

CHAPTER X.

KENESAW.

SHERMAN's embarrassments at this juncture were almost altogether due to the trouble in keeping his army supplied. The extraordinary and still-continuing rains made it impossible to lengthen the distance between the troops and their depôts, and so long as Johnston held fast to Kenesaw, no nearer points than those in use could be selected for the issuing of stores. Besides this, his long line of railway was tempting the Confederate commander to more vigorous efforts to cut his communications, and several cavalry raids had partial success in destroying bridges, tearing up rails, and burning one or two small trains. Torpedoes—a favorite weapon with the enemy—had been used to blow up a passing train, and Sherman was forced to threaten that he would test the safety of the track by an advance train of prisoners. He rightly distinguished between the use of mines and torpedoes to defend a position attacked, and the efforts to blow up railway trains upon roads far in the rear. The former is legitimate warfare; the latter, like disseminating contagion or incendiary burnings of towns beyond the theatre of war, is a barbarism which could legitimately be met by the means he threatened to use, but did not find necessary, the threat itself having the desired effect.

The affair of the 22d decided Sherman that his best course was to bring McPherson from the left, where the

ground in his front seemed peculiarly difficult ; and he notified that officer in the evening to be ready for a transfer to the extreme right. To do this required, however, an accumulation of supplies, and getting ahead of the daily demand was slow work in the condition of roads and railways, though from June 23d the weather improved. Impatient at the obstacles which seemed to bring everything to a standstill, and disappointed that the attack by Hood had made it necessary to call back Schofield's advanced division from a very promising flank movement on the Sandtown road, the mind of the National commander naturally recurred to the chances of breaking through a line which he was sure could not be so strong as his own. Although it was certain that great efforts were making to reinforce Johnston, and the Georgia militia under General G. W. Smith, a full division at least, were known to be in the field, it still seemed probable that the enemy's whole line must be very attenuated, and that the rugged character of the mountain must be greatly relied upon by Johnston for his security on that flank. Hood was known to be in front of Schofield and part of Hooker's corps ; Hardee must be well stretched out to hold the centre against the rest of Hooker's, Howard's, and Palmer's corps, so that it seemed probable that somewhere along the lines weak places might be found, where a determined attack might break through. Johnston's line, from the southern spurs of Kenesaw to his extreme right, including the mountain, was held by Loring's corps and whatever reinforcements he might recently have got. Abundant military experience proved that strength of position often begot a careless security in the defenders, and the assault of what were considered almost inaccessible cliffs has very often turned out to be the most brilliant success. Lookout Mountain had been an example of this in the very last campaign,

where, by that fortune which in war so often favors the bold, a so-called impregnable position had been carried with surprisingly little loss. There was hope, therefore, that Kenesaw itself might be captured while the attacks were progressing on other parts of the front.

One of two things Sherman must do. He must either confess that in stretching his right to Olley's Creek he had gone as far as possible, and must therefore wait patiently for good weather and better roads, till with accumulated stores he could swing McPherson's command quite to the south of the enemy as he had done at Dalton, or he must make a bold effort to break the lines before him. Thomas suggested an approach to the enemy's works by regular sap, but Sherman replied that when that slow process had carried one line, our experience showed that two or three equally strong would be prepared behind it. Hitherto the army had steadily gained ground, and had seen successive lines of formidable works abandoned by their opponents. To let it feel that it had gone the full length of its tether, and must halt whilst the enemy redoubled his efforts to interrupt our supplies would be demoralizing. There was a fair chance to carry some point in the enemy's line. If an assault succeeded it would be a decisive event. If it failed, the venture would at least be justified on sound military principles. Sherman therefore determined on a serious effort to break through Johnston's intrenchments, and made his preparations accordingly.

He fixed upon Monday morning, June 27th, at eight o'clock, for a general advance. McPherson was ordered to make a feint with his extreme left, keeping Garrard's cavalry also demonstrative and busy, whilst he made an attack at the south and west of Kenesaw. Strong skirmish lines were to take advantage of the combat elsewhere to seize the crest

of the mountain if possible. Thomas in the centre was ordered to select a point in his front for an assault, masking it by such other demonstrations as would assist it. Schofield, on the right, was ordered to attack some point near the Marietta and Powder Spring road, whilst he threatened the extreme flank of the enemy. All were to be prepared to follow up rapidly any advantage that might be gained.

On the 26th, Schofield was directed to make a demonstration with his right which should attract the enemy's attention, and possibly induce him to strengthen that wing at the expense of his centre and right, when Thomas and McPherson would attack on the morrow. Schofield accordingly ordered General Cox to push Reilly's brigade, which was still in front of Cheney's, to Olley's Creek, and make a lively demonstration on anything he might find in his front, supporting the movement, if successful, by another brigade from the division. Reilly advanced, and, after a brisk skirmish, occupied the hills close to the stream under cover of a cannonade by Myers's Indiana Battery. He found Jackson's cavalry dismounted, and occupying a commanding hill on the right of the road beyond the creek, where they had artillery intrenched in a very strong position. This fortified hill was nearly on the prolongation of the line of the ridge beyond Olley's Creek and separating it from the Nickajack. Reilly was directed to take forward his battery, intrench it and his brigade as near the enemy as possible, and keep up the artillery fire. Meanwhile Byrd's brigade was taken from the right of the line near Culp's, marched down the creek till within about a mile of Reilly. There it made a bridge, crossed the stream, and occupied a hill northeast of that held by the enemy in Reilly's front, and which was directly connected with the line of heights east of Olley's Creek, on which Hood's left flank rested. A depression in

the ridge partly isolated this hill from the rest of the high ground, and made it defensible. Byrd was ordered to intrench immediately on all sides, and hold the place against all comers as a separate redoubt, connecting his front by a chain of pickets, however, with both Reilly on his right, and with the rest of the division in Schofield's line on his left. The space between was the open valley through which the creek ran, and the Twenty-third corps batteries, which had been used to cover Byrd's advance, were disposed so as to search this interval with their fire. The Confederate reports show that these movements caused much uneasiness, but the activity of skirmish lines along the whole army front made both Johnston and Hood feel that they could not afford sufficiently strong detachments to successfully resist them. Sherman warmly approved what was done on this flank, but warned Schofield of the necessity of extreme watchfulness for brigades so far from support. He directed that Byrd's bridge be made good, and operations on that flank resumed early in the morning. Schofield accordingly determined to let Cox continue the movement down the Sandtown road next day with three of his brigades, whilst Hascall's division, as the extreme flank of the continuous line, should try to advance toward Marietta on the road from Culp's.

McPherson selected a point at the south and west of the principal crest of Kenesaw for his attack, and committed the details of the plan to Logan, whose corps lay opposite the point chosen. Blair and Dodge were ordered to assist Logan by active feints and demonstrations along the fronts of their respective corps. Logan ordered the attack to be made by the division of Morgan L. Smith, consisting of the brigades of Giles A. Smith and Lightburn, assisted by Walcutt's brigade of Harrow's division. The attacking troops

were ordered to form in two lines, and to move simultaneously with the columns of the Army of the Cumberland, when the signal should be given.

Recent changes in the line of the Army of the Cumberland in taking ground farther to the right had put Palmer's (Fourteenth) corps in the centre and Howard's (Fourth) on the left. The only points which seemed at all favorable for an attack were in front of Stanley's division of Howard's corps. There the conformation of the ground separated the hostile lines more than at other places, and room could be found for forming the troops for the attack outside of our own works and yet under cover. To Howard and Palmer was committed the duty of selecting the positions to be carried, and detailing the troops for the assault. Howard ordered General Newton to prepare for an advance in the morning from the left front of Stanley's division in two columns of attack. Newton arranged his division with Harker's and Wagner's brigades in front, and Kimball's in reserve. They were formed in two columns, having each a front of a regimental division, the columns being about one hundred yards apart. Portions of the divisions of Stanley and of Wood were held in readiness to support the movement.

General Palmer had likewise, with General Thomas's approval, selected his point for attack in front of Stanley's division and some distance to the right of that chosen by General Howard. Palmer therefore withdrew the division of General Davis from its place in line on the evening of the 26th, and it lay in bivouac in rear of Stanley during the night. Soon after daybreak Davis reconnoitred the front with his brigade commanders, and determined to assault in front of Whittaker's brigade of Stanley's division. There the enemy's line coming forward on a ridge, presented a salient

which was not covered with the usual abattis and entanglement. Davis formed his division in front of Stanley's trenches, and about six hundred yards from the Confederate fortifications, that being as near as they could be placed without being in view and subject to fire. His formation was similar to Newton's; McCook's and Mitchell's brigades were in advance, and Morgan's brigade in reserve. Baird's division of the same corps supported the whole, and Hooker's corps, still farther on the right, was in readiness, under General Thomas's orders to assist either Palmer or Howard, or to take advantage of any favorable contingency that might arise.

The movement on the right of Schofield's corps which had been made on the 26th so far indicated that better results could be attained by pushing forward Cox's division in that direction, that, with Sherman's approval, the attack which Schofield had purposed to make with Hascall's divisions was limited to a strong demonstration, whilst the divergent movement down the Sandtown road was made by Cox.

In the orders for the day on Monday morning, the first aggressive movement was on the extreme right, and in continuation of that which has been already described as occurring on the preceding evening. At daybreak Cameron's brigade of Cox's division crossed Olley's Creek by the bridge Byrd had made the day before, and marching through the valley ascended the slopes in rear and to the right of the position Byrd's brigade already occupied. At the same time Reilly's brigade resumed its efforts to cross Olley's Creek near the Sandtown road, and both movements were covered and assisted by the fire of the division batteries. Byrd, who was left on the ridge during the night facing in all directions, reformed his lines, straddling the hill,

and pushed a strongly supported skirmish line up the creek toward Hood's refused line of works. Cameron at the same time changed direction to the right, down the stream, facing the enemy's detached works in front of Reilly, who was held at bay by the artillery which commanded the road and the broken bridge across the stream there. A portion of Reilly's brigade deployed as skirmishers kept up a lively fire at the road and in its vicinity, whilst the rest of it was moved in rear of some hills further down the creek, which there runs nearly parallel to the Sandtown road, until a good position for a battery was found, quite on the flank of the Confederate intrenchment. Under protection of its fire Reilly's men waded a swamp, forded the stream, which is there shallow, and pushed up the farther bank. Cameron moved forward simultaneously so as to threaten the other flank, and after a sharp resistance the enemy broke and fled. Reilly at once occupied the abandoned position and intrenched it, fronting to the south, and soon afterward Cameron formed connection on his left, reaching along the ridge till he joined hands with Byrd who was on the higher eminence northward.

This had all occurred before the hour fixed for the attacks on the main line, and whilst Cox was strengthening the position of his division the roar of a general engagement was heard far off to the left and rear. Advantage was taken of this to move Reilly's brigade forward, following Jackson's retreating cavalry some two miles farther, where a cross road rounding the south spurs of the hilly ridge separating Olley's Creek from the Nickajack, leads into the principal road from Marietta to Sandtown on the Chattahoochee River. The importance of the position was evident as soon as seen. The trend of the hills bordering the Nickajack made it plain that the Confederate line could not be extended south

in this direction with any real continuity, and that a way was open to the railroad near Smyrna, five miles south of Marietta. The position itself was defensible also. The spurs from the principal ridge ran southward in such a way that Byrd's position could be connected with Reilly's by a strong line, though too long for a single division. Calling to him Cameron's brigade, the Division Commander put it on Reilly's left, connecting it by outposts with both the other brigades; and on reporting the situation to General Schofield he was ordered to intrench the line and hold it firmly. An advanced hill a little up Nickajack Valley was intrenched with a lunette, which was occupied by a battery and a regiment of infantry, and the greatest industry was used to make the position of the whole division tenable against an attack in front or flank, separated as it was by a long interval and by Olley's Creek from the rest of the army.

But whilst this skirmishing advance had been making on the right, a bloody engagement was going on elsewhere, and one assuming the character of a general battle. McPherson's batteries opened with rapid and continuous firing upon the works of the enemy situated at the southern end of the rocky ridge known as Little Kenesaw.

The attack by the detachments from the Cumberland army was substantially along the Burnt Hickory and Marietta road, the same which leads from Gilgal Church to Marietta. Like McPherson's, it was preceded by a general artillery fire along the line for about fifteen minutes, and then, at a signal preconcerted between Howard and Palmer, a little before nine o'clock the columns advanced. At the same time the skirmish lines of the whole army pushed forward also and engaged the enemy, but on the selected routes the narrow heads of column rushed to the front, cheering as they went, and led with as devoted courage as

soldiers ever showed. Newton's columns were not checked till they reached the entanglement in front of the enemy's works. Here the formation necessarily lost its order in struggling through and over the trunks and interlaced branches of felled forest trees, and the concentrated fire of infantry and artillery became too hot for endurance. The advance was checked, and the men deploying as they could, and taking advantage of such shelter as the ground and the felled timber afforded, opened a returning fire upon the Confederates within their works. General Harker, with a gallantry already famous in the army, attempting to renew the assault, was mortally wounded, and hundreds of brave men and valuable officers fell on every side.

From Palmer's corps Davis's division made an equally heroic effort with no better result. Indeed, the Confederate reports award to all the columns the merit of the most determined and persistent bravery in their attack. Davis's men had to pass over rocky and rough ground, part of it covered with the forest and tangled with undergrowth. In their enthusiasm they took too rapid a pace at the start, and by the time they had traversed the third of a mile between them and the enemy's works the men were so blown that they had not the strength called for in the final effort to carry the parapet before them. Colonel Daniel McCook and his second in command, Colonel Harmon, both fell in the assault, and both brigades had a heavy list of casualties among field and company officers as well as of private soldiers. They reached the trench in front of their objective point, but the narrow front of the column now stood revealed to the enemy, who were able to concentrate upon them also a storm of rifle-balls and canister which made farther advance impossible. Lying upon the ground within the range of musket-fire from the works, they covered them-

selves as they could, and finally, by General Thomas's consent, intrenched themselves under a terrible fire, the open ground over which they must retreat making it safer to stay than to return. The cover they were able to make enabled them to hold on till night, and then their works were so strengthened that they were permanently held, though for several days and nights the troops could rest only by sleeping on their arms.

Simultaneous with the rest, the lines of Smith's division of the Army of the Tennessee had marched upon Little Kennesaw. They crossed Noses Creek, carrying the intrenched lines of the enemy with a dash. Beyond these the slope of the mountain was steep and rocky, and felled trees formed so thick an entanglement that the advance became slow, the men climbing rather than marching toward their foe.

Logan's attack had fallen upon the left of Loring's corps (French's and Walker's divisions), Howard's upon Cleburne's division, in Hardee's centre. Loring had a strong skirmish line in rifle-pits six hundred yards in advance of his principal works, and these kept up a rapid fire upon Smith's column till it was within pistol-shot, and then rapidly retreated to the principal line. The National troops advanced steadily till it met the fire of the infantry in the trenches, and received in flank the cannonade of four batteries of artillery. This checked their advance, but with a steadiness and determination which extorted the admiration of their enemy, they held the ground they had gained, remaining more than an hour under the storm of shot and shell, the nature of the forest-covered ground saving them from utter destruction. Logan then ordered Smith to withdraw the division to the line of rifle-pits they had first captured, and these were put in a defensible condition and held. Seven commanding officers of regiments fell in this

charge, one of them, Colonel Barnhill of the Fortieth Illinois, within thirty feet of the enemy's principal works.

Howard's columns met a similar opposition from Cleburne's division, and a similar concentration of artillery fire, the batteries of the Confederate lines having been so intrenched as to sweep the front.¹

Palmer's attack fell upon Cheatham's division of Hardee's corps, and at one time threatened to penetrate between Hardee and Hood, but this was repelled by Cheatham's reserve brigade, which was brought into line.

Sherman's losses during the day were about twenty-five hundred in all, and Johnston admits over five hundred casualties. The latter professes to think that the courage and character of Sherman's attacks warrant the belief in a much greater loss to the National forces. The returns are, however, fairly reported, and a little consideration will show that they would in no way impeach the conduct of the attacking columns, even if all the Confederate reports had not testified admiringly to their gallantry, and to their marvelous steadiness, which enabled them to hold and intrench positions close to the works from which they refused to retreat.

It must be remembered that only three points in the enemy's line had been selected for assault. The middle of these was attacked by two columns, having each a front of two companies only, and those on right and left did not show a greater deployment than a regimental front. By the time each column had been checked by the obstructions in its way, and the terrible concentric fire to which it had been subjected, conscious of having lacked the impetus

¹ French gives, in his report, a very vivid description of his position on the mountain, and of the perfect way in which every movement of our forces, even to the occasional change of a headquarters camp, and the coming and going of our orderlies, could be watched and noted from his rocky outlook.

necessary to carry the works before them by the first effort, the experience of the division commanders taught them that further efforts at those points would only be destructive, and they allowed their brigades to seek such cover as they found at hand, maintaining so rapid a fire that any counter-charge by the enemy was not thought of. Except at a very few open points, the forest came up to the verge of the *abattis* covering the trenches, and once within its margin, the timber, the undergrowth, the rocks, all gave such shelter that the loss was slight to soldiers who knew how to take cool and intelligent advantage of them.

From the moment that the heads of the attacking columns were well developed, the enemy knew that these alone needed serious attention, and understood as well as our own officers, that the rest was only a demonstration to cover these real assaults. They, too, were brave and ready, and instantly concentrated both artillery and musketry upon these three points of danger. Reserves within the lines were hurried hither, and unless the first rush were successful, everybody knew that there would not be one chance in a hundred for a second attempt. It would have been easy to have doubled or trebled the numbers of killed and wounded that covered the narrow space where each assault had been made; but it was impossible that columns should be better led, and they did not stop till further progress was out of the question. The one chance to break through had been bravely tried and lost, and it would have been criminal in the commanders to have caused a further carnage that would have been futile. About eight hundred men had fallen at the head of each of these three assaults before its progress was stopped, and on so contracted a front this was proof that they had done enough to test fully the impregnable nature of the Confederate defences, and the vigilance of

the troops that held them. Each of the opposing armies had tried the same experiment, and each in turn had found that with the veteran soldiers now arrayed against each other, one rifle in the trench was worth five in front of it. The attacking columns saw little more before them than a thin and continuous sheet of flame issuing beneath the head-log of the parapet, whilst they themselves marched uncovered against the unseen foe. In this case, as has already been said, the exigencies of the situation, and the chance of finding an open joint in the harness had warranted the effort, but the division and corps commanders were wise in judging when the effort had failed.

The evidence which the assaults by both armies near New Hope Church gave of the tactical weakness of narrow and deep columns of attack against such fortifications in such a country, is greatly strengthened by the experience in front of Marietta. Our books of tactics, copying from the French, had taught that the regimental column of divisions of two companies, "doubled on the centre," was *par excellence* the column of attack. In spite of the fact that Wellington in the Peninsular war had shown again and again that such a column, even over open country, melted away before the "thin red line" of British soldiers armed only with the old "Brown Bess" with its buck-and-ball cartridge, the *prestige* of Napoleonic tradition kept the upper hand. We made our attacks in this instance (excepting Logan's) in a formation which did not give front enough to have any appreciable effect in subduing the enemy's fire; which by its depth offered the greatest possible mark to a concentric and flanking fire of the enemy; and which the obstructions in its way deprived of all the impetus to pierce an opposing line, which is the only merit of such a column. So hard it is to free ourselves from the trammels of old customs and a mistaken practice!

CHAPTER XI.

ACROSS THE CHATTAHOOCHEE.

SHERMAN lost no time in unavailing regrets over the failure of the effort to break Johnston's lines, but frankly said that among the chances for and against success, the unfavorable ones had prevailed, the enemy having been found vigilant and prepared to hold the works at all the points assailed. For similar reasons the lesser demonstrations had also produced no results, except on the Sandtown road, where Schofield's position beyond Olley's Creek he regarded as really important, and described it as "the only advantage of the day." Probably this advantage would not have been attained but for the hot work going on along the line, which so thoroughly occupied Johnston that no detachments could be spared to help Jackson, whose cavalry was waging an unequal contest on the extreme flank; for not only was Schofield's infantry engaging them in front, but his cavalry under Stoneman was actively demonstrating toward Powder Springs village.

The necessity of holding Johnston with such a grip that he could not detach aid to Lee in Virginia was one of the motives for active operations in front and continuously; but on the 28th Grant despatched Sherman that this consideration might now be dropped out of the calculation. Sherman at once resumed the plan for the flank operations he had conceived before, and an inspection of the position

occupied by Schofield's advance determined him to move McPherson's Army of the Tennessee bodily to the right flank, as soon as a few days' supplies could be accumulated. The rains were over, and a scorching sun was rapidly drying up the more open country. A movement became daily more practicable, and as soon as the army could get out of a region so utterly cut up by wagon trains as that they were now in, the supply question would be a much less formidable one.

Johnston had not failed to see the fact that his position was already turned, and his engineers were already at work on the 28th with heavy details of the Georgia militia and of impressed negroes, fortifying two lines north of the Chattahoochee. One of these crossed the railroad at Smyrna on a ridge running northeast and southwest, but which about three miles from Smyrna on his left curved south, following the line of Nickajack Creek. The other was closer to the river covering only about two miles of the railroad on the hither side of the Chattahoochee bridge, which was in a deep southerly bend of the river. On the northeast it was protected by the deep ravine of Rottenwood Creek which enters the Chattahoochee with a southeast course. Turning nearly at right angles, the line then, crossing a ridge, reached the Nickajack again, which here runs for several miles above its mouth nearly parallel to the Chattahoochee and about a mile distant from it.

At the same time a good deal of work was doing at Atlanta, where fortifications had already been made; but these were greatly strengthened and extended in anticipation of the necessity of making a final stand there, if the line of the Chattahoochee should be broken.

All these intrenchments were made with a thoroughness and skill which was admirable, but the improvement in the

weather and the use of better roads gave Sherman a freedom of movement which enabled him to manœuvre the enemy out of these formidable positions with an ease and rapidity that astonished and alarmed the Richmond Government, and led to an early change in commanders for their army.

Already in the night of June 28th the sounds of moving railway trains between Marietta and the river were heard so continuously at Schofield's advanced position as to indicate that stores and material of war were being sent by Johnston to the rear; but Sherman meant to move with rations enough to accomplish something decisive, and the two or three days necessary to get up his supplies were spent in preliminary movements. The Army of the Cumberland stretched its lines a little more to the right, so that Hooker relieved Hascall's division of the Army of the Ohio, and this was marched down the Sandtown road till it covered all the direct roads to Marietta and to the railroads in the Nickajack Valley. This threw the whole of Schofield's corps together on a strong line reaching from the ridge beyond Olley's Creek on the left, to some hills near the Nickajack, where the Marietta and Sandtown road runs into that on which his movement had been made. On July 2d Smith's division of Logan's corps marched from the old position of the Army of the Tennessee and reported temporarily to Schofield to strengthen the right flank. Stoneman's cavalry was able to reach the Chattahoochee near Sandtown, and the whole of McPherson's command was moving to the right, leaving Garrard's cavalry to cover the roads to Marietta near the railroad.

