation in the Atlanta Campaign; and the parts of this corps remaining immediately under Slocum's command, with various accessions, were kept very busy in garrison, patrol, and expeditionary duties.

McPherson wrote to Slocum June 25th, 1864, briefly from near Dallas, Georgia, that 'now is the time to strike Grenada and smash things' in indirect aid of the Union armies then in hard contest in Georgia. Slocum was wanted in McPherson's Army of the Tennessee at this time, but Lieutenant Grant interfered to prevent, and President Lincoln deferred to him upon receipt of Assistant Secretary of War Charles A. Dana's letter from the field with Grant to the Secretary of War, Edwin M.

Stanton, stating that "Grant wants to keep Slocum at Vicksburg. Grant has reliable information that Slocum is making war on a den of thieves who have their seat there, and wishes that he should be left to straighten them out."⁷⁴

Major-General William T. Sherman, as ranking officer, was with the Union forces on the Atlanta Campaign, first with McPherson and then with General Thomas commanding the Army of the Cumberland. June 4th Sherman applied to General Andrew J. Smith, commanding a Division of the Mississippi River, and General Slocum to at once make up yet another command of six to ten thousand men to operate with Admiral David G. Farragut toward Mobile, Alabama, by way of Pascagoula. Sherman knew at this time that little was left of Mobile, but he thought that the landing of Union troops near there might draw Confederate troops that way which might otherwise be added to those battling against him while on the Atlanta Campaign.

General Edward R. S. Canby, commanding on the lower Mississippi River, wrote to Slocum June 16th, for two thousand troops to take into Louisiana, but Slocum did not have any troops to send beyond the limits of his district. The 22nd, the same request was repeated by Canby. The 27th General Washburn, of Memphis, also Slocum's junior in command, issued an imperious command for General Slocum's troops to be sent to a distant place. He also soon wrote to Sherman of Slocum's remissness in not complying with his command. But Slocum was too busy attending to his multiform duties to worry about orders from junior officers. He had been frequently sending out in different direction, even to distant parts of his district, forces to capture, or rout, the enemy's guerrillas and larger commands.

On July 2nd, General Slocum went in person to Jackson, Mississippi, with a force of about three thousand men, composed of infantry, cavalry, and artillery men with six cannon. They destroyed the Mississippi Central Railroad including its bridge over the Pearl River near Jackson. The enemy then was massed in superior number under Lieutenant-General S. D. Lee for the purpose of cutting off Slocum's retreat and capturing all of his command. Although at a disadvantage, Slocum attacked Lee and fought him two hours and until his retirement from his advantageous position. In this severe engagement Slocum lost 33

killed, 156 wounded, and 31 missing. The enemy was as severely, or worse, hurt. July 10th Slocum made another successful expedition to Port Gibson, and to Grand Gulf where he routed the enemy, who expected to defeat him by a swooping night attack. And so he kept his troops busy in all directions, as Generals Sherman and Grant well knew.

Sherman, himself had, in his nervous irritable way, been inciting Washburn, Canby, Hurlbut, and others, to inconsiderate and improper action; and now he turned his inconsiderate pen upon Slocum in a telegram dated 'in the Field near Kenesaw Georgia, June 28, 1864,' the first part reading as follows: 'I see by the Atlanta paper of the 25th that the railroad bridge at Jackson is being rebuilt. If you permit the enemy to regain the use of that bridge and of the Mississippi Central Railroad, you need not expect military favors from General Grant or myself.' Slocum was doing his full duty with the troops under his command, and he was not a man to fawn to anyone; and the threat did not raise Sherman any in his estimation. Just at this time Slocum was much beset by others, mostly juniors north and south of him, who had been incited anew by Sherman 'to do something' and who were finding it the easiest way out of their dilemma to write to Sherman, practically, that 'Slocum would do it.'

At his earliest opportunity General Slocum sent the following gem of a pronouncement of gentlemanly dignity, soldierly honor, and of rights withal, that set the erratic Sherman aback to the understanding that, no matter how willing an officer might be, he could not readily create soldiers for every excitable caller. This letter reads as follows:

Headquarters District of Vicksburg,
Vicksburg, Miss., July 2, 1864.

Maj. Gen. W. T. SHERMAN,

Commanding Military Division of the Mississippi.

GENERAL: Your dispatch of June 27 [28] has been received. Soon after my arrival at this post I sent out an expedition which succeeded in destroying portions of the Mississippi Central Railroad and forcing the enemy to concentrate in this vicinity. The official report of General McArthur, commanding the expedition, has been forwarded to Major-General McPherson. During the absence of this expedition Major-General Canby arrived at this post and exhibited orders placing him in command of the Department of the Gulf and the Department of Arkansas, also giving him

entire control over me. His headquarters were established within the limits of this district, and he issued various orders which were promulgated throughout my command. Among others, he ordered me to hold myself in readiness to send him 2,000 men whenever called upon. This and other orders rendered it impossible for me to act upon some of the orders received from you relative to the movements of troops. On the receipt of your telegram I at once ordered a force of 3,500 men toward Jackson, with a view of going out to-morrow and assuming the command of the expedition. To-day I am in receipt of a dispatch from General Canby ordering me to send the 2,000 men (ordered to be held in readiness) to the Department of the Gulf, which is utterly impossible, on account of my having sent away in obedience to your order all the forces that can with safety be spared from this post. I have refrained from writing on this subject, not because I felt satisfied with my position, but because I felt reluctant to thrust upon you at a time like this any subject calculated in any manner to increase your care or anxiety. I prefer to submit to having my junior in rank take up his headquarters within my district and issue orders to me, in conflict with those emanating from yourself and General McPherson, and do so without complaint. I have just written to General Canby that I cannot send the 2,000 men required by him. If I fail to accomplish what you suggest I am, in the language of your dispatch, 'to expect no military favors from yourself or General Grant.' The penalty which General Canby proposes to inflict has not yet been announced. Without any particular desire to secure favors from yourself or any other person, I shall continue faithful in the discharge of my duty, which, I think, you readily perceive a very disagreeable and difficult one when you compare the different orders issued to me by General Canby with those issued by yourself.

