



CAMPAIGNS  
OF THE  
CIVIL WAR

ATLANTA

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JACOB D. COX

*CAMPAIGNS OF THE CIVIL WAR.—IX.*

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# ATLANTA

BY

JACOB D. COX, LL.D.,

LATE MAJOR-GENERAL COMMANDING TWENTY-THIRD ARMY CORPS

NEW YORK

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# ATLANTA.

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## CHAPTER I.

### ORGANIZATION—PRELIMINARY MOVEMENTS.

THE battle of Chattanooga was fought by General Grant as Commander of the Military Division of the Mississippi, which was a territorial command made by uniting under one head the Departments of the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee. Arkansas was temporarily united to these, but need not be considered in our present sketch. It will help to a clear understanding of the organization under which the campaign of Atlanta was conducted to recall the general outline of these departments, which, with little change, had been the territorial units of military command from the beginning of the war. The Department of the Tennessee had been Grant's field of operations till Vicksburg was taken, and included the country between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers on the north and west, the Tennessee River to Decatur on the east, and running indefinitely southward till it should reach country in which troops of the Department of the Gulf might be operating. The Department of the Cumberland was commanded by Major-General George H. Thomas, who had succeeded Rosecrans after the battle of Chickamauga. It in-

cluded middle Tennessee with part of Kentucky, so that Louisville on the Ohio River was its depôt for supplies, and the lines of railroad from that city to Nashville, and thence to Northern Alabama and Georgia, lay within it. Like the Department of the Tennessee its southern boundary was not fixed, but would embrace whatever territory its troops should occupy. The Department of the Ohio was commanded by Major-General John M. Schofield, and included East Tennessee and the eastern part of Kentucky. Cincinnati was its depôt and its line of posts extended through Kentucky by way of Lexington and Richmond to Cumberland Gap and the other mountain passes upon the country roads leading to Knoxville and the Holston valley. Its only line of railway reached no farther south than Lexington, though General Burnside had begun the construction of another, which was meant to extend the Central Kentucky railroad to Knoxville. Whilst that officer was in command of the Department in the summer and fall of 1863, he thought such a line would be necessary, if East Tennessee was to be firmly held and made the base for movements looking toward Charleston and Savannah as objective points. No one doubted that a railroad upon the line surveyed would be of great advantage in military operations if it were once constructed, but even the enterprise of Mr. Lincoln's administration, accustomed as it was to gigantic operations, shrank from engaging in building hundreds of miles of railway, and Burnside's project was dropped. The sufferings of the army in East Tennessee during the winter following proved how inadequate country roads were to supply an army so far from its depôts, and when the enemy had interrupted the railway communication of Thomas' army at Chattanooga with Nashville, Burnside's forces about Knoxville were reduced to the verge of starvation.

From the sketch thus given it will be seen that the general plan on which the armies between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi worked during 1863 was one in which three parallel columns, each with its own line of communications, were pushing their way toward the Gulf and the ocean. The War Department at Washington and General Halleck, as the President's Chief of Staff, had the task of combining and harmonizing these movements, and of furnishing the material of war and the recruits needed to keep up the strength and vigor of each. The department commanders not only led in person the larger moving forces at the front, they had multifarious duties of administration within their territorial jurisdiction, and the responsibility for the safety of their own communications and lines of supply, as well as for the peace and quiet of the country behind them. It was for them to determine how much the posts and garrisons in the rear could be reduced for the purpose of strengthening the army at the front, and each was independent of the others, except as they were subject to the orders of the President as Commander-in-Chief. Each would naturally be anxious to increase the importance of his own part in the campaign, and to secure all the men and means possible to increase the strength and efficiency of his own army. The emulation was usually generous, a common earnestness of patriotism was felt by the generals in command, and co-operation was sincerely aimed at; but the system had its disadvantages, and the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, with the opening of the Mississippi, gave the opportunity for more unity of effort, and indicated, by a process of natural selection, the officer for the larger task.

In October, Grant was put in command of the military Division of the Mississippi, and Major-General William T. Sherman succeeded him in the command of the Department

and Army of the Tennessee. The organization of the military division did not supersede the departments. These remained as before, subordinate, however, to the superior commander, who might modify the control of the department commander on special matters. This power was exercised a little later, in regard to the management of railways; for when the united army became dependent for supplies upon lines of road lying within the Department of the Cumberland, it was necessary that the railroads should be operated by officers reporting directly to the General-in-Chief. A civil engineer and railway expert, Colonel Anderson, was assigned, with military rank, to this duty, and, as Master of Railway Transportation on the Headquarters Staff, issued his orders in the name of the general commanding the military division. This was not done, however, till General Sherman had succeeded Grant in the command, and was preparing for the advance into Georgia.

To complete this view of the military organization it is only necessary to add that the three department commanders were designated as commandants of armies in the field, so that when acting together, the grand army consisted of the Armies of the Cumberland, the Tennessee and the Ohio, constituting the centre and wings of the whole force, and the orders of the General-in-Chief issued to the three army commanders as his immediate subordinates. Questions of precedence were settled by the rule that the assignment by the President of any general officer to the command of an army or a corps, gave him temporary superiority of rank over officers in the same command not so assigned, even though his commission might be junior in date. The positions of army commander and corps commander were thus practically made distinct temporary grades in the army, equivalent to those of general and lieutenant-general in the Confederate service.

The opening of the Mississippi River isolated the country west of it from the rest of the Confederacy. The hostile river navy was destroyed, and the gunboat fleet of the United States, by constant patrol of the water system of the great West, prevented any considerable passage of supplies or of men from one part of the rebellious States to the other. The problem for Grant now to solve, was how to cut another such section from the hostile country, and so to diminish proportionately the strength of the enemy. The Confederate Government felt severely the diminution of its resources; for not only had Texas and Western Louisiana with Arkansas furnished large amounts of subsistence stores to their commissariat, which were now lost, but the enforcement of the conscription became impracticable, and after one considerable effort in the Red River campaign of the spring of 1864, the war in that region dwindled to a partisan conflict, having no appreciable importance. If Mississippi and Alabama could be in a similar way severed from the active theatre of war, it would be very hard for the Government at Richmond to find the means of prolonging the struggle at the East. The winter was spent by General Grant in subordinate operations, tending to simplify the situation, and all looking to a campaign with his united forces against the Army in Northern Georgia, which he had recently defeated, and which was now in winter quarters around Dalton. Thomas, with the Army of the Cumberland, was to occupy the attention of General Joseph E. Johnston, who had relieved Bragg of the command at Dalton; Schofield, with the Army of the Ohio, was to rid East Tennessee, if possible, of the forces operating there under Longstreet; and Sherman, with the Army of the Tennessee, was directed to make a rapid movement from Vicksburg toward Meridian, for the purpose of destroying the railroads and thus to make hostile

operations toward the Mississippi so difficult that a small force could protect the great valley and a concentration could be made of the larger part of all the forces under Grant's command against Johnston's army.

It was not to be expected that the Confederates would allow these preliminary movements to be made without resistance; but it was reasonably reckoned probable that if Johnston should concentrate against Sherman, Thomas would be able to push his column southward from Chattanooga toward the important railway connecting points at Rome and Atlanta, and thus secure even greater advantages than could be hoped from Sherman's success.

Thomas, therefore, kept up such activity through the early spring as the condition of his army and the state of the roads permitted, and in fact kept Johnston from detaching any sufficient forces from his command to prevent Sherman from accomplishing his purpose. Meanwhile, the reopening of its railway line of communications relieved the Army of the Cumberland from its long-continued scarcity of supplies; the men were comfortably clothed, the artillery and wagon teams were put in good condition, the cavalry was partly remounted, and the whole force was brought into an excellent state of efficiency and confidence.

Sherman started from Vicksburg on February 3d with about twenty thousand men, organized in two columns, which were commanded respectively by Major-Generals McPherson and Hurlbut. He gave out that he aimed at Mobile, but his real purpose, as previously settled between himself and General Banks, who was in command at New Orleans, was to destroy the railways at and about Meridian. A strong cavalry force, under Brigadier-General W. Sooy Smith, was ordered to march from Memphis simultaneously with Sherman's advance from Vicksburg, to seek and, if possible, to

rount the Confederate cavalry under Forrest, then operating in Northern Mississippi and Southern Tennessee, and afterward to join Sherman at Meridian for further operations.

A glance at the map will show the significance and importance of the movement. Meridian is near the eastern boundary of Mississippi, where the railway from Vicksburg to Montgomery and eastward crosses the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. If Sherman's advance should force a concentration of all the available Confederate troops to resist him, it was hoped that General Smith would find little difficulty in making a rapid raid southward from Corinth, destroying railroad bridges and crippling that line of railway to such an extent as to make it useless for military operations during the coming campaign. When Sherman had done the same for the east and west line to Meridian, it was safe to assume that no large column of troops could operate against Memphis or Nashville by way of Northern Mississippi for some months at least, for the experience of the war had demonstrated that no considerable army could subsist, depending upon wagons and common country roads for more than a few miles from railway depôts. A rapid march could be made, living upon the country, if it led to a point where military stores could be reached or captured; but protracted operations were indissolubly tied to the railway and water lines, which could be depended on in all weather and to any extent. Complete success in both parts of Sherman's movement would, therefore, have taken the northern half of Mississippi out of the theatre of active operations, and if Banks could subsequently take Mobile, that port would become a most important base for a new movement co-operating with the one to be made from Chattanooga as soon as the spring should open. Sherman's own part in the plan was the only one successfully carried out; but it was suffi-

cient to secure the principal object, and his subsequent campaign in Northern Georgia was undisturbed by any formidable demonstrations of the enemy in the Valleys of the Mississippi and the Lower Tennessee. He reached Meridian on February 14th, and after tearing up the railways in that vicinity, burning the ties, twisting the rails, and destroying the bridges, he withdrew to Central Mississippi. Two divisions of the Army of the Tennessee, under Major-General A. J. Smith, were detached to assist in Banks's Red River expedition in March, and became permanently separated from the army in the field. The rest of it was given rendezvous near Huntsville, Ala., and was gradually collected and prepared for its part in the coming campaign.

## CHAPTER II.

### EAST TENNESSEE.

THE operations of the Army of the Ohio during the autumn of 1863 have an interest of their own which will justify a little further retrospect. General Burnside had been assigned to the command of the Department of the Ohio in the spring, and at his special request two divisions of the Ninth Army Corps, made up of troops which had been with him ever since his expedition against the North Carolina coast, were sent to him from the Potomac. He began also the organization of the Twenty-third Army Corps, made up in the main of new recruits raised in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky. These were collected at camps of instruction in Kentucky, with a view to an early movement into East Tennessee. The Holston Valley and the mountain region on either side of it had been the stronghold of loyalty to the Union, and had, in consequence, suffered severely at the hands of the Confederates. Its leading public men had urgently pressed Mr. Lincoln to send an army to its relief, and it was commonly thought a reproach to the Federal Government that so large and important a region in the heart of the South, devoted to the Union, should be left to the mercy of the enemy, who was determined to crush out its loyal men. The difficulty of sustaining an army more than two hundred miles from its base, from which it was separated by rugged mountains, over which there were

only a few roads, and these scarce better than pack-mule tracks, was fully felt by all military men who studied the problem; but the political reasons for making the attempt were imperative, and Burnside prepared for the undertaking. It was concerted between him and Rosecrans that their movements should be so timed as to be mutually supporting, in the hope that the occupation of Chattanooga would make it easy to hold East Tennessee, whilst Burnside's little army at Knoxville would effectually cover the left flank of Rosecrans. On June 2d Burnside was ready to start from Lexington, Ky., with his two corps—the Ninth, under command of Major-General John G. Parke, and the Twenty-third, under Major-General George L. Hartsuff. He himself left his headquarters at Cincinnati to take personal charge of the movement, but was met on the 3d by orders from Washington to send eight thousand men to reinforce General Grant at Vicksburg. The Ninth Corps, being the oldest and best organized force in the Department, was sent at once, and the Tennessee movement was of course delayed till the newer troops should be strengthened and better fitted for their work. The unwelcome delay in Burnside's movement affected Rosecrans's plans of campaign also, and it was not till the 16th of August that the combined advance began, Rosecrans marching from Winchester, Tenn., and Burnside from Lexington, Ky.

Meanwhile the battle of Gettysburg had been fought, and the only formidable invasion of the Northern States had been defeated. Vicksburg had fallen, and the Mississippi was opened to the Gulf of Mexico. The country was full of hopeful excitement, and called loudly on the officers commanding the central columns to do their part in making the whole campaign a great success. The story of Rosecrans's movement is fully told in another of these volumes.

The Ninth Corps divisions had come back from Vicksburg the mere skeletons of their former strength. Being Eastern troops, wholly unacclimated to the Western climate, they suffered fearfully from the malaria of the Yazoo River and the bayous about Vicksburg, and on their return left large detachments in every hospital between the captured city and Cincinnati. Their whole camp was a hospital, and they were necessarily scattered in garrison encampments among the hills of Kentucky till returning health should bring the men back to the ranks. Their return, however, relieved Burnside from the need of keeping other troops in his rear, and enabled him to gather up his detachments of the Twenty-third Corps, and make a moving column of about eighteen thousand men of all arms. Dividing these into several columns, he sent those on his right, under General Hartsuff, by way of Tompkinsville, Somerset, and Chitwoods to Montgomery, whilst he led another through Crab Orchard, London, Williamsburg, and the east fork of the Cumberland River to unite with Hartsuff at Montgomery, whence the whole infantry force moved upon Kingston. He thus turned Cumberland Gap, which was held in considerable force by the enemy, but was obliged to cross the mountains by roads which were considered impracticable for military purposes. Part of the way his own road lay through the gorge of Rockcastle River, whose perpendicular sandstone cliffs, towering a thousand feet above the torrent, simulated the fantastic forms of ruined towers and battlements. The infantry passed the principal range of the Cumberland Mountains, by Emory and Winters's Gaps, whilst the cavalry crossed further to the north by Big Creek Gap and other equally romantic passes and defiles. The last-named of these is a fair type of the wild barriers through which the little army forced its way. At the prin-

cipal ascent of the mountain the teams of two or three guns had to be hitched to a single cannon to pull up to the summit, and even then were aided by soldiers at every wheel; but when the summit was reached, a glorious panorama opened to the east. The circling mountains made a vast amphitheatre into which the head of column looked down, whilst directly in front, the rocky strata, upheaved till they stood vertically on edge, were broken by a gap as regular as the proscenium of a stage. Through this dashed the blue stream which gives name to the pass, and beyond, the beautiful valley of the Clinch and Holston Rivers was seen, backed in the distance by the peaks of the Great Smoky Mountains, which here assume more picturesque outlines than any other mountains of the Allegheny range.

The march had been a laborious one, but it had been made without resistance. The Confederate forces under General Buckner retreated southward rapidly. The passes of the mountains were held, and Burnside entered Knoxville with his infantry on September 3d, amidst the sincere and enthusiastic rejoicings of the people, who decorated their houses with the flags they had carefully concealed against the time when the Union should re establish its government among them. From Lexington to Knoxville is two hundred and fifty miles, much of it the roughest mountain road. To march it in fourteen consecutive days was good work, and proved that the regiments of the Twenty-third Corps contained good *cadres* of re-enlisted veterans who had quickly made reliable troops of the recruits. Its success proved the excellence of Burnside's plan. He immediately concentrated forces for the investment of Cumberland Gap, hurried in person to the scene, and on the 9th demanded and received the surrender of the garrison under General Frazer, 2,500 in number. The little Army of the Ohio and

its commander had earned and received the warm thanks of Congress and of the President.

Rosecrans occupied Chattanooga on September 9th, but Bragg had been reinforced by Longstreet's corps from the Army of Virginia, and was preparing to resume the aggressive. Burnside had naturally turned his attention first to getting rid of the enemy under General Jones, who was farther up the valley, and who would be upon his rear if he moved toward Rosecrans. He pushed him back beyond the Watauga, some seventy-five miles from Knoxville, and burned the railroad bridge there. In consequence of news he received from Rosecrans he ordered the Ninth Corps on the 16th to hasten forward from Kentucky. The battle of Chickamauga occurred on the 19th and 20th, and that disaster to our arms was followed by peremptory orders from Washington for Burnside to drop everything and go to Rosecrans's relief. He was himself at the Watauga, but on the 18th had ordered a concentration of the bulk of his forces at Knoxville and at Loudon, which lay about thirty miles further toward Chattanooga. Before his troops could get beyond these points, Rosecrans's position at Chattanooga was regarded defensible and the urgency ceased. Some weeks passed; the two divisions of the Ninth Corps, numbering some six thousand effective men, arrived. General Grant had assumed command of the military division, Rosecrans had been relieved, and Mr. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, was at Burnside's headquarters consulting as to future plans of action. Suddenly, Longstreet, who had been detached by Bragg for the purpose, attacked Burnside's advanced post at Loudon, whilst Mr. Dana was still with him. In consequence of the information carried by the latter, Grant encouraged Burnside's slow withdrawal toward Knoxville, leading Longstreet after him. The affair at

Loudon on November 14th was a lively one, but Longstreet's advance was checked by a division of the Twenty-third Corps under Brigadier-General Julius White. Burnside halted again at Campbell's Station on the 16th, when he again repulsed the Confederate advance in a warm combat. On the 18th he retired within his lines at Knoxville, under cover of a gallant resistance to Longstreet by Brigadier-General Saunders with the rear guard, though with the loss of Saunders himself, who was killed. Longstreet invested the city, and was now beyond supporting distance of Bragg, against whom Grant had concentrated part of the Army of the Tennessee as well as the Army of the Cumberland. The battle of Chattanooga was fought on November 23d and 25th, and Grant's victory rendered Longstreet's return to Bragg impracticable. Sherman, who had marched from the Mississippi to the relief of Thomas, now moved again to the relief of Burnside. Longstreet, learning of his advance, made a desperate effort to carry the works at Knoxville by storm at daybreak of November 29th, but suffered a bloody repulse. His troops assaulted Fort Saunders with the same persistent intrepidity they had shown at Gettysburg and on a score of fields in Virginia, but were driven back from the ditch of the earthwork, with a loss of about a thousand men whilst that of the Union forces was only forty-three. On the night of December 4th, Longstreet raised the siege and retired toward the northeast, taking position in the upper valley of the Holston, near Morristown. Sherman, who was now within supporting distance of Burnside, was no longer needed, and leaving the Fourth Corps of the Army of the Cumberland under Major-General Gordon Granger to assist the Army of the Ohio, he returned to Chattanooga to organize still another distant expedition, which we have already traced. Burnside had asked to be relieved

of his command on September 10th, as soon as the complete occupation of East Tennessee was accomplished. His request was then refused, but it was now acted upon and he was succeeded by Major-General John G. Foster, who was soon compelled to retire on account of his health, and was succeeded by General Schofield about the middle of February.

Whilst Longstreet's movement upon Knoxville had been advantageous to the Union armies by rendering the victory at Chattanooga an easier one, it was the cause of a great deal of suffering to the little army of the Ohio. It interrupted the accumulation of supplies during the favorable weather of the autumn, and when winter set in, the mountain roads to Kentucky became impassable, and neither food nor clothing could be looked for in that direction. When the blockade at Chattanooga ceased, and the railroad thence to Nashville was repaired, the single line was overburdened, and could not for some time be made to supply both armies. The important bridge at Loudon had been burned, and though a few light-draught steamboats were pushed up to Knoxville, the navigation of the Holston was very uncertain, and until the beginning of March the forces in East Tennessee suffered the extremest want. A considerable drove of live cattle had been collected at Knoxville before the siege; but they grew thin for lack of forage. The country was stripped bare, and during the month of January the cattle that were turned over to the troops for beef were so poor they could hardly stand up. It is literally true that it was the custom of the commissaries to drive the cattle over a little ditch in the field where they were corralled, and those only were killed which could not get over, their weakness proving that it would not do to keep them longer, whilst the others might still last for future use. Indian corn was ground up, cobs and all, for bread.