That night Johnston evacuated the works at Kenesaw and along the whole front, falling back into the intrenchments prepared behind the Nickajack. Sherman now orders Thomas to advance directly through Marietta and along

the railway, and his columns reach Ruff's station, developing the line which has been already described. The Army of the Tennessee reaches the extreme right, and bivouacs near Schofield's position. On the 4th, McPherson advances Dodge's corps well forward on the Sandtown road, whilst with the rest of his command he unites his lines with Thomas's half way to the railroad. In this movement, by Sherman's special orders, the skirmish lines are greatly strengthened and the advance has nearly the weight of a line of battle. Dodge pushes over a line of Hood's rifle-pits in spite of fierce resistance, but with heavy loss. In the attack, Colonel E. F. Noyes, leading a demi-brigade, falls severely wounded. This moving forward of a strongly reinforced right flank by Sherman brings him nearer to Atlanta at this point than Johnston, and the latter sees that if he is to make any stand at the Chattahoochee he must be near enough to guard its ferries and fords. He does not wait in his new lines, but in the night of the same day leaves these also, and before daybreak his troops have entered the works on the north bank of the river. Again all the National forces except Schofield's corps are in motion, a brisk cannonade tells of a sharp affair of advanced guards. Stoneman's cavalry push boldly in on Johnston's left near the river, take some prisoners and a black flag which a Texas regiment of horse was carrying.

Information of the lines along the Upper Nickajack had reached Sherman's army, but the intrenched position at the crossing of the river was unknown. Sherman was at first unwilling to believe there was anything there; but a strong reconnoissance quickly showed the heavy earthworks, the abattis in front, the batteries arranged for cross fire and all the most elaborate of the Confederate preparations for defence. The length of these lines was five or six miles, and

in spite of all the activity Sherman and his subordinates could use, the hope of catching the enemy in the midst of a movement was disappointed, and the problem now before them was not only the flanking of an intrenched army, but the crossing of a river in his presence.

Sherman had said to Halleck in a despatch of the 8th of June, that if Johnston should select the line of the Chattahoochee he "must study the case a little," before committing himself. McPherson was put in position on the extreme right, covering Turner's Ferry, which, however, like other crossings for a dozen miles along the river, was guarded by a detached fortification on the south side. Thomas, with his three corps, completed the investment of Johnston's position, Howard's corps being at Pace's Ferry, where one of the principal roads from Marietta to Atlanta crosses the river, that near McPherson's flank being another, with a third near the railway bridge. Schofield with the Twenty-third Corps was moved to Smyrna Camp Ground, near the railway, and held as a movable column ready for use in any direction. Stoneman's cavalry was kept active, looking for fords or crossings down the river, and Garrard's was sent some eighteen miles above to seize the Roswell factories and hold also, if possible, a bridge over the Chattahoochee there.

Meanwhile some breaks in the railway were to be repaired, steam communication to be again brought to the camps, and the "case" was to be "studied a little." Sherman established his headquarters for a few days at Vining's Station, and from a hill near by could see the distant town of Atlanta, the coveted prize of the campaign. There, too, could be seen the preparations Johnston was making to resist his crossing of the river, and the general features of the country for some miles south of the river could be observed.

A little more than a month had passed since the Etowah was crossed. It was a month of continuous sharp skirmishing combat, with occasional severer engagements. It was a month in which the troops had been day and night under fire, and the incessant strain on nerve and brain had never for a moment been relaxed. It was a month of continuous pouring rains, converting the camps into mire and the roads into almost impassable sloughs; making insignificant streams as obstructive as rivers, and multiplying the discomforts and the perils of duty in the trenches or on the picket. That such a month's work was rapid education to soldiers hardly needs telling. The ordinary experience of a year was condensed into a few weeks, and the army of veterans became consolidated by a true unity of feeling; confident in itself as a whole, and the several corps in each other as parts, every portion of it could be trusted to uphold the credit and rival the soldierly conduct of the rest.

The monthly returns for June show that in killed, wounded, and missing the army had lost 7,500 men. Of these the Army of the Cumberland reported 5,500, the Army of the Tennessee 1,300, and the Army of the Ohio about 700. As the attack upon the Confederate lines on the 27th of June was the only departure from the usual method of vigorous advance of skirmish lines and extension of flanks beyond the enemy, it will be seen how fierce a bickering fire that must have been which was constantly kept up. Day by day the losses averaged nearly two hundred men, and nearly every day had its success in the carrying of some new hill, the crossing of some contested stream, or the intrenching of some closer position in the enemy's front.

Johnston gives his hospital returns as showing a loss of 4,000 in killed and wounded during the month of which we

are speaking ; but this is of his infantry alone, and excludes prisoners. Sherman rightly estimates the proportion of prisoners taken during the month at 2,000, out of the whole number captured in the campaign, and putting the proportion of cavalry losses at the same ratio to infantry as Johnston gives for the month of May, another thousand must still be added. The Confederate losses are thus found to have been 7,000, with a probability of their having exceeded that number. Each army had in its turn tried the strength of the other's lines by assault, and each had experienced the disproportionate losses which come of assaulting such intrenched positions. It was not only the principal lines which were of the formidable character that has been described, but, to use the words of Hardee, "it soon became customary, in taking up a new position, to intrench the skirmish line, until it was only less strong than the main one. This line was well manned, and the roar of musketry on it was sometimes scarcely distinguishable from the sound of a general engagement."¹ Such was the skirmishing which lasted incessantly for months!

After occupying the line of fortifications covering the crossings of the Chattahoochee by the railway and two of the principal wagon roads leading to Atlanta, Johnston sent his cavalry to the south side of the river to operate on the same flanks as before: Jackson to cover his left, watching the ferries and bridges below, and Wheeler on the right, looking after the upper ones. The usual method of crossing the river was by ferries, or flat boats pushed over by poles. The Roswell bridge, some twenty miles above, was the nearest structure of that kind, and this was burned by Wheeler before it could be reached by Garrard. Johnston

¹ Johnston's Narrative, p. 357.

speaks of the fords as numerous and easy, but whatever might be the case ordinarily, the almost constant rains of June had swollen the river so that there were very few places where a practicable ford could be found. Instead of making an intrenched camp for his whole army north of the Chattahoochee, it would seem more in accordance with sound strategic principles to have held only a bridge-head there, and to have placed the greater part of his command in such a position behind the river that he could strike with overwhelming force any head of column that should attempt a crossing.

The two days prior to the 7th of July sufficed to make the repairs in the railway, so that supplies were delivered on Sherman's lines. Garrard had occupied Roswell, where he found very extensive cotton, wool, and paper mills, running at their full capacity and till the last moment, turning out supplies for the Confederate government. The nominal proprietors attempted to protect them with a thin veil of neutrality, alleging French ownership and hoisting the French flag; but Garrard, with Sherman's approval, burned the mills and sent the owners and employees under guard to Marietta. He found the bridge burned, and made a careful reconnoissance for practicable fords.

Sherman sent General Schofield in person on the 7th to make a reconnoissance of parts of the river between Pace's Ferry and Roswell, and in consequence of his report determined to make a crossing near the mouth of Soap Creek, if possible. Although the crossing was not opposed by any force worth naming, being in fact a complete surprise, this could not be anticipated, and the operation, being one of the picturesque incidents of the campaign, may be worth describing.

Soap Creek enters the Chattahoochee about six or seven

miles above Pace's Ferry and Vining's Station, where General Sherman's headquarters were. It was about the same distance from the camp of the Twenty-third Corps at Smyrna Camp Ground. Early in the morning of the 8th, the corps, with Colonel Buell's pontoon train, moved by roads some distance from the river to the paper mill near the mouth of the creek. The leading division (Cox's) was ordered to take position as close to the river as was consistent with remaining unseen, to permit no camp fires and no exposure of men to view. The river was to be picketed, but the vedettes to conceal themselves from the opposite side. A fish-dam was found half a mile above the creek, which had been made by piling rough stones across the current in such a way that at low water the stream was confined to the middle of the ordinary channel by diagonal wing-dams. In the condition of the river on that day, this was a difficult and dangerous ford, but it was determined to use it in connection with the pontoon boats, as will be seen presently.

The creek runs for a considerable distance near its mouth parallel to the river, and then turns into the larger stream by a short curve. Between the river and the creek is a high ridge, two or three hundred feet in height, which is about the altitude also of the hills bordering the river on the opposite side.

In the reach of the creek thus shielded from view, the canvas pontoons were set up and launched, a detail of five hundred men from the infantry helping in the work. Byrd's brigade was ordered to lead in the crossing by the pontoons, the Twelfth Kentucky regiment to be ferried over in the boats, the rest of the brigade deploying and advancing to the river's edge on the run when the boats should start, so as to cover them with their fire.

Cameron's brigade was ordered to cross Soap Creek at the

paper mill, and concealing his men near the fish-dam, push an advanced guard over it, if possible, at the time appointed, and if the ford proved practicable, follow it with the brigade and make a junction with those who should cross below in the pontoon boats. Soap Creek, near the mill, runs in a rocky gorge with precipitous sides, and Cameron's men had to cross it by clambering down the dangerous rocks and by picking their way along the edge of the slippery dam above.

Half past three o'clock in the afternoon was the time set for the crossing. At that hour a careful reconnoissance from the top of the ridge showed that there were no symptoms of alarm on the opposite bank. A cavalry outpost with a piece of artillery was all that seemed to oppose the movement, and these were on the heights immediately in front of the mouth of the creek, at what was known as Phillips's Ferry. The signal to advance was given. Cameron's advance guard, led by Colonel Casement, One Hundred and Third Ohio, entered the water at the fish-dam, scrambling along the broken rocks in the swift current. Immediately twenty white pontoon boats shot out from the mouth of the creek, pulled by expert oarsmen selected from Hascall's division, and loaded with Colonel Rousseau's Kentuckians. The rest of Byrd's brigade, which had been deployed under cover of the woods along the base of the hills, rushed forward across the bottom land and lined the margin of the stream. A single cannon-shot was fired from the enemy's outpost, and the gun was reloaded and run forward to fire again; but so completely was it now covered by the rifles of Byrd's men, that no one could aim it or fire. The mounted men, conscious of their inability to cope with the force before them, galloped away to carry the news. A few moments sufficed to put the boats over, and Rousseau, mounting the steep

hillside, captured the gun without the loss of a man, the gunners following the horsemen in quick retreat. Cameron's brigade, coming down from the fish-dam, joined Rouseau and took post on the ridge covering the ferry. The boats were kept running till the whole of Byrd's brigade was ferried over, whilst the work of laying the pontoon bridge was also begun with other boats, and before dark one bridge was completed and a second progressing.

It was found that the ridges on the south side of the Chattahoochee were so shaped as to make a natural bridge-head and an admirable place of defence; and the whole of Cox's division was immediately intrenched upon it, Cameron's, Byrd's, Barter's, and Reilly's brigades in line, and Crittenden's brigade of dismounted cavalry in reserve.

The character of the surprise was well indicated by an incident which brought the private and personal experiences of war into interesting comparison with its exterior glitter and excitement. In the deserted camp of the outpost, in which even the half-cooked supper was left, an unfinished letter from one of the Confederate soldiers to his wife was found. In it he calms her fears for his safety, saying that he was now almost as free from peril as if he were at home on his plantation: that the solitude about them was rarely broken, even by the appearance of a single horseman on the opposite side of the river. But the incomplete sentence was broken by the apparition of the crowded boats and the hostile line of infantry on the river bank, and the letter, by war's strange fortune, reached other eyes than those for which it was written.

Johnston lost no time in testing by cavalry reconnoissances the strength of the National forces now holding the bridge-head, and realized the fact that the crossing of the Chattahoochee was secured to Sherman. Wheeler withdrew from

the upper river, and next morning Garrard found no force in his front at Roswell. Sherman immediately ordered Newton's division of the Fourth Corps and Dodge's (Sixteenth) Corps of the Army of the Tennessee, to march to Roswell and fortify the hills opposite the ford on the south side of the river, now held by Garrard's cavalry. Dodge was also ordered to build a trestle bridge there on the site of that which the enemy had burned.

From his hill near Vining's Station, Sherman was able to see, on the 9th, "a good deal of flutter in the enemy's camps," and movements of troops to the eastward, which might mean either a concentration to attack the force already over the river, or preparations for taking a new position. He needed a few days, however, for the accumulation of supplies, and wished also to give time for a cavalry expedition under Major-General Rousseau, starting from Decatur, Alabama, to reach the railroads between Montgomery and Atlanta near Opelika. Stoneman was at the same time ordered to make his cavalry active along the Chattahoochee toward Sandtown and Campbelltown, and if he could secure the ferry at the last-named place, he too was directed to strike out for the railroads southwest of Atlanta, on a "raid" of four or five days.

On the night of the 9th of July, Johnston moved his infantry across the Chattahoochee, the country bridges, with that of the railway and his pontoons, giving two bridges to each of his three corps. He had maintained a bold front up to the last moment, holding off the vigorous attacks by skirmish line which Thomas and McPherson kept up during the movements going on up the river. In the morning the pontoons had been removed, and his rear guard retired, burning the railway and wagon bridges.

Sherman immediately ordered Howard to march his corps

(Fourth) to support Schofield at Phillips's Ferry, leaving Newton's division with Dodge at Roswell. McPherson was directed to keep up for two or three days his demonstrations of a purpose to cross at Turner's Ferry near the mouth of the Nickajack, so as to leave as much doubt as possible by which flank the National Army would now move. Schofield was ordered to build a bridge at his position, so that the pontoons could be used elsewhere if needed. The division of the Twenty-third Corps, already over the river, was strengthened by two more brigades and moved out to a ridge a mile south of the crossing, intrenching a very strong position across the bend of the river and covering both the ford and the bridges. Dodge made a similar advance at Roswell and hurried the building of the bridge, 650 feet long—the ford, "the best on the whole river," being belly-deep for horses and very rough.

The plans of the National commander were announced to his principal subordinates on the 10th and 11th. Thomas was to lay a pontoon bridge at Powers's Ferry on the night of the 12th, and fortify a bridge-head on the south bank there. On the 13th, McPherson was to join Dodge with Logan's Corps, and Newton's division would rejoin Howard at Phillips's Ferry, behind Schofield. Blair's Corps would await Stoneman's return from his raid, and then march to Roswell. Stoneman did not succeed in reaching the railroads near Atlanta, but destroyed bridges and boats between Campbelltown and Newnan, and was back by the night of the 15th, so that on the 16th everything was ready for a general advance.

The northern part of Georgia had been made a military district under command of Major-General Steedman, so that the protection of Sherman's communications might be systematized under a responsible head. The mounted infantry of this district, under Colonels Watkins and Croxton, had

given a good account of itself in the latter part of June, by defeating a Confederate force under General Pillow, which had advanced to Lafayette, in an effort to reach the railway. On the 28th of June, Brigadier-General John E. Smith's division of the Fifteenth Corps arrived at Chattanooga and was divided into several parts, guarding the more important posts and bridges along the line to Alatoona.

CHAPTER XII

JOHNSTON SUCCEEDED BY HOOD—PEACHTREE CREEK— CLOSING IN ON ATLANTA.

It was by no means a simple or easy matter for Sherman to decide whether he would attempt to cross the Chattahoochee by his right or his left flank. From the Roswell factories to the railway crossing, the course of the river is very little west of south, Roswell being in fact a little north of Marietta when parallels are drawn. Below the railway bridge the course of the river is nearly southwest, Sandtown being about as much south of Atlanta as Roswell is north of Marietta. Atlanta itself is about ten miles from the river, by the railroad, and is upon a high plateau, from which the streams descend in all directions; or more accurately stated, Atlanta and Decatur are both on the watershed separating the tributaries of the Chattahoochee from those of the Ocmulgee, which flows southeastward to the ocean. The line of the watershed is nearly parallel to the Chattahoochee, and southwest of Atlanta the valleys of the smaller streams are on the short line from the river to the town. For this reason it would be difficult for Johnston to make any defensive line on that side much closer to the river than the city, because it would have been crossed by deep ravines perpendicular to his fortifications, which would make it hard to move supports from one part of the line to the other. The railroads leading from Atlanta to Montgomery

and to Macon run out of the city by the same route to the southwest for several miles, till they reach East Point, where they separate, the former continuing its course nearly parallel to the river, and the latter turning away at a right angle to the southeast. On this flank, therefore, lay the shortest route to Johnston's southern communications, and the National Army once on the south of the Chattahoochee, between Sandtown and Campbelltown, would have been already in rear of Atlanta. The Confederate commander must then have evacuated the town, or have changed his base, making the railway through Decatur and his communications with Richmond his line of supplies and, if necessary, of retreat.

Turning now to the country northeast of Atlanta, it will be seen that the *terrain* is a different one. The streams, instead of flowing into the Chattahoochee by valleys at right angles to the river, are found between ridges parallel to it, and after getting a few miles south of the bank, are branches of one larger creek, the Peachtree, of which the northernmost, called Nancy Creek, is parallel to the river; the middle one, called Little Peachtree, has nearly the same course; but the southern, which is the larger and principal stream, runs nearly west, covering both Decatur and Atlanta, and entering the Chattahoochee by a wide and muddy bed, very close to the railway bridge. The ridges parallel to the river on this flank afforded admirable lines for the Confederate Army, but fearing the interposition of part of the National forces between him and the railway, Johnston selected the south bank of Peachtree Creek, nearest Atlanta, for his next defensive line, if Sherman should cross above him.

As Sherman, however, could not know that his adversary would not meet him earlier in his march, as he had done at

New Hope Church, that contingency had to be considered in his study of the problem. The upper route was plainly the longer and the more difficult one in itself; but there were other considerations which became decisive. To adopt the lower route was to leave the enemy's cavalry the opportunity of crossing the river at points practically in our rear, for the purpose of breaking the railway, and stopping supplies; and the reasons which prevailed to make Sherman operate by his right at the Etowah, were still more potent at the Chattahoochee. The ever-lengthening single line of communication could not be exposed for twenty or thirty miles of its flank till the Confederate Army should be driven within the lines at Atlanta and the bridge across the Chattahoochee rebuilt. Besides, Grant telegraphed that it was not improbable that Johnston would be reinforced by the troops the Richmond Government was withdrawing from the Shenandoah Valley, supposed to be twenty thousand or more, and this made an additional reason for cutting the Georgia Railroad near Decatur as soon as possible, thus preventing that direct line to Richmond from being made of use to the enemy.

Sherman therefore determined that the longest way round would prove the surest, and took the chances of the difficult ground near the river on his left flank. He ordered Schofield to move out from the river by way of Cross Keys toward Decatur, McPherson to keep farther to the left, with Garrard's cavalry on his flank cutting and destroying the railroad between Decatur and Stone Mountain, whilst Thomas with more than half the whole army marched by several roads from Pace's and Phillips's Ferries on Atlanta, his left following the road by Buckhead. Approaching the town with the right of his army, Sherman would then wheel the whole to the right, letting this wing cover the railroad,

as his left had done at Ackworth, while the bridge at the Chattahoochee should be rebuilt and fortified.

In this movement McPherson would have three or four times the distance to travel that Thomas had, and there would be the danger that the enemy might attack the right flank, which was thus presented to them; but the Army of the Cumberland was a single organization of nearly fifty thousand men, and with Thomas's great and deserved reputation for military skill, unflinching courage, and steady persistence, Sherman felt confident that he could hold the whole Confederate Army at bay till the manœuvre should be completed.

Johnston had the important advantage of knowing the country by occupation, and not from imperfect maps. He reckoned with confidence on the probability that Sherman's right wing would be separated from the centre when it should cross Peachtree Creek, and planned an attack upon it with the greater part of his own forces when it should be thus exposed and while it should be in motion. His fortifications began at the railroad about two miles from the river, and extended some six miles east till they reached the Pea Vine Creek at its junction with Peachtree. There the line turned south along Pea Vine Creek till it reached the Georgia Railway between Atlanta and Decatur. The ground was well chosen and the intrenchments were of the formidable character with which we are already familiar.

But Johnston was not to deliver battle upon the ground he had selected. On the 17th of July he knew that the National Army was advancing from its bridges in several columns and was making his preparations for the next day's work, giving instructions to his Chief Engineer with no thought or warning of change in his own relations to the army, when he received telegraphic orders from Richmond

to turn over the command to General Hood. General Bragg, who was then acting as Chief-of-Staff to the Confederate President, had visited the army two or three days before, but had given no intimation to Johnston of the dissatisfaction of the Richmond government or of the intended change. The ostensible reason was his failure to defeat Sherman, and his unwillingness to give assurance that he could even answer for the permanent safety of Atlanta and its important railway connections. In obeying the order, as he did promptly, Johnston with great justice called attention to the fact that Lee's retreat in Virginia had been quite as rapid as his own and quite as far: and intimated that the resistance his army had made was better evidence of the probable future than any sounding promises in words. It is now well known that Mr. Davis did not like Johnston, and he was no doubt influenced by his prejudices to believe that a more aggressive policy would do for Georgia than Lee found practicable in Virginia.

It is certain that the change of Confederate commanders was learned with satisfaction by every officer and man in the National Army. The patient skill and watchful intelligence and courage with which Johnston had always confronted them with impregnable fortifications, had been exasperating. They had found no weak joints in the harness, and no wish was so common or so often expressed as that he would only try our works as we were trying his. It was now known that this was likely to come, not only because Hood's character as a soldier implied it, but because the reasons for the change were known to be based upon a determination to pursue a more aggressive policy. It was understood that hard blows were to be received; but Sherman's whole army was supremely confident in its ability to take such prompt advantage of natural and artificial means of defence, as to

punish aggression on the part of the enemy severely enough to reduce his strength with great rapidity. It is not over-praise of the National Army to say that its veterans were panic-proof; and its well-tryed courage was so intelligent and quick-witted that the smallest detachments could be relied upon to do a wise and bold thing in almost any juncture.

If aggression was to be tried, it would be hard to find any commander better fitted than Hood to test it. He had gained renown as a division commander under Longstreet in Virginia, and at Gaines's Mills, Second Manassas, Antietam, and Gettysburg he had shown the kind of courage and dash which made him to be looked upon as a soldier of the Jackson school. It was a fatal error to suppose that the Army in Georgia could afford to take the kind of initiative now intended; but it was the error of the Richmond government, and Hood, though he had been freely critical of Johnston's cautious strategy, seems to have been sincerely reluctant to take the command under the implied conditions.

Johnston tells us that he fully informed Hood of his plans, both for attacking Sherman at Peachtree Creek, and then of moving the bulk of his troops south and east of Atlanta and striking a blow upon the other flank. Whether the details of Johnston's method would have been the same as Hood's is uncertain, but Hood adopted the general ideas of his predecessor in both parts. The promotion of Hood was accompanied by changes in the command of two of the three corps which composed the Confederate Army. General A. P. Stewart was assigned to what was formerly Polk's corps, General Cheatham took Hood's, and Hardee retained his own. On the morning of the 20th July, these were in the Peachtree Creek intrenchments, Stewart's on the left, nearest the Chattahoochee, Hardee in the centre, and Cheatham

on the right, with the Georgia State troops under General G. W. Smith still farther on that flank.