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

H. W. SLOCUM,

Major-General, Commanding.⁷⁵

Upon receipt of Slocum's communication Sherman at once saw the absurdity of the position in which he had placed himself and, after rubbing his eyes, he re-read Slocum's communication; and, with all of his activities here and there in the field of active war, he found time to read it again before replying to it July 24th, when he was in full realization of the important fact that a considerate, circumspect, and alert commander of good habits and clear mind like General Slocum, could not be excited to imprudent acts like a willing horse under the improper lash of an imprudent master. This reply should be read in full inasmuch as it affords an admirable view of the inward character of William T. Sherman, the great soldier, and commander, with his touching reference to the great soldier, General James B.

McPherson, who had met death while serving his country well, namely:

Hdqrs. Military Division of the Mississippi,

In the Field, near Atlanta, Ga., July 24, 1864.

Major-General SLOCUM,

Commanding Vicksburg, &c.

GENERAL: I have received yours of July 2. I fear you were more affected by the words of my telegram than I designed. By the language used I aimed to express emphatically how important General Grant and I deemed the intersection of the Mississippi Central and the Vicksburg and Selma roads. We had worked for it so hard that I felt sensitive when I heard the enemy were gradually closing the gap. Be assured of my sincere respect, and if you will be most active, whether successful or not, you may count on my personal and official support. This may not be a motive, but for the time being I represent the Great Valley, and I do think I appreciate the relative value of its parts. Though far away here in Georgia thundering away at Atlanta my thoughts revert to Mississippi and that Great Valley, which appears to me the spinal column of America, that you will pardon me if at times I am sensitive as to the safety of its vital parts. There is a seeming conflict of authority between General Canby's command and mine. Were I near I feel we would perfectly accord, but being so far away I will concede to him superior knowledge of the pressing necessities at local points. Therefore when he orders troops, comply with his orders, and report the troops not as transferred but as detached, and keep him advised of the tenor and purpose of any general instructions or orders from the commander of the Department of the Tennessee or from me. Our command is on the east bank and General Canby's on the west bank, but as we are off in Georgia and Canby is near at hand, the War Department has wisely ordered that for the protection of the great interests, as it were, afloat on that river, General Canby's orders to local garrisons are good. If, as I hope will not be the case, an absolute conflict should arise, I think our commands to you would be superior, but if good sense and feeling prevail, I do not apprehend any real conflict, for the protection of the river and its commerce, which is common to our commands, must always take precedence over any mere inland expedition.

You will have heard with pain and sorrow that General McPherson was killed day before yesterday, at the beginning of a battle brought on by Hood, who attacked our left as we were closing our lines on Atlanta. General McPherson had the Fifteenth and Seventh Corps in line, conforming to the enemy's works, and was moving Dodge's troops obliquely by the flank to the left to form, as it were, a shoulder. General McPherson was crossing one of those valleys by a road or wood path by, as it were, a diagonal, to reach the left flank of General Blair, doubtless to prepare a place for General Dodge, and he must have encountered the advanced line of the enemy's skirmishers, who preceded the column which had reached the rear of the line of General Blair. He was shot through the breast,

high up from the right side. He fell dead from his horse but a few yards from the road or path. We soon got his body and sent it to the rear and to the North. He was a noble, gallant gentleman, and the best hope for a great soldier that I had in my mind's eye. You will find many a moist eye in Vicksburg when the news of his death reaches there. General Logan is in command of the army in the field, but the President must name his successor. In the meantime execute his general orders, and in all matters of detail your own good sense must direct.

Butterfield is home sick. Ward, Geary, and Williams command Hooker's divisions. All have done good fighting.

Your friend and servant,

W. T. SHERMAN,

Major-General, Commanding.

The sad victory of the enemy in his killing General McPherson, left a vacancy that must needs be filled immediately. Major-General Oliver O. Howard now of the IVth Army Corps under General Thomas was the most available officer at hand, and he was at once placed in command of the Army of the Tennessee. To this action, of placing a junior officer over him, General Hooker then in command of the XXth Corps, took offense, as did General John A. Logan. Hooker neglected his corps in the field in front of the enemy, and Brigadier-General A. S. Williams, a good officer commanding the Ist Division, was given temporary command, a position that he had well filled before on different occasions. Sherman had begun action to relieve Hooker of the command of this corps but this action was anticipated by Hooker's resignation July 27. This resignation left the XXth Corps open to the command of General Slocum whom Sherman had been anxious to call to his aid in this most important campaign.

General Slocum ordered Brigadier-General Elias S. Dennis July 28th to embark his command, the Ist Division of the XVIIth Army Corps, on the large steamboats Diana and Fairchild at Vicksburg, and to report to the commanding officer at Morganza, Louisiana.