Bran and shorts were diligently hunted and used for the same purpose. The country was scoured for subsistence stores, and nothing but a patriotism equal to that of the troops made the country people patient under their losses and privations. The new year opened with a furious gale and icy storm, which came as a cyclone from the northwest, reducing the temperature suddenly below zero. The half-naked soldiers hovered around their camp fires, some without coats, some without pantaloons, some with tattered blankets tied like petticoats about their waists. An officer passing among them with words of sympathy and encouragement was greeted with the cheery response, "It's pretty rough, General, but we'll see it through!" Even during that fearful time cheers were heard ringing out from one and another of the regimental camps, indicating that the regiment had "veteranized," as it was called when a majority of the rank and file had re-enlisted for another three years, or during the war. The only inducement the Government offered was that those re-enlisting should, in their turn, and as rapidly as was safe, have a furlough of thirty days at home. This veteran re-enlistment was going on in all the armies among the troops which had been organized in 1861, and must be borne in mind as one of the important factors in military affairs for the year. Its immediate effect was to reduce greatly the effective force of the armies in the field, but it secured, a little later, a body of experienced soldiers who kept the tide of success moving steadily onward to the end.

The military operations in East Tennessee during the winter were unimportant. Longstreet remained in cantonments near Morristown, except for a short time in January, when he marched to Dandridge on the French Broad River. He was met by a counter-movement of our forces under

General Parke, who marched to meet the enemy with his own corps (the Ninth), Granger's Fourth Corps, and the Twenty-third Corps, which was temporarily in command of General Cox, Hartsuff having been relieved at his own request. After a slight affair at Dandridge, the return of storms of snow and sleet made both parties willing to seek their huts again, and they simultaneously withdrew to their permanent camps. General Grant himself made a visit of inspection and of consultation with General Foster, about the 1st of January, but it was plainly seen that the first work to be done was to improve the means of transportation and push forward supplies by way of Chattanooga. This was vigorously done, and by the time Schofield assumed command, the army was in much better case. As soon as railway transportation could be had, that noble organization, the United States Sanitary Commission, sent forward fresh potatoes, pickled cabbage, and other anti-scorbutic articles of food, the full ration was again issued, clothing began to arrive, and before the first of March the pinch was over.

Longstreet now withdrew beyond Bull's Gap, and Schofield advanced to Morristown. In April it had become evident that the great efforts of the year were to be made in Virginia and in Georgia. Longstreet was recalled by Lee, leaving only a corps of observation in the Upper Holston Valley. Schofield occupied Bull's Gap, and just before the concentration of Sherman's army for the great campaign, destroyed several miles of the railroad beyond the pass and began the concentration of the Twenty-third Corps for its movement toward Georgia. The Ninth Corps left East Tennessee between the 17th and 23d of March, proceeding in detachments to Annapolis in Maryland, where it was greatly reinforced, and Burnside again took command of it in per-

son, joining the Army of the Potomac for the memorable campaign of 1864. The Fourth Corps returned to Cleveland, Tenn., where it resumed its place in the Army of the Cumberland. From this time the Army of the Ohio consisted only of the Twenty-third Corps of infantry and artillery, a corps of cavalry under Major-General George Stone-  
man, and the garrisons and posts in East Tennessee and Kentucky.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE OPPOSING ARMIES.

GENERAL GRANT was not left to carry out his plan of campaign for the Army of the West. Before the spring opened Congress had created the grade of Lieutenant-General, which was conferred upon him, and he was called to Washington to assume the direction of all the armies of the United States. In accordance with his desire, the President assigned Sherman to the command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, left vacant by his promotion, and the two generals met in Nashville on March 17th to consult as to the immediate steps to be taken. The general purpose was already marked out by the preliminary movements which have been described, and the Confederate army, under Johnston, now lying near Dalton, was the object at which all efforts must be aimed. Some days before, Sherman, with prophetic enthusiasm, had written to his commander of his confidence in the future of the National armies under Grant's direction, and saying, "From the west, when our task is done, we will make short work of Charleston and Richmond, and the impoverished coast of the Atlantic." The public sentiment of the country and of the army concurred with the President in approving Grant's indication of his successor, and from this day to the close of the war the confidence of his army in Sherman and its personal attachment to him never wavered, but only grew stronger from month to month. His



From Chattanooga to Atlanta.

courage and activity had been abundantly proven, but his capacity for the independent command of a large army was to be tested. His nervous and restless temperament, with a tendency to irritability, might have raised a doubt whether he would be successful in guiding and directing men of the capacity of his principal subordinates; but experience showed that he had the rare faculty of becoming more equable under great responsibilities and in scenes of great excitement. At such times his eccentricities disappeared, his grasp of the situation was firm and clear, his judgment was cool and based upon sound military theory as well as upon quick practical judgment, and no momentary complication or unexpected event could move him from the purposes he had based on full previous study of contingencies. His mind seemed never so clear, his confidence never so strong, his spirit never so inspiring, and his temper never so amiable as in the crisis of some fierce struggle like that of the day when McPherson fell in front of Atlanta.

On March 18th Sherman issued his orders assuming command of the Military Division, and Major-General James B. McPherson succeeded him in command of the Department and Army of the Tennessee. McPherson had under his immediate command but two corps, which were, at the beginning of May, scattered by divisions along the railroad from Nashville to Huntsville, and thence to Stevenson. Of these the Fifteenth consisted of three divisions, and was commanded by Major-General John A. Logan, and the Sixteenth, which had but two divisions, was commanded by Brigadier-General Grenville M. Dodge. The difficulty which had been found in supplying Thomas's and Schofield's troops by the single line of railroad from Nashville, made prompt attention to the question of transportation necessary. The plan adopted has already been re-

ferred to. The three army commanders were put upon an equal footing as to the right to make requisition for stores and transportation, but the control of the railways and management of the trains was held strictly in hand by the General-in-Chief, and his orders issued through his Master of Transportation at Nashville were absolute. All traffic over the lines by private citizens was forbidden, as was private travel also. No one could travel by rail except by permission specially given or under army orders. Troops *en route* were directed to march, unless in cases of exigency they were ordered forward by rail. In short, the railway trains were strictly devoted to the carrying of army supplies, and every hundred weight the engines could draw was to be made immediately useful to the army. It was estimated that thirteen hundred tons per day must be forwarded to keep the army supplied and accumulate such stores as would be needed in case of temporary interruption of communications by accident or by the enemy's cavalry. The rolling stock and machinery under army control were not sufficient for this, even when posts within a radius of thirty miles from Nashville were ordered to be supplied by wagons, and beef cattle for the army were driven on foot to the front. Sherman then ordered the cars and engines of other railroads coming into Nashville to be held and used for army purposes, and in this way the means of supplying the army were finally secured.

Such vigorous measures were not adopted without opposition, and it seemed to the inhabitants of Tennessee impossible to live under such restrictions; but the military necessity was satisfactorily shown to the Government at Washington, and the Commanding General was not interfered with. New channels of communication were found practicable by citizen traders, and when the army was in possession of a surplus the rules were judiciously relaxed, so that little

actual suffering was occasioned. The sufficient answer to all complaints was, that it was the only system under which a forward movement of the army would be possible.

The field transportation of the army was also regulated. Each regiment on the march was allowed one wagon and one ambulance, and to the company officers of each company was assigned a pack-mule in common for carrying their mess-kit and personal baggage. A similar reduction to the minimum reached through brigade, division, and corps headquarters, and the *impedimenta* were everywhere as small as was consistent with the performance of the necessary official work of an army organization. The greater part of all clerical duty was performed at offices in the rear, to which the field reports of various kinds were sent for record and for proper transmission, only the absolutely necessary work being done in the field. The army was thus stripped for its work, and its commander went even beyond what was necessary in setting an example of contempt for personal comfort and convenience, and of the subordination of every other consideration to the single purpose of uniting mobility with strength in the great army.

The plan of campaign which Grant adopted for the year was a simple one, and one naturally growing out of the positions of the Confederate armies. The Lieutenant-General took upon himself the task of pressing Lee back upon Richmond, unless he would accept a decisive battle in the open field. Sherman was to do the same with Johnston's army, for which Atlanta, as a railway centre, had similar importance to that which the capital of Virginia had for Lee. Banks was expected to collect an army of 25,000 men in his Department, and move from New Orleans on Mobile, and, should he take it, operate thence as auxiliary to Sherman. The beginning of May was fixed upon for the general open-

ing of the campaign, and each of the three columns was expected to keep the enemy in its front so fully employed that reinforcements from one to the other of the Confederate armies would be impracticable. The veteran re-enlistments reduced the strength of the National forces at the outset, by reason of the month's furlough given to those who renewed their term of service; but it gave assurance of increased and more valuable disciplined strength later in the campaign, and even from the beginning gave us a considerably larger force than our opponents in each of the moving columns. The days for brilliant detached campaigns, such as Jackson had made in Virginia, were over. Lee, as well as Johnston, settled down to patient defensive operations behind carefully constructed earthworks, watching for some slip in the strategy of the Federal commanders which might give hope of success to aggressive return blows by their smaller forces.

Sherman visited his subordinate army commanders, informed them of his purposes, directed the concentration of the Armies of the Tennessee and Ohio near the respective flanks of the Army of the Cumberland, and fixed the 5th of May for a general forward movement. His first plan had been to make Dalton the point for concentration of his three columns; but the fact that McPherson was unable to concentrate over two-thirds of the Army of the Tennessee, by reason of the absence of the divisions which were with Banks and the large number of furloughed veterans, was the primary reason for changing his orders. The change was in accord with sound military maxims, for Johnston held very strong positions some miles in front of Dalton, and the Army of the Ohio would have been in a dangerously exposed position had it marched upon that place whilst the enemy still held Rocky Face and Mill Creek Gap.

On the 4th of May, Schofield, marching out of East Tennessee by way of Cleveland and the old Federal road, had crossed the Georgia line and reached Red Clay, passing by part of the Fourth Corps, which immediately took up its march and moved to Catoosa Springs, whilst the rest of the Army of the Cumberland advanced to the immediate neighborhood of Ringgold, and the Army of the Tennessee came close upon their right at Lee & Gordon's Mills. Sherman himself was at the centre with Thomas, and the whole army was well in hand, the extreme distance from McPherson to Schofield being about sixteen miles, in a line nearly at right angles to the road from Chattanooga to Dalton, Thomas, whose force was nearly equal to Johnston's, being somewhat advanced beyond the wings.

Sherman entered the campaign with an effective force of nearly 100,000 men and 254 guns. Of these the Army of the Cumberland had 60,000 men and 130 guns, the Army of the Tennessee 25,000 men and 96 guns, and the Army of the Ohio 14,000 men and 28 guns.

The popular tendency to clamor against an unsuccessful general was quite as strong in the Southern States as elsewhere, and Bragg had been relieved in obedience to it after the battle of Chattanooga. He was still strong in the confidence of Jefferson Davis, and was called to Richmond, where he performed the duties of chief-of-staff to the Confederate President. General Joseph E. Johnston was assigned to the command of the army at Dalton, but did not have the full confidence of Mr. Davis, who nominated him rather because public opinion pointed him out as the officer most fit for the command, than because of his own preference. The estrangement between them dated from the first campaign of the war, when Johnston had not taken Mr. Davis as fully into his military confidence as the latter expected, and had

probably hurt the self-esteem of the Confederate President in a point on which he was understood to be tender—his judgment and ability in military matters.

The effect of these relations is plainly seen throughout the campaign. A game of cross purposes began from the first. In January, Johnston was urged to assume the aggressive, but he somewhat tartly replied by demanding the reinforcements in men and material which he considered necessary. The correspondence with Bragg, as the mouth-piece of Mr. Davis, continued through the winter, each trying to put the other in the wrong. Johnston showed that the army was no fitter for the initiative than when Bragg was relieved, and the latter endeavored to show a much more favorable condition of things. Early in March reinforcements, which would raise his army to 75,000 effective men, were offered him on condition of a forward movement. He eagerly urged that the increase be given him at once, but indicated that it was wise to await the advance of Sherman, repulse him, and then assume a vigorous aggressive. No doubt his army needed rest and recuperation nearly as much as the Union forces, and the season of bad roads and wintry weather was profitably employed in bettering the condition of artillery and train animals, disciplining and drilling the troops and collecting supplies. At any rate, the season passed in a tilt at letter-writing between Bragg and Johnston, and no reinforcements were sent him till Sherman's advance in force compelled it.

Johnston was an officer who, by the common consent of the military men of both sides, was reckoned second only to Lee, if second, in the qualities which fit an officer for the responsibility of great commands. His military experience and knowledge were large, his mind eminently systematic, his judgment sound, his courage imperturbable. He was

not sanguine in temperament, and therefore was liable to lack in audacity. Inclined by nature to a Fabian policy, it was a settled conviction with him that in the existing condition of the Confederacy such a policy should be imposed on the most audacious, unless a great blunder on the other side should reveal an opportunity for a decisive advantage. The results which followed a change of policy later in the campaign go far to justify him in his judgment. Right or wrong, he deliberately adopted a plan of carefully intrenched lines, one succeeding the other, as he might be compelled to retire. He practised a lynx-eyed watchfulness of his adversary, tempting him constantly to assault his intrenchments, holding his fortified positions to the last moment, but choosing that last moment so well as to save nearly every gun and wagon in the final withdrawal, and always presenting a front covered by such defences that one man in the line was, by all sound military rules, equal to three or four in the attack. In this way he constantly neutralized the superiority of force his opponent wielded, and made his campaign from Dalton to the Chattahoochee a model of defensive warfare. It is Sherman's glory that, with a totally different temperament, he accepted his adversary's game, and played it with a skill that was finally successful, as we shall see.

It is difficult to determine satisfactorily what was the exact strength of Johnston's army as compared with Sherman's at the opening of the campaign. The Confederate armies never made use of so complete a system of reports as were used among us. Their poverty imposed upon them both the disadvantages and the advantages of an absence of the elaborate bureau organization which we employed. Their field reports of effective strength were almost the only ones upon which their generals relied, and these did not show the

whole number of men present and fit for duty, but the actual number of muskets in line after deducting all the slightly sick, the men on special duty of every sort, and all officers and detachments.

This is illustrated by Johnston's statement in a letter to Mr. Davis on January 2, 1864, that the reports and returns for December 20th showed his "effective total of the army (infantry and artillery)" to be "not quite thirty-six thousand; the number present about forty-three thousand; that present and absent about seventy-seven thousand." In comparison with the reports of the National forces the number present affords the best parallel computation, and it will usually be found, as in the example given, to be about twenty per cent. more than their reports of effectives. In commenting upon the expectations of his Government, Johnston complains that they expected him to open the campaign aggressively with sixteen thousand less men than had been named in the proposal in March. That number was 75,000, and would seem to show that he reckoned his force about sixty thousand men when Sherman moved upon Dalton on May 5th, and before Polk's corps joined him. The Richmond administration gave the same figures. Add to this the statement of General Hood, that the Confederate force was 75,000 men in the early part of the campaign, and it is fairly proven that the 44,000 which Johnston gives as his effective force at Dalton on May 1st, is considerably below the number present, as usually computed, and that the additions to his command made soon afterward, would bring it nearly or quite to the figures named by the Confederate General Hood. The chief interest in the question is in its bearing on the statements of "effective" force on the one side, and the "present for duty" on the other, as they appear in the reports of commanding officers of

the opposing forces and in the current histories of the time.<sup>1</sup>

Johnston's position at Dalton was not originally selected by himself, for Bragg had gathered his defeated forces there at the beginning of the winter. But the new commander had strengthened the position by fortifications, and prepared it with such skill to resist an attack in front that it was practically impregnable. The key to the topography of North Georgia is the general trend of the great Allegheny range of mountains, which determines the eastern shore of the continent and forms the backbone of the Atlantic States from Vermont to the region we are considering. The general direction of the mountains is northeast and southwest. In the valley between the Cumberland and Great Smoky ranges lie the Holston and Clinch Rivers, which, uniting to form the Tennessee, then turn to the west at Chattanooga, rounding the southern spurs of the Cumberland Mountains. The more eastern ranges continue further south, one after another losing its character as a ridge, till Kennesaw, Pine Mountain, and Lost Mountain, near Marietta, with Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, stand out as isolated highlands in the midst of the broken but not quite mountainous country which is intermediate between the mountains proper and the sandy plains of the Gulf coast. Going south from Chattanooga a number of narrow parallel valleys are drained by branches of Chickamauga Creek, which enters the Tennessee just east of the town, and which heads nearly west of Dalton about twenty miles from its mouth. The eastern barrier of this basin is Rocky Face Ridge, a continuous wall of quartz rock with precipitous faces, flanked on the west by a subordinate ridge, through which, at Tunnel

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A.

Hill, the railway pierces and runs southeasterly through a gorge in Rocky Face known as Mill Creek Gap, the towering sides of which are called the Buzzard's Roost. Mill Creek winds southeasterly five or six miles after passing the gap and flows into a branch of the Connasauga River, a tributary of the Oostanaula. Dalton lies about a mile south of Mill Creek; through it, and upon the same side of the Connasauga, the railway passes, Tilton and Resaca being the neighboring villages and stations, the latter at the crossing of the Oostanaula, and about twelve or fourteen miles from Dalton. Rocky Face extends some three miles north of Mill Creek Gap, or a little farther than Tunnel Hill, where it breaks into separate hills. On the east, Dalton was not covered by any similar natural defence, though the line of Mill Creek and the river could easily have been made strong if Sherman had shown any serious intent to advance on that side. The transportation question, however, was a great obstacle to such a plan, for it required the full capacity of his railway line to keep the army supplied, and the interruption of communications, even for a few days, was not to be considered, except in emergencies. To make Cleveland his base, would be to open the way for Johnston into Middle Tennessee and tempt him to transfer the war into that region, by a movement with his whole force similar to that which Hood made later in the year. He would have been, from the beginning of such a movement, between Sherman and his line of supplies in the lower Tennessee Valley. Johnston rightly judged, therefore, that he must expect his opponent along the line of the railway, and his defences were prepared accordingly. Mill Creek was dammed so as to make a deep wet ditch in a part of his front, and intrenchments made in the Gap connected with the crests of Rocky Face both north and south. Near the northern extremity of

this ridge, and about four miles from Dalton, an east and west line of earthworks on a very strong position connected Rocky Face with the high ground commanding the East Tennessee Railway, and the line then turned southward and made a nearly continuous chain of defences east of the town. In front, therefore, and on either flank for miles to the rear, Dalton was so strong as to be safe from a *coup de main*; too strong, indeed, to make it probable that the Federal commander would seriously attack the works, if caution counted for anything in his character. But Sherman was reckoned impulsive and enterprising, and Johnston had hopes that he might dash his army upon these formidable barriers and give the chance for a destructive counter-blow when weakened and perhaps disorganized by an unsuccessful assault.

Before the opening of the campaign, Thomas had called Sherman's attention to Snake Creek Gap as a route by which Resaca or Calhoun could be reached, and the position at Dalton be turned. He had offered to lead the Army of the Cumberland by this defile, whilst the Armies of the Tennessee and Ohio occupied Johnston in front. The positions of his forces, and the desire to have the greater strength of the Army of the Cumberland at the centre and covering his own base, made Sherman modify whilst he accepted the plan. He determined to send McPherson with his two corps against Resaca, whilst he pressed Johnston in front with the superior force, ready to follow him up the moment he let go of Dalton, and before he could seriously damage McPherson.