General Thomas had not been able to get a pontoon bridge at Pace's Ferry laid at as early a day as Sherman's order of the 14th contemplated. On the 17th, Wood's division of Howard's corps, which was then at Powers's Ferry, the next ferry below Phillips's, marched down the left bank of the river, driving off the enemy's skirmishers and covering the laying of the bridge at Pace's Ferry. It next day rejoined the corps near Buckhead. Palmer's corps crossed first at Pace's Ferry, and Hooker's followed. Palmer thus formed the right of the Army of the Cumberland, Hooker the centre, and Howard the left. Palmer was scarce more than a mile from Nancy's Creek when he crossed the river, and as that stream joins Peachtree only a little further to the right, it is evident that the extreme flank of the army must stand fast and be the pivot on which a wheeling movement was made.

On the 18th, Howard was at Buckhead, Palmer at the junction of Nancy Creek and Peachtree, with Hooker between. Schofield marched through Cross Keys south, to the north fork of Peachtree Creek. Sherman's headquarters were with Schofield that night. McPherson reached the Augusta Railroad early in the afternoon, at its north curve two miles from Stone Mountain, and seven from Decatur. There M. L. Smith's division of Logan's corps, with Garrard's cavalry, destroyed several miles of the railway. For the 19th, Sherman ordered Thomas to hold on with his right near Howell's Mill, let his left swing across Peachtree Creek about the South Fork, and connect with Schofield, who would approach Decatur from the north, while McPherson did the same from the east. Thomas kept his troops rather closer to the right than this order implied, for it would have taken

Hooker more nearly into Howard's position, and allowed the whole of the Fourth Corps to reach out toward Schofield; but as Sherman said a day or two later, the maps were all wrong, and the general officers were constantly misled in attempting to reckon distances or connections by them. There were in fact two "Howell's Mills," one on Nancy Creek, and the other on Peachtree, and the position of the right flank would be changed two miles, as one or the other of them were understood.

The 19th of July was spent by the Army of the Cumberland in its efforts to get a foothold on the south side of Peachtree Creek. Davis's division of Palmer's corps attempted to cross at Howell's Mill, but finding the resistance there very stubborn, made an effort somewhat lower down, and succeeded. One of his brigades (Dilworth's) was sharply assailed, but repulsed the enemy. A bridge was built, some hills covering the creek occupied, and the other divisions prepared to follow the movement next day. Geary's division of Hooker's corps got over in a bend of the stream, a little more than half a mile above Howell's Mill. Wood's division of Howard's corps, advancing on the principal road leading from Buckhead to Atlanta, found the bridge in its front burned, and the crossing commanded by an intrenched line of skirmishers on the high ground beyond. He, too, was obliged to resort to a flanking movement, and after a sharp contest established himself on the south bank. By night, therefore, Thomas had three heads of column over the stream, which, from its marshy banks and deep muddy channel, was no inconsiderable obstacle; and one or more bridges was built for each corps, besides repairing that at Howell's Mill, which the enemy was obliged to abandon after Davis's division had effected its crossing. At all these points the resistance had been made by infan-

try, and the stubbornness of it proved that the principal intrenched line was not far in front. From the road occupied by Wood to that held by Geary was less than a mile in a direct line with the valley of Shoal Creek between, and the road from Howell's Mill, where the rest of the Fourteenth Corps would follow Davis, ran into Geary's at the plantation of one Embry, but a little way in front of Geary's position. Newton's division of the Fourth Corps had marched on a road nearly parallel to Wood's, but somewhat farther east. He had found the bridge in his front destroyed, and reported the enemy's infantry in force on the other side, and was therefore instructed by General Howard to move to the right and support Wood, which he did. For practical purposes, therefore, nearly half of Sherman's army was showing a front of only a mile on the right flank, while the other half, though converging on Atlanta, reached all the way to Decatur, some eight miles away. It was to remedy this that Sherman's order was made directing Howard to connect with Schofield.

Stanley's division had marched by the road from Buckhead toward Decatur, which crosses the north fork of Peachtree about half a mile above its junction with the south fork. The Confederate cavalry opposed him, and as he approached the creek set the bridge on fire. Stanley drove them off and got possession of the bridge before it was much injured, quickly repaired it, and marched his division to the south side, where he encamped for the night.

The Confederate general, in executing the purpose of attacking already referred to, ordered Cheatham's corps and the Georgia State troops to hold fast on his right, occupying the intrenched line from Jones's Mill on Clear Creek eastward a mile, and then south to the Georgia Railroad. This salient would interpose between the two wings of

Sherman's army as they were moving, and Stewart and Hardee were ordered to swing forward their right into the interval, to attack by division *en echelon* from the right, crushing Thomas's left flank if possible, and driving the Army of the Cumberland northward and westward toward the Chattahoochee, with the muddy and difficult bed of Peachtree Creek behind it.

But Schofield and McPherson were approaching Atlanta from the east faster than Hood was aware, in spite of very vigorous efforts of Wheeler's cavalry to retard them. On the night of the 19th Schofield was over the south fork of Peachtree, and at Pea Vine Creek on the Peyton plantations. The little stream before him is a branch of the south fork of Peachtree, and runs nearly due north, parallel to Cheatham's intrenchments, a mile and a half from them, with a high ridge and another deep hollow between. Dodge's (Sixteenth) corps of McPherson's army connected with Schofield's left, and on the morning of the 20th the whole of Sherman's left wing advanced, threatening to turn Hood's extreme right.

This necessitated the moving of Cheatham further in that direction, and the attack which Hood had planned for one o'clock was delayed till his whole command could take ground to the right for about the distance of a division front. His advance was thus delayed till the middle of the afternoon ; but the movements of the Army of the Cumberland being continuous, the only effect of the delay was to shorten the distance he would have to traverse.

General Thomas was in some embarrassment to determine how best to carry out the orders to connect with Schofield on his left ; for as his corps were advancing on parallel roads toward Atlanta, the character of the country was such that he could only move his troops to the left by con-

siderable circuits to his rear. He concluded, therefore, to let Palmer and Hooker go forward by the roads they were on, to keep Newton's division of the Fourth Corps on the direct Buckhead and Atlanta road, and let Howard take Wood's division of his corps by a detour to the east, unite it with Stanley's, and with both divisions press forward till he should find himself within supporting distance of Schofield. Could Thomas have known the position of Hood's lines and that he was shifting his divisions eastward, he would no doubt have found a way of doing the same; for, as it turned out, Hood's attack fell upon Newton's division and Hooker's corps, leaving Palmer's corps almost wholly unemployed, while a gap of nearly two miles separated Newton from the rest of the Fourth Corps under Howard. But Thomas had no means of seeing through the impenetrable veil of the forest-covered hills in his front, and the accidental separation of his corps was in great part due to the misleading maps which deceived both him and Sherman as to the distance between the wings of the army.

On the morning of the 20th Palmer put Johnson's division over the creek at Howell's Mill, and it took position on the left of Baird, who had crossed during the night. Davis's division still retained its place as the extreme right of the army.

Hooker directed Williams's division to cross in rear of Geary, and move to his right. After getting over Geary's bridge, Williams took a country road leading to Embry's, where the direct road from Howell's Mill comes in, and thus extended Geary's line parallel to the general course of the creek. In similar manner Hooker directed Ward's division (formerly Butterfield's) to form on Geary's left. As the shortest way of doing this from his position on the north side of the creek, Ward marched to the bridge in rear of Newton's

division of the Fourth Corps, and after crossing took position behind some hills overlooking Shoal Creek, which lay in a pretty deep valley between him and Geary. In this valley there was open country along the stream, especially about Collier's Mill, which was a little in rear of his right flank.

Newton had moved his division forward after relieving Wood, and was about half a mile south of Peachtree Creek, with his left flank toward Clear Creek, and his whole line covering the cross road that leads to Collier's Mill. All of the divisions were deployed with two brigades in front and one as a reserve. Newton had a battery on the road in his centre, and another in reserve, and had covered his front hastily with a barricade of rails and timber. Ward had not been able to move his cannon across the ravines, and a battery of his division was left near the bridge and was used by General Thomas with excellent effect later in the day. Geary and Williams had their field batteries with them, and so had the divisions of Palmer's corps.

About three o'clock Hood's lines appeared, and a violent combat began at Newton's left, which by the *échelon* movement ordered by Hood, would be first reached in the attack. The enemy passed Newton's flank near Clear Creek,¹ but was there attacked by his reserve brigade (Bradley's) and a battery of artillery, and driven back. The assault now reached Newton's front, and Blake's brigade on the left of the road with the battery easily held their ground. On the right of the road was Kimball's brigade, and the enemy's force far outflanking it, it was forced to change front to the rear, holding on by the left and refusing the right. Ward's divi-

¹ It is called Pea Vine in Howard's report; but this is an error. See U. S. Engineers' maps. Pea Vine Creek is a branch of the south fork of Peachtree, several miles higher up the stream.

sion was lying in a hollow below and farther to the right rear, and to them it looked as if Newton was beaten. His brigade commanders seized the initiative without waiting for orders, and leading their brigades gallantly to the hill-top before them, they struck the flank of the enemy which was assailing Kimball. Coburn's and Wood's brigades came up on the left, with Harrison's on the right, and their sudden appearance at the crest of the hill threw the enemy before them into confusion.

But the progressive attack had now reached beyond Shoal Creek, and Geary's division was engaged. His left front was covered by a ravine leading down to Shoal Creek and his right was on high ground and thrown somewhat forward. In front of his left was open ground, and here his artillery was placed with Candy's brigade. Jones's brigade was on Candy's right, with a heavily wooded country before it, and Ireland's brigade was in rear of Jones. The shape of the ground brought the collision first on Geary's right. He, too, had a slight barricade and his centre and left held firm, but he was obliged to change front of part of his right, and to deploy Ireland's brigade so as to put it between Jones and Candy, letting Jones continue curving rearward till he connected with Williams. When the enemy advanced into the angle between Ward's division and Geary's left, they were met with canister from Geary's batteries and with the infantry fire in front and flank. They lost their organization, and were fearfully slaughtered. Few battlefields of the war have been strewn so thickly with dead and wounded as they lay that evening around Collier's Mill.

Williams was advancing his division when the heavy musketry firing on the left warned him to deploy. He was on the right rear of Geary, and his left front was covered by a ravine which ran into Shoal Creek in rear of Geary's line.

His right rested on a ravine also, which separated him from the Fourteenth Corps, and his centre was on the higher ground between. The direction of all these ridges and ravines from Newton to Williams was such as to throw forward the right of each command as it rested on them, and the division commanders, except Newton, all found their right flank receiving the brunt of the first attack. Williams deployed Robinson's brigade on his left, Knipe's on the right of it, and held Ruger's in reserve, distributing his batteries with special reference to sweeping the ravines on either flank and the wooded ridge in front of Knipe. The enemy pressing in between Geary's refused right flank and Robinson's brigade, suffered almost as severely as in the similar situation between Geary and Ward, though the woods and thickets here gave them some shelter. On Williams's right they tried to pass between him and Johnson's division of the Fourteenth Corps, but Williams, by deploying part of Ruger's brigade, defeated this. In front they were easily repulsed, though loth to withdraw.

The whole of the Confederate line of battle was now developed, and did not reach Palmer's corps. His left brigade (Colonel Anson McCook's) assisted in repulsing the attack upon Williams's right, but does not seem to have been itself assailed. A warm artillery fire was kept up from works in front of Palmer and was responded to by his batteries, but no advance was there made from either side.

Not content with this first repulse, Hood's division commanders rallied their men again and again to the attack. On Newton's left there was nothing to oppose them, and they tried again to turn his flank. General Thomas was there in person, and ordering up Ward's batteries, which, as we have seen, were left behind their division, he put them in a position to sweep the valley of Clear Creek, and drive

back the column that threatened to get in Newton's rear. Along the whole line the attack had been repulsed, and its only chance of success had been in the first surprise; yet with sullen determination and unwillingness to accept defeat, the efforts to reform and advance again were continued till sunset, when the enemy retired to his works.

The question of relative losses in this engagement is surrounded by the difficulties which have been discussed in other places. Those of the Army of the Cumberland, except in Palmer's corps, are fully and officially reported, and were 1,707 killed, wounded, and missing. Of these, Newton's division lost only 100, having succeeded apparently in making better cover than the other divisions before the attack was received; Ward lost 550, Geary 476, and Williams 580. Of these about one-fifth were killed. Geary alone reports any considerable number of missing, there being 165 in his division, and this no doubt indicates that there was, in the early part of the battle, some confusion on his right, which was "in the air" till he changed front and connected with Williams.

As to the Confederate losses, Hood, though writing after the publication of Sherman's "Memoirs," and quoting from its account of this engagement, does not criticise its statement of Hooker's estimate of 4,400 killed and wounded in front of the Twentieth Corps. This is strong negative testimony, and the other evidence more than sustains it. Geary's fatigue parties buried 409 Confederates, and he reports these as being in his front. It is probable, however, that they were in both his front and Ward's, as the latter makes no report on this point, and Collier's Mill, where the great loss was, stood in a reëntrant angle between the divisions. Besides these there were the losses in front and on the left of Newton, where it is admitted that the artillery posted by Gen-

eral Thomas made great havoc, and where 200 of the enemy's dead were buried. In front of Williams and between him and the Fourteenth Corps there was also severe fighting, and Williams reports the burying of dead, though without giving numbers. The losses in Williams's division were heavier than Geary's in killed and wounded, and the reputation of that division gives assurance that it gave quite as good an account of itself in the punishment of those who attacked it. In the absence of specific reports on this point from all the divisions, and even assuming that the burial parties from Geary's division acted for most of the Twentieth Corps, it would seem impossible to put the Confederate dead below 800. Hood's medical director's report makes the proportion of killed to wounded in the engagements around Atlanta, about one to six. This would make his casualties in all, including prisoners, about six thousand.

Hood and his subordinates agree in saying that this was intended for a decisive engagement, and that the order transmitted from the General-in-Chief down to regiments, was that the troops should attack desperately whatever they might find in their front, and strive to make there an end of the campaign. But the advance of Sherman's left wing on that day was more rapid than the Confederate general had reckoned on, and the urgent reports from Wheeler's cavalry and from Cheatham, that the National forces were outflanking them, disjointed his plans. First Cheatham was ordered to move a division's length to his right, as we have already seen; then the absolute necessity of covering the Decatur road was such that Cheatham ordered his right under General Brown to extend to the railroad. Even then he was obliged to put part of his troops in single line, and the movement to the right, instead of covering a division length of front, had been nearly two miles.

McPherson was advancing along the railroad, and Schofield upon a parallel road a mile and a half farther north. Howard, with Stanley's and Wood's divisions was on Schofield's right, a mile distant. He had found the bridge over the south fork of Peachtree burned; but after some sharp skirmishing Stanley succeeded in rebuilding it and getting his column over and deployed. Wood followed and deployed on Stanley's right. The road on which Howard was marching converged on that used by Schofield. It was the road known as the Cross Keys road, approaching Atlanta from the northeast, by way of the Howard House and Lewis Mill. Schofield's advance division (Cox's) developed a strong line of intrenchments crossing the road, but running nearly parallel to it toward the north. The leading brigade was soon sharply engaged with intrenched skirmishers, and the others formed forward on the left of it. Hascall's division passed and formed in a similar way on the left of these, Stanley's and Wood's divisions came into line on the right. Dodge's (Sixteenth) corps had been abreast with Schofield near Decatur, but the converging character of the roads had brought Logan (Fifteenth Corps) on Schofield's left, Blair (Seventeenth Corps) was on McPherson's left flank, and Dodge was thus put in reserve. Garrard's cavalry followed, destroying the railroad.

At one o'clock, the hour set for the attack by Stewart and Hardee on the Army of the Cumberland, Wheeler was falling back so close to Atlanta that Hood ordered him to hold on at all hazards, reminding him that General Smith with all the reserve artillery was in the works behind him. Gresham's division of Blair's corps (moving across the country over which Hardee, in a couple of days, was to march upon the rear of the same division) pushed the Confederate cavalry back upon a bald hill, which was to be the centre

and key of a desperate combat on the 22d. The energy of Gresham's movement was splendid, but in leading the advance of his column, he himself fell, terribly wounded. Yet the odds was still overwhelming, and about six o'clock it was so evident that Wheeler must be driven within the fortifications of the city and that Cheatham's line was stretched as much as it would bear, that Hood ordered Hardee to send a division at once to support the cavalry. Hardee directed Cleburne to march in obedience to the order, and this splendid division moved silently into the breastworks on the commanding ground, including the bald hill south of the railway, where the exhausted cavalry had made their last stand as night came on.

The order withdrawing troops from Hardee had been sent at a critical moment, and to understand its effect it is necessary to go back to the battle on Peachtree Creek and view the field from the Confederate side. The assault by Stewart's corps seems to have been west of Shoal Creek, his right entering the angle between Ward's and Geary's divisions, and his left extending somewhat beyond Williams. Hardee moved down the space between Shoal Creek and Clear Creek, and perhaps to the east of the latter stream. He had only Newton's division in his front, though Newton's right was supported by Ward. Hardee formed his troops with Bate's division on his right, Walker's in the centre, Maney's on the left, and Cleburne's in reserve. It will be remembered that Newton's right brigade changed front to the right rear as the enemy approached, and Walker's division first struck the breastworks. It was repulsed, but its persistent courage had been such that when it retired it was so shattered that it was unfit to be again put into action. Bate had found nothing in his front, but was seeking in the thicket a way to Newton's left flank.

Cleburne's division had been substituted for Walker's beaten men, and Hardee had given the orders for another attack when the command from Hood was received calling at once for a division to keep McPherson out of Atlanta, and Cleburne was sent. Hardee did not think it prudent to resume the aggressive with his diminished forces, and before Bate could be brought into line to supply Cleburne's place, night was upon him.

Hood did not make his official report till the next winter, when his campaign had closed in ruin at Franklin and Nashville; then he sought to hold Hardee responsible for this among other misfortunes around Atlanta. He was neither quite just nor generous. His defeat would have been only more costly if he had attacked at one o'clock, moving from the positions Stewart and Hardee then occupied; for they would have found the whole of Palmer's (Fourteenth) corps confronting them, as well as the troops which actually repulsed them. But the renewal of Hardee's effort toward evening was made impracticable by Hood's own order. This he issued simply because Sherman's combinations brought McPherson upon Cheatham's flank in abundant time to prevent the Confederate general from gaining any advantage by reason of the gap in the centre of the National line. If Hood had not moved his troops to the right, or if he had not taken Cleburne from Hardee to cover that flank, Cheatham would have been turned, and McPherson would have followed Wheeler's cavalry into the city.¹

¹ The article in the *Southern Historical Papers*, before referred to (vol. viii., p. 337), puts this beyond reasonable controversy.

CHAPTER XIII.

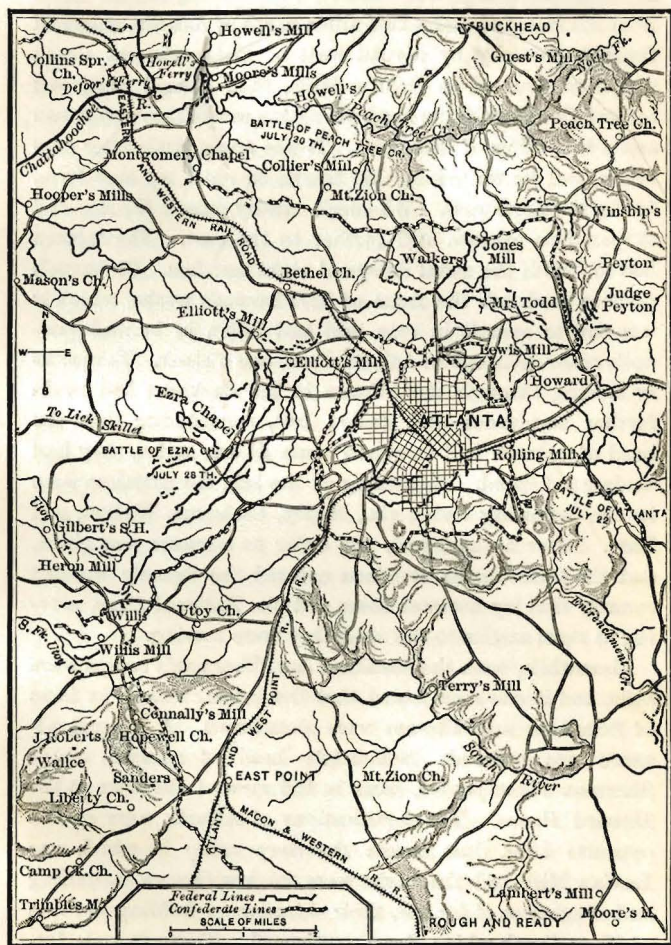
BATTLE OF ATLANTA—DEATH OF McPHERSON.

THE 21st of July was spent by the Armies of the Cumberland and Ohio in advancing and intrenching skirmish lines as close as possible to the enemy's fortifications. General Wood was able to swing forward his division north of the great salient in his front, and formed a connection with Newton, thus bringing the whole of Howard's corps again into line together. McPherson made firm the connection with Schofield's left by Logan's (Fifteenth) corps, and directed Blair to carry the high, bald hill half a mile south of the railroad, forming the southern extremity of the line occupied by Cleburne's division the night before. The assault was made by Force's brigade of Leggett's division, supported on the right by Gresham's division, now commanded by General Giles A. Smith, General Gresham having been wounded, as we have seen, in the advance of the preceding day. Force advanced under cover of the hill itself, which, being steepest near the base, protected the attacking line from the enemy's fire at first. Soon, however, he came into the open, and dashed forward at the barricade before him. The intrenchment was a slight one, but Cleburne's men fought with their usual bravery, and were only driven out after a sharp combat, and with a loss on our side of 250 killed and wounded. The hill was at once intrenched, though subjected to an enfilading fire

from the enemy's batteries north of the position, where their line was still intact. The intense heat was such that three staff officers in Force's brigade alone were prostrated by it, and sunstroke added considerably to the list of casualties. But the hill was strongly fortified by its captors, with traverses to protect the guns, and its value was tested next day. From its summit Atlanta lay in full view, with the large rolling mill just inside the city defences, and within range of Leggett's guns.

Both of Hood's flanks were now insecure, and he prepared to retire from the Peachtree line during the night. Colonel Prestman, his chief engineer, had reported that the works on the north side of the city were badly located, and selected a more advanced line on higher ground. The new line was staked off during the 21st, and intrenched during the night by portions of Cheatham's and Stewart's corps and the Georgia troops under Smith. It began at the former line, where the Cross Keys road entered the city, thence ran north about three-quarters of a mile, then west to the Chattanooga Railroad. A similar advanced line was run southward in front of McPherson's left flank.