In his reports of the Atlanta Campaign, General Sherman stated that the checkings the enemy received from Slocum's repeated expeditions to prevent him from destroying Union communications and from doing other mischief to the Union forces, reflected great credit on Slocum.

CHAPTER XXXIV

TO THE ATLANTA CAMPAIGN. ENTERS ATLANTA

Major-General George H. Thomas, commander of the Department and Army of the Cumberland, recommended the appointment of Major-General H. W. Slocum to the command of the XXth Army Corps yet on the Atlanta Campaign, to succeed Hooker. General Sherman was quick to approve, as were Lieutenant-General Grant and President Lincoln; whereupon Slocum was assigned to this command July 30th, by the War Department. General Halleck immediately thus telegraphed to Slocum who did not receive the dispatch until August 7th from this source. Sherman, however, received notification of the appointment August 2nd, and he immediately telegraphed to Slocum to turn over his command of the District of Vicksburg to the officer next in rank 'and come and command your corps in the field.'

Grant, in his approval of Slocum's appointment to a position that would take him away from Vicksburg, wrote July 29th, directing the appointment of a suitable major-general of experience, one capable of carrying on the important work at Vicksburg so well instituted there by Slocum. Grant mentioned the name of Major-General N. J. T. Dana as one likely to prove suitable, and he was accordingly appointed to succeed Slocum in the command of the District of Vicksburg and Natchez.

Slocum closed his varied military and business duties at Vicksburg as soon as practicable and, August 19th, upon the arrival of his successor the command was turned over to him. According to Sherman's request, Slocum took the first boat for Cairo. Thence passing to Louisville, Kentucky, he traveled over the railway to Nashville where he stopped to confer with General Thomas. Thence his journey led through Chattanooga and over the Atlanta railway to the advance line of the Union forces in the field, where he reported in person to General Sherman August 27th.

The reader may bear in mind that Slocum's XIIth Army Corps, when he left it to take up the command of the District of Vicksburg, was consolidated with the XIth Corps formerly under General Howard, which corps had also previously often been

under Slocum's command in conjunction with his XIIth Corps. The new combination was finally given the name XXth Army Corps and it was recruited to a large organization. By general desire this newly numbered corps was permitted to retain the treasured five-pointed star badge of the now extinct XIIth Corps.

It is well for the reader to understand here, that General Grant's plan was to cease guarding extensive tracts of the country at large, and to call all of the practicable Union forces against two centers of operation—the Eastern armies under Grant against Lee and Richmond, and the Western armies under Sherman against Atlanta, and then certain other parts of the South to be determined upon. It was necessary, however, to continue to guard communications for supplies.

Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston, who had been flanked out of his strong defenses by Sherman's tactics and steadfast forces, and who had therefrom several times retreated to other lines in the rear previously prepared, was relieved of this command by Lieutenant-General John B. Hood by order of the Confederate Government at Richmond. Hood, by his unwise offensive movements, also lost ground, and he was also destined to soon retreat from Atlanta for General Slocum's triumphal entrance into and occupation of that important center and stronghold.

The XXth Corps, under command of General A. S. Williams of its Ist Division had, just before General Slocum's arrival, been sent to guard the railway and bridge across the Chattahoochee River, a large stream eight or ten miles northwest of Atlanta, preparatory for the other Union forces advancing against the enemy's communications east and south of Atlanta.

General Williams announced the arrival of General Slocum August 26th, also the position of the corps at Pace, Montgomery, and Turner's Ferries of the Chattahoochee, it having been separated from the other Union commands without being seriously molested by the enemy. The next day General Slocum rode along the lines of the different parts of the corps, and the great warmth of the reception accorded to him everywhere by the veteran soldiers who had served under him in the great battles of the Army of the Potomac, showed their emphatic pleasure and satisfaction at his return to them.

This day General Slocum formally reported to Sherman that he had assumed command. He also reported that General Geary of his IInd Division had a sharp skirmish on the 26th with the enemy's cavalry at Pace's Ferry and captured several of them prisoners, the others escaping. He further reported that his corps was well intrenched, and that his headquarters were near the railway bridge. Slocum also issued his General Orders Number 10 to his corps regarding his appointment to its command, and announcing the choice of three aides-de-camp staff officers, as follows: Major E. W. Guindon, and Captains W. W. Moseley and William G. Tracy. Lieutenant-Colonel H. W. Perkins continued to serve as his assistant adjutant-general.

General Sherman addressed Slocum informing him of the positions of his other Union forces as follows: Hdqrs. Military Division of the Mississippi, in the Field near West Point [Georgia Railroad], August 28, 4 P. M. General Slocum [At the Chattahoochee] Bridge: Army of the Tennessee is on the West Point railroad near Fairburn; [Army of the] Cumberland at Red Oak, and [Army of the] Ohio will be on Camp Creek tonight. We will break it [the railroad] good and move on to the other at once. Keep me advised of all things of interest, if possible via Campbellton, and when you feel strong at the bridge give a help to Marietta. Order as many stores [supplies] to keep your position as possible."

Slocum soon visited Marietta and other points within his influence, and personally informed himself regarding the topography of the country, the positions and strength of the enemy as fully as possible.