It is uncertain whether Johnston believed Snake Creek Gap to be a practicable route for a large column. It is hard to realize now how little accurate knowledge either party had of the topography of the country. Maps worthy the name there were none, and the Confederate staff seems

to have been greatly inferior to that of the United States Army in working up such material as they had. The fact that the route McPherson followed was almost entirely unguarded gives strong support to the opinion, which was the common one in Sherman's army at the time, that Johnston rested securely in the belief that his position could only be turned by a much longer detour, and one involving many more contingencies for his opponent.

Before extending our examination of the topography, let us return to the military movements of the 7th of May and the week following.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE LINES BEFORE DALTON.

ON Saturday, May 7th, under orders from Sherman, Thomas advanced the Fourteenth Corps (Major-General John M. Palmer) from Ringgold upon Tunnel Hill, the Fourth Corps (Major-General O. O. Howard) from Catoosa Springs to Dr. Lee's house on the Tunnel Hill road, where it would be in support of Palmer, and the Twentieth Corps (Major-General Joseph Hooker) from Lee & Gordon's Mills southeasterly into Dogwood Valley at and above Trickum, where it would be about three miles nearly due south from the centre at Tunnel Hill.

At the same time Schofield moved the Twenty-third Corps from Red Clay southwest, his leading division (Cox's) to Dr. Lee's, where it was close upon the Fourth Corps, and the rest extending toward Catoosa Springs, McCook's division of cavalry covering Varnell Station and the East Tennessee Railway.

McPherson, with the Army of the Tennessee diverging from Hooker's line of march, moved toward Ship Gap and Villanow, under orders to be near the Gap on the 7th, and the following day to proceed *via* Villanow and Snake Creek Gap, and place himself upon the railroad in Johnston's rear.

These movements concentrated the army on a much shorter line than before, and swung the right centre (Hooker) close to Rocky Face ridge south of Mill Creek Gap,

where he covered the road leading to Villanow. They were made with no serious resistance, except that at Tunnel Hill the enemy's cavalry presented a pretty firm front, and delayed Palmer's advance long enough for the deployment of part of Howard's corps on their flank, when they speedily retired within the gap.

On the 8th the concentric movements continued. Harker's brigade of Newton's division, Fourth Corps, scaled the north end of Rocky Face and moved southward along the crest. The advance was led by Colonel Opdycke, 125th Ohio, who drove back the enemy's outposts and skirmishers till the Confederates were found in force upon a very strong position crossing the ridge at a place where it rose rapidly in front of Newton's men, an abrupt and rugged rocky barrier, about a mile and a half north of the signal station at Buzzard's Roost, above Mill Creek Gap. The ridge was so narrow that no deployment could be made, sometimes scarce a dozen men having room to stand abreast. The progress was therefore tedious, and numbers gave little or no advantage. The rest of the Fourth Corps troops connected with Newton as well as the ground would admit, forming a diagonal line from the valley on the west up to the summits which Newton held. At the centre, Wood's division of the Fourth, Davis's of the Fourteenth and Butterfield's of the Twentieth Corps pushed back the enemy into the mouth of the Gap. About two miles farther to the south, Geary's division of the Twentieth Corps made a strong effort to carry the summit of Rocky Face at Dug Gap,<sup>1</sup> but were foiled by the same physical difficulties which baffled all other attempts along this palisaded ridge. The skirmishers advanced, scrambling

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<sup>1</sup> Van Horne erroneously describes this movement as being against Chattooga Mountain "separated from Rocky Face by Mill Creek." General Thomas calls it Chattoogata Mountain, the "ridge running due south from Buzzard's Roost." Geary's report describes his crossing Mill Creek (which here runs north) before ascending "Rocky Land Ridge," or Rocky Face at Dug Gap.

over the rocks and through the undergrowth, till already blown and nearly exhausted they found themselves facing a perpendicular wall with only clefts and crevices leading up through it, the narrow roadway which had been their guide being strongly held by the enemy and intrenched. A gallant effort was made to reach the crest, but the smaller force of Confederates was led by General Hardee in person, and held their natural fortress.

Meanwhile the Armies of the Ohio and Tennessee were also moving forward. Schofield's left division (Cox) moved a mile eastward to Kincannon Cross Roads, with one brigade a mile farther to the south. His right (Judah) connected with Newton at the north spur of Rocky Face, and the centre (Hovey) completed the line, covering the roads from Dalton direct to Varnell Station, whilst the cavalry division of McCook watched the flank further to the east.

McPherson, following his orders, pushed forward to Vilanow, and on the next day, the 9th, marched through Snake Creek Gap. At two in the afternoon he was close upon Resaca, and Sherman was full of hope that he would be able to place himself astride of the railway in Johnston's rear. He was accompanied by Kilpatrick's cavalry division.

Snake Creek is an insignificant branch of the Oostanaula, running southward between high and rugged ridges, which, on the east, are nearly continuous with Rocky Face, and are known by the general name of Chattoogata Mountains. On the west the parallel range is called Horn Mountain. A watershed half-way from Tunnel Hill to the Oostanaula separates the sources of Mill Creek from those of Snake Creek, and this divide is properly the gap. The whole pass, however, is known by this name, and is a wild and picturesque defile, five or six miles long. Hardly a cabin was to be seen in its whole length. The road was only such

a track as country wagons had worn in the bed of the stream or along the foot of the mountain. The forest shut it in, and only for a little while at midday did the sun enter it. Near its southern extremity, at Sugar Valley P. O., it reached the more open country bordering the river, which here runs for a little way nearly west, and roads branch off to Resaca eastward, and southward to Calhoun, turning the south end of the precipitous ridges which guard Dalton on the west. Resaca itself stands in the elbow at the junction of the Connasauga with the Oostanaula, and on the north bank of the latter stream. Camp Creek, another small stream, flows into the river just west of the village, and the high plateau bordering it and the more rugged hills between it and the Connasauga a little further north, made it a very strong place for the intrenched camp which the Confederate commander had prepared there. It was held by two brigades under General Canty,<sup>1</sup> and such a force could easily defend it against a very strong column. It was a well-fortified post, suitable for a safe depôt of supplies; but it is improbable that Johnston regarded it as a position for his whole army.

McPherson passed the defile without opposition, and pushed his advance close to the fortifications about the post. His reconnoissance satisfied him that he could not carry the works by assault, or that it was at least not worth the cost in lives which it would involve. He had no accurate knowledge of the topography or of roads by which he could turn the position and reach the railroad further north. Neither could he tell to what extent Johnston had already detached portions of his command to resist him. He there-

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the accounts speak of only one brigade as the garrison, but Johnston, in his Narrative (p. 316), distinctly says that two brigades defended it against McPherson.

fore adopted the prudent course of retiring to a strong position at the southern mouth of the gap, where he made sure of keeping the way open for the whole army, and reported the situation to his superior. Sherman was disappointed in this, and when they met, told McPherson that he had lost a great opportunity; but he carefully spared the feelings of his subordinate, with whom his friendship was most intimate, and he applied his energies at once to making the most of the actual situation.

During Monday, the 9th, Thomas and Schofield pressed Johnston's front at all points. The divisions of Hooker's, Palmer's, and Howard's corps in front of Buzzard's roost were all engaged, and whilst there was no combined and determined assault of the Confederate lines in form, the attack was kept up with well-supported skirmish lines, and Sherman's purpose of keeping his opponent fully occupied was well carried out. On the north crest of Rocky Face, Harker's brigade of Newton's division made the most serious effort of the day, and became committed to an attack which fully tested the possibility of pushing the enemy away from his stronghold on that summit at Buzzard's Roost. The brigade was supported by the rest of the division as well as by Judah's division of the Army of the Ohio. Meanwhile Schofield advanced Cox's and Hovey's divisions along a lower parallel ridge on the east, nearly two miles, till they came upon the fortifications extending across the valleys north of Dalton already described. The works were found to be very strong, and the enemy was not tempted to leave them. Schofield's troops were due east from the crest where Harker was fighting, and from there the view of the combat above was an exciting one. The line of blue coats could be seen among the rocks, nearly at right angles

with the line of the ridge, the men at the top in *silhouette* against the sky, close up to the Confederate trenches, where their charges were met with a line of fire before which they recoiled only to renew the effort, till it became apparent even to the most daring that it was useless to lead men against such barriers. The orders were not to waste life in serious assault upon intrenchments, but the zeal of the troops and subordinate commanders turned the intended skirmish into something very like a ranged battle, and the Confederate reports state that five separate and regular assaults were made upon their lines.

Johnston's disposition of his troops was such as was naturally indicated by the contour of the ground. He relied upon the inaccessible palisades of Rocky Face to defend his left rear, and had Reynolds's Arkansas and Granberry's Texan brigades and Grigsby's brigade of dismounted Kentucky Cavalry holding Dug Gap and the ridge adjacent. Bate's division was on the left of the stream in Mill Creek Gap under Buzzard's Roost, Stewart's on the right of it, Cheatham's continued Stewart's lines about a mile along the crest to the commanding point attacked by Harker, thence turning down the mountain to the east came in succession Stevenson's, Hindman's, and Cleburne's divisions, crossing Crow Valley and holding the works in front of Schofield's Twenty-third Corps. Walker's division was in reserve near the angle of the Confederate line. Lieutenant-General Hardee commanded the left wing, and Lieutenant-General Hood the right. Wheeler's cavalry covered Johnston's right, and during the day McCook, whose division of horse was near Varnell's Station, had a lively affair with him. La-Grange's brigade attacked and drove Wheeler back some distance to a hill defended by artillery, known as Poplar Place. Here the enemy resumed the aggressive with supe-

rior force, having two brigades of infantry as well as the cavalry, and LaGrange was routed and himself captured. In this affair the loss in casualties and prisoners was about a hundred and fifty on either side.

During the night the National army rested on its arms, the troops on the mountain sides and crests in line of battle. Rest it could hardly be called, for the surface of the ground was a mass of broken quartz rock, the sharp edges and angles of which had not yielded to weathering, and the bivouac was a rough one.

The 10th, the demonstrations were continued along the line, but with less vigor. Johnston was now aware of McPherson's presence in Snake Creek Gap, and during the night had sent Hood with Walker's, Hindman's, and Cleburne's divisions toward Resaca. The Richmond Government was also awake to his necessities, and Polk's corps was on the way to him. On getting news that McPherson was not pressing an attack upon Resaca but had taken position at the mouth of the Gap, Hood was recalled with Hindman's division, leaving Cleburne and Walker near Tilton, covering the Rome and Resaca roads. Lieutenant-General Polk with his advanced division (Loring's) reached Resaca on the 11th and was authorized by Johnston to call Cleburne and Walker to him in case of need.

During the 10th Sherman became aware that it would not now be practicable for McPherson to reach the railroad in view of Johnston's new disposition of his forces, and that the latter was not yet ready to let go of Dalton. He directed McPherson to strengthen his position, and intimated his wish not to have Johnston hurried in leaving Dalton for a couple of days, till his own arrangements for the larger movement should be complete. Schofield was swung back, marching to the rear in line, till his com-

mand prolonged the line of the Fourth Corps on the ridge of Rocky Face, with his front to the east. Williams's division of Hooker's corps advanced to the support of McPherson on the Villanow and Snake Creek road, and the rest of that corps was ordered to follow. The movement of the whole army by that flank was only awaiting the arrival nearer the front of Major-General Stoneman with the cavalry of the Army of the Ohio, which had been refitting, and which was expected to cover the Chattanooga and Cleveland roads.

On the 11th orders were issued for a general movement on the next day at daybreak: Howard's (Fourth) corps to remain in position, Stoneman's cavalry to take the place of Schofield's Twenty-third Corps, and the rest of the armies of the Cumberland and Ohio to follow the movement by the right flank through Snake Creek Gap. In the afternoon of the 11th, Johnston being anxious to learn whether the National army was in motion, made a reconnoissance in force of Wheeler's cavalry supported by Hindman's division against Schofield's left. The enemy were resisted by the cavalry under Stoneman, and did not reach the infantry lines, which, though called to arms, were not engaged. Johnston was induced by false reports from scouts and country people to believe that Stoneman burned many wagons of the train. The affair was an unimportant one, though causing some scores of casualties on either side.

By sunrise next morning, Thomas, with the Fourteenth Corps (Palmer's), was in motion, closely followed by Schofield, and during the day the whole army, except Howard's corps and Stoneman's cavalry, was concentrated near McPherson's position at the *debouche* of the Gap looking toward Resaca. The troops had ten days' rations, of which three were cooked and in haversacks, all baggage was at the rear near Ringgold, no tents were allowed even to general officers.

The deep valleys and forests west of Rocky Face had perfectly covered the movement, and it was made without the slightest interruption from the enemy. Johnston learned from Polk at Resaca of the gathering forces in front of that place on the 12th, evacuated Dalton during the night, and concentrated his command in front of Sherman. He took his position under cover of the resistance made by Loring's division of Polk's corps to the advance of McPherson's column. His rear was covered by his cavalry which Howard followed on the morning of the 13th, passing through Dalton at nine o'clock and capturing a considerable number of prisoners as he advanced. Wheeler was supported by infantry at Tilton, and by this means was able to delay Howard near that point till night.

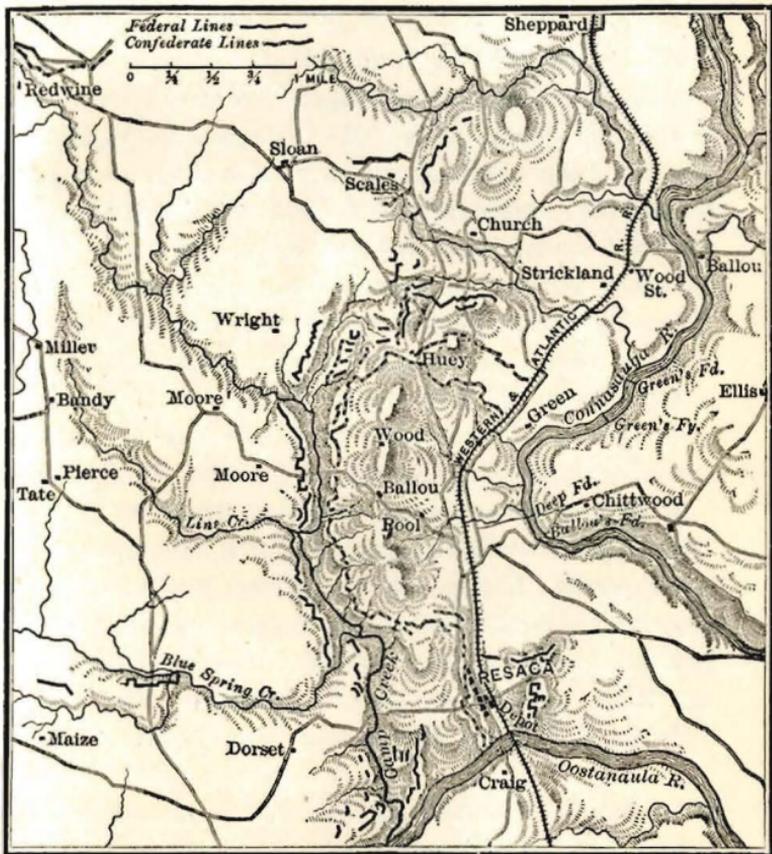
The first important step in the campaign had been successfully taken, and the enemy had been compelled to evacuate the impregnable lines about Dalton, with but trifling loss on Sherman's part. Johnston had been disappointed in his hope of making a heavy return blow upon his opponent. The prestige of a fortunate initiative was with the National commander.

## CHAPTER V.

### RESACA.

THE sketch already given of Resaca will make it easy to understand the position which Johnston took about the place. Polk's corps, which was already on the ground and facing McPherson, naturally became the left of his line, with his left flank resting on the Oostanaula. Next to him was placed Hardee's corps, extending the line northward, and Hood's corps, bending to the east, reached the Conna-sauga River with his right flank. The valley of Camp Creek was in front of his centre for a distance of two miles or more nearly north and south. Polk had part of his troops on the west bank of the creek near its mouth, because the high hills which he thus occupied covered and protected the railroad bridge at Resaca. This advanced position also enfiladed the upper part of Camp Creek and served as a bastion for the line of works along the east bank of the stream. Further north the Confederate line left the creek and followed the line of high wooded hills facing to the north.

Sherman brought his trains into Snake Creek Gap, Garrard's cavalry picketing the roads to the rear. Schofield left one division (Hovey's) at the mouth of the Gap, one brigade of it being stationed near the rear of the parked trains, about five miles southeast of Villanow. During the day the Army of the Tennessee was advanced to cover the movement of the rest of the forces, Logan's corps being deployed and



Resaca.

supported by Veatch's division of Dodge's. Logan, who met with a sharp resistance, succeeded in occupying a ridge nearly parallel to that held by Polk in front of him ; but as his right did not reach far south of the Resaca road, the division of the Sixteenth Corps was brought up and deployed on his right. This gave the whole army a strong flank resting on the Oostanaula. On the morning of the 14th McPherson was ordered to move straight on Resaca, his right covered by Kilpatrick's cavalry. He was to occupy the line of Camp Creek on its west bank, and endeavor to reach the railroad with his left. The lack of topographical information made it seem possible to do this, but it turned out that the maps were misleading, and the railroad curved eastward above Resaca, behind the enemy's centre. Thomas was directed to take advantage of country roads and paths to reach McPherson's left with the Twentieth and Fourteenth Corps and to form there. Schofield's remaining two divisions, Judah's and Cox's, followed the Rome and Dalton road some two miles to the north, and then struck across country and came in on Thomas's left. The broken nature of the ground made this a difficult march, and it required extraordinary exertions to take the artillery across the ravines and streams which had to be passed. About noon the whole line was facing the valley of Camp Creek, and Howard with the Fourth Corps was about a mile to the north of Schofield's left.

In the deployment, the left of Palmer's (Fourteenth) corps reached nearly to the place where Camp Creek Valley bends to the northwestward, and where the enemy's entrenched line curved away from it to the east. Thomas and Schofield were in person at this point, and word being received that Howard was within supporting distance, the order was given for the line to advance. Along the right the

enemy's skirmishers were driven over the creek, except at the bridge where the Resaca road crosses it. The defensive lines on the east bank were fully developed, and the artillery opened on both sides of the valley. Schofield's divisions moved in line across the creek. His left division (Cox's) carried and held the intrenchments in its front, driving the enemy from them at a charge after a fierce struggle. His right division (Judah's) marched against the angle of the Confederate works where these turned away from the valley. The ground was very difficult there, and the troops in crossing the valley were subject to enfilade from salients further to the right as well as to the direct fire in front. They were unable to get a foothold on the opposite bluffs, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Meanwhile Cox's right was exposed to a cross fire of artillery. His men made use of the reverse of the enemy's captured trench, strengthening it by such means as were at hand, and Newton's and Wood's divisions of the Fourth Corps marched to their support. The enemy fell back and established a new line several hundred yards further in rear. Wood formed on Cox's left, and Stanley's division was in *echelon*, still beyond Wood's flank.

The movements of the morning had crowded our forces too much to the right, and Howard's left was in the air. Sherman directed Thomas to move Hooker's corps to the left, the Army of the Tennessee and Palmer's (Fourteenth) corps being able to extend and hold the west bank of Camp Creek. Johnston also had detected the weakness of our left flank, and Hood was already marching with Stewart's and Stevenson's division to turn it. At the same time the effort was made to drive back all the National forces which had crossed Camp Creek, and a demonstration was made all along the line. Stanley was outflanked and was being

pressed back, when Hooker's leading division (Williams's) arrived and turned the tide. The other divisions of that corps followed promptly, the enemy was repulsed and the line extended on the continuation of the intrenchment carried by Schofield's men earlier in the day. Cox's division had exhausted its ammunition about the middle of the afternoon, and as wagons could not reach him over the creek, he was relieved, one brigade at a time, by Newton. In relieving the right brigade (Manson's) by Harker, both brigade commanders were injured by the explosion of a shell, and at this point the losses on both sides were severe.