Hood determined to withdraw into these works all of his army except Hardee's corps of four divisions, and to send this by a long detour to make an attack upon the extreme flank and rear of McPherson's Army of the Tennessee, expecting to follow up any success it might gain, by marching out with Cheatham's corps upon Schofield, and hoping thus to roll up Sherman's army from the south. His original orders contemplated a movement by the McDonough road, some four or five miles southeast, and then toward Decatur; but Blair's corps with its right at Leggett's hill had both its two divisions intrenched along the McDonough road, with the left refused so as to face the south. This made a change



Operations around Atlanta.

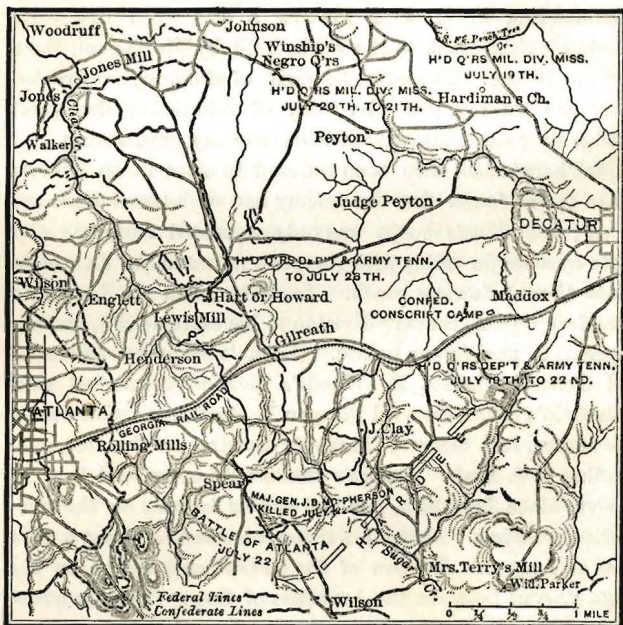
of orders necessary, and Hardee, withdrawing in the night from his line, two and a half miles north of Atlanta, marched through the city by a road west of Entrenchment Creek which he crossed at Cobb's Mills, then turned northeast toward Decatur till his head of column was within about two and a half miles of that place. It was now a little after day-break, and he waited for his troops to close up and form, facing the northwest. Wheeler's cavalry passed the line and prepared to operate still further to the east. The column had met with the usual delays of night marches. Cleburne's division had left the front of McPherson's works, which it was now to assault in rear, and had fallen in behind Hardee's other divisions in Atlanta about one o'clock. The cavalry moving through the column in the darkness had made further annoyance and delay; but, considering that the head of column had marched some fifteen miles, they had made good speed. Beginning on the left, the divisions were in the following order, viz., Maney, Cleburne, Walker, and Bate. After a short rest, the order to advance was given, and the Confederate divisions entered the densely wooded country that lay between them and the National lines, moving at right angles to the road they were leaving.

Meanwhile, with the breaking day, Sherman's camps were astir, and it was soon found that the intrenchments in front of Schofield and Thomas were abandoned. A general advance was ordered. Schofield's head of column, which Sherman accompanied, came in full view of the town at the Howard House. The fortifications of Atlanta were on the opposite hills, just across the deep valley in which was Lewis's Mill, and the works were thick with men shovelling and digging as if for life, their skirmishers holding the line of Clear Creek which flows northward. Sherman rode forward to reconnoitre, till his escort drew the fire of the bat-

teries. There was some ostentation in the way the men on the fortifications worked, but no one suspected what ruse it might cover. A few batteries were soon in position and as they opened, the enemy vanished behind the works and the siege began. Our skirmishers pushed back the lines before them as far as possible, and trenches were begun on every commanding knoll, soon making a connected line from Thomas's right flank to the works held by McPherson since the day before. The extreme right of the army now rested near the railway, and the work of rebuilding the great bridge over the Chattahoochee was already progressing.

McPherson had also been ordered to close in on Atlanta when it was found that the enemy had withdrawn from the front; but Blair's corps was only separated from the city forts by a single valley with its creek (a branch of Entrenchment Creek) flowing south. To make room for Logan he transferred G. A. Smith's division to his extreme left, leaving Leggett in position as before. Logan's corps was advanced till General Charles R. Woods's division connected with Schofield's corps, General Morgan L. Smith's division was in the centre, and General Harrow's division on the left, connecting with Blair. Dodge's (Sixteenth) corps had been in reserve since July 20th, but had moved forward on the preceding evening. Fuller's division bivouacked about a mile east of Leggett's division of the Seventeenth Corps, on the high ground between the branches of Sugar Creek, a tributary of South River. Sweeny's division of this corps was near the line of the Augusta Railway, due north from Fuller's, and McPherson's headquarters were with it. The supply trains and field hospitals of the Army of the Tennessee were in the interval between the Sixteenth Corps and the front lines, except a part of the train which was at Decatur, guarded by Sprague's brigade of Fuller's division.

About noon on the 22d, both divisions of Dodge's corps were moving under orders toward Blair's left flank, when they were attacked by Walker's and Bate's divisions of Hardee's corps. Dodge's men were marching by the flank, right in front, and so, fortunately, had only to halt and face to be



Battle of Atlanta.

in line of battle. McPherson, who had just left General Sherman at the Howard House, met Logan and Blair near the railroad, half way between their line and Dodge, and they were together when the continued musketry fire from the Sixteenth Corps, told that a heavy force of the en-

emy was in the rear. The corps commanders galloped to their commands and McPherson hastened to Dodge, first directing Blair to send two regiments to cover the trains and hospitals. To reach the divisions of Fuller and Sweeney the Confederates had to advance over some open fields, where the well-sustained musketry fire upon them was terribly destructive. Fuller's division, which was on the right, sustained the first brunt of the attack, and repulsed it; but it was renewed with great determination. The Fourteenth Ohio and Welker's batteries were put in position, and the unflagging fire of the two divisions made it impossible for Walker and Bate to force their way across the field. McPherson, near Fuller's right, had ordered the trains out of the interval, and had received several messages from Blair informing him that his flank was also engaged. He had also sent to Logan for his reserve brigade (Wangelin's) to fill the gap between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Corps, when, satisfied that Dodge could hold his ground, he started at speed to reach Blair's line by the road which till that moment had been clear. He had hardly gone a hundred yards when he ran full into the skirmish line of Cleburne advancing through the gap. They called to him to surrender, but raising his hat as if to a salute, he wheeled to gallop away, when a volley was fired and he fell mortally wounded. His staff had been scattered carrying orders, and he was alone with an orderly, who was also shot and captured; but a wounded soldier near by managed to get away and gave information of the great loss the army had sustained. In a few moments the shifting tide of the battle had withdrawn the enemy a little, and the general's body was recovered before it was yet cold. Fuller, hearing the firing advancing beyond his right, had sent the Sixty-fourth Illinois to cover that flank. This regiment was armed with the Henry repeating

rifles and made so hot a fire that Cleburne's skirmishers were checked with considerable loss, a flag and some forty men being captured. Upon the prisoners were found McPherson's equipments, together with a despatch to him from Sherman detailing the plans for the day, which there had not yet been time to send to the Confederate commanders. Following this advance, Colonel Strong of McPherson's staff had been able to secure and carry off the remains of his beloved chief.

The advance of Hardee's left came out in full view of Atlanta, and lapped a little over the front of Blair's refused left wing. The form of the works enabled Smith's division to repel the enemy there without trouble ; but as the rest of Cleburne's and Maney's divisions moved forward into the open rear, the courage of the troops became their destruction, for they were soon surrounded, and many were killed and some captured. There was no time to change front except by facing about, and this the rest of Smith's division did, leaping over their breastworks and fighting from the other side. The enemy's advance pressed on till it reached the foot of the bald hill and commenced the ascent to attack Leggett over the very ground Force's brigade had assaulted the day before. This division, too, was obliged to fight from the reverse of its intrenchments, but determined to hold the hill at all hazards. Force's adjutant, Captain Walker, fell, shot through the thigh, and Force, leaning over to support his friend, received a ball through the head, though by almost a miracle it passed below the brain and was not fatal.

All this was not the work of a moment, for the ground was a thicket along most of the line of the enemy's advance, and even the squads of men broken from their ranks, fought their way slowly to the rear, making Hardee pay dearly for all the ground he gained. Logan's reinforcement arrived, and push-

ing forward toward Dodge's right, assisted in covering a change of front for Blair's left, which was now able to pivot on the bald hill, and gradually, by stubborn fighting, to form a new line, which by the aid of Wangelin's brigade was almost continuous with Dodge's, and was on defensible ground.

On hearing of McPherson's death, Sherman ordered Logan, the senior corps commander, to assume command of the Army of the Tennessee, by an encouraging message full of confidence in that general and his troops. As he heard, however, that Sprague's brigade in Decatur was also attacked by Wheeler's cavalry, he ordered Schofield to send a brigade to cover the army trains behind Pea Vine Creek and to assist Sprague, and two others to cover the left flank of Dodge's corps on the railroad. Reilly's brigade of Cox's division was detailed for the former duty, and the division commander with Cameron's and Barter's brigades, and the Fifteenth Indiana Artillery, was sent on the direct Decatur road to report to Logan. As they passed out to the flank, Dodge asked for one of the brigades in his line, as another attack was imminent, and Barter's was sent him, while Cameron's was taken to commanding ground within a mile and a half of Decatur and intrenched. Sprague was soon hard pressed in Decatur, but Reilly going to his assistance, Wheeler was repulsed and the extreme flank in that direction was made secure. M. L. Smith succeeded Logan in command of the Fifteenth Corps, and Brigadier-General Lightburn took temporary command of Smith's division.

Hood himself was in a salient of the Atlanta fortifications from an early hour in the morning, and when the advance of Hardee's left reached the flank of Blair's corps, they came in full view, across an open valley. He watched their prog-

ress till, about three o'clock they had driven back Blair's left so far that they were attacking the bald hill from the south. Then he ordered Cheatham to advance with his corps against the hill and the line of the Fifteenth Corps north of it, and Smith with the Georgia troops to attack the lines of Schofield now held only by Hascall's division and Byrd's brigade of Cox's.

In the advance of Logan's corps early in the morning, Colonel Jones (Fifty-third Ohio) with two regiments of M. L. Smith's division, had been pushed well forward and occupied the top of a hill half a mile in front of the rest of the corps, having with them two guns from Battery A, First Illinois Artillery. The advance of Cheatham's corps soon outflanked this force, but Colonel Jones withdrew it in good order to the principal line. At this point the railway passes through a deep cut near which was a large house so situated as to mask the approach of the enemy and cover his advance along the railway. Jones asked leave to burn the house, but failed to get it—a mistake which was, in part at least, the cause of the break in the line which occurred there a little later.

Leggett's division had just repelled the attack from its rear, fighting from the front of their own breastworks, when Cheatham's attack came, forcing the men to leap back to the other side and again fight toward their proper front. The advantage of the ground enabled Blair to hold on to the hill by desperate fighting, but part of Logan's (Fifteenth) corps north of it, being on lower ground and taken in reverse by the enemy's cannonade from the edge of the wood where McPherson had been killed, broke, and were swept back to the railroad, where they formed along it as a new line. This happened as follows. Jones, temporarily commanding Lightburn's brigade, had for a time driven back the onslaught

upon his front, and the rest of the division in the second line had their attention directed to the rear where Hardee's fire was beginning to reach them. Cheatham pushed forward Manigault's brigade to the house in front of Jones, occupying it and firing from its windows, while the greater part of the same command, massing under cover of the house, rushed through the railway cut, turning the flank of Jones and forcing his men to fall back in disorder, though not till they had spiked the guns of the Illinois battery. The second line of the division gave way under this front and rear attack, and here it was that De Gres's battery of 20-pr. Parrotts was also taken.

Woods's division of the Fifteenth Corps hung on by its right to Schofield's position, but a great gap in the line was opened in the centre of the corps. Sherman himself, from near the Howard House, had this part of the field in full view, and immediately ordered Schofield to mass his artillery there and open upon the enemy's flank as they were crowding to the east. This was done, the smooth guns firing spherical case-shot rapidly, and Cockerell's battery of 3-inch ordnance rifles double-shotting with canister; those admirable little guns proving as useful in a close encounter of this sort as they were in longer range. The advance of Cheatham was checked with terrible carnage, and the Fifteenth Corps rallying and making a counter-charge, the enemy were driven back pell-mell, the lost guns, excepting two, were retaken and the intrenchments reoccupied. As Hardee and Cheatham were operating on the sides of a right angle, they were personally miles apart, and their attacks could not be made simultaneous. This had fortunately enabled Blair to repel the assaults in front and rear alternately, and in the lull of the strife when Cleburne and Maney were reforming for other efforts, his men suc-

ceeded in making a light line of breastworks,¹ connecting the bald hill with Dodge, and the corps of the latter covered its front in a similar way.

The crisis of the battle was now passed, and though the Confederate generals led their men to the attack repeatedly, they only increased their loss without seriously imperilling the position of the Army of the Tennessee. Schofield's men in single rank easily repulsed the efforts of Smith's Georgia troops north of the Howard House, and though Thomas, in obedience to Sherman's orders, felt of the works along the front of the Army of the Cumberland, Stewart's corps, in the elaborately prepared fortifications of the city, was able to show a front which he did not think it wise to assault.

As night fell upon the field, Hardee withdrew his right wing, making a half wheel to the rear, to the ridge between Sugar Creek and Entrenchment Creek, by which he kept his left in practical connection with the salient of the Atlanta fortifications and intrenched in a tenable position. This would no doubt have made the *point d'appui* from which Hood would have extended his lines southward to cover the Macon Railroad had Sherman continued to operate by our left flank.

The pressing importance of increasing the gap broken in the Augusta Railroad, in view of the warnings Sherman had received from Washington to expect the enemy to be reinforced by that route, had made him send Garrard with the cavalry eastward to Covington, to burn bridges and destroy the railroad track. This Garrard did handsomely, but his absence from the left flank of the army had enabled Hardee.

¹ In Hood's *Advance and Retreat*, p. 189, by a typographical error in copying a letter from General Blair, the "light line" is printed "tight line," and has been copied in that way into Confederate accounts of the battle, as if it meant a strong line, which in the circumstances was impossible.

to approach without warning, and gave the attack the momentary advantage which resulted from his sudden appearance in rear of the Seventeenth Corps. It was an attack of four divisions upon four, in the first instance, with the enormous odds of an attack in rear. In the midst of the *mêlée* resulting from this, Cheatham's assault came again in rear of part of Blair's troops, adding overwhelming odds in numbers to the disadvantage of position. To have repulsed the enemy from the key-points under such circumstances, and to have reformed on the interval between Blair and Dodge so as to present what proved an impregnable front there, must be held to have proven fighting qualities in the troops which have been rarely equalled, and a cool-headed readiness in commanding officers from the General-in-Chief downward, which combine to make an invincible army.

The results are in themselves a significant comment on Hood's new tactics of aggression. The total loss in the National army was 3,521 killed, wounded, and missing, with ten pieces of artillery. DeGres's battery, which was for a time in the enemy's hands, was retaken by the countercharge of the Fifteenth Corps. The other guns lost were Murray's "regular" battery, which was captured while marching in the road in rear of Blair's corps at the first attack, and two guns of battery A, First Illinois, which had been with General Morgan L. Smith's division in the advanced line in front of Logan's corps, but were taken and dragged off when the line afterward broke.

Of the enemy, 1,000 dead were delivered to their flag of truce in front of one division of Blair's corps, 422 were buried in front of Dodge's corps, about 700 were buried in front of Logan's corps, and Blair estimated the number in front of his other division as many as those delivered under the flag, making a total of 3,200. Reducing by half the

numbers that were estimated, and there would still be at least 2,500 killed. Two thousand Confederate prisoners were taken, of whom half were wounded. With these data, no ingenuity of figuring can reduce the enemy's total loss below the ten thousand at which Logan put it.

Hood afterward complained of Hardee's movement as made too slowly and not far enough to the east, and his attack as not vigorous enough. The facts do not justify the complaint. The route actually travelled was fifteen miles for the head of column, or more than seven hours ordinary marching. The night and the passing of cavalry made this slower and more difficult. After forming and moving through thickets and over broken country for two miles, where, as he said, it was often impossible to see ten paces in advance, upon dressing his lines for the attack, his extreme left just overlapped the left of Blair's corps, his alignment being at an angle of forty-five degrees to Blair's and in rear of it. The movement of blocks upon a map could hardly be more exact, and to those who were accustomed to march through that difficult country, the precision of it is marvellous. Hardee did not know of the presence of Dodge's corps till he struck it, but even so he outflanked it also on right and left, and could not have wished for a change in his line if he had known in advance exactly where it stood. The attack was to the full as vigorous and persistent as Hood's own in front of Marietta on the 22d of June, and it was made as early as could have been expected. The subordinate general's work, viewed as a piece of military manœuvring, will excite more admiration among students of the art the more it is examined. The causes of its defeat have been already stated.

CHAPTER XIV.

SIEGE OF ATLANTA—EZRA CHURCH.

SHERMAN's purpose in moving the Army of the Tennessee upon Decatur and then to Atlanta on the east, had been to destroy the Augusta road for so great a distance as to prevent its being rebuilt and used during the rest of his operations about the city. Had Hood abandoned the town, this wing would have been ready to march to the Macon Railroad at Rough-and-Ready Station; but the question of supply and of easiest reaching the southern lines of railroad near the city decided Sherman to extend his lines by the right flank. He only waited for Garrard's return from the expedition to Covington and for resting and shoeing the horses of Rousseau, who had reached the army after cutting the Montgomery Railroad near Opelika.

Some delicate questions of organization also demanded his action. The lamented death of McPherson made it necessary to assign a commander to the Army of the Tennessee. Hooker was the senior officer available, if the whole army were considered, and Logan if the Army of the Tennessee should furnish the commandant. A doubt whether other corps commanders of the army would cheerfully serve under Logan, owing to some existing jealousies, was one of the reasons for making a selection outside of that organization. Logan and Blair had been very active and prominent in the political affairs of the country, and both ex-

pected to be so again ; but Logan had won his military promotion by brave and valuable service, and could show honorable scars for each of his grades. The trait in him most criticised by his companions in arms was his querulousness and disposition to find fault with commands given him. He could see fifty reasons why a different order should have been issued ; but when once in battle his conduct was brilliant as well as judicious, and his personal gallantry was proverbial. His conduct on July 22d had met Sherman's warmest approval, and the despatches of the latter to the Government earnestly disclaimed any implied derogation of Logan's merits in appointing another to the command of the army.

Hooker was the senior of both Sherman and Thomas, and looked upon the appointment to the vacancy as his right. Since the incident of June 22d, Sherman had found the differences between them increasing, and honestly doubting whether he could have the cordial co-operation from him which was essential in his principal subordinates, he put Hooker out of the list of those eligible for assignment. It is possible that in his ultimate choice a predilection in favor of officers bred in the so-called regular army might have had some little influence, but Sherman repudiates any purpose but that of securing the best organization, and he was too broad a man not to know that the school of the war, for men who had any military aptitude, had been a soldier's education of such a sort that any question of the school they had attended as boys would be ridiculous.

After consulting with Thomas, Sherman recommended Howard for the position, and the President made the appointment. Howard and Slocum had respectively commanded the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps in the battle of Chancellorsville under Hooker, and the latter had charged

Howard with much of the responsibility for the disaster. When the two corps were consolidated into the Twentieth, at the beginning of the present campaign, and Hooker was assigned to it, Howard had been given the Fourth Corps, and Slocum had been sent to the Mississippi River and put in command at Vicksburg. To Hooker, therefore, Howard's assignment seemed like a double affront, and he asked to be relieved. Major-General H. W. Slocum was then recalled from Vicksburg to take command of the Twentieth Corps, though it was near the end of August when he arrived.

In Howard, Sherman found most of the same traits which made his association with Thomas and Schofield a satisfactory one. Conscientiously true and loyal to their superior, all three of them asked only how they might most thoroughly carry out his views, without captiousness, hesitation, or complaint. Their abilities and experience made them at ease in the handling of large bodies of men, and it is rare that a large army has had its principal generals so cordial in co-operation, so free from jealousies or intrigues, and so able to relieve the General-in-Chief from the details of administration and of tactical handling of troops. For Thomas, Schofield and Howard both had a respect second only to that they felt for Sherman, and any accident which might have left Thomas in command, would have given him as able and faithful support in his subordinates as Sherman himself found.

In the command of the Fourth Corps, Howard was succeeded by Major-General D. S. Stanley, which completed for the present the more important changes in the organization. A lively correspondence, however, took place between Sherman and the War Department in relation to promotion given to two brigadiers who had asked to be relieved through discontent or on plea of ill-health, and had by

political influence at Washington got the promotion which had not been accorded to any who had continued in the field. A circumstance which had caused no little comment in the army was the fact that with the general orders announcing these promotions, which were published to the troops, were others in which officers of the line were summarily dismissed the service for tendering their resignations while their command was in the presence of the enemy. Against the demoralizing influence of the "spoils system," which constantly tended to put influence at Washington in lieu of faithful service, Sherman vigorously protested on behalf of his army. The working of the system could not be better illustrated than by the case of Colonel Poe, Sherman's chief engineer. This officer, a lieutenant of engineers at the beginning of the war, after assisting the Governor of Ohio to organize his State troops, was made colonel of a Michigan volunteer regiment, and by distinguished ability in the field, rose to the command of a brigade. For gallant and meritorious service in the campaigns of 1861-62 in Virginia, he was nominated brigadier-general, and resigned the colonelcy to enable a good lieutenant-colonel to take the rank. The President's list of appointments was in excess of the number fixed by statute, and the Senate returned them for reduction. Then came a general scramble among the political "influences," and instead of a simple reduction, a new list was sent in, containing some never before recommended, and dropping many of those who would not seek such aid. In this way Poe lost his commission, and returned to his simple rank as a company officer in the staff corps, after demonstrating his abilities as a general in the field; but his self-respect forbade his seeking afterward a line command. His recognized talents were attested by his being made the chief engineer of a great army with the lin-

eal rank of captain only: a thing unprecedented in army organizations. To understand what might seem almost insubordination in Sherman's correspondence above referred to, in which he said, "If the rear be the post of honor, then we had better all change front on Washington," it is necessary that such facts should be remembered.

In the Confederate army Hardee had sought to be relieved, owing to his dissatisfaction with Johnston's removal and the assignment of Hood to command; but he had withdrawn his request at the personal desire of the Confederate President. Lieutenant-General S. D. Lee was assigned to the command of Hood's old corps, and joined the army from the west, while Major-General Cheatham returned to his division in Hardee's corps. Major-General Walker had been killed in the battle of Atlanta, but Hardee's corps was so depleted by the terrible losses of that day, that that division was broken up and its regiments assigned to the others.