General Slocum reported to General Thomas August 29th that he had collected and armed all of the convalescents and stragglers at Marietta; that his positions at the Chattahoochee bridge and ferries were strong, and that he was ready for any other work desired of him.

Having selected and stationed all available troops for service in fortifications at Marietta and in the field along his extended line, Slocum instituted reconnoissances to determine the true condition of affairs around and in Atlanta, the first being made August 30th. With eight companies from each regiment of General Ruger's brigade and one battery of artillery, all

equaling a small brigade, the country was examined to within two miles of the city. A few Confederate cavalymen were seen in the distance, but they soon disappeared. The next day's reconnoitering party found too strong a force of the enemy, and it returned without a skirmish.

Slocum's entire force present for duty before and near Atlanta at this time to hold many important places, was comparatively small, it being composed of only 12,170 enlisted men. The aggregate number of his command, present and absent, was 28,991 enlisted men, with 36 pieces of artillery. Sherman was many miles south of Atlanta at this time with communications cut; and Grant telegraphed to Slocum to communicate all news direct to Halleck in Washington until all parts of the armies could be heard from direct.

Slocum increased the number and strength of his commands against Atlanta and, early in the morning of September 2nd, he telegraphed to Washington that he and his XXth Corps were in full possession of the city. The Secretary of War immediately replied with warm expression of his thanks for the welcome news. The preceding night the enemy destroyed eighty-one railway cars more or less filled with ammunition, arms, and stores, also seven locomotives. He left three locomotives, twenty pieces of artillery and a large number of small arms uninjured. Several hundred prisoners were captured and many deserters from the enemy continued to follow them into the Union lines for some considerable length of time. Many citizens greeted the Union soldiers as deliverers from the 'despotism of the Confederacy.'

General Slocum also reported to Halleck at Washington that many of his soldiers had not been paid for eight months, and he requested that paymasters be sent at the earliest practicable time. Troops were immediately distributed in and around the city for its protection, and for the protection of all citizens. Railway communication was soon established with the Union forces at Chattanooga.

The Confederate General Hardee retreated in the night of September 1st from Sherman, the same night that Hood retreated from Slocum at Atlanta. Sherman now saw no advantage in further work immediately against the enemy to the

southward. He marched leisurely toward Atlanta, extending his troops from Decatur on the east to beyond Atlanta on the west. Slocum remained in command of Atlanta.

The Atlanta Campaign lasted about four months, and was one of the most memorable in history so far, wrote General Grant. Beside the important City of Atlanta, the enemy lost at least 500 men killed, 2,500 wounded, and 3,000 prisoners. The entire Union loss was less than 1,500.⁷⁶

General Slocum took charge of all suitable buildings in Atlanta for United States uses. He established his headquarters in the Trout House Hotel. Sherman soon ordered all citizens with their families to prepare for going to their friends South or North, inasmuch as there could be no more trade or commerce in Atlanta until the close of the war.

Now General Slocum's duties were greatly augmented by the reports of different corps and subordinate commanders of Sherman's armies, with prisoners, the sick and wounded, and with the spoils of war, which he was to assign each to the proper place. Slocum also extended his guards so as to protect the Peach Tree Road, and he re-arranged the forces guarding the Chattahoochee bridges and ferries.

Colonel Benjamin Harrison, afterwards President of the United States, was then commanding at the Chattahoochee the 1st Brigade of the IIIrd Division of Slocum's XXth Corps. Slocum directed his assistant adjutant-general to inform Harrison that he had ordered General A. S. Williams's 1st Division all forward to Atlanta, and also General Geary's IIInd Division. That he, Harrison, was ordered to send one of his regiments to hold the bridge-heads on the south side of the Chattahoochee at the railroad ferry, and that he send a company to hold Pace's Ferry. At the latter bridge he should take up about fifty feet of the flooring from the south end and then place one company of soldiers at the north end which would make all safe at that point. He, Harrison, should take up the bridge at Turner's Ferry, and the unmounted cavalry under Colonel Capron could hold the ford at that place, being stationed on the north side of the river. Slocum further ordered Harrison to send to Atlanta all the stragglers and convalescents in his charge, with necessary guards. Harrison was to afford the different departments at

the railway bridge every facility for loading stores to be transported to Atlanta.⁷⁷

The enemy's intrenchments and fortifications of Atlanta were found to be as desired by the enemy well near impregnable. They extended entirely around the city in a circle of about one mile and-a-half outside the limits. There were also outer intrenchments which a storming party must needs force before a close siege could begin. These works requiring a far larger force to defend than Sherman could spare, Slocum constructed interior defenses of sufficient extent and strength.

General Sherman took up temporary headquarters in Atlanta at the residence of the lately deceased Masonic Grand Master of Georgia, by consent of his widow, Mrs. Welch. The band of music of the 33rd Massachusetts Regiment of Slocum's men soon extended its compliments to Sherman in a serenade. The music pleased the general so much that he suggested to the band the propriety of a concert in the principal theatre building for the benefit of Mrs. Welch, a worthy woman, who had been impoverished by the war. The band was prompt to act accordingly. Some of the officers with well-trained voices readily joined in the effort, as did different Atlanta ladies, friends of Mrs. Welch, and a good entertainment was produced. It embraced much choice music, including classic and popular compositions; Gounod's Soldiers' Chorus from Faust being one of the newest numbers. Then a play was put on the stage. The theatre had a great run till the very last night before the march through Georgia began, when the receipts of the evening were \$667. The season lasted four weeks (seventeen nights) and the band's receipts amounted to \$8,000 in all. It gave \$2,000 to Mrs. Welch, and out of the balance in hand it had enough to pay its members the amount due from the officers to the end of their three years' enlistment.⁷⁸ A soldiers' variety troupe also gave a number of entertainments with cheaper admittance fees.