On the right a brisk skirmish and artillery fight was kept up, more by way of feints and demonstrations than with the intention of serious attack. Osterhaus's division of Logan's corps was upon the principal road leading to Resaca, which runs through a heavily wooded valley before reaching the creek. The stream is there deep enough to make a formidable obstacle, and the road crosses it by a bridge. In the afternoon, during one of the demonstrations, the enemy's skirmishers showed signs of weakness, and Osterhaus, pushing the advantage with vigor, succeeded in driving them through the wood and over the bridge. Before this could be destroyed the Twelfth Missouri was thrown across it and into the timber on the farther side, where they succeeded in making and holding an intrenched line as a bridge head. The Confederates under Polk, in their advanced position on our extreme right were a good deal weakened in *morale* by the knowledge that the National troops had thus made good a foothold in rear of their flank, and between five and six o'clock Logan ordered forward the brigades of Generals Giles A. Smith and C. R. Woods, supported by Veatch's division from Dodge's corps. The height held by Polk was car-

ried, and the position intrenched under a galling artillery and musketry fire from the enemy's principal lines. During the evening Polk made a vigorous effort to retake the position, but was repulsed, McPherson sending forward Lightburn's brigade to the support of the troops already engaged. The hill thus carried commanded the railroad and wagon bridges crossing the Oostanaula, and Johnston, upon learning of Polk's failure to retake the lost ground, ordered a road to be cut during the night, and a pontoon bridge to be laid across the river a mile above the town, and out of range of fire.

Early in the day, in pursuance of Sherman's orders, McPherson had sent Sweeny's division of Dodge's corps to Lay's Ferry, with instructions to make a lodgment on the south bank of the Oostanaula and cover the laying of a pontoon bridge by Captain Reese, Chief Engineer of the Army of the Tennessee. Sweeny moved to the river and effected the crossing by one brigade, but on a false rumor of an attempt by the enemy to cross above him, he withdrew to the right bank and retired a mile and a half to a less exposed position. Johnston received the report of this movement from General Martin of the cavalry, whose outposts had been driven off, and marched Walker's division of infantry toward Calhoun in the night; but this officer, finding the south bank clear, reported the alarm a false one, and was at once recalled. Sweeny, however, resumed the movement on the morning of the 15th, got his whole division across and intrenched, and the bridge was laid with comparatively little opposition. The cavalry under Brigadier-General Kilpatrick had been very active and useful in covering the flank of the Army of the Tennessee, and that enterprising officer had been severely wounded in the advance against Polk's lines in front of Resaca.

During the morning of the 15th sharp skirmishing continued along the whole front, but the left flank, was that by which Sherman intended to advance. Hooker's whole corps was in line, and Schofield's two divisions were withdrawn from the centre and passed to the extreme left in his support. On the Confederate side Hood was reinforced by troops from Hardee's and Polk's corps, and made another effort to swing his right forward. This was shortly after noon. He was met by a simultaneous advance from Hooker. Butterfield's division drove back Hood's advance under Stevenson, the latter being unable to withdraw a battery which had been run forward to a commanding position. The guns remained between the armies till night, when they were taken and brought off by a detachment of the Fifth Ohio under Colonel Kilpatrick. Hooker's corps made a strong line of defensive works along its front, Schofield took position on his flank and rear, and everything was prepared for a still closer investment on the morrow.

Sherman's purpose was to contract and strengthen his lines as much as possible, so that a considerable part of his forces could be withdrawn for another flanking movement south of the Oostanaula. He had laid a second pontoon bridge at Lay's Ferry, near the mouth of Snake Creek, and Garrard's cavalry were already operating toward Calhoun, threatening Johnston's railway line. Johnston's position, though a very strong one, had the fatal defect of giving him a river at his back, and a comparatively small force on the further bank would make his investment complete. He saw that he could not safely make a longer delay, and withdrew during the night of the 15th, burning the railroad bridge behind him. Polk's and Hardee's corps crossed by the railroad bridge and one built on trestles near it, and marched to Calhoun. Hood crossed on the pontoon laid in the night

of the 14th, and took the road to Adairsville by Spring Place.

In the morning Sherman entered the town, and began at once the work of repairing bridges and putting his columns across the river. Davis's division of Palmer's (Fourteenth) corps was immediately sent to support Garrard's cavalry toward Rome. McPherson was ordered to cross the Oostanaula at Lay's Ferry, Thomas's Fourth and Fourteenth Corps to cross at Resaca, Schofield's Twenty-third and Hooker's Twentieth Corps to cross the Connasauga at Fite's Ferry or Echota, some two miles above. Stoneman, with the cavalry of the Army of the Ohio, was on the extreme left, and Kilpatrick's accompanied the central columns.

## CHAPTER VI.

### FROM THE OOSTANAULA TO THE ETOWAH.

THE country south of Resaca and between the Oostanaula and Etowah Rivers is much more open and less broken than any other portion of Northern Georgia. The Oostanaula pursues a southwesterly course to Rome, where it is joined by the Etowah running nearly due west, and the two form the Coosa. Taking the two rivers as sides of a triangle, the third side from Resaca due south would be about thirty miles in length. The railway, after crossing the river at Resaca, runs south through Calhoun, Adairsville, and Kingston, then bends eastward through Cassville and Cartersville, and crosses the Etowah at Alatoona, where a spur of rugged and high hills on the south side of the river is traversed by a deep gorge, the famous Alatoona Pass. From Kingston a branch of the railroad ran to Rome, but had not at that time been built farther to the southwest.

Johnston's opinion of the steadiness of the National troops and of Sherman's ability to handle them was, as he says, higher than that which Southern newspaper editors, and even the Richmond Government held, and he was fully resolved not to risk a general engagement in a field where Sherman's superior force could be manœuvred so as to reach his flanks. He sought, therefore, for a position in some valley narrow enough to enable him to rest either wing upon commanding ground which could not readily be

turned by ordinary field tactics. He halted, on the 16th, a mile or two south of Calhoun, in the valley of Oothcaloga Creek, where the roads on which Hardee and Hood were moving were only about a mile apart. Cheatham's division of Hardee's corps, with Wheeler's cavalry, formed the rear guard.

The position below Calhoun was not thought a good one, but Johnston's engineers reported that a mile or two north of Adairsville suitable ground could be found. Accordingly he marched on the 17th to the position reported, and halted whilst a careful reconnoissance was made. The breadth of the valley was again found too great, and by this time Sherman was pressing him in front with the Army of the Cumberland, whilst the Armies of the Tennessee and Ohio were moving on his left and right flanks respectively, and he gave orders for a further retreat to Cassville.

But it will be well to follow the movements of the National forces during these two days a little more closely. Sherman's calculation, in his march south from Resaca, was that the Army of the Cumberland in his centre was always strong enough to hold Johnston at bay until one of the wings could attack his flank or rear. This simple plan controlled the whole campaign. The three corps under Thomas pressed constantly and closely against the enemy, keeping him fully employed, whilst McPherson and Schofield alternately threatened to turn his positions.

Garrard had been ordered to move with his cavalry down the right bank of the Oostanaula till near Rome, and then to operate with vigor on Johnston's flank. After the evacuation of Resaca, he was further ordered to leave his artillery at Farmer's Bridge, some eight miles above Rome, so that he might be "flying light," and Davis's division was detached from Thomas, as has been mentioned, to follow

Garrard, take his artillery, and rejoin the Fourteenth Corps at Kingston. This threw that division for the moment beyond McPherson and the river, and gave a very extended front, apparently, to Sherman's movement.

McPherson crossed the Oostanaula at the mouth of Snake Creek (Lay's Ferry) as ordered, and taking up the pontoon bridges marched to the mill on the Oothcaloga Creek, about a mile southwest of Calloun. The Army of the Cumberland found it slower work than had been expected, getting its large artillery train over the bridges at Resaca, and the whole of the 16th was used up in doing it. It was for this reason that Hooker was ordered to follow the Newtown road and cross the Oostanaula in the southward bend of the river, near that place. By some error in transmission of orders his leading division took Schofield's route instead, and crossing the Connasauga between Resaca and Tilton, marched to the other tributary of the Oostanaula, the Coosawattee, crossing it at McClure's Ferry.

Schofield's infantry forded the Connasauga at Fite's Ferry, the artillery and wagons being ferried over in a small flat-boat, and Hooker did the same. The water was waist deep, and the men stripped naked, carrying their clothes and arms upon their heads, making great sport at the ludicrous appearance of the column. Neither of these columns had a pontoon train, the only ones with the army being at Resaca and Lay's Ferry. Schofield marched further up the Coosawattee, to Field's mill. Owing, however, to the delay caused by Hooker's column getting on the same road, he was unable to get nearer to Field's than four miles. On the morning of the 17th he built a trestle foot-bridge for his infantry, the Coosawattee being too deep to ford, and ferried the artillery and wagons in a flat-boat. This occupied the day, but as the centre was advancing, Schofield determined

to be in position near Adairsville in the morning, and marched at ten o'clock at night, reaching Big Spring about two in the morning, with his advanced guard forward on the Adairsville road, that village being about three miles distant.

Hooker's advanced division (Geary's) had crossed the Coosawattee at McClure's, in the night of the 16th, and resting during the morning while the rest of the corps came over, the whole moved at one o'clock by the direct road toward Adairsville, till they came into close support of Howard's corps at the centre. The latter moved directly south from Resaca through Calhoun, where lively skirmishing began. In the afternoon, as Howard approached Adairsville, the resistance of the enemy's rear-guard grew more determined. They made temporary barricades of rails and logs, behind which they fought, several lines being apparently formed, the front when driven in retiring through the next line to the rear, and so on. This made the progress slow, and at evening the position was reached on which Johnston had contemplated a decisive engagement. Sherman was now with Newton's division in the advance, and had a narrow escape from shots of the enemy's artillery as he was reconnoitring, the group about him having attracted their fire.

McPherson's way diverged from Thomas's as he moved south, but in the evening of the 17th he was near diagonal roads leading direct upon Adairsville and upon the flank of the position of Johnston north of the town.

The appearance of things at nightfall made Sherman hope that Johnston would offer a pitched battle the next day, and that the campaign might be at once decided. His orders were therefore issued for a concentration with that purpose. When day broke on the 18th, however, the lines in front

were vacant, and the pursuit took a new and somewhat embarrassing shape. Johnston divided his forces at Adairsville, Polk and Hood marching direct to Cassville, and Hardee to Kingston. The movement was so managed as to leave the impression that his principal force had gone toward Kingston, and Thomas with two corps was kept on that road, whilst Hooker and Schofield were ordered to move toward Cassville direct from their respective positions.

We have already seen that the railway makes a considerable curve to the east at Kingston, and as the wagon road does the same, it follows that Sherman's columns in moving from Adairsville diverged rapidly. Cassville was almost or quite as near as Kingston, and if Johnston by rapid marching concentrated there whilst Thomas and McPherson were at the latter point, he could easily turn upon Schofield and Hooker on his right, whilst Sherman with the larger part of the army was some five or six miles off on the left. To add to the enemy's chances of success, McPherson, in trying to reach Kingston by parallel roads on the west, so as not to crowd upon Thomas, was obliged to diverge equally far in that direction, and in the afternoon of the 18th the National army was more scattered than at any time since the 5th, when the campaign opened. Could Sherman have been sure that Johnston would not cross the Etowah at Kingston, he would have kept McPherson on the road to Adairsville according to his first orders, pushed the whole of the Army of the Cumberland and that of the Ohio straight on Cassville, and given McPherson the road from Adairsville to Kingston. But the maps of the country were almost worthless, and were often misleading; the inhabitants were hostile and gave false reports, and Sherman thought the "broad trail" of Johnston's army proved that the whole had followed the railroad.

It was in the hope of this that Johnston had made his plan in leaving Adairsville, and so far things seemed to work as he wished. His corps commanders halted in front of Cassville after they had crossed Two Run Creek, a considerable stream at right angles to the Adairsville road, which, after flowing past the town to the southwest, turns west and empties into the Etowah at Kingston.

During the 18th Thomas advanced from Adairsville with the Fourth and Fourteenth Corps to within three miles of Kingston. Hooker with his Twentieth Corps marched by Adairsville and out on the direct Cassville road as far as Spring Mills, some two or three miles beyond. Schofield continued his march in the general direction of Adairsville eight miles, being hindered and delayed by the cavalry of Stoneman, which passed his column under orders to try to break the railroad near Cartersville.

The next day Thomas occupied Kingston and marched Howard's and Palmer's corps eastward till, toward evening, after sharp skirmishing, Hardee's rear guard was driven into Cassville. Hooker had also advanced, skirmishing on his road, and when near its crossing of Two Run Creek, his right formed connection with Howard. Schofield moved across country parallel to Hooker, driving back the cavalry which covered the enemy's flank, crossed the upper branches of Two Run Creek north of Cassville, and before evening the line was complete and advanced close to the enemy's works, which stretched along a commanding chain of hills back of the town and running nearly north and south. McPherson with the Army of the Tennessee was halted at Kingston.

Johnston says it was his intention to advance Hood and Polk on the 18th, in the expectation of overwhelming Schofield, at least, before the centre and right of Sherman's army

could come up. He declares that he ordered Hood to move in the afternoon by a country road to the north, then to turn west and fall upon the flank of the advancing column. Polk was then to advance against the front of the same force by the Adairsville road. Hood denies that any combined advance was planned, and says that he asked permission to move Hindman's division in the manner stated, but that he had proceeded only a little way northward when he found himself outflanked by the National forces in motion, both infantry and artillery, and was obliged to return. If the incident occurred on the 19th it would exactly correspond with the advance of Schofield and Hooker on that evening; but it is certain that none of Sherman's infantry was in the position Hood indicates on the 18th. Stoneman was operating in that direction with cavalry alone in his efforts to reach and cut the railway.

The 19th had been spent by the Confederates in making a strong line of intrenchments. Johnston issued a general order saying that the retreat had gone as far as was necessary for strategic purposes, that the time had come for trying conclusions with the National army and he would give battle where he was. No sooner had the left of Sherman's army pushed into position and the batteries opened fire than Hood and Polk protested against the tenability of their position on the ridge, a large part of Polk's line being, as they thought, enfiladed by our artillery. Hood was on Polk's right and Hardee on the left. A controversy arose, and Johnston, putting upon his subordinates the responsibility of thwarting his plans, and unwilling to go into battle under their protest, gave orders to retire from the place and march through Cartersville to the Etowah, which was crossed the next day. Hood asserts that he urged an aggressive concentrated movement on the day

before, when alone there was a chance to take Sherman at any disadvantage, and blames strongly the strict defensive to which Johnston adhered. The only thing that is certain in the matter is that their dissensions prolonged the campaign by postponing the decisive engagement, as to the result of which Sherman was justly confident. So eager was he to bring on a battle in the comparatively open country north of the Etowah, that he had ordered his subordinates not to hesitate to engage the enemy without reference to supports, feeling sure that he could at any time concentrate with rapidity enough to secure the victory.

Johnston's only chance of securing any important advantage would have been to have forced the marching of Hardee's corps on the 18th till he concentrated everything at Cassville, and then turn with all his force upon Sherman's left wing. The country between the Kingston and Cassville road and the one leading from Adairsville to the latter place is a high gravelly plateau, becoming rough and broken in its southern part. Sherman would have been obliged to traverse this region to get to the aid of Schofield and Hooker if they had been attacked in force; but he had every reason for faith that his subordinates would be watchful, and by taking advantage of the defensible positions everywhere to be found, could hold Johnston at bay, or slowly retreat by converging movements till he could come to their assistance. Although he was in the dark, therefore, as to the position of Johnston on the 18th, his apparent carelessness was a calculated audacity, willing to take some risks for the sake of tempting his adversary to a general engagement with him there. His despatch to Schofield late in the evening of the 18th said: "If we can bring Johnston to battle this side of Etowah we must do it, even at the hazard of beginning battle with but a part of our forces."

On the 20th Schofield advanced Cox's division to Cartersville, a rear guard of the enemy disputing the movement. The Confederates were driven back without serious resistance, and crossed the Etowah River, burning the railroad bridge behind them. A show of force was made in the enemy's front at this place, whilst Reilly's and Casement's brigades of Cox's division were sent several miles up the river and destroyed the important iron works and other factories situated there.

We have seen that Davis's division had been sent to support Garrard's cavalry in a movement down the west bank of the Oostanaula, whilst the forward movement from Resaca was taking place. His orders were to find a bridge or easy ford of the Oostanaula, and bring into the central column Garrard's artillery and trains, whilst the cavalry, unencumbered, should operate rapidly against the flank of Johnston. Garrard, finding no bridges or satisfactory crossing, and believing that to continue on to Rome would separate him too far from the head of column, returned by the route he had travelled and crossed at Lay's Ferry. Davis determined to continue on to Rome, and on the 18th took that place after a sharp engagement, losing in killed and wounded about one hundred and fifty men. The town was a considerable depôt for army supplies, and contained important factories and the repair shops for ordnance. The capture in supplies and material of war was not very great, but the occupation of the town was opportune, and by giving a broad front to Sherman's movement, handsomely covered his principal columns and imposed upon the enemy. As Major-General F. P. Blair was at this time at Decatur, Ala., moving to the front with two divisions of veteran volunteers of the Army of the Tennessee, he was ordered to march by way of Rome, and General Davis was directed to hold the place till Blair should relieve him.

Sherman secured in the vicinity of Kingston two good bridges over the Etowah, and being thus sure of his ability to deploy on the south of that river, he gave his army a few days of rest, during which the railroad was repaired and pressed to its utmost capacity to accumulate supplies for another advance.

The losses in the engagements about Dalton, and in the battle of Resaca cannot be accurately given, as the system of reports covered the casualties of a month, in most cases, instead of stating them after each engagement. The brigade and division reports enable us to approximate it only. There were not more than six or eight hundred killed and wounded in front of Dalton. At Resaca the Army of the Cumberland lost about a thousand, the two divisions of the Army of the Ohio which were engaged lost nearly a thousand, the casualties in the Army of the Tennessee cannot be accurately given, but they were fewer than in either of the other armies. A comparative view of the losses on both sides can be better made at a later point in the campaign, for the reason already stated.

## CHAPTER VII.

### FIELD LIFE—RAILWAY REPAIRS—MAP-MAKING—MARCH ON DALLAS.

WHEN the movement of May 7th began, preparation was made for four days of extreme exertion, and under the imperative orders of General Sherman all baggage had been left behind. When the four days' cooked rations were exhausted, the advance through Snake Creek Gap was just beginning, and an issue of the most necessary supplies was all that was possible. Till the army reached the Etowah River the same condition of things existed. A tent-fly—a single sheet of light canvas—was the only shelter for division and brigade headquarters; mess-kits there were none, and the superior officers were even worse off relatively than the company officers and the privates. The company pack-mule carried the simple cooking utensils and compact kit which experience had shown to be best for the bivouac; and the mule, driven by a negro servant, could keep up with the company, on or off the roads, and would not be far at the rear even when the command was under fire. The private soldier carried his shelter-tent or rubber blanket, and he and the comrade who was his "partner" made of the two a comfortable protection from the weather. His haversack contained his rations, his canteen and a small tin coffee-pot or pail clattered at his belt, and, in half an hour of halt, the veteran knew how to prepare a wholesome and abundant meal. The ration of meat, bread, coffee, and sugar was a

large one, and of excellent quality, and by foraging or traffic extras could be added to it on the way.