By July 25th the railway from Chattanooga was in running order to Thomas's camps, Colonel Wright having built the high bridge over the Chattahoochee in six days. Sherman was now ready for new movements of his infantry by the right flank, abandoning the Roswell road as a line for supplies. The Army of the Tennessee was ordered to send its trains and field hospitals to a point near the mouth of Peachtree Creek, and to move on the 27th by successive corps from the extreme left to the extreme right, leaving Schofield for the moment to hold the eastern end of the lines of circumvallation by drawing back part of his command into the intrenchments occupied by the enemy on the 20th.

Simultaneously with this, the cavalry on both flanks were organized for expeditions toward the Macon Railroad, for the purpose of cutting Hood's communications. Rousseau had returned to his district command, but Harrison's cavalry

brigade, which had come with him from Opelika, reported to McCook, giving him a division about three thousand five hundred strong, on the right of the army. Stoneman united Garrard's troopers with his own on the left, and had about six thousand five hundred in all, near Decatur; but as Garrard's troops had recently been hard worked, these were to be used as a reserve, leaving less than three thousand for the more active duties of the expedition beyond Jonesboro. After carrying out his orders as to the railroad, Stoneman was authorized, at his own desire, to march on Macon and Andersonville, in an effort to rescue the National prisoners of war in the military prisons there.

On the morning of the 27th both cavalry and infantry were in motion. Dodge's corps (Sixteenth) first left its position, marching in rear of the army crossed Proctor's Creek before night, and passing Davis's division of Palmer's (Fourteenth) corps which had formed a recurved right flank, advanced till it was on a prolongation of the general line of the Cumberland Army, curving around the city. This brought it along the road leading south from Elliott's Mill to Mount Ezra Church, facing due east, and having before it a little valley in which ran one of the upper branches of Proctor's Creek. The other corps of the Army of the Tennessee followed during the night, Blair's (Seventeenth) getting into position on the right of Dodge early in the morning, and extending the line quite to the church, near which the north and south road is crossed by a more important one, leaving the southwest suburb of Atlanta near the race-course, and running west to a village near the Chattahoochee, bearing the cacophonous name of Lickskillet.

The railways to the south and southwest leave the city at the south side of the race-course, and, as has already been noted, run together for five miles to East Point, where they

separate. The railway line is the watershed, the headwaters of Proctor's Creek, Utoy Creek, and Camp Creek taking their rise in the ravines which break down by devious channels to the north and west toward the Chattahoochee, with smaller lateral branches often running between hilly ridges nearly parallel to the general line of the railway.

Near where the Lickskillet road leaves the city there was a strong salient and a bastion in the line of Confederate fortifications, which then turned a little east of south, crossing the railway in about a mile, but running pretty close to it for the last half of that distance. Blair's right was therefore within a mile and a half of the railroad, and if the city defences continued to be Hood's line, a day or two would certainly enable Sherman to cut his communications. The Confederate commander already had his engineers at work with details of men staking out a new line for trenches, leaving the city fortifications at the bastion above described and running southwest some four miles, crossing the north fork of Utoy Creek, and resting on some very commanding hills with broken ground in front, near where runs the road from Atlanta to that same Sandtown on the Chattahoochee which gave the name to the oft-mentioned road north of the river. The course of this line diverged somewhat from the railway, so that at the Sandtown road it was nearly two miles away. Johnston's plans at Marietta were to be substantially repeated, and the warfare of flanking lines was to be prolonged to East Point.

Hood had suffered so severely in the battles at Peachtree and on the east of Atlanta, that his troops were losing their stomach for assaulting intrenchments; but the implied conditions of his appointment to the command fettered him, and he could not adopt within a week the policy of his predecessor. While preparing for contingencies, therefore,

he determined upon another effort to crush Sherman's flank ; and since the thing was to be again tried, it must be admitted that he was wise in determining to strike Howard's right while in motion, and before it could intrench. He withdrew Loring's and Walthall's divisions of Stewart's corps, to support General S. D. Lee, who with his corps (lately commanded by Cheatham) was ordered to move out on the Lickskillet road, attack Howard, and drive him from that road and the one by Ezra Church. Stewart's orders directed him to remain in support of Lee near the fortifications till needed, and next morning (29th), reinforced by his other division (French's), to move beyond Lee and turn completely the flank of Howard, attacking him in rear. Hardee's corps and Smith's Georgians were ordered to occupy the works in front of Thomas and Schofield. This was the repetition of the tactics of the 22d, but with less brilliancy ; for the attack by Lee's corps on the 28th would put Sherman on the *qui vive*, and the chances of Stewart's following the movement up on the 29th would be small.

Meanwhile Logan was marching into position near Ezra Church, and Davis's division of Palmer's (Fourteenth) corps was ordered by Sherman, the evening before, to make a considerable detour from Elliot's Mill beyond where Logan was expected to be, so as to strike in flank any force which might attack him. Sherman himself, as well as Howard, was with Logan's corps when the Confederates under Lee deployed along the Lickskillet road and advanced to the attack. Logan's men had made some cover for themselves after the presence of the enemy was discovered, and the Fifteenth Corps line bent back from Ezra Church nearly at a right angle to Blair's. The ground was high and the slope in front partially open ; and though the Confederates advanced with their usual bravery they were easily repulsed.

They were then reformed, and the order to advance again given and obeyed, but with no better result. Stewart moved forward his two divisions to Lee's assistance, and they also were soon hotly engaged. The general officers exposed themselves to encourage their troops, and Stewart, Loring, Brown, and Johnson were all wounded and disabled. In the intervals of the charges the National line was made stronger, and each attack was less vigorous and had less chance than the one before it. Blair and Dodge sent their reserves to support Logan, Howard massed his artillery to sweep the open ground on his flank, and before sunset the enemy acknowledged himself beaten, and drew out of musket range. In the last attacks portions of the command refused to advance, and line officers with their drawn swords were seen from our works to march to the front of troops that would not follow them.¹

Sherman was hopeful that Davis's division would arrive in time to turn the repulse of the Confederates into a rout by a counter-attack upon their flank; but the lack of accurate maps had caused it to get upon a wrong road, and it did not reach the field. The brunt of the attack fell upon the divisions of Harrow and Morgan L. Smith, which formed the centre and right of Logan's corps, but while warmly engaged, their line was never seriously in danger. Howard reported his losses under six hundred killed, wounded, and missing, which was less than the number of Confederate dead left upon the field and buried by Logan, for the total of these was almost seven hundred. Howard's estimate of the enemy's loss at five thousand in all forms, was therefore a reasonable one, and subsequent information led him to increase it.

¹ This was commonly told in camp at the time by officers of our skirmish lines, which were advanced as often as the enemy retired.

Hood, in his memoirs, passes lightly over this battle, as if it were a chance and unpremeditated engagement; but the reports of his subordinates show that it was the third of his serious and carefully planned efforts to defeat his adversary by a flank attack. For some reason not explained, he ordered Hardee to go to the front and assume command of both corps engaged, neither of which was Hardee's own; but the battle was over by the time that general could reach the field, and the condition of the troops was such as to forbid new efforts. The fact is, however, used with great force by Hardee, in repelling the subsequent assertions of Hood, that the latter had lacked confidence in either his energy or his ability. The argument which Hood also used, that Johnston's policy had made the troops timid, is not supported by the facts. If the offensive tactics which he had adopted was calculated to inspire his troops, this should have been the most confident and energetic of all his engagements; but it was, on the contrary, the least so, and the testimony of the prisoners who fell into our hands was uniform, that the slaughter which had occurred on the 20th, 22d, and 28th July in quick succession was looked upon as useless and hopeless by his army. In the chaffing between pickets which often occurred in the lulls of the long contest, a Confederate soldier, in answer to the question, "Well, Johnny, how many of you are left," replied, "Oh! about enough for another killing." This, at the end of July, was the camp judgment, and it came from an infantry never excelled in courage or tenacity. Hood's reasoning, if right, should have made these three contests the preparation for more efforts of the same kind; but the effect upon himself was such that he never repeated the method till his affairs had become desperate by the march of Sherman upon Jonesboro, more than a month later. By that time even Jefferson Davis

was appalled at the results, and wrote him on the 5th of August, "The loss consequent upon attacking him in his intrenchments requires you to avoid that, if practicable." Johnston could hardly have dreamed of quicker or more complete vindication of his generalship.

CHAPTER XV.

THE LINES NEAR EAST POINT—JONESBORO—FALL OF ATLANTA.

THE cavalry expeditions had not been successful. McCook, on the right, had marched down the west bank of the Chattahoochee to Campbelltown, and crossing there had succeeded in reaching Lovejoy's Station on the Macon road, seven or eight miles below Jonesboro and about thirty from Atlanta. He hoped to make a junction with Stoneman there, but hearing nothing of him, he did much damage to the railway, burned army trains and some five hundred wagons, taking over four hundred prisoners. He undertook to return by the same route he had travelled, but was surrounded at Newnan's and lost his prisoners, though he fought his own way through with a total loss of six hundred men.

Stoneman had moved from the other flank, and leaving Garrard at Flatrock, east of Decatur, crossed the Ocmulgee River near Covington and made for the railroad running from Macon to Augusta, on which he destroyed a large number of engines and cars at Griswold. He went eastward far enough to burn the bridge over the Oconee, then reunited his detachments before Macon; but the river was between him and the city, and after shelling the town he moved back toward Clinton. Being intercepted and surrounded by what he supposed was a greatly superior force, he authorized his

brigade commanders to cut their way out, while he, with about seven hundred of his men, held the enemy in check till the others got through and then surrendered. His sacrificing himself to enable his subordinates to make good a retreat was personally honorable to him, but the facts as afterward discovered showed that he had been deceived as to the enemy's force, and that his position was by no means desperate. Sherman was dissatisfied with the lack of enterprise shown by Garrard during Stoneman's absence, and rated the usefulness of his cavalry rather low.

The movement of the Army of the Tennessee to the right was followed by that of the Army of the Ohio, which moved from its position on the left flank in the night of the 1st of August. General Thomas had been ordered to take a division from the Twentieth Corps, which General Williams temporarily commanded, and with it and Davis's division already beyond the flank of the Army of the Tennessee, swing forward that wing toward Atlanta. He took Ward's division and placed both it and Davis's upon the Lickskillet road a mile west of the Alms House, and Howard wheeled his right forward to connect with them. On the 2d, Schofield moved up the Twenty-third Corps, intrenching on the banks of the north fork of Utoy Creek, and the Army of the Tennessee again brought the right shoulder forward and gained nearly a mile of new ground on that flank. Ward's division was now sent back to the Twentieth Corps, which extended its lines so as to relieve Palmer, who with the rest of the Fourteenth Corps joined Davis's division on the right.

Sherman was now of the opinion that his right wing must be near the railroad, and for the purpose of giving unity to movements on that flank, directed Palmer to report to Schofield and act under his orders temporarily. This raised a question of rank, as Palmer's commission ante-dated Scho-

field's, though both were made to take effect on the same day, and Schofield was senior in previous grade. Sherman decided in favor of Schofield's claim, but Palmer protested, and asked to be relieved of the command of his corps. After vainly endeavoring to persuade Palmer to withdraw his request, and suffering for two days a game of cross purposes which greatly obstructed and delayed movements on that flank, Palmer was relieved, and soon after General Jefferson C. Davis was assigned by the President to the corps command, with rank of Brevet Major-General, by recommendation of both Sherman and Thomas. This, however, anticipates the order of events.

On the morning of August 3d, Palmer's corps was ordered forward to co-operate with the Twenty-third, both under command of Schofield, who determined to force a crossing of the north fork of Utoy Creek where it makes a considerable bend to the north. Hascall's division of the Twenty-third Corps, and Baird's of the Fourteenth were assigned this duty. Hascall promptly crossed with but little opposition and occupied a high ridge on the south, above and east of Heron's Mill, taking ground to the left in accordance with his orders, till that flank rested near the creek at its southward curve. Baird was to follow Hascall and extend on his right, but did not do so (owing to the disputes about the general command of the movement) till five o'clock in the afternoon, when General Sherman in person peremptorily ordered the division over, and it took the position assigned with its right resting on the other south curve of the creek. On the following morning Cox's division of the Twenty-third Corps crossed the creek and formed in rear of Baird, with orders to support the advance of the latter. Palmer was ordered to move Baird's division strongly against the enemy in front, putting over Davis's and Johnson's

divisions of the corps (the former temporarily in command of General Morgan), and, as ground should be gained, swinging the whole out to the south and east. Again delays occurred, which Sherman characterized as unpardonable, till toward evening, when a reconnoissance was made by Gleason's brigade of Baird's division, capturing 25 prisoners, and sustaining a loss of 26 in killed and wounded; but no general movement of the division was made. Morgan and Johnson crossed the creek somewhat farther to the right and within easy supporting distance. Orders for the 5th were issued directing Palmer to move Baird's division forward and endeavor to carry the position before him or drive the enemy into their principal works; to move Morgan's division in *échelon* on Baird's left flank, taking advantage of any success he might have to continue his line to the right; and to march Johnson's division to the right beyond Morgan and advance him in *échelon* also to the front. Hascall's division of the Twenty-third Corps being in a bend of the creek where most of the division could not advance, was ordered to support Baird's left. Cox's division was ordered to march to the right to support Johnson's division. The whole movement was to begin at six o'clock. Duplicates of the orders to Palmer were sent to his division commanders by General Schofield, to make sure they were known. Before the time of moving in the morning Baird notified Schofield that he did not recognize his authority, had received no orders from his corps commander, and no notice that the Fourteenth Corps was under Schofield's command. His report states that when finally he received orders from the corps commander he had no information of the position of Morgan's division on his right, and moved forward about eight o'clock. The advance was courageously made when it began, and the enemy's intrenched skirmish line, which had

been greatly strengthened since the day before, was carried with a loss of 83 killed and wounded. One hundred and forty prisoners were captured from the enemy. Morgan's division moved up and connected with Baird's right, but with the line retiring along the road which runs from the Sandtown road to the village of Lickskillet. Johnson's division formed on the right of Morgan's, and afterward, in pursuance of orders, marched to a wooded ridge overlooking a small stream, tributary to the principal Utoy Creek and flowing southwest into it, Cox's division being in close support. The narrow valley was open, and to the east the hills on the other side were wooded. No effort was made to cross the creek, Johnson resting on the western side during the afternoon. That evening Schofield reported to Sherman: "I am compelled to acknowledge that I have totally failed to make any aggressive movement with the Fourteenth Corps." Cox's division of the Twenty-third Corps was ordered to relieve Johnson's, which in turn was ordered to relieve Hascall's. The latter was then marched to right and rear of Cox's. This was early in the morning of the 6th, and during the night the constant chopping and falling of trees along the hillside east of the creek had given evidence that the enemy's infantry had moved in force upon it. Encouraged by the delays of the past forty-eight hours, Hood had determined to intrench the line of the Sandtown road and had put part of Hardee's corps upon it, making a line from the rough and high ground in front of Baird across the ridge dividing the branches of Utoy Creek, and then down the east side of the tributary above mentioned to the principal stream; thence it recurved sharply along its north bank. The distance across the forks of Utoy on this line is about two miles. Cox was ordered to make a reconnoissance in force by one brigade, supporting it so that if the enemy's

line were carried the advantage could be followed up. Reilly's brigade was detailed for the purpose, supported by Casement's (formerly Cameron's). The advanced brigade was formed in line, and the farther margin of the open ground being held by our skirmishers, it marched rapidly over the brook and up the slope beyond. It soon found itself in the entanglement of felled trees, and of undergrowth half cut off, then bent down and interlaced, but it pushed on to the intrenchments. They were found to be strongly held, and though some of the assailants reached the parapet, the advance of the brigade was arrested. It held its position at the entanglement, a hundred yards from the parapet, until the reconnoissance developed the solid line of breastworks extending far to right and left, occupied, as was learned from prisoners, by Bate's division. Casement's brigade in line was advanced to the east side of the valley, and under its cover, Reilly was withdrawn, with a loss of a little over three hundred men. A well supported skirmish line was intrenched close to the abatis and held there, preventing the enemy from coming outside his works.

Hascall marched to the main stream of Utoy Creek and succeeded in crossing with two brigades, driving away the enemy's cavalry after a sharp combat. The position thus acquired enfiladed Bate's line, and in the night it was abandoned. The Confederate troops retired into a strong line of fortifications extending from the high hills near the north fork of Utoy Creek southward across the Sandtown road about a mile and a half, thence bending a little toward the east it followed the hilly ridges behind the southernmost branches of Utoy Creek till it reached the railway a mile beyond East Point.

While matters had been thus progressing on the extreme right, active demonstrations had been made on other parts

of the line. Stanley had advanced strongly supported skirmish lines in front of the Fourth Corps, and had taken the enemy's intrenched pickets along most of his front. The same had been done by Williams with the Twentieth Corps, and the front of the Army of the Tennessee had been advanced with similar results. The Fourteenth and Twenty-third Corps advanced on the 7th, crowding their skirmish lines close to the Confederate fortifications, meeting with opposition which General Sherman described in his despatches to Washington as a "noisy, but not a bloody battle." Schofield's advanced division (Cox's) occupied the hills immediately in rear of Willis's mill pond, its right resting on the principal south fork of Utoy Creek, Hascall's division being in reserve on that flank. The Fourteenth Corps (Brigadier-General R. W. Johnson in temporary command) swung its right forward till it formed a connected line with Schofield's.

Sherman felt that he had now stretched his line about as far as could be safely done, and determined to try the effect of cannonade with heavier ordnance, while parallels should be worked up closer to the enemy's fortifications. Hood had the Georgia troops with heavy artillery in the works in front of Thomas, with reserves of his regular troops ready to move quickly to any point which might be threatened. Hardee held his extreme left in front of Schofield, and the rest of his army was in the space between, confronting the Army of the Tennessee. Some 4½-inch Parrott rifled cannon were ordered up and put in battery on Thomas's front, and with these and the other artillery of the army, Sherman cannonaded the town and the enemy's forts for several days. He directed Schofield, however, to continue extending his flank as far as he could, and on the 8th a brigade of Hascall's division was put over Utoy Creek on the

south, and intrenched on a hill south of that stream. It was followed by the rest of that division in a day or two, and on the 12th, Cox's division of the same corps made a reconnoissance in force to the junction of the Campbelltown road with the road to East Point, and half a mile eastward along the latter. This demonstrated the fact that the Confederate lines were farther in front of the West Point Railway than either Sherman or Schofield had thought. The division, however, was not brought back to its place in line, but encamped on Hascall's right rear, the Fourteenth Corps extending its front so as to fill the gap and reach Utoy Creek. On the 15th Schofield advanced his right again, putting Cox's division at the crossing of the Campbelltown and East Point roads, its flanks covering them both, and on the 18th it was pushed out three-quarters of a mile southeast and intrenched in a nearly semicircular position with the left covering the upper valley of Utoy Creek and the right that of Camp Creek. This was the extreme point reached in the advancing of Sherman's lines, and this became the pivot on which the movement to the south of Atlanta was made. The successive advances had been made in the face of stubborn resistance of cavalry supported by infantry skirmish lines, but Hood did not repeat his former attacks upon the flank in force.

On the same day that this last advance was made, Kilpatrick was sent with a large division of cavalry to make a lasting break, if possible, in the Macon road. Starting from the right rear, he crossed the railroad to West Point at Fairburn, and that to Macon about Jonesboro, doing both some damage. Hood had sufficient notice, however, to send Jackson to meet him, and although Kilpatrick made the entire circuit of Atlanta, and had done some brilliant fighting, no permanent interruption of the railway was made, and the

cars were running into Atlanta as usual in a day or two. During Kilpatrick's absence constant demonstrations along the line were made, and reconnoissances in force from the right flank on the 19th, 20th, and 21st, were pushed as far as Camp Creek Church, and half a mile on the road to Liberty Church, close to the forts in front of East Point. These were continued with varying strength, down to the time of the general movement to be narrated.

Sherman was now convinced that he could expect no permanent results from cutting the enemy's communications, unless it were done in force, and he seriously resumed the plan which he had communicated to his principal subordinates in orders a week before, viz., to intrench the Twentieth Corps (Slocum's), at the Chattahoochee bridge, and swing all the rest of his army to the south of Atlanta. He ordered half of all baggage sent to the rear, and each army to provide itself with ten days' full rations, which should be issued so as to last fifteen days.

Since the 14th, the greater part of the enemy's cavalry under Wheeler had been operating against the railroad north of the Chattahoochee. He attacked Dalton, where the garrison under Colonel Laiboldt was able to hold him in check, till General Steedman from Chattanooga could come to its assistance, when Wheeler was repulsed. The railroad and telegraph were cut in several places, but the damage was trifling, and yielding to the common temptation of cavalry to make too much of the distance they may go behind the hostile lines, Wheeler marched into East Tennessee, where he could by no possibility do anything to affect the campaign.

Satisfied that no serious mischief was occurring in his rear, Sherman began his movement on Thursday, August 25th. Stanley's (Fourth) corps, now the left flank on the north of Atlanta, marched to the rear of Williams's (Twen-

tieth), and Garrard's cavalry, dismounted, held the Fourth Corps lines. Next day Stanley was at Utoy Creek, massed in rear of Davis's (Fourteenth) corps, which also abandoned its lines to its skirmishers, and was massed near Stanley. During the night Williams's corps marched to the works prepared at the railway crossing of the Chattahoochee, where General Slocum arrived and assumed command. At the same time the Army of the Tennessee marched by roads west of Thomas, to the vicinity of the village of Utoy, and was also massed, facing southward and now forming the right of the army. Dodge's corps (Sixteenth), in consequence of his having been disabled by a wound, was temporarily placed under command of General Ransom. Garrard's cavalry covered the movement at the rear, Schofield's corps (Twenty-third) holding fast in its positions in front of East Point, and demonstrating in front and flanks.

By the evening of the 27th, it will be seen, all of Sherman's army except the Twentieth Corps was between Atlanta and Sandtown, échelloned along that road. Hood had not interfered with the movement, and had only followed it with light cavalry reconnoissances. But his horsemen, skirmishing with Garrard on the north and with Kilpatrick on the south, were able to locate the National forces with sufficient accuracy, and he jumped at the conclusion that Wheeler's expedition had been successful to the full extent of his hopes, and that Sherman was retreating across the Chattahoochee by the Sandtown road, short of supplies. His illusion was confirmed by an incident which occurred the same evening. An old woman of the neighborhood had applied to some of Hardee's troops for food, and stated that she had been within the lines of Schofield's division which lay nearest, and had been refused food with the assertion that the troops had not

enough for themselves. She had managed to pass the lines and carried her budget of news to the enemy. She was sent to Hardee, and the latter thinking her knowledge of positions of some importance, carried her to Hood's headquarters, where she repeated her story. Hood, seizing upon her statement that the National forces were short of rations, exclaimed that it fully corroborated his belief that Sherman was crossing the Chattahoochee at Sandtown.¹ To this conviction he stubbornly adhered for forty-eight hours longer, when it was quite too late to make new combinations to keep his adversary from the railroad. Had he suspected the truth, as some at least of his subordinates did, Lee's and Stewart's corps would have been in line in front of Red Oak and Fairburn when Sherman approached the West Point Railway; his right would have covered East Point, and another long flanking operation, probably this time by the left, would have been imposed upon the National army. Atlanta would have been abandoned, but Atlanta was only a name—the thing it stood for was the junction of the western and southern railways, which Hood would still have held.