Badge of the



XXth Army Corps

CHAPTER XXXV

AT ATLANTA. DEVELOPMENT OF NEW CAMPAIGN

General Sherman withdrew his IVth and XIVth Army Corps September 5th from the immediate neighborhood of Atlanta, to positions along the railways east and north. General Slocum remained in full command of the city and the country several miles around.

The Confederate General Hood soon began depredations on the Union line of communication, and Sherman moved after him, leaving only Slocum to defend Atlanta and the Chattahoochee, thus showing unbounded confidence in Slocum's watchfulness and ability.

Correspondence soon began between Sherman and Grant regarding the further movement against the enemy from Atlanta, Sherman favoring expedition through Georgia to the south or east. The enemy, however, was constantly breaking his communication with Chattanooga, delaying, and imperiling his supplies. He had considered advancement upon Macon, Georgia, 103 miles from Atlanta, and even to Augusta a distance of 175 miles. He felt assured that he could find daily food as he advanced but, being without railway communication with a Union depot of supplies, with the enemy surrounding him, he was fearful of being delayed so that supplies might not be constantly forthcoming. He wrote to Grant September 10th that, if he (Grant) could manage to send gunboats up the Savannah River to Augusta, or up the Chattahoochee as far as Columbus, 'I can sweep the whole State of Georgia.'

Trains began running through to Atlanta the 10th, and this day special field orders announced that, by agreement between Generals Sherman and Hood, a truce was declared to exist for ten full days, between September 12th-22nd, at the station of the Macon railroad known as Rough and Ready, and the country around and about within a circle of two miles radius, together with the roads leading to and from in the directions of Atlanta and Lovejoy's Station, for the purpose of affording the citizens of Atlanta a safe means of removal south. Facilities were ordered to be supplied that the removal might be safe and comfortable, both to the people and to their effects.

Union officers and enlisted men of high character were chosen to see this order properly executed, they to appear in their best uniforms, and with their best soldierly bearing.⁷⁹

This removal of the citizens of Atlanta, and the exchange of 2,000 prisoners with Hood for a like number of his Union prisoners, cleared the situation for the future operations in Georgia. Grant had been urging Sherman to keep the enemy busy. He wrote September 10th, 'if we give him no peace while the war lasts, the end cannot be distant.'

The effective force of General Slocum's XXth Corps September 19th, was: officers, 774; enlisted men in infantry and cavalry, 12,112. The aggregate present, and absent sick, on detachment service, and on furlough August 31st, was 28,991 men, with 36 pieces of artillery.

Political questions, and the presidential election, did not interfere with General Slocum's duties in the field. A number of generals, subordinate and others, returned to their homes to participate in the important political campaign in progress, but Slocum remained at his post of duty.

The summary of the report of John W. Foye, Surgeon of U. S. Volunteers, and Medical Director of the XXth Army Corps, from July 22nd to September 30th inclusive, demonstrated the advantage of retaining the sick and wounded with the corps wherever the marches and engagements with the enemy would permit. For instance his report shows: Admitted to field hospitals, 2,935 sick, and 430 wounded. Returned to duty 1,010; transferred to other hospitals, 1,419; discharged, 4; died, 173; furloughed, 1; deserted, 2; remaining in field hospital, sick 755, wounded 51. The data kept by Surgeon Foye's predecessor of surgical operations immediate and following the several battles and engagements with the enemy during the early part of the Atlanta Campaign, were so deficient in system and detail as to render the notes valueless for statistical purposes.⁸⁰ Colonel George A. Cobham of the 111th Pennsylvania Infantry was killed in the Battle of New Hope Church, and Colonel David Ireland of the 137th New York Infantry, Volunteers, died of disease September 10th. The loss of these brave and efficient officers was much lamented in their brigades, and by all of their commanders.

In General Sherman's special field orders issued October 3rd,

the first paragraph reads, that Major-General Slocum with the XXth Corps would hold Atlanta and the Chattahoochee bridge, and all detachments of other troops or corps would report to General Slocum and be assigned by him to posts looking to the security of the Atlanta depot of supplies. The next day General Jacob D. Cox, a very capable and efficient officer, formerly in the East and now the the headquarters of the Army of the Ohio at Decatur, Georgia, was directed to report to General Slocum for orders. General Cox was destined after the close of the war to rise in civil service to the office of Governor of Ohio and, also high in judicial service. His ranking officer, General John M. Schofield, was at this time in Tennessee as Commander of the Ohio, aiding General Thomas's Army of the Cumberland against the Confederate General Forrest and detachments of the enemy.