The general officers could not manage in quite the same simple style. From the adjutant-general, the surgeon, the quartermaster, the commissary, the ordnance and mustering officers regular statistical reports were required by army regulations, and enforced by stopping the pay of delinquent commands. At each headquarters, therefore, a good deal of business had to be transacted, and much clerical work had to be done in the intervals of fighting. The order to leave all baggage behind for four days implied only a short interruption of the usual routine, but when it was, by the circumstances, extended to nearly a month, it involved no small trouble and privation. But the weather at this time was good, each day was full of excitement, the enemy was retreating, and it would be hard to find anywhere a merrier company than assembled each evening around the headquarters camp-fires. Necessity was the mother of invention, and at Cartersville the mess at a division headquarters boasted that, beginning with nothing, they had accumulated a kit consisting of a tin plate, four tin cups without handles, three round oyster cans doing duty as cups, two sardine boxes for extra plates, and a coffee-pot! Pocket-knives were the only cutlery needed, and for dishes nothing could be better than one of the solid crackers familiarly known as "hard tack." This outfit they declared was luxurious compared with that of the General-in-Chief.

Good weather, however, could not be calculated upon to last forever. The orders issued at the Etowah were to be ready for twenty days' separation from the railway, and everybody prepared for contingencies as fully as was consistent with the utmost mobility, and in the best manner that experience and ingenuity could devise.

The railway repairs of the army were under the management of Colonel Wright, a civil engineer, with a corps of two thousand men. The efficiency and skill of this branch of the service was beyond praise. The ordinary wooden bridges of the railway were reconstructed, where destroyed, of a standard pattern of truss, of which the parts were interchangeable, and the prepared timbers were kept in stock at safe points in the rear. By this means a bridge could be renewed as if by magic, and perhaps nothing produced more moral effect upon the enemy than hearing the whistle of the locomotives in rear of our lines within a few hours after they had received reports that the railway had been broken so thoroughly as to cause us great delays. But the triumph of energy and mechanical skill came when, as at the Chattahoochee, great trestle bridges, hundreds of feet long, and near a hundred high, were flung across a chasm with as little delay or trouble as an ordinary pioneer corps would make in bridging a petty stream. The construction corps and the railway transportation department, under Colonel Anderson, worked in complete accord, and at no time during the campaign was there the slightest anxiety about supplies, whilst a reduction of the ration was very rare.

For instantaneous communication between the Commanding General and his principal subordinates the military telegraph was organized. A light train of wagons carrying wires and insulators moved with the headquarters; the forest trees were used as poles; an operator with his instrument accompanied each army commander, who could thus converse directly with the central station and with General Sherman himself. This was supplemented by the ordinary flag signals used by the Signal Corps, whose officers pushed to the very front, and, from any commanding hill or tree-

top, waved their flags, conveying information or orders by means of a code of cipher signals, of which the key was frequently changed to prevent its interpretation by the enemy.

Another part of the administration of the army deserves mention also. The topography of the country was almost unknown. The maps in common use were erroneous and misleading to a degree that was exasperating. They gave the outlines of counties, the names of towns and villages, and some remote approximation to the courses of the principal streams. The smaller creeks and watercourses were drawn at random, as if to fill up the sheet, and were uniformly wrong. A few principal country roads were laid down, but so incorrectly that every attempt to calculate distances upon them or between them was sure to lead to trouble.

To meet these difficulties each division commander was ordered to detail a competent officer as acting topographer, reporting to the engineers at corps and army headquarters. It was the duty of these officers to make an itinerary of every march, to sketch all roads and streams, hills and valleys, woods and open land; to collect from citizens and negroes all possible information as to distances, names of residents and the like; to accompany reconnoitring parties and extend their topographical knowledge with diligence and enterprise. They were furnished with a few portable instruments, always carried on their persons. The information thus obtained was consolidated and connected; improved sketch maps of the vicinity of the army were thus made, and by a simple photographic process they were multiplied and distributed to the proper officers of the command. New editions were issued from time to time, with bulletins giving newly discovered information, and thus the

effort was made to supply the army with the knowledge vital to its success.

The changes in the relative strength of the opposing armies had been in Johnston's favor during the preceding part of the campaign. French's division of infantry and Jackson's of cavalry had joined Polk's corps at Adairsville, so that the three Confederate corps were now full, and the local militia were being organized and used to cover the lines of communication and perform duties which on the National side required detachments from the army in the field. Johnston's line was being shortened whilst Sherman's was stretching out. The one was picking up his detachments, the other was constantly making new ones. From the 15th of May for a month the forces of the two armies were more nearly equal than at any other time in the campaign, and no opportunity so favorable could again occur for Johnston to make an aggressive movement, as he had whilst crossing the open country between the Oostanaula and the Etowah. That he did not do so was accepted by the officers and men of the National army as proof that he would not be likely to attempt it in the more difficult country they were now entering, and their operations were carried on with a confidence which was in itself a guaranty of success.

The Resaca bridge had been rebuilt in three days, and on the 22d of May, rations for twenty days had been issued to the divisions. Kingston was announced as the base of supplies until the railroad should be reached again at some point south of the Alatoona Pass, and orders were issued for a forward movement.

Johnston had crossed the Etowah at the railway bridge and occupied the high rocky hills facing northward, whilst he placed the greater part of his army a little in rear, ready to meet his opponent as soon as Sherman's line of advance

should be developed. The new theatre of operations lay between the Etowah and Chattahoochee rivers, and like the last was a strip of country of which the features were determined by the general trend of the mountain ranges pointing to the southwest. The Alatoona Hills, Kenesaw Mountain, Pine and Lost Mountains lay near the line of the railroad and necessarily formed the most important strategic points for both armies. The town of Marietta, just south of Kenesaw and about midway between the two rivers, became at once Johnston's new base of supplies, as Kingston was Sherman's. Dallas is a village lying nearly south of Kingston and west of Marietta, about twenty-five miles from the first and nearly twenty miles from the other. A line running southwesterly from Marietta, a little south of Dallas, marks sufficiently well the watershed of this region, separating the streams flowing north into the Etowah from those running south into the Chattahoochee. For several miles west of the railroad the hills are high, the mountains, however, standing out commandingly above them, giving to Johnston the most admirable points of observation, from which the smoke of Sherman's camp fires revealed every movement that was made. Farther west the hills diminished, the line of the watershed was a rolling sandy region, and the streams, cutting their way in pretty sharp ravines, ran through forests and thickets of the loblolly pine, often growing almost as closely as a cane-brake, and nearly impenetrable for man or horse. The creeks form frequent ponds, called lagunes in the country, full of quicksands, in which wagons or artillery were likely to be hopelessly mired. The more important roads, besides the railway and the wagon roads near it, are those that lead south from Kingston through Stilesboro and Burnt Hickory to Dallas, east from Dallas to Marietta, and east from Burnt Hickory to Ack-

worth, a station on the railway between Marietta and Alatoona.

Sherman's centre being at Kingston, the topography of the country determined for him his line of march, which was to move southward to Dallas, and then east to Marietta, or some other point on the railroad near there.

There was little danger that Johnston would meet him near the Etowah in front of Kingston, for the Confederate commander could not afford to divide his army, and had he massed in front of Kingston, Sherman would have pushed his left wing over the river at Alatoona, and seized at once the line of the railroad. This was what would have pleased Sherman most, and would have shortened the campaign. Johnston wisely determined to make the Pumpkin Vine and Alatoona Creeks the cover for his front, and to meet his opponent with strong entrenched lines across the Dallas and Marietta road, or that from Burnt Hickory to Ackworth, as Sherman should choose either for his principal line of advance.

The fact that the Dallas and Marietta road followed very nearly the line of the watershed made it naturally the easier one, and Sherman resolved to try for it, and if he were too stubbornly met there, to swing his left flank forward by the Burnt Hickory and Ackworth road, forcing Johnston back and establishing himself afresh upon the railway as soon as possible. Accordingly, on May 22d, Sherman issued his orders directing his centre, under Thomas, to move southward on parallel roads through Euharlee and Stilesboro on Dallas, excepting Davis's division of Palmer's corps, which, being at Rome, was ordered to move direct to Dallas by way of Van Wert. The Army of the Tennessee, keeping to the right of Thomas, was to move from near Kingston to Van Wert and thence to Dallas. Blair's corps (the

Seventeenth), had not yet joined it, being on the march toward Rome, which it was ordered to garrison with about two thousand men, and then march to Kingston. The garrisoning of Kingston, meanwhile, and of Resaca (the latter being the principal depôt of supplies) was left to Thomas' army of the Cumberland. Schofield's Twenty-third Corps was to cross the Etowah at any point above Euharlee, then take roads on the east of those occupied by Thomas, to Burnt Hickory and thence to the left of Dallas. His cavalry, under Stoneman, was ordered to cross still further up the Etowah, and cover the movement on that flank. Kilpatrick's division of cavalry was left on the north bank of the Etowah to cover that line. Garrard covered the movement of the columns on the right, and McCook the centre.

On the evening of the 22d the cavalry of the Army of the Ohio marched to Milam's Bridge on the Etowah, where the roads from Cassville and Cartersville to Stilesboro cross the river. The enemy's cavalry retreated, burning the bridge; but Stoneman was able to cross by a ford above the mouth of Raccoon Creek, and cover the laying of two pontoon bridges on the following morning.

Early on the 23d McPherson crossed on the bridge which had been secured at the mouth of Conasene Creek. Thomas crossed Howard's and Palmer's corps at the bridges on the direct road from Kingston to Euharlee; but Hooker, instead of waiting his turn at these, in accordance with orders, moved further to the left and crossed at Milam's Bridge on the pontoons laid down for Schofield. When the latter, therefore, marching from Cartersville, reached the river, he found both pontoons already occupied, and the whole afternoon was lost waiting for Hooker to cross and get out of the way. This was a repetition of what had occurred at the Oostanaula, and was characteristic of Hooker,

who was apt to be reckless of what interference he made with any plan, so that he got a road or a position which better suited him. By this means he anticipated the rest of the army of the Cumberland in crossing the Euharlee Creek toward Stilesboro, and camped in the advance, followed by Howard and Palmer.

McCook's cavalry advanced to Stilesboro, which he found occupied by the horsemen of the enemy, supported by infantry, and was unable to make further progress before night.

Next morning Thomas ordered one division of Hooker's corps (Geary's) to cross Raccoon Creek on the Alatoona road, and cover the way leading up the creek till relieved by Schofield. The other divisions of the Twentieth Corps marched through Stilesboro to Burnt Hickory, preceded by McCook's division of horse, which skirmished with the enemy's cavalry under Jackson as they advanced.

Schofield crossed at Milam's Bridge at daybreak, followed the Alatoona road till he relieved Geary, who rejoined his own corps. He then marched up Richland Creek to Sligh's Mills, at the forks of the roads leading to Ackworth and to Burnt Hickory. Stoneman's cavalry covered the advance and the flank toward Alatoona, skirmishing as he went.

Johnston was still, on the evening of the 23d, a little uncertain whether Sherman had crossed the Etowah with his whole force, and therefore hesitated about his own movements, fearing to leave his right flank weak till he knew there was no danger from that quarter. He therefore ordered Wheeler, who had forded the Etowah the day before, to push in on Cassville with his division of cavalry and to discover and report what was there. This was done on the 24th. Wheeler found that the whole army had moved toward

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Kingston, but part of the supply train was still at Cassville with a small train guard. By crossing several miles to the right he had eluded Kilpatrick and made an easy swoop upon the wagons and quartermaster's men who were thus delaying in the rear. He claimed to have captured seventy wagons with their teams, and a hundred and eighty-two prisoners, besides burning some other wagons. He certainly did some mischief through the negligence and tardiness of those who were in charge of the trains, and who had been ordered to Kingston as soon as the infantry had moved. By this time Johnston was getting reports from Jackson's cavalry toward Stilesboro, and hardly needed the news from Wheeler. He now knew that Sherman was over the Etowah and evidently pushing toward Dallas. On the afternoon of the 23d he ordered Hardee's corps to march by New Hope Church to the Stilesboro and Dallas road, Polk's corps to move in the same direction but a little further south, and Hood's corps was directed to follow Hardee the next day. On the 25th the whole command was in line. Hardee's left division (Bate) was placed across the Stilesboro, Dallas, and Atlanta road, south of Dallas, where it crosses over the ridge which there forms the watershed already referred to. Hood was put upon the right, his centre at New Hope Church, and his line in front of and covering the road leading from Dallas to Ackworth. Polk's corps constituted Johnston's centre, but closed up upon Hood, leaving a somewhat thinner line between himself and Hardee. In front of New Hope Church was a valley wooded along the road, but with open fields a little further to the north, and the stream, which is a branch of Pumpkin Vine Creek, flows northeastwardly at that place, parallel to Hood's front. The banks sloped easily on either side, and were some fifty feet in height. The whole of Johnston's line was admirably

chosen for defence, occupying as it did a series of ridges covered with wood on their summits, but having open valleys in front, over which attacking forces must advance without shelter. It covered the roads leading from Dallas to Atlanta, to Marietta, and to Ackworth, as well as those passing near New Hope Church in the same directions. He says that only a part of Hood's front was protected by breastworks, and these only of logs thrown hastily together; but the reports of his subordinates, on which his statement is based, may properly be taken with many grains of allowance. They had intrenched at Dalton and at Resaca, at Adairsville and at Cassville, and certainly nothing had occurred to increase their confidence as they had retreated step by step south of the Etowah. When they were forced to evacuate these lines a little later, they were found to be of the most solid character. They had been some hours in position, with full opportunity to intrench, and it would be every way strange and contrary to their already fixed habit if they had not done so. The circumstances, therefore, all sustain the reports of Hooker's division commanders that they drove the Confederate advance guard and skirmishers within intrenched lines. But we are anticipating the current of events.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### NEW HOPE CHURCH—COMBATS AT PICKETT'S MILL AND BEFORE DALLAS.

ON the morning of Wednesday the 25th of May, Sherman's extreme right under McPherson was near Van Wert, some sixteen miles north of west from Dallas, where it had struck into the Rome and Dallas road, and met Davis's division of Palmer's (Fourteenth) corps on its way to rejoin the Army of the Cumberland. McPherson kept on by the direct road, but Davis, to get clear of his column, turned east, taking a by-road over the hills which he found passable, and which enabled him to rejoin his corps before evening. At the centre, Thomas sent forward the Army of the Cumberland on several roads from Burnt Hickory. The corps of Palmer and Howard (Fourteenth and Fourth) made a detour to the right by country roads, intending to reach the Van Wert and Dallas road three or four miles out from the latter place. Hooker's corps (Twentieth) took the direct road to Dallas with his centre division (Geary's), Butterfield's and Williams's divisions taking country roads on the left and right respectively.

The infantry of the Army of the Ohio (Twenty-third Corps) was ordered to rest near Burnt Hickory during the day, whilst the cavalry under Stoneman scoured the roads to left and front. Garrard's cavalry had pushed back the outposts of Bate's division of Hardee's corps near to Dallas

the preceding evening, and camped at Pumpkin Vine Creek, about three miles from the town. McCook's cavalry, in front of Hooker's column, had captured an orderly with a despatch from Johnston to General Jackson, who commanded the mounted troops in his front. The message informed



Operations near New Hope Church.

Jackson that the Confederate army was moving toward Dallas. It was this information that led Sherman to hold back his left a little, till the Army of the Tennessee could come forward on his right, and by a partial wheel, his front would be brought nearly parallel to Pumpkin Vine Creek, whilst

he still concentrated toward Dallas. When Geary's division reached the Pumpkin Vine near Owen's Mills, the bridge was found burning, but the enemy's cavalry was driven off, the fire put out, and the bridge repaired. The appearances convinced Hooker that the stronger force of the enemy lay in the direction of New Hope Church, and Geary was ordered to take the fork of the road leading there. Ascending the hill on the east side of the stream with his front covered by the Seventh Ohio regiment deployed as skirmishers, Hooker found the infantry advance of Hood's corps. It consisted of the Thirty-second and Fifty-eighth Alabama regiments and Austin's Sharpshooters, under command of Colonel Bush Jones. It had been ordered to make a stubborn resistance, and did so with such gallantry as to force Geary to support and extend his skirmish line greatly, and produced the belief that he was dealing with a larger force. This sharp contest continued for half a mile or more. Geary deployed Candy's brigade, and repulsed several determined counter-charges made by the enemy in his front. He had now reached the ridge facing that on which Hood's line was deployed in force, and had driven the advanced guard in upon Stewart's division, to which it belonged. He threw together such logs as were at hand, and made a breastwork of them for temporary cover. At the sound of the firing Sherman had hastened to the front, and directed Hooker to call in his divisions from right and left, and to attack and develop the force before him. Williams had advanced well toward Dallas, but being recalled, faced about and crossed the creek at Owen's Mills. He came up with Geary about five o'clock,<sup>1</sup> marching left in front so as

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<sup>1</sup> General Thomas's report states that Williams and Butterfield joined Geary about 3 P.M., but Geary says it was five, and that hour best agrees with the time when heavy firing was heard by Schofield's column.

to enable him more quickly to take position on Geary's right. Butterfield arrived about the same time; the three divisions were formed in columns of brigades and moved forward to the attack. They bravely assaulted the ridge, moving through a dense wood which covered both slopes of the intervening valley. In the midst of their fight a thunder-storm came up, followed by a pouring rain, which lasted through the night. The noise of the storm mingled with the roar of the artillery, but it was the continuous rattling and volleying of the musketry, heard more than half way to Burnt Hickory, that told the columns in the rear there was sharp work at the front. Hooker's columns assaulted Hood's position again and again, each division by a brigade front, and the several brigades relieving each other by passing lines; but the position was too strong to be carried by assault, and was hourly becoming stronger. They persisted in their efforts, however, till darkness shut down on the field, when, gathering up their dead and wounded, they retired to the ridge behind them.

Thomas was directed to bring Howard's corps (Fourth) to Hooker's support, and by six o'clock Newton's division was up and went into position on Hooker's left, the rest of the corps following as fast as Hooker's trains, which filled and blocked the road, would let them. They were all on the field by morning and extended the line still further to the left. Davis's division of Palmer's corps (Fourteenth) was coming over from Van Wert, as we have seen, and was ordered forward on the Dallas road to support the Army of the Tennessee and feel forward toward Hooker's right. Baird's division was left at Burnt Hickory to protect the trains, and Johnson's, which could not get over the blockaded roads during the night, was ordered to come up in the morning, and was then placed in reserve.

McPherson hastened forward from Van Wert with the Army of the Tennessee, moving direct on Dallas, which he reached early on the 26th, and took position facing Hardee, putting Davis's division of the Fourteenth Corps on his left, a gap of two or three miles still being between this division and the rest of the Army of the Cumberland, to which it belonged. McPherson's line was about two miles in front of Dallas. He placed Logan's (Fifteenth) corps on his right, with its flank reaching across and a little beyond the Villa Rica (Atlanta) road, whilst Dodge's (Sixteenth) corps connected on the right with Logan, and on the left with Davis. Beyond Logan, on the extreme flank of the army, Garrard's cavalry picketed the country, and maintained an active skirmishing warfare with Jackson's division of the Confederate horse.