The trains of Sherman's whole army marched between the two corps of the Army of the Cumberland, and Schofield was kept in position till they were well on their way from Mount Gilead Church, which is four miles southeast of East Point, to Red Oak, a station on the West Point Railway, seven miles from the former place, and near which Thomas encamped on the night of the 28th. Howard, with the Army of the Tennessee, reached Fairburn the same evening, five miles farther southwest on the same road. A day was now given to thorough destruction of some miles

¹ The story was narrated to the writer by General Hardee, at the time of Johnston's surrender in North Carolina the following spring.

of the railway, burning the ties and twisting the heated rails. Schofield withdrew a little from his isolated position on the 28th, putting his corps in line a mile northeast of Mount Gilead, and next day moved into connection with the left flank of Stanley's corps. The 30th the movement was resumed, and the whole army was between the two railroads, except Schofield's corps, which moved from Red Oak Station a mile and a half toward East Point, and took position there, covering the movement of the army trains. The Twenty-third Corps was thus separated fully three miles from supports, and fully expected a blow from Hood. He contented himself, however, with a brisk cavalry reconnoissance, and during the skirmish Schofield's troops threw up a light intrenchment in preparation for more serious contingencies. His dream of a flying enemy was dispelled, however, and in its place he substituted that of a movement of two corps of Sherman's army to his line of communications. He now ordered Hardee with his own and Lee's corps to Jonesboro, and directed an attack next morning on that flank of the National forces.

The Macon Railway runs along the ridge separating the waters of the Flint on the west from those of the Ocmulgee on the east, and Hardee was expected to drive Sherman's corps over the former stream if they had crossed it. General Cleburne was in command of Hardee's own corps, and no officer of the Confederate army had a better established reputation for courage and energy. He was delayed in getting into position by finding that Howard was already upon the road he expected to take, and in order to reach the right flank of the National forces he had to open a new road. It was nine in the morning of the 31st before Cleburne's corps was in position, and Lee's corps did not get up on his right for two hours more. Finding that this was giving Howard

time to intrench, Hardee, by telegraph, urged Hood himself to come to the front, but the latter deemed it unwise to leave Atlanta.

Howard had been advancing on the 30th along the road from Fairburn to Jonesboro, impeded all day by cavalry of the enemy, who made a stubborn skirmishing resistance in order to give Hardee time to reach Jonesboro and to form at Flint River.

Sherman had indicated the Renfro place as the position where his right wing should rest at the close of the 30th, but he had authorized Howard to move on to the railroad at Jonesboro if the opportunity offered. There was no water at Renfro's, and although he got reports of a force intrenched at Jonesboro, sometimes called a division and sometimes a corps, Howard decided to advance at least to the Flint River, which was the nearest point before him where water enough for the troops could be had. After a brief halt, therefore, the Army of the Tennessee marched again, in two columns, Logan's (Fifteenth) corps on the left, and Ransom's (Sixteenth) on the right, both preceded by portions of Kilpatrick's cavalry. The advance was so rapid that the Confederate cavalry was unable to make any considerable stand. At the Flint River the bridge was found still uninjured, and the cavalry covered it by a rapid fire from the river bank, while Hazen's (formerly M. L. Smith's) division carried it and the barricades defending it, by a brilliant dash. The head of Logan's column was now over, and giving the enemy no time to rally, though night was coming on, he advanced to the highest ground between the river and the railroad, where, by Howard's directions, he intrenched, putting Hazen's division on the left, Harrow's on the right, and Osterhaus's in second line.

As Ransom came up with the Sixteenth Corps, he was

placed in position west of the river facing to the south, his left being nearly opposite Logan's right. Blair's (Seventeenth) corps did not get up till morning, when it was placed also on the west of the Flint, but in rear of Logan's left, and facing northeast.

At daylight of the 31st, Logan rectified his lines on the right and Ransom built a bridge in front of his left, so that he connected with Logan. Bridges were also built by Blair and Logan, so that the three corps were in mutual support and were prepared for a new advance. Howard knew by the noise of the trains on the railway that a concentration was making during the night. His position was somewhat perilous till he knew the rest of the grand army to be within supporting distance, and he spent most of the day in making his position strong, meanwhile communicating with Sherman. The General-in-Chief was with Thomas's columns, which were in motion, and it was not till late in the day that the orderlies sent with despatches from Howard found him and he became aware of Hood's new movement.

About three o'clock in the afternoon Hardee advanced against the Army of the Tennessee, his attack extending along the whole front of Logan's corps and one division of Ransom's. Howard sent C. R. Woods's division from Blair's corps across the river to support Logan's left, fearing the enemy might get between that flank and the stream. The attack was fierce, but neither in weight nor persistency did it seem to equal former efforts of the Confederate infantry. The most determined part of the assault fell on Hazen's division ; but here as elsewhere it was repulsed, and the enemy retired, leaving over four hundred dead upon the field. The Confederates engaged were mostly of Lee's corps, and their reports would indicate that that officer, supposing he heard the signal agreed upon between him and Cleburne, had or-

dered the attack before the latter was ready. It appears certain that there was some failure in the coöperation intended, and Cleburne's corps took little part in the affair beyond preventing Kilpatrick with his cavalry from crossing the river farther to the right, as he was trying to do under Howard's orders. Cleburne followed Kilpatrick across the river, and Howard, to meet this movement and protect his trains, directed Blair to send a division from his corps to the right of Ransom's, and Giles A. Smith's was detached for that purpose.

But a little farther to the north other events were occurring. Schofield moving in the morning past Morrow's Mill, the position of Stanley's corps, took a road leading to the Macon Railway, about a mile south of Rough-and-Ready Station. Stanley took one a little farther to the south, and both advanced as rapidly as a strong opposition from cavalry would permit. Schofield's leading division (Cox's) reached the railway at three o'clock in the afternoon, and found there an intrenched line covering it and occupied by dismounted cavalry. This was carried by a charge and a considerable number of prisoners taken. A railway train was within sight but stopped at the noise of the combat and steamed back to Atlanta. The division marched north to Rough-and-Ready and encamped, and Hascall's division, reaching the road at the same place as the other, was employed in destroying the railway south to the point reached by Stanley's corps at four o'clock. Stanley also began the work of destruction. At six in the evening Carleton's brigade of Baird's division (Fourteenth Corps) reached the same road about four miles north of Jonesboro, but the rest of the division did not get up that night.

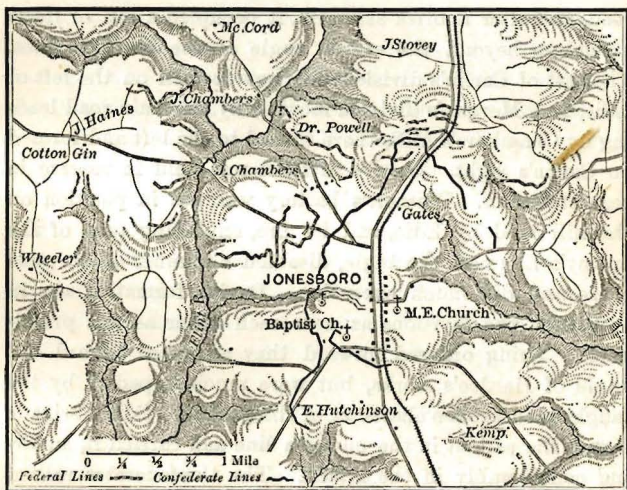
The retreating railway train which carried the news to Atlanta that Sherman's infantry were moving northward on

Rough-and-Ready Station, carried consternation with it. Hood himself seems to have been bewildered, and to have seized at once upon the idea that this was the beginning of a general attack upon Atlanta, and that Sherman had only moved by his right flank across the railways, facing northward. He had not heard of Hardee's combat of the afternoon, and without awaiting reports from him, sent at six o'clock peremptory orders for the return of Lee's corps to the city, directing it to move by two o'clock in the morning. Hardee was ordered to cover the railway and the provision and ordnance trains behind him as well as he could. Hood's despatches informed Hardee that there were indications of an attack on Atlanta, as the National forces were in considerable force at Rough-and-Ready, and it was thought they would strike East Point the next day. As the railway and telegraph were cut, these despatches were sent by courier, and Lee's movement was timed accordingly. Lee's corps marched as ordered, but was not destined to reach Atlanta. Other orders met it on the way. Hardee, putting a bold face on his losing game, stretched his corps as well as he could to hold the lines intrenched in the afternoon, resorting to the old device of heavy skirmish lines in front, with reserves ready to move at double-quick step to a threatened point. Meanwhile he reported to Hood the actual situation, and was greatly helped in his defence of Jonesboro by the fact that Howard knew he had two corps of the Confederate army before him at nightfall, and no one could suspect that one of them would be recalled to Atlanta during the night. Hood's misjudgment of the state of affairs was one of those inexplicable things which could enter into nobody's calculation.

On the night of the 31st, Sherman knew that he held the railway from Rough-and-Ready to near Jonesboro, and that

Hardee and Lee were in position at the latter place. It was possible that a garrison might be left in the *enceinte* of Atlanta, but it was probable that the whole Confederate Army would be before him next day. He therefore sent orders by courier to Slocum, directing him to be active in discovering the condition of things at Atlanta, and to enter the place if possible. Thomas was ordered to march Davis's (Fourteenth) corps to Howard's left, destroying such portions of the railway as it could reach in passing. Stanley with the Fourth Corps was directed to march down the railway, destroying it thoroughly and then joining Davis's corps. Schofield's orders were to perform a similar work of destruction from Rough-and-Ready southward. All these orders looked to the termination of the campaign when Hood should be driven south of Jonesboro, for otherwise the railway would have been carefully preserved instead of destroying it. Sherman was only anxious to press the enemy enough to make sure of the evacuation and the complete possession of the railway connections at Atlanta; for this carried with it every material advantage which would follow from holding any point north of Macon, the next important intersection of railroads. For this reason, he did not hasten the movement to Howard's support beyond the speed which might be consistent with thorough work in burning the ties, twisting the rails and blowing up the masonry of the road. But in the afternoon he joined Howard in person, accompanying the march of Davis's corps, and learned that Lee's corps had disappeared, and only Hardee's was before him. This put a new face on affairs, and he despatched orders to concentrate the Army of the Cumberland in haste, so that Hardee might be surrounded and, if possible, captured while isolated from the rest of Hood's army. Thomas ordered Stanley to suspend other

work and hurry forward to Jonesboro. Davis was ordered to put his corps on Howard's left, and swinging his own left boldly forward, endeavor to envelop Hardee's right. Howard was directed to send two divisions of Blair's corps by a detour to his right and put them, if possible, upon the railroad south of Jonesboro. Schofield turned his head of column south, moving close behind the Fourth Corps.



Jonesboro.

Hardee's lines had been formed to meet Howard's advance from the west, and their direction was nearly north and south. His extreme right was sharply refused, and where it reached the railroad, ran toward the southeast, behind a small stream and valley. Cleburne's own division was on that flank, Govan's brigade holding the angle, with Granberry on his left, and Lewis still farther to the right and

rear. As Davis's corps approached, Morgan's division connected with the Army of the Tennessee, having Carlin's (formerly Johnson's) division on the left, and Baird's in reserve. Staff officers were despatched to hasten the movement of Stanley's corps, and Sherman's impatience at the delay became so great that Thomas galloped away in person on the same errand. Davis sent forward Edie's brigade of Carlin's division to reconnoitre the ground toward the railroad, and after a brisk skirmish it occupied a hill or ridge extending beyond the salient angle of the enemy's lines. The rest of Carlin's division was now formed on the left of Edie, and Morgan's division moving by the main road leading by Chambers's Mill, there turned to the left and formed on Carlin's right. Baird's division was held in reserve in rear of Carlin. Prescott's battery was put in position on the hill held by Edie, and its fire, enfilading part of the enemy's line near the angle, disabled a number of his guns there and did much execution. Davis's formation was in two lines, the divisions as near each other as was practicable. Being ordered forward they advanced toward the angle of Hardee's works, but were much impeded by the tangled and broken character of the ground. Edie's brigade struck the salient in the enemy's line and carried it, suffering considerably in the attack. The Confederates rallied and repulsed the assailants, Edie's supports not arriving in time to enable him to hold the works he had gained. The line was reformed near the foot of the slope on which the enemy's breastworks were, and the alignment was rectified. Este's brigade of Baird's division was deployed in close support of Carlin's right and put under his orders. The advance was again ordered, just before five o'clock, and this time Este's brigade found itself in front of the salient, and carried it with a dash, losing, however, nearly one-third of

its numbers in the few minutes it was under the enemy's fire. The rest of Carlin's men, sweeping in from the left, with Morgan's on the right, surrounded the Confederates in that angle of their line, and General Govan with nearly his whole brigade and two batteries of artillery were captured, the gun-carriages being a good deal injured by the previous fire of Prescott's battery. Lewis's brigade on Hardee's extreme right, and Granberry's, which was next on the left of Govan, now fell back, making a new line and showing a bold front, while Hardee's centre and left still held to their intrenchments. Stanley's head of column had come up before Davis's attack was made; but before the corps was deployed and ready to advance on Davis's left, darkness covered the field and put an end to the day's operations.

The losses in Carlin's division were 371; in Baird's (Este's brigade) 330, and in Morgan's division about the same number. Over three hundred of the enemy's dead were left on the field. Eight hundred and sixty-five were surrendered with General Govan, and on the following day nearly a thousand, including wounded left in hospitals by Hardee, were added to the list of captured.

Before Lee's corps, which had left Hardee in the night, had made more than half the distance back to Atlanta, Hood discovered his mistake, and countermanding its orders, directed it to take position to cover the movement of Stewart's and Smith's corps from Atlanta. It was too late to save anything which had not been removed, and large trains of ordnance and other stores, numbering over eighty cars and six locomotive engines, were left to be destroyed by the cavalry rear-guard. During the night Hardee also evacuated his lines, and on September 2d, Hood once more assembled his army at Lovejoy Station. About midnight of the 1st, the noise of explosions was heard in the direction of

Atlanta, and it hardly needed the courier whom Slocum sent forward next day to tell that the city was abandoned and the stores burnt and destroyed. Slocum had been met on his advance in the morning by the mayor of the city, who formally surrendered the place, and he lost no time in forwarding the confirmation of the welcome news to Sherman, who had already followed the retreating Confederates to Lovejoy Station and was developing Hood's lines there by the sharp skirmishing which had been the everyday work of the campaign.

It was now definitely known that Atlanta was ours, and "fairly won," as Sherman said in his despatches to Washington, and he issued his orders for the withdrawal of the army to the vicinity of that place, for a brief period of rest and preparation for a new campaign. The Army of the Cumberland occupied the city, the Army of the Tennessee was encamped at East Point, and the Army of the Ohio at Decatur. The cavalry covered the flanks and rear, from Sandtown to Roswell along the Chattahoochee.

Hood affects to wonder that Sherman did not attack Stewart's corps on the march from Atlanta on September 1st. The reasons are twofold. The presumption was that Lee's corps was still within supporting distance of Hardee. In the absence of positive evidence, his eccentric march back toward Atlanta, in obedience to Hood's order, could not have been imagined by any military man. To get up the Fourth Corps on the left and envelop Hardee or force him back upon any new position Lee might be supposed to be taking in rear, was the plain dictate of wisdom. This was what Sherman was doing, and he was exasperated at not being able to complete the work before night came on. The cavalry brought no information of the movements of either Lee's corps or the rest of Hood's army ; and judging by probabili-

ties alone, every maxim of sound strategy dictated the plan of interposing as much as possible of the army between Hardee and the remainder of Hood's forces, which must unite with him by some road coming in from the east.

Hood also intimates that in calling Lee to him it was his purpose to attack the exposed flank of Sherman's army. This was what Sherman expected and what Schofield also was looking for; but Hood's despatches to Hardee prove that he was not thinking of aggression; he talked only of defence, and was seeking in vain to settle in his own mind any satisfactory theory of his adversary's plan. Had he meant to attack the flank, surely never was a better opportunity than that of September 1st, when Hardee was fighting against odds to hold his position, and Schofield had turned his back on Atlanta to march into position at Jonesboro. The Confederate General must be held to have misconceived utterly Sherman's movements from August 25th, and to have been made inconsistent and feeble in action by his uncertainty as to the situation. Of all the theories as to his purposes at that critical time, the one which would make him take the bold initiative, as he had done in the first week of his command, is the one most entirely unsupported by evidence. The order to Hardee to march to Jonesboro was neutralized by the recall of Lee, and loses its appearance of energy, while everything else combines to show that he was groping in the dark. Sherman's movement, on the other hand, was boldly conceived and systematically executed. His corps was so écheloned that had the enemy marched out of Atlanta to attack the nearest flank, Schofield would have been able to hold him in check till the Army of the Cumberland could have come to his assistance. The other contingency was the one which was tested. Howard was attacked by Hardee's and Lee's corps,

and easily repulsed the assault till the arrival of Davis's corps enabled Sherman again to assume the aggressive.

The campaign as a whole will remain a most instructive example of the methods of warfare which may be said to be the natural outcome of modern improvements in weapons, and in means of transportation and communication when used in a sparsely settled and very difficult if not impracticable country. At the time, the successful termination of the long hand-to-hand struggle was hailed as the assurance that the war approached its close; and the thanks which Congress and the President bestowed upon Sherman and his army were only the faint expression of the enthusiasm of the nation toward the General and his troops.

CHAPTER XVI.

RESULTS.

THE investigation of the comparative losses of the contending armies is, like that of their comparative strength, one of no little difficulty. The system of returns of the armies of the United States is one in which every man enlisted must be accounted for, and the figures, like the debits and credits of mercantile account-books, are expected to balance. For various reasons, no such fulness of accounts is found in the printed reports of the Confederate armies. The publication of the archives collected at Washington will at some future day do much to clear up the question, but we are forced for the present to rely upon approximate estimates. First, however, it must never be forgotten that the exact system of the National army was not enforced by the Confederates. It is unnecessary to inquire whether this was a purposed omission, made through the unwillingness of the Richmond Government to let the Southern people know the terrible cost of the struggle they were making, or whether it resulted from the embarrassments of poverty and the lack of the means for keeping up elaborate systems of field statistics. The fact is enough, and of it there can be no doubt. At the surrender of General Joseph E. Johnston, in the spring of 1865, that officer responded to an inquiry by General Schofield as to the number of his forces, that his report of effectives was about sixteen thousand men, yet

double that number appeared at the Provost Marshal's office at Greensboro, and received their certificates of parole. At that time General Johnston, who was perfectly familiar with both systems of returns, added the remark that they had not pretended to keep up the accurate forms of report insisted upon by the Adjutant-General's Office at Washington.

It may be that this statement should apply chiefly to the field returns, which were those made use of by the commanding officers in active operations, and that more systematic tables were made by the Adjutant-General's office. If so, it is evident that the Confederate writers have not had access to them, and that their assertions are based upon the imperfect returns to which reference has been made.

In the controversies between Confederate officers themselves we get the most valuable light on this subject. All the testimony supports the conclusion that they rely upon estimates only, and that from a very early period of the war a systematic habit was formed of underestimating their own numbers and their own losses, by way of exaggerating the odds at which they were fighting, and of keeping up the popular illusion that the preponderance of strength in the North was made up by superior military qualities in the South. The declarations of Hood and of Jefferson Davis in reference to the strength of Johnston's army in May have already been mentioned, and their significance shown. Those of Johnston and other Confederate authorities in regard to Hood's army in the next campaign are equally instructive. Taken together they make satisfactory proof that during the summer of 1864, the proportion of seven to ten is a fair statement of the relative strength of the Confederate and National armies in Georgia, and the numerical superiority on the one side was more than counterbalanced by the defensive tactics on the other, so long as assaults upon intrenched lines were

avoided. The palpable fact that the odds would be not only reversed, but made still greater against him, if he adopted the policy of carrying the enemy's lines by main force, was what constituted the difficulty of Sherman's position; and the movements by which he made his advance to Atlanta and Lovejoy Station without sacrificing his advantages, are what constitute the most solid foundation for the highest military reputation.

As to the losses in the campaign, the table given by General Sherman in his "Memoirs" is based on the returns in the Adjutant-General's office, and must be admitted by all to be thoroughly reliable in regard to the infantry and artillery. Sherman tells us that the cavalry were irregular in their returns, and he therefore treats the imperfection of statistics in that arm of the service as a fair offset to the acknowledged omission of any report from the Confederate cavalry by Johnston and others.

The first and most noticeable omission in Confederate reports is of the list of "missing." This does not include those absent at home without leave, and who are technically classed as deserters, but those who have disappeared during an engagement, and are presumed to be in the enemy's hands, either dead or as prisoners. Of prisoners alone Sherman's army captured twelve thousand nine hundred and eighty-three (12,983), which were officially reported and made subjects for exchange. These nowhere appear in the Confederate reports of losses, and are as completely ignored as if no such class existed.

Both Johnston and Hood refer to the returns of Surgeon-General Foard for their account of losses, and the appearance of official formality in these statistics is well calculated to impose upon the investigator. The essential question is what Surgeon Foard really reports upon. He certifies

that the reports quoted are from returns made to his office ; but what was required to be returned or in fact reported is left entirely to conjecture. The natural assumption would be that it would be a return of all casualties which occurred ; but it is now demonstrably evident that this is not true. A statement of General Hardee on this subject has already been quoted, but a more explicit reference to it will be useful. Owing to the vicissitudes of the campaign and of the war, Hardee's report was never fully made, but on April 5, 1865, he made a partial report to the Adjutant-General of the Confederate Army, in which he reviews some of the statements of Hood's reports which had then been published. It is in this official report that he makes the assertion before referred to, that while Hood sums up the total losses of his entire army, "from the date of his assuming command on the 18th July to the Jonesboro fight inclusive, at five thousand two hundred and forty-seven (5,247), the casualties in my corps alone during that time considerably exceeded seven thousand (7,000) in killed, wounded, and captured."¹

In the battle of Peachtree Creek the greater part of the losses fell upon Stewart's corps. In that of Ezra Church they were wholly in the corps of Lee and Stewart. At Jonesboro the heaviest loss was in Lee's corps, which attacked Howard's intrenchments. At the battle of Atlanta the losses were almost equally divided between Hardee's and Cheatham's (afterward Lee's) corps, as is shown by Logan's report, which gives the parts of the field on which they fell. Surgeon Foard's report appears to make no return of the losses of the Georgia State troops under General G. W. Smith, which had been active in the campaign from the time

¹ Southern Historical Society Papers, viii., 344.

of the engagements around Marietta in the latter part of June. If under these circumstances the casualties in Hardee's corps "considerably exceeded seven thousand," it is asking too much of our credulity to put the whole of Hood's losses in the same period at less than three times that number.