General Sherman apprised Slocum October 4th of the positions of the enemy embracing Wheeler and Hood's main forces which he was about to attack near Allatoona to the northward, and he requested Slocum to work night and day on the inner fortifications of Atlanta. He feared that Slocum would be violently attacked before the new defenses were serviceable. The bridge would receive the first attack, but wrote the anxious and doughty Sherman 'If I live you may count on my coming to your rescue. Please answer.' Slocum's immediately reply was: 'We are hard at work, and I think you need have no anxiety about us. The bridge is perfectly safe.' This day Slocum issued a circular to his different commands notifying them of the nearness of at least one infantry corps of the enemy with Major-General Joseph Wheeler's large force of cavalry. Slocum placed each division and detachment of his infantry and artillery at the point of greatest vantage at the bridge and around Atlanta. All details he had carefully studied, and his officers and men acted upon his orders with alacrity and precision. Everything, and everybody, was soon in readiness for the enemy's approach from every quarter. Yet anxious, Sherman wrote October 6th with several suggestions, to which Slocum was able to reply: "It is perfectly quiet here; new line finished; our position very strong. Can I do anything to help you? I can safely send out a brigade to destroy bridges."

Sherman sent Slocum October 7th a long communication reporting the repulse of the enemy by his forces near Allatoona, and the retreat of the enemy's detachments before Sherman's immediate command, thus surrendering to him Kenesaw, Pine Hill, and Lost Mountain. The railway had been much broken by the enemy. Forage was good. Slocum was able to reply favorably, even to the sending out of a strong foraging party to the southeast with good results. Sherman wrote to Slocum again this day regarding the safety of Allatoona with its 8,000 Union beef cattle and other supplies. The enemy's loss in the recent engagement was large, including 450 prisoners. Hood had retreated southward, and Slocum was warned against his probable attack. In his letter of congratulation and expression of confidence in General John M. Corse for his brave and successful defense of Allatoona, Sherman requested him to send to Generals Thomas and Webster in Tennessee, the information that Slocum had completed the defenses of Atlanta, making it so safe 'that Slocum could hold it against Hood's whole army.'

General Slocum reported to Sherman October 9th, that all was quiet at Atlanta, and that the Chattahoochee bridge that had recently been injured by the flood of water, had been repaired, and a steam train had been sent across it. He further reported that more forage for his horses was necessary, and that he would forage in the country again.

Communication was open October 9th between Sherman at Allatoona, Georgia, Thomas at Nashville, Tennessee, and Grant at City Point, Virginia. The former reported Atlanta safe, and again proposed that he break up the railroad southward from Chattanooga (it being impossible to keep it from being broken frequently in places by the enemy) and that he (Sherman) 'strike out with wagons for Milledgeville, Millen, and Savannah.' By continuing to hold the railroad south of Chattanooga Sherman estimated that he would lose 1,000 men every month and gain but little toward conquering the enemy. That with his 8,000 beef cattle and about 3,000,000 rations of bread, they could start from Atlanta and forage through Georgia.⁸² To this Grant replied the 11th with forebodings regarding the damage that might be done to the Union forces by Hood north of the Tennessee River; and to Sherman in Georgia by his being 'bush-

whacked by all the old men, little boys, and such railroad guards as are still left at home.' Sherman replied immediately that he would infinitely prefer to make wreck of the road after sending to Chattanooga or further north his sick, wounded, and worthless, and take an independent course through Georgia. He thought that Hood would be forced to follow him, but if he did go north Thomas would compete with him. At all events Sherman preferred to act on the offensive; to have the enemy guessing at what movement he would make next, rather than on the defensive when he would be obliged to do the guessing regarding the enemy's next move—the difference being twenty-five per cent. in favor of the former. The last sentence of this dispatch read, 'answer quick, as I know we will not have the telegraph long.' This dispatch was sent at 10 A. M., and Grant replied at 11.30 P. M. 'Make it as you think best,' as Sherman read it.⁸³ Some writers have said that it was Grant's idea that led Sherman to the sea; but here we note authority that Grant, as superior officer, was loath to give his sanction to Sherman's suggestion.

Sherman, and his carefully selected supporting officers, now had a definite and alluring object for which to work—an object and work that he had not been able to dismiss from his mind for some length of time.

General Slocum ordered October 10, all those in charge of the available wagons in his command to be in readiness to start with General Geary's division on a foraging expedition to South River to the southeast of Atlanta. Slocum reported to Sherman the 13th that Hood had found his (Slocum's) advance line very strong and had taken all of his (Hood's) troops from the neighborhood of Atlanta except a small cavalry force near Sandtown. Slocum's five or six hundred well guarded forage wagons returned the evening of this day well laden, and the army beef cattle in Atlanta found nourishment therein. The next day Hood's army was reported as being near Resaca.

As proof that Sherman was not desiring to leave his Armies of the Cumberland, of the Ohio, and of the Tennessee in destitute condition, the report of the commissary of subsistence showed the supplies in store at Chattanooga at this date as, 3,000,000 rations of meat; 3,500,000 of bread-stuffs; 3,500,000

of coffee; 7,000,000 of sugar; 500,000 each of beans and rice; 5,000,000 each of candles, soap, and salt; 1,000,000 of whisky; also vegetables of different kinds.

A new medical director, Surgeon H. E. Goodman, U. S. Volunteers, reported October 15th according to orders to General Slocum who made the announcement to all of his command in his general orders of this date, closing with the sentence 'He will be obeyed and respected accordingly.'