Schofield marched at five o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th, upon getting news that Hooker's advance guard had found the enemy. He left Hovey's division to cover and protect the trains, and with Hascall's and Cox's divisions, took, by Sherman's directions, the road from Sligh's Mills to Burnt Hickory, and thence by the Dallas road to Owens's Mills. As he was now getting in rear of two corps of the Army of the Cumberland, and Hooker's wagons were impeding everything, the progress was slow and tedious. The storm came up and the men plashed along through the mire, throwing down fences and marching in the fields, or threading their way among the mule teams on the road. After passing Burnt Hickory the musketry firing was plainly heard, and the column pushed along in the drenching rain till midnight, when they were still west of Pumpkin Vine Creek. Halting the troops by the roadside, and directing them to bivouac where they were, Schofield himself rode forward to learn the situation and receive further orders

from Sherman. The night was utterly black in its darkness and storm, and trying to pick his way around some wagons, his horse fell with him into a gulley, and he was so severely injured that he was forced to relinquish his command for several days. Orders were sent back to the senior division<sup>1</sup> commander (Cox) to continue the march. Having had only an hour's rest, the corps moved again and reached the field at break of day.

Sherman, who had rested beside a log in the woods during the night, himself met the head of column of the Twenty-third Corps, and directed it to move to the left toward Brown's saw-mill on Little Pumpkin Vine, and thence swing forward upon an extension of the Fourth Corps line. Cheery and undisturbed, as if the most ordinary business were going on, the General sat upon a log and sketched upon a leaf of his pocket memorandum book a map of the supposed situation, for the use of the officer leading the column. Its firm delicate lines, and neat touches, even to the fine lettering of the names of houses and roads, showed how completely his nerves were unaffected by the night of battle and storm, and the map is still preserved as a precious memento of the scene. The corps moved northeast through a wood so tangled with undergrowth that the direction of column could only be kept by the compass; then advancing to the right, the position of Howard's corps (Fourth) was reached, and forming on its left the two swung forward to the right, reaching the open ground. They crossed Little Pumpkin Vine Creek at the saw-mill and continued the wheeling movement until the extreme left crossed and covered the Dallas and Alatoona road. The whole front of the two corps was along the crest of a series of hills, a narrow open valley intervening between this wing and the right of the Confederate lines. The movement was made with con-

tinuous hot skirmishing, and the hostile lines were at nightfall intrenched so close to each other that for several days a bickering fire was almost incessant from the breastworks on both sides, and skirmishers could only be relieved in the darkness; indeed they could only be kept out at all by making each man cover himself by means of a pit, or by help of a log or a few fence-rails. Casualties were of frequent occurrence within the lines; and there were openings between the knolls across which no mounted officer could ride without being a target for the enemy's sharpshooters, who were constantly on the watch for an opportunity to pick off whoever came within range.

During the 26th a similar skirmishing fight ranged along the whole line. McPherson pressed in close to Hardee's works on the extreme right, and found that flank of the enemy somewhat refused, running a little east of south after passing a salient angle immediately in front of Dallas. Our superiority in numbers made it plain that the intrenchments could be held with less than the whole force, and a part of it could be withdrawn for a flanking movement. Sherman was determined in his plan by the fact that at the close of the day, and at the extreme left, the Army of the Ohio already covered the direct road to Alatoona; and he had only to extend by that flank to reöpen communications with the railroad south of the Etowah. He therefore directed General Thomas to withdraw Wood's division of Howard's (Fourth) corps from the line, supplying its place by the greater extension of the other divisions, and that it, supported by Johnson's division of Palmer's (Fourteenth) corps (which was already in reserve) and by McLean's brigade from the Army of the Ohio, should make a vigorous effort to turn the right flank of the enemy. McCook's cavalry had been operating in that direction during the day, and had a

lively combat with part of Wheeler's horse, in which McCook had been the victor, inflicting considerable loss and capturing some fifty prisoners. This affair and the statements of prisoners seemed to indicate that only Wheeler's cavalry were holding the enemy's flank beyond the left of the Army of Ohio.

During the forenoon of the 27th, Wood's division was drawn out and formed in a column six lines deep, in rear of Schofield's extreme left. Passing northward on the Alatoona road beyond our lines it faced eastward and advanced. Its skirmishers, however, soon developed a line of strong intrenchments reaching beyond its front, and as the orders to the division were to avoid a direct assault on fortified lines, it was withdrawn from the sight of the enemy. Wood now moved about a mile still farther to the left, his supports doing the same, and he again formed, Hazen's brigade being in front and facing nearly south. This time the reconnoissance by Generals Howard and Wood seemed to show that they overlapped the Confederate line, and Howard determined to attack. Johnson's division was in echelon on Wood's left, Scribner's brigade in front, and was to advance also, keeping its relative position. McLean's brigade, the support on the right, was ordered to show itself in an open place in full view of the enemy's works, to attract their attention and draw their fire. When the preparations were complete, and the troops had rested a few minutes, the order to advance to the attack was given. Hazen led boldly forward, and the enemy's skirmishers were quickly driven within the works, which he promptly assaulted. His left seemed still to outflank the position, and it pushed forward confident of success. The movement of Johnson's division still farther to the left brought it near to Pickett's Mill on a tributary of Pumpkin Vine Creek, and

the leading brigade (Scribner's) receiving a fire in flank from across the stream, halted and faced in that direction to protect itself. This left that flank of Wood unsupported, and he too was met with a withering fire from that direction. Through some mistake McLean's movement on the right did not result as expected, and Wood's column was assailed with a furious cross-fire of artillery and musketry in front and on both flanks. Wood was forced to retire, which he did deliberately, and halted upon a ridge a little in rear and on the right; Johnson connected with him, continuing the line, with the left curving backward and making a strong refused flank in the direction of the mill and the creek.

Whilst this movement was in progress a strong demonstration was making by Newton's and Stanley's divisions of Howard's corps, to keep the enemy occupied in their front, though no serious attack was made. Cox, temporarily commanding the Twenty-third Corps, swung his left forward as Wood advanced. Hascall's division, which had been refused, now straightening out, and the whole advanced, pivoting upon the right of the corps, into a new position continuous with the advanced ground which Howard had gained, but with a considerable gap between. McLean had left Howard's command when the attack had been abandoned, regarding his connection with it as limited to the day, and his men being without rations. Howard, with some reason, complained of this, and McLean's brigade was placed by the Commandant of the Twenty-third Corps in rear of the gap in the line, with orders to support either command in case of need, and the whole front was covered by a strong connected chain of skirmishers and pickets.

The affair was a costly one, for Howard reported a total loss of about fifteen hundred. The ground gained was

nevertheless very valuable, for it enabled the whole left wing to swing forward so far as to cover and conceal the extension of Sherman's line toward the Ackworth road, and protected the Alatoona road upon which his cavalry were operating. Howard supposed that he had brought off all his wounded, but Johnston claims that seventy fell into his hands, being concealed in a little hollow close to the enemy's line, and covered by the fire of his troops, and that a hundred and forty prisoners were taken at the same place. This very closely agrees with General Wood's list of missing.

The Confederate accounts of the affair show that what Howard and Wood supposed to be the extremity of the enemy's line was only an angle of his works, which there made a sharply refused flank. Cleburne's division had been sent from Hardee's corps to reinforce Johnston's extreme right, and on the approach of Wood's division, Cleburne moved out in rear, taking position where Wood, to reach him, must expose his right flank to the fire of Hindman's division of Hood's corps, which held the re-entrant at the angle referred to, where was also a battery of artillery. Granberry's brigade of Texans checked Hazen in front, whilst Wheeler's dismounted cavalry made the flank attack upon Johnson's division at Pickett's Mill. This gave time to move other troops of Hood's around Cleburne to attack Wood on his left flank also.<sup>1</sup> Had Johnson noticed that he was first attacked in flank by cavalry only, and pushed Scribner's brigade straight on in support of Hazen, whilst he took care of the horsemen with another brigade of his division, the determined attack of the Fourth Corps men

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<sup>1</sup> General J. E. Johnston in his Narrative says that Polk had been transferred to his right, and that Polk's, and not Hood's troops supported Cleburne. On this point, however, Hood's circumstantial statement seems the more accurate one, and is supported by other probable evidence.

would probably have been successful. The ground, however, was a dense wood broken into ravines, where nothing could be seen, and where the embarrassments were scarcely less than in a night attack. Under the circumstances the wonder is, not that the attack failed, it is rather that Howard was able to withdraw in order, carrying off his wounded; and that he did so proves the magnificent steadiness and courage of his officers and men.

The attack of Hooker at New Hope Church, and this of Howard at Pickett's Mill were both made in column of brigades or demi-brigades. The result in both cases demonstrated that in a difficult and wooded country, and especially against intrenched lines, the column had little, if any advantage over a single line of equal front. It could not charge with the *ensemble* which could give it momentum, and its depth was therefore a disadvantage, since it exposed masses of men to fire who were wholly unable to fire in return. Since the office of breastworks is to give the defence an advantage by holding the assailant under fire from which the defenders are covered, the relative strength of the two is so changed that it is within bounds to say that such works as were constantly built by the contending forces in Georgia made one man in the trench fully equal to three or four in the assault. Each party learned to act upon this, and in all the later operations of the campaign the commanders held their troops responsible for making it practically good. The boasts, on either side, that a brigade or division repulsed three or four that attacked it, must always be read with this understanding. The troops in the works would be proven to be inferior to their assailants if they did not repulse a force several times greater than their own.

From this time till Hood succeeded Johnston in command

of the Confederate forces, troops were almost never massed for an assault on either side. The attack near Kenesaw on June 27th is perhaps the only exception. The usual formation was in two lines, the second only half as strong as the first and kept under cover from fire till the front line needed instant help. Coming up then with a rush, it would sometimes give the advance a new impulse which would carry it over obstacles that it could not otherwise have surmounted. On the other hand, an attack in column was quickly seen to have only a narrow front, and the right and left of the defensive line was stripped of troops to strengthen the point of danger, or to attack in flank the advancing column. So far was this practice carried that a line of earthworks was often held by a skirmish line alone, with such reserve of troops near at hand as could quickly move to and fill the trench at a menaced point.

The character of the intrenchments changed by the natural increase of experience and the education which it gave. It did not take long to learn the advantage which cover gave, when rifled arms had more than doubled the range of effective fire. In the open, a covered line could be sure of crippling an attacking force whilst it was passing over eight hundred or a thousand yards, so that its power to harm would be gone before it reached the ditch. In the woods, an abattis or entanglement in front of the breastwork produced the same effect by delaying and holding the enemy so long under fire that he was no longer formidable when the obstruction was passed.

From the combat at New Hope Church onward, it may be said that every advanced line on both sides intrenched itself as soon as a position was assumed. On our side the practical method was this. A division having been moved to a place it was expected to hold, the general in command, by a

rapid reconnoissance of the topography, determined the most available line for defence, and directed brigade commanders to form their troops upon it, following the outline of the ground and making such angles, salient or re-entrant, as it required. The skirmish line was kept in front, the rest stacked arms a few paces in rear of the intended place for the breastwork, intrenching tools were taken from wagons that accompanied the ammunition train, or were carried by the troops in the movement, and each company was ordered to cover its own front. Trees were felled and trimmed, and the logs, often two feet thick, rolled into the line. The timber revetment was usually four feet high, and the earth thrown from the ditch in front varied in thickness according to the exposure. When likely to be subjected to artillery fire it was from ten to thirteen feet thick at base, and three feet less on the upper line of the parapet. Skids or poles, resting on the top of the revetment at right angles to it, sustained a head-log, a horizontal loophole for firing under it being about three inches wide. The skids, when left in place, served to prevent the head-log from falling upon the men in the line if it were knocked off by a cannonball. The timber in front was then slashed so as to fall outward, making an entanglement which was too heavy for removal, and which utterly broke the formation of any line attempting to pass it. Indeed, it would be only painfully and slowly that single men could clamber through it. As the troops became familiar with the work, they were able to cover themselves with an intrenchment of this kind within an hour from the time they stacked arms.

Circumstances would, of course, vary the character of these lines, and in special cases the engineers would plan particular works. The usual custom, however, was that stated, and the intelligence of the soldiers was such that

their eye for a position was often as quick and keen as that of any of their officers. Foreign officers, visiting the army, often expressed their amazement at seeing the troops of the line doing instantly and without engineering assistance what was elsewhere done by a corps of sappers under direction of the scientific staff.

The Confederate troops were differently situated and proceeded a little differently. Anticipating the necessity of retreating to a new line, Johnston directed his Chief Engineer, Colonel Prestman, to prepare it beforehand. It was carefully surveyed and marked from near Powder Springs to Lost Mountain, thence to Pine Mountain and Kenesaw; making a curve facing the northwest, and six or seven miles in rear of the lines at New Hope Church. Still another line was afterward located in the same way along Nickajack Creek, and yet others at the Chattahoochee, Peach Tree Creek, and Atlanta. In the construction of these the Confederate engineers used the Georgia militia and impressed negroes; and in some respects they were even more elaborate than those built by the National army. At exposed places they were covered by *chevaux-de-frise*, made of logs pierced with sharpened spokes, and by sharpened palisades along the ditch. This, however, was exceptional, and the general character of the works was the same on both sides. No clear understanding of this remarkable campaign can be had, unless the difficult character of the country and the formidable nature of these artificial defences are remembered. It has seemed worth while to anticipate a little in order to give an idea of their construction, and to save recurrence to the subject.

The fighting of three days had fully developed Johnston's line, and proven to Sherman that the three Confederate corps were all in his front, with defensive works which it

was unwise to assault. He determined to transfer troops from his right to his left, and by crowding in beyond Johnston's right flank, gain control of the Ackworth road. When this should be done, Blair's (Seventeenth) corps of the Army of the Tennessee could be moved from Rome, which it was approaching, and be used to effect the occupation of Alatoona Pass and the rebuilding of the railway bridge over the Etowah.

In the extension of the line to the left, divisions had been used wherever they were at hand, without reference to corps or army organizations. Howard's corps was on both sides of Schofield, and Johnson's division of Palmer's was at the extreme left, whilst Davis was with McPherson at the right, several miles away. McPherson was therefore ordered to relieve Davis, sending him back to Thomas, and to take ground farther to the left, relieving part of Hooker's corps, which in its turn could take the place of Schofield's (Twenty-third), and this, passing beyond the Army of the Cumberland, would become the extreme left flank again. Supply trains were ordered to be concentrated at Burnt Hickory, so that Baird's division of the Fourteenth Corps, which was there, could protect them all, and Hovey's division of the Twenty-third could be brought to the front.

It happened that as McPherson was preparing to execute his part of this plan, on the afternoon of the 28th, Johnston, suspecting that our right was withdrawing, had directed Hardee to make a forced reconnoissance of the lines in his front and ascertain if they were still strongly held. Hardee ordered Bate's division out for this purpose, and the latter formed his three brigades in separate columns. Bate ordered his brigade commanders to await a given signal, which was to be given, it seems, by Armstrong, whose brigade of cavalry, dismounted, tried to penetrate between the National

cavalry and the right flank of Logan's corps. On hearing the signal they were to advance rapidly against the lines before them. Armstrong was received with a cannonade and fire of musketry so spirited that each of the brigade commanders supposed that all of the troops but his own were engaged, and ordered the assault of the works. The error cost them dear.

Logan's corps was formed with Harrow's division on his right, that of Morgan L. Smith in the centre, and Osterhaus on the left. The road from Dallas to Marietta ran out through the centre of the corps, and the Villa Rica road on the right. The latter ran up a ridge curving toward the south, and continued to ascend for a considerable distance after passing beyond Logan's line. McPherson had not thought it practicable to extend his flank far enough to include the highest crest of the ridge, and Bate's left brigade charged along the line of the road, coming down hill upon Walcutt's brigade which held that part of Harrow's line. Three guns of the First Iowa battery had been run out near the skirmish line, and their supports being driven back, the guns were temporarily in the enemy's hands, though they were unable to carry them off. The assault was made in column of regiments, and was only checked close to Walcutt's breastworks, by the withering front and flank fire of the division. The combat raged for half an hour, when the enemy retreated, having suffered terrible loss. Similar attacks upon Smith's and Osterhaus's divisions followed within a few minutes, but they also were repulsed. The enemy, however, charged up to Smith's breastworks with the most determined courage, and though suffering terribly, was not driven back till he had inflicted considerable loss upon us, some of our bravest and best officers being among the killed and wounded. Logan reports that he buried over 300 of the

enemy in his front and took 97 prisoners. He estimated the whole of Hardee's loss at 2,000, which would not be excessive if the usual proportion between killed and wounded was maintained. The losses of a Kentucky brigade, one of the assaulting columns, were so great that the memory of the engagement, as one almost destructive to it, was treated as a cause of special sorrow by the Confederate officers and soldiers long after the war. The reports to Johnston, however, do not seem to have been full, for he speaks of Bate's loss as "some three hundred, killed and wounded."

To cover the withdrawal of Bate's division, Hardee sent forward other troops, and McPherson reported the engagement as an active one along the whole extent of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Corps. Logan's loss aggregated 379 killed, wounded, and missing; those of the Sixteenth Corps were not separately enumerated in the reports. In the evening, after the affair was over, McPherson wrote to Sherman that he regarded it impracticable to move that night in pursuance of the previous plan, unless imperative necessity demanded it, and by the direction of the General-in-Chief the movement was delayed for a few days. In the interim the time was improved by the Army of the Tennessee in preparing interior lines by means of which they were able to withdraw without difficulty when the order was finally given.

Davis's division was also unable to withdraw on the 28th, though he had, after sharp skirmishing, put Mitchell's brigade in a strong position half way between himself and Hooker, where he was very useful in covering the subsequent transfer of troops from the right flank. The Confederate attack from Hardee's corps was accompanied by strong demonstrations all along the line, made by well-supported skirmish lines, though there was no other serious attack.

The same night Hood's corps was moved out from its place in line, and passed to the rear beyond Johnston's right flank with the purpose of attacking Sherman's extreme left. His place was filled by Polk and Hardee, the whole Confederate army thus taking ground to their right to meet the parallel movement of Sherman. Hood had supposed that Thomas's left was over the creek at Pickett's Mill, but, learning that it was not, he did not pursue his march, and was recalled. The hostile lines were so closely applied to each other that this night movement was discovered, and all were on the alert. The night following (May 29th) another effort was made against McPherson, and the alarm ran down the whole line. Nearly all of Johnston's batteries opened from right to left, and skirmish lines were pushed up close to Sherman's works. The night was dark, and along the centre, where the valley was open, the flashing artillery from the hill-tops and the flying and bursting shells made a magnificent spectacle, but it ended in display. It drew fire enough from McPherson to prove that he was still there, and this was probably all that the enemy intended by it. Along the rest of the line the batteries responded and the troops were on the alert, but in an hour or two the noise subsided, except that a desultory picket-fire was kept up till morning.