If we draw our conclusions from the number of dead left upon the field in the sanguinary engagements of the last six weeks of the campaign, a very similar result will be reached. In these battles over four thousand of the Confederate dead were buried by Sherman's troops or delivered under flags of truce. At the common estimate of five wounded for one killed, which accords well with the statistics on our own side, the wounded of Hood's army must have exceeded twenty thousand in the period in question, and his total losses from all causes, including prisoners, must have closely approached thirty thousand, which was the number commonly accepted by the National officers who made the most careful investigation at the time.

Hood has constructed an ingenious argument, for the purpose of reducing his losses, out of the comparative effective strength of the army at different dates. Nothing could be more fallacious, as a single consideration will show. On the 31st July his tables show an aggregate of absentees belonging to his army of nearly one hundred and thirty-seven thousand.¹ These are supposed to be men organized into the regiments constituting the army, but who were away from the colors, with or without leave. The sweeping conscription of the South put the whole able-bodied population into the army, those who were absolutely necessary to the continued organization of the home communities being fur-

¹ Advance and Retreat, p. 218.

loughed or excused from active military service. These, however, remained as a body from which men could still be drawn, and the number of those only temporarily excused or absent without leave was very large. We must know how many were returned to the regiments from this source before any comparison of the reported effective force at two dates can have even an approach to value. The same tables show on September 20th an aggregate of these absentees of one hundred and twenty-three thousand, or fourteen thousand less than at the close of July. If this represents, as it would seem to do, the number which the extraordinary efforts of the Confederate Government brought back to the colors during that period, it of course increased Hood's effective force by so much, and shows the addition which must be made to his acknowledged losses in order to make an approximate total. The result thus reached is significantly close to that which is arrived at by the other and independent methods of inquiry. In whatever way the subject is examined, we are forced to the conclusion that the guesses and estimates of the Confederate officers are not in any sense complete official reports, and are scarcely half of their casualties in the campaign.

At the lowest computation the destruction of life and the sufferings of the many thousands of wounded and sick who filled the hospitals, made a terrible expenditure of all that is most dearly prized by a civilized people. The generous mind glows with the excitement of courageous strife and sets no bounds to its admiration for military heroism, whether it be shown by the general who commands or the soldier who pushes his way through the *abatis* to his enemy's works. But when the struggle is over, and the fearful spectacle of suffering and bereavement is forced upon us, when we must reckon the cost by the unnumbered graves

and the almost incalculable destruction of wealth, the only comfort or consolation which can be found must be the conviction that the cause was so holy a one as to be worth the sacrifice.

The men never doubted of this who fought under Sherman over every rood of ground from Dalton to Atlanta; and their intelligence being equal to their faith they made an army which has perhaps never been excelled. Their opponents, too, were worthy of them; for they also had persuaded themselves that they fought for independence and liberty. Brothers of a common stock, of equal courage and tenacity, animated by convictions which they passionately held, they did on both sides all that it was possible for soldiers to do, fighting their way to a mutual respect which is the solid foundation for a renewal of more than the old regard and affection.

This union of courage, intelligence, and zeal was also the source of new expedients in warfare. The methods used at the close of the campaign were such as had been developed by the wonderful experience of that summer's work. From general-in-chief to the men in the ranks, all were conscious of having learned much of the art and practice of warfare; and he would be a rash critic who would confidently affirm that he could find better means to attain desired ends than those which were employed in attack or defence over a hundred miles of mountains and forests in Northern Georgia.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE MOVEMENTS IN OCTOBER—HOOD UPON SHERMAN'S LINES OF COMMUNICATION.

THE capture of Atlanta was followed by a few weeks of repose which was welcome to both officers and men. For Sherman himself it was a period of mental activity, scarce less intense than the conduct of the active campaign. The success of the past was the pledge of even greater labors for the future. The very fact that the President, Congress, and the country echoed in general acclaim the flattering judgment of Grant that Sherman had "accomplished the most gigantic undertaking given to any general in the war," foretold that he and his army must prepare themselves for new campaigns and new struggles.

It was no easy matter to settle a satisfactory plan of operations for the fall and winter. The line of communications, which had seemed much too long for safety when the army was at Chattanooga in the spring, was now 140 miles longer. Wheeler, with the Confederate cavalry, was still far in the rear, and though his raid had stripped Hood of his mounted troops and had thus greatly helped Sherman's plans in the movement south of Atlanta, the National general knew very well that there was still much risk that some serious interruption of his railway might at any time make short rations in his camps. It had been his hope that by the time he should reach Atlanta, Mobile would have been taken, and a shorter line for his supplies opened by the

way of Montgomery, or still better by the lower Chattahoochee to Columbus. If the troops under General Canby in the Department of the Gulf could occupy Southern Alabama, coming into direct coöperation with him upon his right flank, another great section of the Gulf States would be lost to the Confederacy, and Sherman could face to the East with the assurance that every day's march was diminishing the territory from which the Richmond Government could draw its supplies of men and subsistence.

But Canby had not been able to get on as fast as was hoped. The naval squadron under Admiral Farragut had forced the entrance of Mobile Bay, and Fort Morgan was in our hands ; but just at this time a new outbreak occurred in Missouri, where General Price had succeeded in organizing a considerable force of Confederates, and A. J. Smith with two divisions of the Sixteenth Corps had been ordered into that State. Canby's power to advance was thus lost, and Sherman was in no little doubt whether any plan of campaign would be free from very serious embarrassments. He thought that no good could come of merely penetrating deeper into the State of Georgia till some definite objective point could be aimed at. It seemed wise, therefore, for him to look to occupying Hood pretty closely till the capture of Wilmington and Savannah should give assurance of a new base for his columns if he marched across the State, and a solid footing upon the lower Chattahoochee should guarantee the safe possession of the country behind him. This done, he was ready to pledge himself to occupy Macon and a point on the Savannah River below Augusta by any day which Grant would name as one on which Savannah should be in the possession of the National forces.¹

¹ See his letter to Grant of September 20th. Sherman's Memoirs, ii., 115.

Whatever the plan might be, nobody dreamed of abandoning any ground already gained. Atlanta must be held and the railway to Nashville protected till some new and decisive advantage should move the theatre of operations much farther to the east. The captured city must be made a fortified depôt of supplies in which reserve stores for a great campaign might be accumulated. Its military importance had been fully recognized by the Confederates in making it a great intrenched camp covering the radiating railway lines which ran from it to all points of the compass ; but its present trenches required an army to fill them, and Sherman could not spare an army for that purpose. He determined, therefore, to contract its *enceinte* to a size which a moderate garrison could defend, and to occupy the buildings within this limit for military purposes only. It would thus be ready to stand a siege, if need be, whilst he was operating toward Columbus or Augusta. This necessarily involved the removal of the non-combatant population, and he notified Hood of his purpose and of his desire to make the measure as little distressing in its details as possible. His right to do so and the necessity of it from a military point of view are beyond dispute, though the aggressive course which Hood subsequently took gave an opportunity for a much more brilliant stroke than was then hoped for, and allowed Sherman to cut quite loose from his base of supplies.

Hood and the Confederate authorities seized upon Sherman's order as a means of exciting the zeal and animosity of their people. The correspondence between the two generals was spicy, but Hood's part of it is so manifestly meant for popular effect that it may be doubted whether Sherman might not as well have contented himself with the mere reiteration of the order, and of the terms on which the removal must be made. His directions to furnish transporta-

tion for families and household stuff were so ample, and his intention was so generously carried out by Colonel Willard Warner of his staff, that nothing was left which the citizens desired to carry away, and at the close of the business, Colonel Clare, who had been appointed by Hood as his representative under the flag of truce, volunteered a written testimonial to his associate that the execution of the order had been the most considerate and courteous possible.

The Confederate leaders must have been dull indeed if they had failed to understand the meaning of the notice. Davis hastened in person to Macon to consult with Hood, and the result of their conference was a decision to try the fortunes of war by a bold initiative. Hood was authorized to place himself by a rapid march upon Sherman's lines of communication before the latter could complete his provisioning and fortifying of Atlanta. In a speech at Macon on September 22d, Davis endeavored to rally deserters to their standards by foreshadowing an attempt to transfer the war again to Tennessee. Sherman understood the warning and published the speech in the North to hasten the recruiting which might save him the necessity of sending back part of his army to Nashville.

The number of regiments whose term of service was expiring was so great as to reduce our forces by nearly one-third during the month of September, and except for the veterans who had re-enlisted during the last winter, Sherman could hardly have kept the field. Recruits were collecting rapidly in the depôts and camps of instruction in the North, but the policy (wretchedly false from a military point of view) of organizing them into new regiments, was not only causing delay, but was wasting the prestige and the experience of the old organizations at the front. These were dwindling to a tithe of their original numbers and dying of inanition,

when new and doubly vigorous life would have been given them by adding the new material to their skeletons. The recruits, under flags which were already blazoned with the names of Donelson and Vicksburg, of Stone River and Mission Ridge, of Knoxville and Atlanta, would have become soldiers of double value with double speed; but political reasons were powerful and the efficiency of the army was sacrificed to them.

For the time, therefore, the account showed only losses in Sherman's numbers, and the apparent necessity of waiting till the new regiments could reach the front made officers of all grades anxious for leaves of absence, and the men in the ranks for furloughs. Schofield had taken advantage of the quiet to visit Louisville and Knoxville and look after the business of his department; Logan and Blair went North to take part in the Presidential canvass. Division and brigade commanders and subordinate officers of all ranks pressed so eagerly for an opportunity to visit their families and homes that it was thought politic to allow considerable numbers to do so. When, then, toward the end of September rumors began to thicken that Hood was moving, Sherman would have been quite willing that the opening of the fall campaign might be a little longer delayed.

Whilst Wheeler was trying to break the railroad in Northern Georgia, General Forrest had already started upon a similar movement in Middle Tennessee. Crossing the Tennessee River on September 20th, and following the line of the Nashville and Decatur Railway, he frightened the commandant at Athens into an unnecessary surrender and marched north as far as Pulaski, but declined an engagement there with General Rousseau, who was awaiting him. A portion of his command moving eastward found itself in danger of being caught between the columns of Steedman,

who was marching from Chattanooga, and Rousseau who was closely following from Pulaski. General Buford, who commanded it, made attempts to capture small garrisons at Huntsville and Athens, but was repulsed and driven south of the Tennessee on October 3d. Forrest remained north of the river a few days longer, destroying a few miles of railway, but accomplishing nothing whatever of importance, and retreated across the river on the 6th, to avoid the forces Thomas was concentrating upon him. Like nearly all the cavalry raids, it was a mere diversion with no perceptible influence on the campaign, and the damage done to communications was repaired almost by the time the troopers were out of sight.

The threatening character of the rumors which had preceded this raid showed that it had a good deal of importance in the eyes of the Confederates, and by the end of September Sherman had thought it wise to send Thomas back to Chattanooga, where he also placed Wagner's division (formerly Newton's) of the Fourth Corps, and Morgan's of the Fourteenth, whilst he sent Corse's division of the Sixteenth Corps to Rome, where it covered the railway north of the Etowah. The cavalry movement alone would have been treated with contempt, but all indications pointed to activity on the part of Hood himself, and on the 29th Sherman had definite information that the Confederate Army had taken the initiative, and two-thirds of it had crossed the Chattahoochee some twenty-four miles south of Atlanta. This had been easy for Hood, for the river there runs due south near the confines of Georgia and Alabama, and after a short flank movement to the west he had been able to pass it in safety. It was now the important question to Sherman to decide what his adversary would do, for he did not mean to be led off upon a wild-goose chase if he could avoid it,

nor had he any thought of transferring the principal theatre of operations to Tennessee. He notified Cox, temporarily in command of the Army of the Ohio, to be ready for a counter movement to the south and east, and directed Thomas to make such combinations north of the Tennessee as should quickly dispose of Forrest and his cavalry. On October 1st, in issuing preparatory instructions to his subordinates, he informed them that if Hood should march into Alabama with a purpose of reaching Tennessee, he should order northward to General Thomas the garrisons and detachments as far as Kingston, and with the rest move upon Savannah and Charleston, believing that this would force Hood to follow him. If, however, the latter should try to strike the railroad south of the Etowah, he would turn upon him. In this purpose he ordered General Corse at Rome to hold fast unless the Confederates should strike south of Alatoona, but in that case to join his forces to those of General Raum, who commanded between the Etowah and Oostanaula, and act against the enemy from Alatoona.

For a day or two strong detachments were pushed out on different roads, a division being sent from the Army of the Ohio southeast to Flatrock, to create the impression of a formidable movement in that direction. On the 2d, however, it became clear that Hood was marching in the direction of Marietta, and Sherman determined to wait till he was fully committed to the movement, then cross the Chattahoochee and interpose between him and his pontoon bridge. Next day the order of march was issued. The Twentieth (Slocum's) Corps was to hold Atlanta and the Chattahoochee bridge, and the rest of the army to go at once to Smyrna Camp Ground, south of Marietta.¹ General

¹ The "Camp Grounds" of the South are places where religious camp meetings were held from time to time, giving a name to the locality.

Howard was in command of the Army of the Tennessee, General Stanley of that of the Cumberland, and General Cox of the Army of the Ohio. In the absence of Logan and Blair, the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Corps were commanded by Generals Osterhaus and Ransom, the Sixteenth being broken up and its two divisions put into these corps.

Hood's general plan was, as he himself tells us, to cut our line of communications, and if followed by Sherman, retire westward till he should reach the Blue Mountain Railroad, which runs from Selma in Central Alabama northeast through Talladega, reaching at that time a point about sixty miles southwest of Rome and near Gadsden. He hoped thus to lead Sherman away from Atlanta and transfer the seat of war again to the valley of the Tennessee River. On October 3d, the main body of his forces were near Lost Mountain, whilst Stewart's corps was sent to the railroad north of Marietta, to destroy it and to attempt the capture of Alatoona and the destruction of the bridge over the Etowah if he should find it feebly guarded.¹ Stewart captured the small posts at Ackworth and Big Shanty, and rejoined Hood on the morning of the 5th, sending French's division of that corps with twelve pieces of artillery against the rocky gorges of Alatoona.

But during the 3d and 4th Sherman's army was in motion. The Army of the Cumberland passed the Chattahoochee at the railway bridge on the 3d, and concentrated at Smyrna Camp Ground. The cavalry was weak, consisting of only

¹ In an important paper of General French, published in the Louisville Courier Journal of June 11, 1881, he gives a copy of Hood's official orders on this point, which are the basis of the statement of the text, and shows that Hood was in error in saying in his *Advance and Retreat* (p. 257) that the destruction of the supplies at Alatoona was contemplated. It is hardly conceivable that they should not be mentioned in such a case. French's official report is to be found in *Annals of the Army of Tennessee*, vol. i., p. 316.

two small divisions under General Elliott (Kilpatrick's and Garrard's), and these found the enemy in force already astride of the railroad, near Big Shanty. On this report Sherman naturally concluded that the whole of Hood's army was there, and pushed the head of his column straight through Marietta to Kenesaw Mountain, whilst he signalled to Corse, over the heads of the Confederates, to go at once to the relief of Alatoona. It will be remembered that the Etowah River runs due west, and that Alatoona is a pass in the high ridge on its southern bank. It looked as if Hood might be caught between Sherman's army and the river if Alatoona were held.

Stanley reached Marietta in the afternoon of the 4th, and the Army of the Cumberland bivouacked at the base of Kenesaw, from whose crest could be seen the destruction of the railway. Howard with the Army of the Tennessee crossed the Chattahoochee and reached Smyrna Camp Ground. The Army of the Ohio, moving from Decatur, had to make a detour to find a crossing of Peachtree Creek where a bridge was carried away, the water being swimming deep, and after getting over the Chattahoochee, about two o'clock, were ordered to march up the river to the Pace's Ferry and Marietta road, as the other was filled by troops and trains. To do this another deep stream filled by back water from the Chattahoochee was bridged, and that command rested at Pace's Ferry for the night. Sherman went forward to Marietta early in the morning of the 5th, and there learned that the enemy had moved northward toward Alatoona. From Kenesaw he could see the smoke marking the mischief done along the railroad, and get a distant view of the combat raging at Alatoona, eighteen miles away. But he could also see the smoke of great camps in the direction of Dallas, where Hood's principal force was lying, that officer being in this instance too wary to venture his whole

army in a *cul-de-sac* between Sherman and the Etowah. He had placed them where it was impossible for the National forces to envelop him, and where French could join him toward Rome by a shorter road than his opponent must travel. The reports got from prisoners and the country people were conflicting, and Sherman's first orders were for the Army of the Ohio to come forward to Marietta, while that of the Tennessee covered the line to the Chattahoochee facing toward the part of the Confederate army which was between Lost Mountain and Dallas. Meanwhile reconnoissances were pushed from Kenesaw forward, to get more reliable news, and the signal corps with flags and telescopes endeavored to open communication with Alatoona.

The garrison at Alatoona was a small brigade of three regiments under Lieutenant-Colonel Tourtellotte of the Fourth Minnesota, insufficient to man all the works which had been constructed for the defence of the post ; but General Corse arrived with reinforcements in the very nick of time and assumed command. He brought with him Rowett's brigade of three regiments, which increased the garrison to almost two thousand men. The train which was sent back to Rome for the remainder of his force was a good deal delayed, and did not get back till the battle was over. The Confederate advance was in the night, and at daybreak of the 5th, French pressed in quickly upon the place, and after a vigorous cannonade for some two hours demanded a surrender, which was refused.¹ He then assaulted the works, sending Sears's brigade to the north side or rear of

¹ General French says no answer to his summons was returned, and his adjutant, Major Sanders, came back without one, after waiting seventeen minutes, which were given for a reply. General Corse, in his official report gives a copy of French's letter, which only granted five minutes for consideration, and of his own tart response ; but it is not improbable that Major Sanders had gone back when the messenger reached the outpost.

the place to begin the attack, while Cockrell's brigade, supported by Young's, should assault from the west. The defensive works consisted of two field redoubts, one on each side of the railway and covering the storehouses near the track. Some temporary lines of trench had been formerly made outside of these, and were held with some tenacity, but they were no part of the permanent fortifications of the post. The redoubts were so placed that they each swept the front of the other with its fire, the cut in which the railway ran being sixty-five feet deep. The redoubts crowned the crests of hills which formed part of the general ridge running east and west, and from which spurs ran off on both sides. French placed his artillery on commanding ground across a hollow on the south of the place, with two regiments supporting it. His batteries not only enfiladed the trenches facing westward, but commanded the railway cut itself and made communication between the little forts almost impossible. Tourtellotte had himself occupied the eastern fort and had a section of the Twelfth Wisconsin battery there. Corse occupied the fort on the west when he came on the ground, and the other section of Tourtellotte's battery was also kept there, as he had not been able to bring any artillery with him. Most of Rowett's brigade, however, was put in the advanced line across the ridge facing west, supported by the Ninety-third Illinois from Tourtellotte's, and light lines of skirmishers, with such supports as could be given, were placed both north and south of the forts.

Sears's brigade reached the position assigned to it by French, his line extending on both sides of the railway. He marched swiftly up the hill, drove off two companies that supported the skirmishers on a spur in that direction, and charged down in flank and rear of Rowett's men, who at the

same moment were attacked in front by Cockrell's Missourians supported by Young. The Thirty-ninth Iowa, which was on Rowett's right, changed front in part to the right, and resisted like veterans as they were, and the Seventh and Ninety-third Illinois, facing still to the west, bore the brunt of Cockrell's attack from that direction. Tourtellotte had repulsed the assault on his fort across the railway, and his guns making havoc in Sears's flank enabled Rowett to make a long and effective resistance, inflicting great loss on his assailants. The odds were too great, however, and after two hours of stubborn fighting, Corse was obliged to draw back his line to the trenches immediately around the redoubt. In doing this, the Thirty-ninth Iowa hung on to cover the retreat of their comrades and to keep it from becoming a rout. Colonel Redfield fell, shot in four places, and a hundred and seventy casualties out of two hundred and eighty men who went into the engagement, attested the devotion of the regiment to its duty. The Seventh Illinois suffered almost as much.

The attack being now chiefly concentrated on the west redoubt, Tourtellotte sent from his side strong reinforcements, which crossed the railroad and the defile which was swept by the Confederate guns. For a time the Fourth Minnesota held the east redoubt alone, but it was joined by part of the Eighteenth Wisconsin, and maintained a steady fire upon the assailants of their comrades across the ravine, as well as upon those who made weaker demonstrations on the east. The guns in the west redoubt were out of ammunition, and a brave fellow volunteered to cross to the other side and bring back an armful of canister cartridges, which he did in safety. Corse himself received a rifle ball in the face about one o'clock, and was insensible for half an hour or more, but rallied in a critical juncture to encourage his men to "hold the fort." Rowett was severely wounded, so was Tourtellotte,

and the trenches without and the ramparts within were encumbered with dead and wounded, for the enemy's fire swept every line in flank, and but for the cross fire which the guns of the east redoubt had upon the faces of the other, the western one must have become untenable.

The charges of French's troops, which had been repeated at intervals for more than four hours, grew sensibly weaker after one o'clock, and his nearly disorganized brigades contented themselves with keeping up a desultory fire, picking off every one who showed himself above the works. Before two o'clock Sears and Cockrell were recalled, and partially reforming them behind what was left of Young's brigade, French marched away, about three o'clock, in the direction of New Hope Church. Whilst the sharpshooters still made the signal platform a place of extreme peril, Lieutenant McKensie of that corps himself signalled to Sherman the message which he would not order any of his squad to transmit, and which announced that the attack had failed.

French had sent a detachment to take the block-house at the Etowah River and burn the bridge there during his engagement at the post, but this also failed. Another block-house on the south of Alatoona, where the railway crosses the creek of the same name, was, however, made untenable by a cannonade, and its garrison surrendered. The bridge there was burned, but it was of inferior importance.¹

Hood's orders had declared the destruction of the Etowah bridge to be of the greatest importance, and French had made a desperate effort to accomplish it. He acknowledges

¹ In his description of the place, General French speaks of "three redoubts on the west of the railroad cut and a star fort on the east." In this he is wrong. The authority of Colonel Poe, the Chief Engineer who laid out the works, is explicit in support of the assertion that there were only two redoubts in all, and no star fort. French is also mistaken in saying that he carried the principal redoubt on the west. Corse remained there in person till the combat closed.

a loss of 800, of which 120 were killed ; but as General Corse buried 230 of the Confederate dead and had over 400 prisoners (among whom was Brigadier-General Young), the enemy's loss was plainly greater than French reported. Even after Corse had returned to Rome, numerous dead bodies of Confederates were found in the woods, where the wounded had evidently crawled away from the fire and had died after French's retreat.

In Corse's command the casualties were 705 in killed and wounded, and French claims to have taken 205 prisoners, including the block-house garrison.