Another foraging expedition of wagons strongly guarded by infantry and eight pieces of artillery, was started at 6 A. M. October 16th by Slocum. Not having received any report about the enemy for some days, he inquired of Resaca by telegraph. General Raum replied that the enemy was to the northward where he had done some harm to two weak garrisons and to the railroad. A dispatch soon followed from Sherman then at Ship's Gap, informing that he had driven the enemy from that place this morning, and from the country around, and that the enemy was likely to go south. In characteristic vein Sherman continued: "I think I will leave you at Atlanta and will swing around in the country for forage and adventure. Look out for yourself and hold Atlanta. You have plenty of grub, and I will turn up somewhere." In other words Sherman, while shaping conditions favorable to the 'March to the Sea' he was seeking a little preliminary experience in foraging while seeking the enemy in his own chosen field. But Hood 'would not fight, though offered battle repeatedly.'

On the 18th of October, Slocum wrote to Sherman who was then at Chattanooga Creek, that he had received Montgomery, Alabama, newspapers of the 12th to 15th inclusive, the copy of the 14th containing a paragraph reading as follows: "We suspect Hood will make Blue Mountains his base for the fall and winter and hold himself in a position to harass Sherman's rear and keep his railroad communications disabled." Slocum quoted much more from the enemy's papers, and then wrote for himself, that "If Hood goes to Blue Mountain I would like to take two divisions of troops and strike out for Macon and Milledgeville. One division in our new works, with all of our surplus artillery, can hold Atlanta, and I believe I can go through the State with two good divisions. I can there get a

new outfit of horses and mules and damage the enemy seriously by destroying the railroad, etc., even if I fail in capturing either Macon or Milledgeville. I am positive they have no force in this section of the State other than Iverson's Cavalry. Let me try it. I will return if I become satisfied I am hazarding too much."⁸⁴

General Slocum at this time was not informed of the Sherman-Grant arrangement, nor had Sherman at any time informed him of his desires, he having been distant with much else to communicate. It will, therefore, be but proper to give to General Slocum the honor, with General Sherman of having conceived the same desirability of striking the enemy where it would do the most good to the Union cause. To this sincere and confident appeal of Slocum, Sherman replied the 20th from Gaylesville, Alabama, evading the question. He requested Slocum to use all his energies in sending northward everything not needed at Atlanta, adding tersely 'I will take your corps along.' In this writing Slocum was further asked to send northward all sick and wounded soldiers as soon as the railroad, then about repaired, was open; to keep out strong foraging parties; to retain 1,500,000 rations of breadstuffs, coffee, sugar and salt; 500,000 rations of salt meat, and to send all other foodstuffs northward. He was also to have all the lightest pontoon bridges and trains ready, all else to be sent to the rear or destroyed.

General Sherman was planning to be near Atlanta, and ready to take up the grand march by November 1st. The enemy had again refused to accept battle, and had retreated down the Coosa River toward Gadsden. General Slocum was gaining momentum in the foraging business by experience. October 20th at 6 A. M. he started an expedition with 500 or more wagons out the Decatur road with infantry, cavalry, and artillery guards; and with even stricter detail in parking the empty and loaded wagons while detachments of soldiers and wagons were sent in different directions from the main guard. The average prescribed task was to load 150 wagons per day, if not molested by the enemy.

Sherman outlined his plans for preparation and for the March to the Sea October 20th to Thomas, commander of the Department of the Cumberland, that he might be prepared to spare two corps from his army to accompany Sherman on this

proposed campaign; the XIVth Corps under General Jefferson C. Davis, and the XXth Corps under General Slocum. The desire as then expressed was to capture Macon, Augusta, and probably Savannah and Charleston; but he "would keep in mind the alternatives of the mouth of the Appalachian River and Mobile. By this I propose to demonstrate the vulnerability of the South, and make its inhabitants feel that war and individual ruin are synonymous terms."⁸³

General A. S. Williams commanding the 1st Division of Slocum's XXth Corps, was directed October 22nd to have one of the brigades of his division in readiness to march at once with three day's rations; that he call in the fatigue details; and that the commanding officer of the brigade detailed would report at once to General Slocum's headquarters. Such unpremeditated reconnoissances were not infrequent.

General Sherman wrote in high spirits from Gaylesville, Alabama, October 23rd, congratulating Slocum on his success in foraging, and he requested its continuance; and that the foragers be imbued with the sentiment 'if Georgia can afford to break our railroads, she can afford to feed us.' Slocum kept increasing the number of his wagons sent for forage until they numbered as high as 700 in each expedition. The policy yet was to gather all the supplies possible in every direction, to recall all convalescent and furloughed men, with new recruits, to strengthen the Armies of the Tennessee, the Cumberland and of the Ohio, as well as of Sherman's detachments, that the latter could be spared for Georgia and other parts of the South. The remaining convalescents and other men at Atlanta not able to withstand active duty in the field, were sent northward by Slocum October 29th.

The cavalry of both friend and foe occasionally captured a few prisoners, from whom the position and trend of each army were quite accurately learned. The enemy thus learned of Sherman's intended march through Georgia from prisoners captured from his immediate command, as early as October 28th, when Wheeler so reported to Hood.⁸⁶

All recruits, volunteers and drafted men, to fill the desired quota of the four infantry corps for the special march through Georgia, were hurried forward October 29th, that their drillings

and discipline in their new surroundings might be begun as early as practicable.

General Slocum's effective force in and immediately around Atlanta October 31st was as follows: Headquarters 21 officers and 219 enlisted men; Provost Guard 33 officers 711 men; 1st Division 279 officers 4,681 men; IInd Division 231 officers 4,538 men; IIIrd Division, 244 officers 4,507 men. Total 13,340. The number present and absent was 28,443.