In the midst of these incessant alarms the positions of the corps were rectified, and those minor changes made which were necessary preparations for extending the National lines eastward; but the month closed upon a situation substantially the same. Sherman was sure of being able to transfer his forces systematically from one flank to the other, he was ready to seize Alatoona Pass with his cavalry, and a new base upon the railroad was practically secure. It had been a hard month's work. Every day had brought its combat, and, in the latter part of it, the army had lived day and

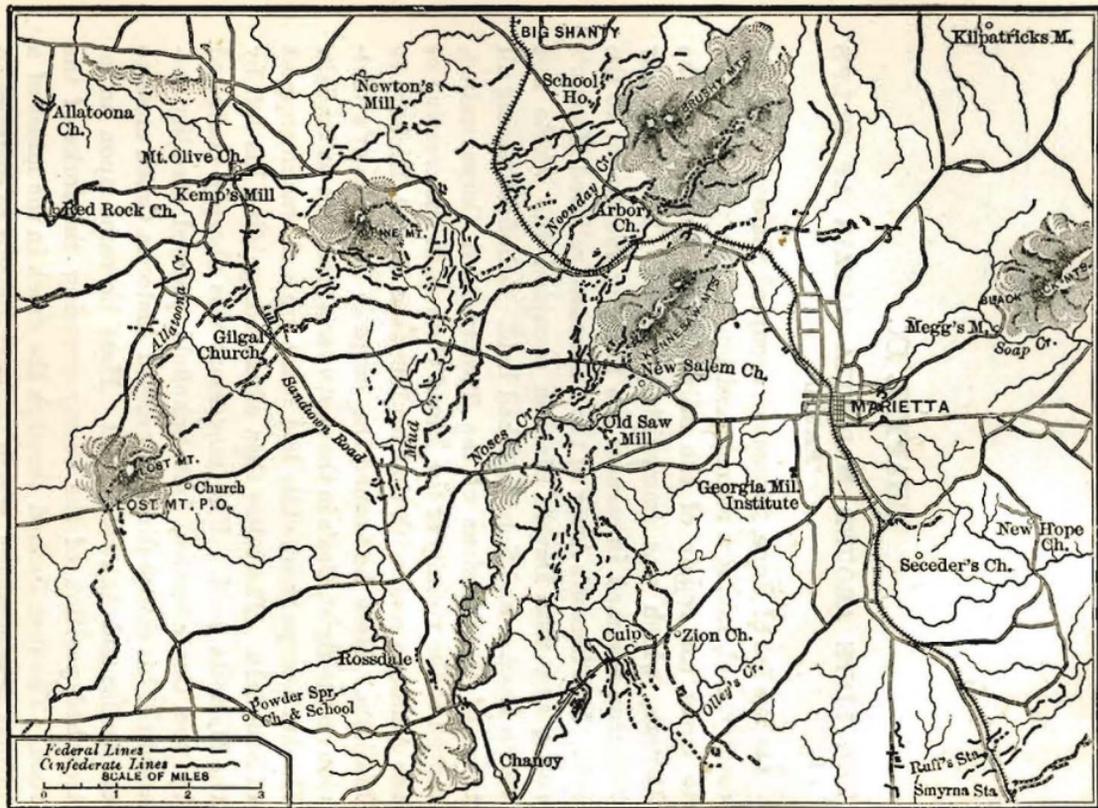
night under fire. The gains had been solid, however, and the country felt that the campaign was, so far, a success. The losses had been 9,000 in all forms, of which less than two thousand were killed, and a large part of the wounded soon returned to the ranks.

Johnston gives the number of his killed during the month of May as 720, and his wounded as 4,670, but this is in his infantry alone. Add to this the prisoners captured by the National forces, which ought to appear in his report as "missing," and which Sherman states at 3,250, together with his cavalry losses, Wheeler's 420, and Jackson's at least as many, and his total loss amounts to 9,480. Hood and Jefferson Davis make a larger estimate, but the figures given show that his losses were numerically greater than those of the National forces, and, of course, much larger in proportion to the size of his army.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE LINES AROUND MARIETTA—AFFAIR AT CULP'S FARM.

ON the 1st of June, Stoneman occupied Alatoona with his cavalry, and, taking a strong position in the pass, was able to cover the repair of the railway from Kingston to the Etowah, which was immediately begun. The next day Sherman resumed in earnest his flanking movement to the left. McPherson's Army of the Tennessee relieved Hooker's corps, and with Davis's division occupied the whole line which Hooker and Schofield had held. Schofield having all three of the divisions of the Twenty-third Corps united, moved to the vicinity of the Burnt Church, at the crossing of the Alatoona road with that leading from Burnt Hickory to Marietta. Here he formed the corps in line, Hovey's division on the right, Cox's in the centre, and Hascall's on the left. Hooker's corps meanwhile had come up and was in support of Schofield. The latter then advanced, guiding his left by the Marietta road. The movement was sharply contested by the Confederates, but Schofield pressed steadily forward till his centre division crossed Alatoona Creek close to the Dallas and Ackworth road. Here he came upon an entrenched position of the enemy covering the forks of the road. The men dashed through the creek in the midst of a furious thunderstorm, which made it difficult to distinguish between the discharges of the enemy's artillery at close quarters and the rattling thunder. The slope beyond was



Operations around Marietta.

wooded, and the fortified line was found to be a hundred and fifty yards beyond the top of the bank. Cox's division was halted and ordered to intrench where it was, facing southeasterly. Hascall's, which had been left a little in rear by the swinging movement, advanced till it came into line, and intrenched also. The same was done by Hovey's division on the right. The movement had been followed by Hooker in support, and Butterfield's division was placed in echelon on Hascall's left.

So dense had been the wood through which the centre moved that skirmishers two hundred feet in advance of the line could not be seen, and the direction could only be kept by compass. Even then the skirmish line took ground to the left, and partly uncovered the front without being aware of it. The Division Commander, noticing that the dropping skirmish fire was ceasing, spurred forward to see if the skirmishers were in position. Crossing a little ravine he was met by the fire of the enemy's picket at pistol range, and Captain Saunders, the Division Adjutant-General, fell mortally wounded. To wheel, meet the line and deploy forward a fresh line of skirmishers was the work of a moment; but the incident proved how precarious and blind all movements in such a tangled wilderness must be, and what constant risk there was of accidents like that which befell McPherson later in the season.

The second line was halted on the north bank of the stream, but the storm changed the creek in half an hour into an unfordable torrent. The knowledge of this gave speed to the exertions of the first line to strengthen their breastworks, and they did so under a galling fire of both cannon and small arms. The density of the wood made this but random firing in the main, and the position was held through the night with comparatively little loss.

Whilst Schofield and Hooker were thus advancing on the extreme left, Thomas threw forward Baird's division of Palmer's corps beyond Pickett's Mill, and Johnson's (which had bent back along the creek) was swung out to keep pace with Baird, so that at the close of the day the whole line had been extended to the left some three miles, and the divisions were intrenched securely upon it.

The Confederate trenches east of Pickett's Mill following the commanding lines of the ground, ran nearly due east for a mile and then almost directly north to the point which Schofield had reached. One line of this angle could be enfiladed by the Army of the Cumberland, and the other by the Army of the Ohio. When therefore on the following day (June 3d) Hooker extended Geary's and Butterfield's divisions along the Ackworth road, McCook's cavalry being still further east, Johnston became satisfied that he could no longer hold the line of New Hope Church. McCook's and Stoneman's troopers reached Ackworth on the 3d, capturing a few vedettes, and finding the town already abandoned. The same day Schofield transferred Hovey's division to his left, Hooker's command being still farther out on that flank, and the enemy abandoned the works in the immediate front of the Twenty-third Corps, falling back into intrenchments which were the continuation of that above Pickett's Mill, and facing due north.

This was only preparatory to abandoning the whole line in front of New Hope Church, which was done in the night of the 4th, and Johnston retreated to the new positions which his engineers had selected between Lost Mountain and Brush Mountain, two or three miles north of Kenesaw. On this line, Pine Mountain, a high, isolated hill, formed a salient near the centre, but as it was somewhat exposed on the west, an advanced line was occupied southwest of it,

crossing the Burnt Hickory and Marietta road a mile or more north of Gilgal Church. This road crosses, at the church, the so-called Sandtown road, which from this point continues in a southerly direction to the Chattahoochee, reaching the town from which it is named, and thence going on toward Atlanta.

As soon as it was known that Johnston had been manœuvred out of his position, Sherman at once took steps to reach the railroad at Ackworth. Schofield was ordered to stand fast, whilst the Army of the Cumberland followed Hooker, and the Army of the Tennessee moved somewhat in rear of both, until the positions of June 2d were reversed, Schofield becoming the right of the whole army as he had before been its left.

On the evening of the 7th McPherson had reached the railroad in front of Ackworth, Thomas was south of him with his right on the Sandtown road; and Schofield remained in his former position, covering the transfer of the hospitals and trains to the railroad. The weather was showery and the roads were becoming very bad. This made the change of base all the more opportune, for the way from Kingston was long and the mud deep. By driving beef cattle "on the hoof" there had been no lack of rations, except of bread, of which the allowance was short in some of the camps.

Another step in the campaign was thus successfully taken, and the army buckled to its work again with unbounded faith in its commander and in itself. Sherman ordered Blair to hasten forward from Kingston with the Seventeenth Corps, saying he wanted "to go to Marietta on Wednesday or Thursday." Several Wednesdays were destined to pass before Johnston's skilful and obstinate defence should be overcome, but every man in the National army felt that it was only a question of time. The certainty of

ultimate success was undoubted. From the 5th to the 9th of June the several corps were ploughing through the mud toward the railroad, taking and rectifying their positions in line. Schofield kept one of his divisions (Cox's) near the crossing of the Dallas and Burnt Hickory roads to cover the movement of the hospitals and trains, and new field depôts were established for the several commands as follows: McPherson's at Big Shanty Station on the railroad, Thomas's at Ackworth, and Schofield's at Alatoona. pontoons were laid at the Alatoona crossing of the Etowah, and Colonel Wright promised to have the railway bridge rebuilt by the 12th. Blair reached Ackworth with his Seventeenth Corps on the 8th, leaving a brigade as a garrison at Alatoona. He brought about nine thousand men in his two divisions, and the reinforcement was almost exactly equal to Sherman's losses up to that time.

When Johnston evacuated his lines before New Hope Church, the first impression in the army was that his next line would be the Chattahoochee River, and Sherman shared this belief. Reconnoitring parties soon brought information that the enemy held Pine Mountain and a chain of hills eastward, and made it plain that another prolonged contest must be had around the commanding spurs of the mountains that covered Marietta on the north and west. Alatoona Pass was fortified under the direction of Captain Poe, Chief Engineer, and remained an important post during the rest of the campaign. Garrard's division of cavalry was ordered to report to McPherson, and to cover the operations of the Army of the Tennessee on the left flank; Stoneman's was already attached to the Army of the Ohio and covered the extreme right; and McCook's, of the Army of the Cumberland picketed the rear, protecting the crossing of the Etowah and covering the fords of that river.

On Thursday, June 10th, in accordance with orders issued the evening before, the whole army moved forward, feeling for the enemy. McPherson, putting Blair's corps on his left, marched down the Ackworth and Marietta road through the village and station of Big Shanty, and found the Confederates occupying Brush Mountain in force. In the deep valley in front of these heights runs Noonday Creek, first eastwardly and then north into the Etowah. A branch of the same stream is found behind Brush Mountain, separating it from the three peaked ridges of Kenesaw and a line of hills east of it. Logan's and Dodge's corps of the Army of the Tennessee were on the right of McPherson, but the troops of this wing were kept a good deal massed, so that they might rapidly extend farther to the left if circumstances should make it of advantage to do so.

Thomas divided the Army of the Cumberland into three columns, Palmer's corps on his left, keeping connection with McPherson and following the road to Newton's Mills, Howard's in the centre, and Hooker's on the right, moving straight upon Pine Mountain. The country in which Thomas was, included the upper waters of Proctor's Creek, which takes its rise in the highlands between Kenesaw and Pine Mountain, and runs nearly midway between Noonday and Alatoona Creeks, all three seeking their outlets in the Etowah.

Schofield followed the general course of Alatoona Creek, marching from Mount Olivet Church, on the Marietta road toward Gilgal, known in the neighborhood as Hard Shell Church. His Twenty-third Corps was consolidated into two divisions, Hovey having become discontented and asking to be relieved. Hascall's division followed the road southward from Kemp's Mills, and Cox, on the extreme right of the army, marched from Alatoona Church by the

Sandtown road. On this flank the enemy was found in position just over Alatoona Creek, in a line of intrenchments facing northwest, about a mile in front of Gilgal Church. Stoneman's cavalry reconnoitred toward Lost Mountain, where lines of intrenchments were also found, though they were not held by infantry.

Johnston seeing the movement of the National forces by their left flank, rightly interpreted its meaning, and concentrated his infantry between Gilgal and Brush Mountain. Hardee's left was at the church, Bate's division occupied Pine Mountain and constituted the right of that corps. Polk's corps extended from that point across the railway to the Ackworth and Marietta wagon road, where his right rested, Noonday Creek covering part of his front. Hood's corps was the Confederate right, and was massed behind Noonday Creek and along the base of Brush Mountain, awaiting events. Wheeler's cavalry covered the Confederate right, and Jackson's was on the left.

In front of the centre and left of the National army the country was rough, almost mountainous. On the right it was hilly, but less difficult. The Confederate lines toward the southwest followed the line of the watershed, heretofore described, and could only be approached by crossing the ravines, which were generally parallel to Johnston's front. The general trend of the mountains is continued in the lower ridges, and the watercourses furrowing their way between the hills find outlets to the north or the south, whilst the prevailing course of these valleys continues to be nearly northeast and southwest. The country to the east of Marietta was in some respects the most favorable for Sherman's approach, and his movements showed that he thought seriously of using it; but the line of the railway from Kingston would have been a good deal exposed, for it ran parallel to

the river for several miles, and had the National forces moved to the east of Marietta, Kingston and the Etowah with its numerous fords would have been nearer to Johnston than to Sherman. These considerations settled the question of strategy, and determined the National commander to operate by his right flank.

Continuous drenching rains and storms had lasted from the 4th of the month, and the roads were fast becoming impassable. Streams were up and the woods and fields so soaked with water that activity was impossible. Singularly, too, the winds were chilling, even cold, blowing from the east and bringing from the ocean an endless succession of pouring showers. The Northern troops were finding their summer in Georgia quite unlike their anticipation of the "sunny South," but waited patiently, strengthening their lines whilst the bickering skirmish fire went on. On the 11th, the Etowah bridge was completed, Colonel Wright having more than made good his promise, and the next day the whistle of the locomotive was heard at Big Shanty, notifying friend and foe that Sherman's supplies were now close in rear of his line.

On Tuesday, the 14th, there was a partial cessation of the rain, and Sherman directed strongly supported skirmish lines to be advanced, and the whole front to be moved as close to the enemy's works as possible, but without direct assault of fortifications unless some specially favorable opportunity should occur. Thomas pushed forward the right of Palmer's corps and the left of Howard's into the reentrant angle between Pine Mountain and the Confederate works east of it, advancing until the forces on the mountain were in danger of being quite separated from the rest of the line. The right and left wings of the army drove back the outposts and pickets in their front, and made new

trenches for themselves close to the enemy. As the high points held by the Confederates overlooked the camps of our army, the artillery were ordered to open upon groups which seemed to be reconnoitering. It happened that Johnston with Hardee and Polk were upon Pine Mountain during the movement of the 14th, and Lieutenant-General Polk was killed by a cannon-ball from one of General Thomas's batteries. The conference between the Confederate generals had been at Hardee's instance, as he thought Bate's division in danger of being cut off, and the advance of Thomas's troops only confirmed the opinion. During the night the position was abandoned and Bate's division placed in reserve. General Polk, a Tennessean, had been Bishop in the Protestant Episcopal Church before the war, but he had received a military education in early life, and that circumstance led him to tender his services as a soldier to the Confederate Government. His influence was large and his example influenced a multitude of followers in a State where Union sentiments had prevailed down to the actual beginning of hostilities. A cousin of a former President of the United States, his position in Church and State made him an important personage in the Confederacy. A higher military rank was given him than his experience or abilities as a soldier would alone have warranted, and it was rather as a citizen than as a general that his loss was severely felt in the South. Loring, his senior division commander, succeeded temporarily to the corps, but General S. D. Lee was soon after assigned to the permanent command.

On the morning of the 15th, Thomas moved his line forward beyond Pine Mountain. The advance guard of the enemy held the trenches connecting their principal lines with Pine Mountain and some other detached works which had been made to cover these. Hooker's corps marched

against these works, and after a sharp engagement carried them. He then pushed Geary's division against the principal line, but found it too strong, and after a gallant effort Geary was forced to retire with a loss of several hundred men.

Meanwhile Schofield ordered Cox's division of the Twenty-third Corps to try the works in his front, supported by Hascall. A line of the enemy's skirmishers was driven from a hill beyond Alatoona Creek which proved an excellent position for artillery, a cross fire being obtained and directed upon the Confederate intrenchments, and under cover of this the division was able to carry the line with comparatively small loss, capturing a number of prisoners. On this flank Johnston's troops were now driven back into their principal defences at Gilgal Church. Stoneman's cavalry was skirmishing and advancing toward Lost Mountain, to which the enemy still held fast.

Thomas's centre and left drove back Loring's corps from a similar line of outworks, making more than a mile of progress, and, connecting with McPherson, applied the National line so closely to that of the enemy that there was the same constant and irritating skirmish going on which had been so marked near New Hope Church.

Blair's freshly arrived corps formed the extreme left of McPherson, and simultaneous with the advance of the rest of the line on the 14th, the Army of the Tennessee moved forward. Force's brigade of Leggett's division was the flank of the movement, and Force, pushing forward the Thirtieth Illinois with a dashing charge, carried a spur of the hills before him, taking in reverse a long line of intrenched skirmishers of Hood's corps, and forcing the whole to fall back behind Noonday Creek. On the 15th, a division of Logan's (Fifteenth) corps was passed to the left of

Blair, and the extreme flank of the Army of the Tennessee on that side was well lapped beyond the Confederate right.

In the advance of McPherson's left, which immediately followed the gaining of the hill by Force, his line ran over and captured the Fortieth Alabama regiment, 320 strong.<sup>1</sup>

Johnston's left had now become the weak part of his line, for his troops were not numerous enough to enable him to hold the trenches beyond Gilgal Church in any great force, though Hardee made that position very strong by recurving his line and making an interior retrenchment covering the first on the extreme flank. Jackson's cavalry had to be depended upon to hold Lost Mountain, and to guard the line between there and Gilgal, and Stoneman was keeping them busy. On the 16th, Schofield moved Hascall's division to his right, some distance clear of the rest of his line, and then sharply advancing the left brigade of that division, and swinging forward the right of Cox's at the same time, got possession of high ground, from which his artillery was able to enfilade a good deal of Hardee's line, taking part of it in reverse, and also to sweep the road from Gilgal to Marietta for a considerable distance.

With his usual prudence and foresight, Johnston had prepared for this contingency, by constructing in advance a new line of earth-works behind Mud Creek. These trenches left the old line near Hardee's right, and bending south from a high point on the watershed, followed the east bank of the creek far enough to cross the direct road from Marietta to New Hope Church by way of Lost Mountain. Hardee was drawn back into this line on the night of the 16th. His extreme left, by this wheel to the rear, was retired about three miles from its former position.

Thomas and Schofield were both on the alert, and early on the next morning the right wing of the National army

<sup>1</sup> In Sherman's despatches (Report of Committee on Conduct of the War) this regiment is said to be the 14th—probably an error in copying. The 14th Alabama

followed Hardee vigorously, brushing away Jackson's cavalry, which was hardly able to retard the advance noticeably, and only enlivened it by a skirmishing opposition, the noise of the batteries, as they moved southward from hill to hill, telling plainly of the advance of Sherman's right along the Sandtown road. Near Derby's house the road to Marietta was reached, and Schofield ordered his advanced division (Cox's) to take it and try to find the enemy's flank. The valley of Mud Creek was soon reached. The stream flows nearly due south in a deep valley which here widens out, a bend of the creek washing an almost precipitous cliff, on which Hardee had posted his extreme left with batteries of artillery in position. This fortress covered a mile or more of the open bottom land through which the road ran; but between the two hilly banks the erosion of the stream had left a bare rounded hill nearly as high as the others. Schofield's men advanced rapidly across the open ground to the protection of this *mamelon*, where the division was deployed in two lines, and made to lie down in close support of Cockerill's battery of Ohio artillery, which unlimbered just below the crest that made for them an admirable parapet, over which nothing but the muzzles of the guns were visible from the front. Soon after a battery from the Twentieth Corps came to the same position, but, not taking the precaution to use the cover of the crest of the hill, suffered so much from the enemy's fire that it was forced to withdraw. Cockerill maintained the artillery duel in a most brilliant manner for an hour, when he silenced the guns opposed to him, and the deployment of the infantry went on. Hooker's corps occupied the whole front of Hardee's left, and Schofield advancing Hascall's division in close support of the other, gained the crest between Mud Creek and Noses Creek. Hardee drew back his left flank, making a sharp

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was in Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. McPherson's prisoners, mostly taken by Walcutt's brigade of Harrow's division, were of the 31st and 40th Alabama.