The effective force of the XIVth Corps October 31st, was: Headquarters' officers 92; enlisted men 883; infantry officers, 535, enlisted men, 10,620. The recruits, however, soon added materially to the numbers in the several ranks.

General Slocum sent out a strong foraging force November 1st accompanied by a force prepared to wreck the Augusta railroad eastward from Lithonia. This wrecking force was instructed to burn every tie and thereby heat the rails in their middles so they could be readily bent and twisted around nearby trees.

About this time Slocum was directed by Sherman to prepare for 'the absolute destruction of Atlanta' railroad tracks, depots, shops, houses, cars not wanted for sending to Chattanooga men, stores, artillery, and whatever else there that was of use to the Union troops in Tennessee. It was the desire to have everything shipped within five days. This day, November 1st, from 5,000 to 8,000 of the enemy were reported to Slocum as being at Stone Mountain, but they were not attracted nearer Atlanta. Special field orders were published the 4th regarding supplies to be retained, reducing everything to the necessary limitation, and the sending northward of all camp and garrison equipment, boxes, chests, trunks, and all other articles that would encumber the wagons on the long march. The railroad between Resaca and Etowah bridge was to be left undisturbed. The bridge at Resaca and the iron north of it were to be taken to Chattanooga. The road from Etowah bridge to Atlanta was to be destroyed. Slocum's XIVth Corps was to do this work between Etowah and Big Shanty, and his XXth Corps from the Chattahoochee into and including Atlanta.

All army commanders were enjoined to observe as much caution and secrecy as possible, and to see that their com-

mands acted with the utmost energy, inasmuch as from the moment of beginning the severing of the connection with their comrades to the northward, every hour of time must be devoted to the success of their isolated forward movement.

CHAPTER XXXVI

PREPARES TO SEVER ALL UNION COMMUNICATIONS

General Slocum moved his loaded wagon train and the XXth Corps November 5th, out along the McDonough road about three miles from Atlanta, in which was left only his Provost Guard and a division of cavalry under General Kenner Garrard. After Slocum's infantry had taken position in the country, as the first step of all toward Savannah, General Kilpatrick, commander of the Cavalry Corps, ordered Garrard to take his command to Marietta. Slocum interposed and telegraphed to Sherman, who must needs have at all times knowledge of the position of all his forces that if the cavalry was called away he should take his infantry back within the city to guard against dashes of the enemy's cavalry. Reply was soon received that the cavalry would remain, and be reorganized there. Slocum then ordered the cavalry to send scouting parties November 6th on all the roads leading south and east of his troops and around the city.

The XXIIIrd Army Corps, of the Army of the Ohio, was at this time in need of a worthy division commander, and General Slocum was asked if he could supply the want. General Thomas H. Ruger a brigade commander in Slocum's XXth Corps, an officer worthy of this preferment, was reluctantly sent by Slocum to be transferred to General Schofield's headquarters at Nashville November 6th. This day General Slocum ordered his XXth Corps to move back within the fortifications of Atlanta. The facility and orderly way with which this movement was made was very pleasing to the commander of the corps. Each division general was ordered to keep his wagons loaded, and to carefully examine all loads, that they might be kept free from all prohibited baggage and stores. The 700 effective cavalrymen were continued in reconnaissance duty, and their number was increased by new arrivals.

The enemy was kept well informed by General Wheeler's cavalry of every movement of the Union forces. Hood's orders were to concentrate the Confederate forces to oppose in every possible manner any southward movement, by damaging the Union forces in every possible way.⁸⁷

General Sherman had been very busy every day, and much of the nights, in choosing the officers and planning the organization of two armies from his several commands to accompany him through Georgia; and also to strengthen his other armies northward that they might hold Mississippi and the other conquered States north and west. He telegraphed to Slocum November 7th, inquiring about the railroad east of Lithonia, and regarding his condition for the march. Slocum's reply was terse and satisfactory, namely: 'Taken up. I am ready.' Another dispatch from Sherman the same day, read that he had directed Captain Orlando M. Poe, Chief Engineer, to destroy Atlanta; and to be ready to start on the march the 10th.⁸⁸ Sherman also made effort this day "to get about a dozen bold men, soldiers or citizens, either for pay or for adventure, to start south from Rome and break up the telegraph wire between Montgomery and Columbus, and then overtake us somewhere about Macon."

General Slocum wrote to his wife at their home in Syracuse, New York, November 7th, in part as follows:

The last train for the North leaves here to-morrow morning. Our soldiers are scattered along the railroad a hundred miles north, and as soon as that train passes the work of destruction will commence. The railroad will be completely destroyed and every bridge burned. Then both armies (the Armies of the Tennessee and of Georgia) will assemble here, and after destroying this city will commence the march. I fear their track will be one of desolation.

I have been to the railroad depot for the past three days several times, and have witnessed many sad and some ludicrous scenes. All citizens (white and black) begin to apprehend that something is about to happen. The few white people remaining after their families were sent away, are alarmed, and many are leaving the city, giving up houses, lands, furniture, negroes, and all. The black want to go North, and the Car House is surrounded by them. Hundreds of cars are literally packed with them and their dirty bundles, inside and outside. Old toothless hags, little pickaninnies, fat wenches of all shades, from light brown to jet black, are piled up together with their old bags, bundles, broken chairs, etc. Some are gnawing old bones, some squatted by the cars making hoe-cakes,