*crotchet* in his line, the angle being at the fortified point above described, and hung on to his position during the next day.

In front of Palmer's and Howard's corps of the Army of the Cumberland, the union of Hardee's new line with the old intrenchments was found to make a salient angle, and hills in front were so situated that Thomas's batteries might succeed in getting an enfilading fire upon the faces of it. Johnston, therefore, regarded it untenable, and Colonel Prestman, his engineer, was already at work on the 17th, tracing a new contour for fortifications destined to be the last of the lines around Marietta, though not the last north of the Chattahoochee. He was not allowed the opportunity to retire at leisure, however, for on the 18th, early in the morning, upon indications that the enemy was preparing to withdraw, Howard threw forward Wood's and Newton's divisions, whose strongly supported line of skirmishers were able by a rush to carry the line in their front, capturing about fifty prisoners. Several counter-charges were made in the hope of regaining the line, but they were repulsed. During the day and night batteries were worked into the commanding positions above referred to. As soon as the skirmishers of the two divisions had gained the enemy's works in the morning, Harker, of Newton's division, without waiting for orders, deployed two regiments to hold and secure the ground that was gained, and Howard, seeing the advantage, ordered up the whole of Newton's division in their support. The line thus carried was the trench at and near the junction of the old works with the new, and which was held by the enemy as an advanced line before their principal intrenchments, in a position they could not afford to abandon on account of its relation to the salient already described. During the night, Newton's men made the posi-

tion strong, and before morning were firmly placed within about a hundred yards of the main line in their front.

These advantages were decisive, and Johnston lost no time in getting his forces into the trenches which his engineer had marked out still closer to Marietta. They moved to the rear during the night, leaving, as usual, a strong skirmish line with supports to hold the old works and delay the advance of the National army. The key of the new Confederate line was Kenesaw Mountain, which is the summit of the watershed, and whose wood-covered sides, breaking down into deep ravines, made an impregnable military position, whilst its summit, overlooking the country in all directions, made concealment of movements on Sherman's part next to impossible. The railway coming from the north turns back to the northeast between Kenesaw and Brush Mountain, till passing beyond the flank of the former it again curves to the south, a couple of miles north of Marietta. The mountain was occupied by Loring's (formerly Polk's) corps, French's division holding its southwestern slope and part of the crest, Walthall's continuing the line along the ridge, and Loring's own (commanded by Featherston) reaching down the northeastern slope to the railroad. Hood's corps held the high upland east of the railway, looking down into the branches of Noonday Creek, which skirted the eastern part of Brush Mountain, and facing the ridge of that hill. Hood's troops were not deployed as much as Loring's, though their right reached far enough eastward to cover the Marietta and Canton wagon road. The divisions were massed, ready to be used promptly as a moving column if necessary. Hardee's corps was the left of the Confederate army, and his divisions from left to right were Cheatham's, Cleburne's, Bate's, and Walker's, the latter connecting with Loring at the base of Kenesaw.

From the mountain southward his front was covered by Noses Creek, now swollen to the dimensions of a river by the incessant rains. The road from Marietta to Lost Mountain ran through the intrenchments near Hardee's right, and his left rested on high ground above a branch of Noses Creek, which rises in the town. A glance at the map will show that in these retreating movements the contour of the country made it necessary for Johnston to retire his left more than his right, Hardee having swung backward six or eight miles, whilst Hood had not needed to move more than two. The curve of defensive lines about Marietta had now become nearly a semicircle facing the west, but considerably nearer the town on the north. In front of the principal line was even more than the usual number of lunettes and advanced works on spurs and commanding hills, and a marvelous industry had been used in covering the whole with abattis and entanglements of slashed forest trees.

As soon as the movement of Johnston was known, early on the 19th, the centre and wings of the National army were all in motion likewise. The pouring rain had not ceased since the beginning of the month, and the whole country was a quagmire. Streams that were ordinarily dry at this season of the year were now formidable obstructions. The "lagunes" in the hollows were dangerous quicksands in which artillery and horses were in peril of being utterly engulfed. The supply trains for Thomas's right and for Schofield toiled painfully along wherever solid ground could be found, leaving the impassable roads for new tracks, which a few trains made in their turn impassable, until the whole country between Alatoona and the centre and right of the army was a wilderness of mire in which the original roads could not be traced.

The 19th of June was occupied in a skirmishing advance,

driving the enemy's rear guard from the old trenches and feeling the way forward to new positions. The next day Blair's corps was advanced strongly on McPherson's left, Leggett's division being on the extreme flank. Force's brigade was directed to occupy a hill somewhat east of the direct line of advance, and marching rapidly forward, after a brisk skirmishing fight carried the crest, and found that they were overlooking a combat between Garrard's cavalry and Wheeler's, which was one of the most fiercely contested of the campaign. General Leggett being informed of this, succeeded in getting a battery up the hill, and opening with spherical case shot on the Confederate horsemen, was able to give Garrard timely assistance. But Leggett's divergent movement had carried him so far to the left and front that the other wing of the corps took him to be the enemy, and opened with artillery upon him, till a messenger going at speed explained the mistake, and the firing was stopped before serious mischief was done. Logan's and Dodge's corps (Fifteenth and Sixteenth) moved forward, keeping pace with Blair's, developing the enemy's new position on Kenesaw, and advancing close to them under a hot fire. In the Army of the Cumberland Palmer's corps was on the left and moved up close to the base of the southern spurs of the mountain. Howard was on the west bank of Noses Creek, his centre on the road from Gilgal Church to Marietta. In front of Hooker's corps the creek made a considerable bend to the west, where the road from Lost Mountain to Marietta crosses it, and the principal Confederate lines being farther from the stream, Geary's division had been able to cross, using a bridge which the swollen stream was constantly threatening to carry away. Butterfield's and Williams's followed, and the whole of the corps took positions, massed by brigades with the front covered by skirmishers.

On the 20th, Howard sent Wood's division and a brigade of Stanley's to relieve the left of Hooker's corps (Williams's division), which in its turn was moved to the right. Stanley got his other brigades over the creek, and in the afternoon occupied two hills in his front. The hill on the right was a bald knob and was occupied by Kirby's brigade, but not in force. The other was wooded and was quickly intrenched by Whittaker's brigade, and held despite the vigorous efforts of the enemy to retake it. Kirby was not so fortunate, and his skirmishers and pioneers were driven off. During the 21st, part of the Army of the Cumberland was relieved by McPherson, and the process of taking ground to the right continued. Palmer's corps relieved the left of Howard's, and Newton's division of the latter moved to the right and relieved part of Hooker's, which was extended still farther toward that flank.

Howard determined to take again and to hold the bald hill in front of Stanley's right. The left brigade of Wood (Nodine's) was ordered to co-operate with Kirby, and a concentrated artillery fire was directed upon the hill for half an hour. The advance by the two brigades was then made, the enemy was driven off with a loss of some prisoners, and the knob was intrenched under a hot fire from the Confederate batteries in front. Wood was enabled at the same time to march two regiments against another height still farther to the right and front, which he occupied, thereby forcing the abandoning of a long intrenched skirmish line and enabling the whole of the right of Howard's corps to move forward across an open field several hundred yards. Hooker's corps advanced at the same time, occupying important positions on hills upon Culp's farm, and connecting with Howard on his left.

Schofield had marched on the 19th along the Sandtown

road some three miles, meeting with no serious opposition till his head of column reached the crossing of Noses Creek. Here the planking of the bridge was found to be removed, the stream was up so that the water was over the bottom land skirting it, and the enemy's cavalry with artillery disputed the passage. The two principal branches of the creek unite before crossing the road the Twenty-third Corps was now marching on, and the road from Powder Springs Church to Marietta crosses it on a ridge just beyond the creek. As the position was about two miles from the flank of the Army of the Cumberland, Schofield, in accordance with instructions from General Sherman, made no serious effort to cross the stream, but kept the enemy amused whilst Stoneman was operating with his cavalry toward Powder Springs. The village of Powder Springs is three or four miles south of the church of the same name, and the road from Marietta to this village forks near the Culp farm, the northern branch being that which has already been mentioned as crossing the Sandtown road just south of Noses Creek, and the other fork crossing the same road a mile and a half farther south at Cheney's farm. On the 20th, the enemy still showed a bold front to Schofield's advanced division (Cox's), and Cameron's brigade was ordered to make a serious effort to cross. The creek being unfordable, and the dismantled bridge covered by artillery fire, the task was a little difficult, but the bushes bordering the stream were filled with sharpshooters, a battery was advanced to a knoll close to the creek, and under protection of the fire of both cannon and small arms, Colonel Casement of the One Hundred and Third Ohio succeeded in getting a small party across, running over on the timbers and string-pieces of the bridge. The party being deployed and advancing under cover of the bank were able to drive back

the enemy's skirmishers from the bridge head, and the Confederate artillery, being overmatched, drew back also. The remainder of the brigade was quickly put over, the bridge repaired, and the crest beyond was intrenched. The 21st, the whole of Cox's division, was over the creek, Hascall's division was moved up in close support, sending pickets to the left between the forks of Noses Creek, where they connected with the right of Hooker's corps. The Confederate cavalry under Jackson showed an aggressive disposition in the direction of Powder Springs, and on word from Colonel Adams, who commanded Stoneman's detachment on that road, that he was hard pressed, a regiment of infantry and a section of artillery was sent from Cox's division to his support. With this help Stoneman drove back his assailants, but the enemy's activity indicated a nearer support of his infantry.

Johnston had begun to be concerned for the Marietta and Powder Springs road, for Hooker's right was close to it, and Schofield's movements were threatening to put him astride of it. Hardee had stretched his lines quite as far as was safe, and the Confederate commander determined to move the whole of Hood's corps from the right to the left flank. Ordering Wheeler to show a bold front and make as strong a fight with his dismounted cavalry as he could, Johnston left these, with such help as could be got by stretching Loring's corps to the right, to fill the trenches out of which Hood was drawn. The movement was made in the night of the 21st, and by the next morning Hood was upon the Powder Springs road, near Zion church, about a mile east of Culp's farm. With his characteristic aggressiveness he signaled his appearance in front of our right wing by a fierce attack, which was made with his whole corps, Hindman's and Stevenson's divisions in front, supported by Stewart.

This attack was not made, however, till the middle of the afternoon, and meanwhile important changes had occurred on the extreme right.

During the morning Schofield ordered Cox's division to march southward on the Sandtown road, toward its crossing of the road from Marietta to Powder Springs village, at Cheney's house. Hascall's division had directions to follow across Noses Creek, turn to the left on the road from Powder Springs Church to Marietta, and go into position on Hooker's right, near Culp's. Hascall was in his appointed place about noon, and Cox had reached the forks of the road at Cheney's, which he found to be in rear of commanding ground overlooking the crossing of Olley's Creek, the next of the nearly parallel streams flowing southwest from the plateau at Marietta. Reilly's brigade was moved forward to the heights bordering this valley, and the other three brigades of the division (which was a large one) were arranged to cover well both flanks and rear, as the position was isolated.

Hooker's corps front consisted of Geary's division on the left and Williams's on the right. Butterfield's was in line with Howard's corps further to the left. At Geary's right was an eminence facing open fields, partly in front of Williams, and this right was strongly intrenched and held by well-supported artillery. It had been occupied only a little before, for Hooker had swung his whole command forward at the same time that Schofield advanced on his flank, and the new positions had barely been assumed when the storm Hood was preparing burst upon them. Williams had advanced with his division massed by brigades, Robinson's on the left, Knipe's in the centre, and Ruger on the right, reaching to the Marietta road at Culp's, where connection was made with Hascall's division of the Army of the Ohio.

Ravines with small marshy brooks ran down between Geary and Williams into Noses Creek behind them, and there were similar depressions between Williams's brigades. The Marietta road was on the ridge, and Hascall's division was over it to the south, his right facing the valley of Olley's Creek and covering the road from Culp's to Cheney's, where Cox's division was, though with a gap of nearly two miles between.

In the sharp skirmishing which had accompanied these movements, some prisoners had been taken, and these were found to belong to Hood's corps, and reported both Hood and Hardee prepared to attack. Hooker immediately ordered Williams to deploy the whole division and throw up breastworks at once. Schofield gave the same orders to Hascall. The deployment was just completed, and a beginning made in throwing up breastworks, when Hood advanced with his usual impetuosity. The conformation of the ground gave Williams a convex front, his centre brigade being in advance of the others. The same circumstance made Hood's advance somewhat divergent, his right division (Hindman's) striking the centre of Williams and the right of Geary, whilst his left (Stevenson's) attacked Hascall's division of Twenty-third Corps, on the south side of the Marietta road. Knipe's brigade maintained its ground, but the enemy gained some advantage in the hollow between Williams and Geary; but this only brought him into open ground. From the hill on Geary's right the Thirteenth New York Artillery opened a rapid fire on the charging lines. Winegar's battery of three-inch rifles, and Woodbury's of light twelves joined in the cannonade from Williams's left and front, and the converging fire of canister and case shot played havoc with the exposed enemy. Williams's and Geary's lines were reformed, and after the exchange of a few volleys of mus-

ketry, the repulse of the Confederates was complete and they retreated to their intrenchments. When the attack was made, Hooker called upon Howard for Butterfield's division. It was so placed in the trenches that it could not be instantly relieved; but Howard sent reinforcements of such regiments as were in reserve, and relieved Butterfield and sent him to Hooker early in the night. As Williams's division connected with Hascall's of the Twenty-third Corps, Butterfield was put in reserve.

The ground along the Marietta road was thickly wooded, and Hood's left, passing quite by Ruger's brigade, came in contact with Hascall's division.

Hascall had gone into position on the right of Hooker, and upon the continuation of the ridge held by him, and was, as we have seen, covering both the road upon which he had marched and one which, branching from it, ran directly to Cox's position at Cheney's. The two divisions of the Twenty-third Corps therefore occupied two angles of a triangle formed by the diverging roads upon which they had travelled and that which connected them in the manner just stated. Hascall found, however, that a ridge just in front of him was a desirable position to hold, and would soon be needed for a new line when an advance should be made. He therefore ordered his skirmish line, supported by Colonel Gallup's Fourteenth Kentucky Regiment to advance and occupy it. His three brigades, Strickland's, McQuiston's, and Hobson's, began throwing up breastworks on the main line. Gallup captured some prisoners in his advance, and learned from them that Hood's corps had just come from the enemy's extreme right and was preparing to assault. He reported the fact to Hascall, with whom Schofield was in person. The news was immediately followed by the attack; but Gallup had succeeded already in making a slight barricade, and for

some time resisted obstinately the Confederate onset, which was made by part of Stevenson's division. He had been ordered to retire to the principal line when hard pressed, but stimulated by the terrible effect of their own volleys upon the advancing enemy, and not realizing that his flanks would soon be turned, his men held on till peremptory orders were given him to retire. He then came back in good order, the enemy following, and nearly sixty Confederate dead still lying on that part of the field the next day, attested the gallantry with which this little advanced guard had done their duty. As soon as Gallup was within the lines, Shields's and Paddock's batteries, which had been placed in well-selected positions, opened with canister upon the Confederate lines, and with the fire from the breastworks soon cleared the front.

But Hood's attacks had been so determined and persistent that, at half past four, Schofield ordered Cox to leave but one brigade in front of Cheney's, and with the rest of his division move by the direct road from Cheney's to Culp's, to Hascall's support. This was promptly done, but by the time the march could be made, the brunt of the attack on that front was over. The three brigades of that division were put in the line, however, with the right refused, covering the open ground in the valley of Olley's Creek, and extending pickets and patrols to watch the interval of a mile still remaining between them and the brigade of Reilly on the far right and front.

Johnston admitted a loss of "about a thousand" in this combat, which seems to have been made by Hood upon his own responsibility. He evidently hoped that he could outflank the National army on that side, and by catching them in motion by columns, could gain some decided advantage. That he was disappointed does not detract from the good

generalship of the effort. He had moved by an interior line from the front of McPherson, Hardee had been able to extend his line as far as Hooker up to the day before, and on every theory of probabilities he had the right to calculate upon finding an inferior force in his immediate front on that flank. The extension of our own lines in the same direction, which has been detailed, upset his calculations. He found at every point an array of men every way equal to his own in courage and self-reliance, and handled with intelligent skill; and he withdrew his battered divisions, covering his defeat as well as he could by a report which tried to diminish the importance of the engagement.

Williams reported a loss of only 130 men, Geary's was trifling, and Hascall's about the same as Williams's. The affair throws instructive light also on the relations of attack and defence in such a country as that in which operations were going on. The weight of the attack on the north of the road fell upon Knipe's brigade, and there was hardly a score of casualties in the rest of the division. So on the south of the road, Hascall's left, which was the most advanced, had sustained a fierce and determined attack, and the rest of the division was able to inflict great loss by a flanking fire upon the enemy whilst suffering very little in return. It would be in strict accordance with the style of the Confederate reports of similar affairs to say that Hood's corps attacked two brigades and were defeated. The truth, however, is that in every such attack in country where the whole field is not visible, the obstinate defence of any salient position checks a whole line, or makes its momentum so weak as to be easily stopped. The fear of being themselves taken in flank produces great caution when officers and men hear sharp fighting in rear of a point they have reached, especially in a thick wood. In such circum-

stances they rarely go far after their connections with lines right and left of them have been broken. On the other hand, the advanced brigade which holds its defensive position is strengthened by the consciousness of strong cover for its flanks. This reciprocal support is a large element in the chances of battle, and it is every way fairer, in such cases, to consider the forces of both attack and defence with reference to the whole numbers within supporting distance on both sides.

During the evening after the engagement, and acting upon second-hand information from prisoners (to which Geary also refers in his report), Hooker reported to General Sherman that he had been attacked by three corps, but had repulsed them, and was only anxious about his right flank. The General-in-Chief, who had been near the centre of the whole line, at his signal station, was concerned lest Schofield had not fully met the spirit of his instructions, and next morning went in person to the little church in the woods near Culp's, where he met both those officers. On his way Sherman had passed through Ward's (Butterfield's) division, and learned that it was in reserve. Schofield, on being informed of the despatch sent by Hooker, indignantly declared it inexcusably wrong, and invited both officers to go to Hascall's front and see whose dead lay farthest in advance. Sherman, reminding Hooker that three corps was the whole of Johnston's army, which, if it had attacked, would have made itself felt along a larger front than two or three brigades, indicated his dislike of such sensational reports, and especially of the unjust insinuation as to Schofield. After a repulse of the enemy, and with Butterfield's division of his own corps still within reach, he thought an officer of Hooker's experience should not have been so anxious about his flank as to have sent the despatch, even if Schofield had not been there.

The incident was a personal one which might well be omitted from history, but as it had its influence upon the subsequent relations of these officers, and upon General Hooker's withdrawal from the army, it is necessary to notice it.

Hood's attack had been accompanied by a fierce cannonade along nearly the whole front, and lively demonstrations were made on both sides from right to left; but no material change in positions or in forces was discovered, except the transfer of Hood's corps. It is uncertain to what degree Loring's corps had been extended to Johnston's right to supply the place from which Hood had been taken; but it is hardly credible that Wheeler's cavalry alone had been able to impose upon McPherson, who certainly believed and reported that the intrenchments in his front were held by infantry.