Looking to the numbers engaged, this was no doubt one of the most desperately contested actions of the war. The character of the ground gave great opportunity for the enemy to use his artillery, and the partial successes at the beginning encouraged French's brigades to renewed assaults, which cost them dear. The garrison, with Corse's reinforcement, was not large enough to hold all the detached works : they tried, perhaps, to hold more than was prudent, and in the forced abandonment of some of these under fire, they suffered losses which could not have occurred in the ordinary and successful defence of intrenchments.

During the engagement a cavalry reconnoissance on Stanley's front gave French some uneasiness, and he learned that our infantry were at Kenesaw ; but while this information may have hastened his retreat, all the circumstances make it plain that he was fairly beaten in his efforts against the forts.¹ He claimed to have had in his possession the ware-

¹ By a singular error, Sherman's and Howard's reports, and nearly all subsequent accounts, including General French's paper above referred to, speak of a movement of the Twenty-third Corps as hastening French's retreat. Historical candor compels the writer to disclaim for his command this honor. On October 5th, the Twenty-third Corps was marching from Pace's Ferry to Marietta, and its movement on the 6th is correctly described in its place. See Appendix D.

houses which contained nearly three million rations of bread ; but this must have been a momentary thing, for it is incredible that they should not have been destroyed before the retreat, when every soldier's cartridge-box contained all that was needed to make port-fires. At all events, the stores were saved, and Corse was able to signal his commander that, despite his losses and his own wound, there was no need of anxiety about the post.

Meanwhile Sherman was concentrating his army and endeavoring to learn what part of the opposing forces were toward Dallas. He had left Slocum's (Twentieth) Corps to hold Atlanta and the bridge-head at the Chattahoochee crossing, but a flood in the river had partly destroyed the bridge and all the roads were heavy, so that all movements were laborious. During the 5th, the Army of the Tennessee moved into the old lines of the Confederates near Culp's Farm, covering the approaches to the railroad between Marietta and the river. The Army of the Ohio marched from Pace's Ferry to Brushy Mountain, about three miles north of Marietta, where they relieved the Army of the Cumberland, which moved to the left. The cavalry was not strong enough to act with much confidence, and had not succeeded in opening communication with Alatoona by the morning of the 6th, bringing in only rumors obtained from the country, and Sherman was uncertain whether Stewart's corps had rejoined Hood. Impatient that the cavalry had not accomplished more, on that morning he ordered General Elliott to open the line of communication with Corse by roads east of the railroad and bring something "official" as to the situation there. Stanley was ordered to connect with Howard, covering the roads toward Dallas, with his right at Pine Mountain, while Cox with the Twenty-third Corps was directed to make a reconnoissance in force westward on the Burnt

Hickory road, sending detachments by lateral roads and endeavoring to get definite knowledge of the enemy's position, and especially of the whereabouts of French. At nine o'clock the corps left the position on Stanley's right, which it had moved into that morning, and marched westward by Pine Mountain, on whose top Sherman stationed himself, directing that fires should be lighted from time to time, so that by the smoke of these he could mark the extent of the reconnaissance. The roads through the country, which had been so thoroughly cut up in June, were almost impassable, but by two o'clock definite information was sent back that French had rejoined Hood the previous evening. The advance was pushed to Alatoona Church, which had been the left of our lines before New Hope Church, while the road from Mount Olivet Church north to Ackworth was explored by one detachment, and another pushed southward nearly to Lost Mountain, driving back Hood's cavalry and getting satisfactory evidence of his presence in force in that direction, though probably moving toward Kingston or Rome. The pillars of smoke mapped out the country to Sherman's eye as he looked down from the place where Polk had been killed in June, while with Johnston and Hardee he was watching, in a similar way, the movements of the National Army. Toward evening the corps was recalled to the junction of the roads near Mount Olivet Church, where its detachments concentrated, and the General-in-Chief felt that he was master of the situation.

He contented himself with observing his adversary for a few days, putting a large force upon the repairs of the Chattahoochee bridge and getting out ties for the railway. On the 7th, Casement's brigade of the Twenty-third Corps was sent to Alatoona, the cavalry were watching the movements of Hood, skirmishing with those of the enemy near New

Hope Church. Clearly divining his adversary's purpose of drawing him back from his position in the heart of Georgia, Sherman refused to be toled away, but sent Corse back to Rome with his division, where, in the forks of the Etowah and the Oostanaula, he covered the railway between Resaca and Cartersville. Notwithstanding his very painful wound, Corse kept the field, sent detachments to destroy all the bridges over the Etowah, and watched the crossing of the Coosa below the junction of its tributaries. Sherman now formally repeated his proposal to Grant to break up the railroad to Chattanooga and turn his back on Hood, marching directly for Savannah by Milledgeville and Millen. On the 10th, however, he received news from Rome that Hood was crossing the Coosa about twelve miles below, threatening to turn upon Corse's command and operate still further to the north and rear. As this promised active work close at hand, Sherman immediately ordered a concentration of his own army at Rome, directing Thomas at the same time to collect his forces toward Stevenson so as to resist any effort of the enemy to cross the Tennessee. At Kingston, on the 11th, he learned that Hood had not approached Rome, but moved in some other direction, his whereabouts being again a mystery. Again he urged upon Grant the plan of moving upon Savannah. Hood says that it had been his purpose to attack Rome and then march to the railroad at Kingston, but he formed a more prudent plan, and crossing the Coosa about fifteen miles below Rome he followed the line of the long valleys, protected by high rocky ridges, to Resaca. In this movement, as all the rivers were high, the Oostanaula covered his right flank, and he hoped to take Resaca by a *coup-de-main*. If this were done and the railway bridge destroyed, Sherman would necessarily be much delayed in following him, and he would have his choice, to

march upon Chattanooga or to follow down the left bank of the Tennessee westward. He sent his trains and reserve artillery to Jacksonville and Gadsden, and moved without incumbrances.

Sherman's whole army was assembled about Rome on the 12th, and on the 13th he pushed strong reconnoissances down both banks of the Coosa, Corse's division on the left, and Garrard's cavalry on the right. A little later in the morning, his impatience increasing, he ordered Cox with the Twenty-third Corps to follow Garrard, and reach, if possible, the site of Hood's bridges, to learn if they were taken up and the enemy thus committed to a definite movement north of the river. The infantry overtook the cavalry, and giving them confidence by strong and close support, Garrard ran over the Confederate horsemen and captured two guns and about a hundred prisoners. The combined movement was pressed vigorously. The place where the bridge was laid was reached, and a part of the cavalry went two miles beyond. The bridge was up, and it was learned that Hood had taken the pontoons north with him, giving out that he was going to Tennessee. The news was passed by signal to Sherman, and the infantry returned to Rome the same night.¹

Hood reached Resaca on the 12th, approaching the place by the north bank of the Oostanaula, and summoned it to surrender, saying he would take no prisoners if he carried it by assault. Colonel Wever, commanding the garrison, returned a defiant answer.² Hood took position about the fortifications, his flanks resting on the Oostanaula and the

¹ See Appendix E.

² Hood says that General S. D. Lee was in front of Resaca with his corps and made the demand; but the summons was signed by Hood himself. Sherman's Memoirs, vol. ii., 155.

Connasauga, but he did not assault. A reinforcement of 350 infantry under General Raum reached the garrison from Calhoun, and General McCook with his cavalry covered the movement of railway trains and stores to Kingston, and then himself marched to Resaca.

Sherman got the news about noon of the 13th, and put Howard and Stanley at once in movement for Resaca, signalling Cox to follow as soon as the work on which he had been sent was accomplished. Leaving Lee's corps before Resaca, Hood marched Stewart's to Tilton and to Dalton, capturing the garrison at the latter place (Forty-fourth United States colored troops) without resistance. But at Tilton the block-house and little intrenchment was held by the Seventeenth Iowa under Lieutenant-Colonel Archer, and his answer to Stewart's summons was like Wever's. The little garrison of less than two hundred men resisted an overwhelming force for several hours, and only showed the white flag when a concentration of artillery fire had knocked the block-house to pieces about their ears. A block-house in Millcreek Gap, near Buzzard's Roost, also made a stout resistance, but was captured.¹ General Schofield had reached Dalton the same morning, hastening from Knoxville to resume the command of the Army of the Ohio, and finding that Hood's whole army was near the place, had sent back to Cleveland all trains along the road. Reporting thence by orders from Washington to General Thomas, who was at Nashville, the latter directed him to assume command at Chattanooga, to concentrate all trains there, and hold that place. All the available troops in Kentucky were ordered forward to Nashville, General Steedman with his command

¹ General Howard's report says the garrison at Dalton surrendered without a blow. For the defence of Tilton, see *Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, by A. A. Stuart, p. 338.

was sent back to his post at Chattanooga, and Schofield prepared to move out with Wagner's and Morgan's divisions, which had been sent back from Atlanta two weeks before.

Meanwhile Sherman reached Resaca on the 14th,¹ and Hood, having failed even to damage the railroad seriously, made haste to retreat westward to Villanow, having gained nothing by the rapid movement except to give Wheeler the opportunity to join him with the cavalry which had been operating in that region. True, he had drawn Sherman a hundred miles from Atlanta, but the Twentieth Corps occupied that place, and the whole line of railway from there to Chattanooga was solidly held, except for the momentary break at Dalton. Sherman yielded nothing of the territory he had conquered, and still had in hand an army with which he was anxious to meet Hood in the open field, while Schofield was ready to join him with the two veteran divisions at Chattanooga. The Confederate general was only making a "raid," a brilliant one in its way, but the care with which he avoided battle, or even an attack with his whole army upon a post like Resaca, garrisoned by a single brigade, proved conclusively that he had no serious purpose of staying long away from his base of supplies in Alabama. In the retreat, part of his command went by way of Snake Creek Gap, blockading that gorge by felling the timber, so as to delay Sherman's pursuit. The latter sent Stanley over the ridges north of the blockade, whilst Howard, followed by Cox, cleared out the road through the gap. The evening of the 15th found Howard's head of column near Villanow and Stanley coming in on his right, the opposition of Hood's rear guard being but trifling. On the 16th, C. R.

¹ Sherman's Memoirs say 13th, but it would seem to be a misprint. His official report says "evening of the 14th," and this agrees with the reports of his subordinates.

Woods's division of the Army of the Tennessee carried Ship's Gap in Taylor's Ridge, capturing part of the small rear guard which held it. The ridge is a high and almost unbroken mountain chain, running nearly north and south, on the west of which is the pleasant and fertile valley of the Chattooga, down which Hood had retreated, doubling his track upon the line of his march northward a few days before.

Sherman hoped his adversary would continue on to Tennessee, feeling absolutely sure of forcing a surrender of the whole army in that event. In his despatches to Schofield, this feeling found vent in strong expressions. "Invite him in," he said; "send him a free pass." He halted the army, and spent a day in active reconnoissances, whilst his communications with Chattanooga were reopened, and the work of repairing the railway was begun. He sent to the rear his disabled animals and his field hospitals, and by evening of the 17th, was assured that Hood had gone south by way of Summerville toward Gadsden, giving up the attempt to cross the Tennessee anywhere above Muscle Shoals. Hood was not unwise in this, for the upper river was patrolled by light-draught gunboats, and with Thomas's detachments actively watching the northern bank he could hardly have crossed without Sherman's overtaking him, unless the "pass," jocularly spoken of, had been indeed given.

On the 18th the National Army was again in motion. Howard and Stanley marched down the Chattooga Valley on parallel roads, whilst Cox took the road on the east side of Taylor's Ridge to Subligna, and thence over the mountain by Gover's Gap to Summerville. The heads of columns skirmished with a rear guard of cavalry as they advanced, but there was no serious fighting. At Gover's Gap the road was scarped in the side of a precipitous mountain, and this

shelf had been dug away. A stubborn defence had been prepared here, but the columns on both sides the ridge were so nearly abreast of each other that the pass was abandoned and the Twenty-third Corps occupied it before evening. The day's march by this route had been twenty-two miles. Next day Summerville was passed, Howard's head of column was at Alpine and Cox's at Melville, and on the 20th the whole army was concentrated at Gaylesville in Alabama.

Hood reached Gadsden that day, where he met General Beauregard, and a plan of future operations was discussed. That subject belongs more properly to the next volume. Sherman remained at Gaylesville seven days, watching the movements of his adversary, proposing to follow him if he attempted to cross the Tennessee near Guntersville, but determined to carry out his plan of a march to the sea if Hood should go to Decatur or Florence. Detachments were stationed on the Coosa at Cedar Bluffs, the Twenty-third Corps bridged the Chattooga at that place, and preparations were made for a new campaign.

The month had been a busy one. Hood's activity and generalship had been worthy of high praise, but he had been everywhere foiled, doing very little damage in comparison with the means used. Sherman had refused to give up his hold on Georgia, had driven the enemy from his line of communications, and now stood upon the edge of Alabama, fully in possession of all the valuable results of the campaign, arranging the details of a movement that was not to be a brilliant and barren march, but one that was attractive to him because it promised to be decisive of the whole war.

APPENDIX A.

STRENGTH OF THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.

THE limit necessarily placed to the size of this volume forbids the detailed examination, in the text, of the evidence on which the estimate of the Confederate forces is based. The official reports and returns now in the military archives at Washington must be the basis of every reliable calculation, and are unquestionably trustworthy as far as they go. These demonstrate the fact that the Confederate statements of "effectives" exclude officers, who make about ten per cent. of a command, as well as all private soldiers either temporarily sick or not bearing arms with the colors.

The separate histories of State troops and memoirs of regiments furnish very valuable aids in checking the returns of strength and especially the statements of losses in action. As an example of results thus obtained, the following summary of evidence in regard to the strength of General Johnston's army, at the opening of the campaign and subsequently, will be found interesting. It is based upon careful researches made by Major E. C. Dawes, late of the Fifty-third Ohio, independent of those upon which the statements in the text were made, but which the author has verified in all essential particulars.

The Confederate official returns above referred to and on file in the War Department, show that on April 30, 1864, the force of General Johnston "present for duty," not including men on "extra or daily duty," but only officers and men available for action, was as follows, viz.:

	Officers.	Privates.	Total.
General Johnston's staff.....	14	—	14
Hardee's corps.....	2,000	18,634	20,634
Hood's corps.....	1,575	18,614	20,189
Wheeler's cavalry.....	757	7,679	8,436
Artillery.....	164	3,113	3,277
Engineer battalion.....	17	425	442
	4,527	48,465	52,992

This force was increased before the opening of the campaign. General Hood ("Advance and Retreat," p. 79) says that General Hardee

and himself, in comparing notes about May 7th or 8th, found they had about 42,500 "effectives," infantry and artillery, in their corps besides the reserve artillery. The "effective" enlisted men in those corps on April 30th was shown to be 38,104, infantry and artillery. The increase, therefore, in one week was about 4,500 privates, or 5,000 officers and men. This is confirmed by Hardee's memorandum of operations during the campaign, in which he states the force of his corps at the beginning of the campaign at "about 20,000 muskets and four battalions of artillery." (Johnston's narrative, p. 578.)

Mercer's brigade joined Johnston May 2d. It consisted of four Georgia regiments (First, Fifty-fourth, Fifty-seventh and Sixty-third), which had been on garrison duty at Savannah. The last of these alone had an "effective" total of 814. It is safe to estimate the four regiments at 2,800, officers and men. About August 1st, after passing through the terrible battles about Atlanta, the division (Walker's) to which Mercer's brigade belonged was broken up because of its heavy losses. A note to the return of that date gives the "present and absent" total of the brigade, 3,583.

Loring's division joined the army at Resaca, May 12th. General S. D. Lee's return of May 10th shows that it numbered "for duty" 429 officers and 4,716 men.

Canty's division also joined Johnston at Resaca about May 7th or 8th. This division was composed of Canty's brigade and Reynolds's, formerly McNair's. Canty's old brigade was made up of the First, Seventeenth, Twenty-sixth and Twenty-ninth Alabama and the Thirty-seventh Mississippi. Reynolds's contained the First, Second, Fourth and Fifth Arkansas and Thirty-ninth North Carolina. The division had also two batteries of field artillery (fourteen guns) and two organizations of cavalry commanded by colonels. The return of General D. H. Maury for the "Army in the District of the Gulf," April 23, 1864, gives the effective strength of this division at 5,564 privates, with 421 officers. It contained a brigade of heavy artillery which had been in the forts about Mobile. The sketch of the Seventeenth Alabama in "Brewer's History of Alabama" says that, while at Mobile, it was drilled as heavy artillery and had charge of eight batteries on the shore of the bay. The Twenty-ninth Alabama had also been on garrison duty at Mobile from July, 1863, till about the date of this return.

French's division joined at Cassville. It was composed of Cockrell's, Ector's and Sears's brigades. By General S. D. Lee's return of May 10th, it numbered for duty 385 officers and 4,028 men.

Quarles's brigade, as Johnston himself tells us, joined him near New Hope Church, with 2,200 "effectives," to which must be added 200 for officers.

Jackson's cavalry division joined at Adairsville, with a strength in

line of battle, as given by Lee's return of May 10th, of 405 officers and 4,073 men.

A division of Georgia militia also joined before the battle of Kennesaw Mountain. It consisted of two brigades and one battalion of artillery, the whole commanded by General G. W. Smith, who reported them ("Advance and Retreat," p. 352) as "a little over 3,000." It is safe to call this force 3,300, officers and men, and it was increased to over 5,000 subsequently. Avery's "History of Georgia" says there were ten thousand in the trenches of Atlanta.

SUMMARY.

General Johnston's force at Dalton, May 1, 1864, being officers and men then present for duty.....	52,990
Increase in Hood's and Hardee's corps.....	5,000
Mercer's brigade, May 2d.....	2,800
Loring's division, May 12th.....	5,145
Canty's division (except First Alabama), May 8th.....	5,300
Total at Resaca.....	71,235
Jackson's cavalry, Adairsville, May 17th.....	4,477
French's division, Cassville, May 18th.....	4,413
First Alabama (Canty's division), May 24th.....	650
Quarles's brigade, New Hope, May 24th.....	2,400
Georgia militia, Kennesaw, June 20th.....	3,300
Total before crossing the Chattahoochee.....	86,475

There must still be added the constant and large increase in all the corps of the army from recruits, conscripts, convalescents, and return of men from detached service. As the life of the Confederacy was at stake, it is unreasonable to suppose that any effort was spared to increase Johnston's strength to the utmost. At the end of April, there were troops under General S. Jones in the Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, numbering 25,498 "effectives." In the Department of Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana, there were under S. D. Lee, on June 1st, present for duty, 16,562 officers and men, as shown by his official return.

The last return of General Johnston in this campaign, dated July 10, 1864, shows the number of troops to have been as follows, viz., aggregate present and absent, 135,092, present 73,849, effectives 50,932.

The first return of General Hood, dated July 31, 1864, shows aggregate present and absent, 136,684, present 65,601, effectives 44,495.

Here is an apparent diminution of the number present, while there is an increase of the aggregate. This is accounted for as follows. Three battalions of reserves joined, numbering 1,348, and 193 recruits, making an increase of 1,541 in aggregates. But the number of "absent without leave" (prisoners) increased by 5,047, "with leave" 300, sick 3,752, detached 700; total decrease in the "present" 9,799. The sudden in-

crease in sick (wounded), and absent without leave (prisoners), tells part of the story of the battles of Peachtree Creek and Atlanta.

An analysis of the reports in the Government archives will ultimately throw great light on the question of the losses of the Confederate Army under General Johnston during this campaign. The example of a single division will illustrate this. French's division joined Johnston about May 20th and down to the end of June it was engaged only in the affairs about New Hope Church, Pine Mountain, and Kenesaw. It made no assaults, fought defensively behind breastworks, and was not seriously assaulted except at Kenesaw, where its loss was light.

Yet, on July 15th, in response to a circular from the army headquarters, General French submitted a report in which the casualties in that division foot up 1,178, viz. : killed 154, wounded 675, prisoners 349. Of the ten infantry divisions of that army, French's certainly must have suffered the least, and probably not more than half as much as either Loring's, Stevenson's, Hindman's, Stewart's, or Bate's; for all of them had met with disastrous repulses in assaults upon our intrenched lines. Stevenson's losses in May alone were, killed 121, wounded 565, prisoners 531, total 1,217, as appears from his report found in the third volume of the Southern Historical Society's papers.

French's report above mentioned shows also the increase of the army, by additions of conscripts, return of absentees, etc., there being an addition of 1,046 to his list of "effectives" during the two months referred to.

APPENDIX B.

Organization of the Army in the Field, Military Division of the Mississippi.

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM T. SHERMAN COMMANDING.

ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE H. THOMAS COMMANDING.

FOURTH ARMY CORPS.

1. MAJOR-GENERAL OLIVER O. HOWARD COMMANDING.
2. MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID S. STANLEY COMMANDING.

FIRST DIVISION.

1. MAJOR-GENERAL D. S. STANLEY COMMANDING.
2. BRIGADIER-GENERAL NATHAN KIMBALL COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—(1) Brigadier-General CHARLES CRUFT; (2) Colonel ISAAC M. KIRBY. *Second Brigade.*—(1) Brigadier-General WALTER C. WHITTAKER; (2) Colonel JACOB E. TAYLOR. *Third Brigade.*—Colonel WILLIAM GROSE. *Artillery.*—Battery "B," Independent Pennsylvania, and the 5th Indiana Battery.

SECOND DIVISION.

1. MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN NEWTON COMMANDING.
2. BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE D. WAGNER COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—Brigadier-General NATHAN KIMBALL. *Second Brigade.*—(1) Brigadier-General G. D. WAGNER; (2) Colonel EMERSON OPDYCKE. *Third Brigade.*—(1) Brigadier-General C. G. HARKER; (2) Colonel LUTHER P. BRADLEY. *Artillery.*—Batteries "G," 1st Missouri, and "M," 1st Illinois.

THIRD DIVISION.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS J. WOOD COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—Colonel WILLIAM H. GIBSON. *Second Brigade.*—(1) Brigadier-General WILLIAM B. HAZEN; (2) Colonel P. SIDNEY POST. *Third Brigade.*—(1) Brigadier-General SAMUEL BEATTY; (2) Colonel FREDERICK KNEFLER. *Artillery.*—6th Ohio, and Bridges' Illinois batteries.

FOURTEENTH ARMY CORPS.

1. MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN M. PALMER COMMANDING.
2. BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL JEFFERSON C. DAVIS COMMANDING.

FIRST DIVISION.

1. BRIGADIER-GENERAL RICHARD W. JOHNSON COMMANDING.
2. BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN H. KING COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—Brigadier-General WILLIAM P. CARLIN. *Second Brigade.*—(1) Brigadier-General JOHN H. KING; (2) Colonel WILLIAM L. STOUGHTON. *Third Brigade.*—(1) Colonel JAMES M. NIEBLING; (2) Colonel BENJAMIN F. SCRIBNER. *Artillery.*—Batteries "A," 1st Michigan; and "C," 1st Illinois.

SECOND DIVISION.

1. BRIGADIER-GENERAL JEFFERSON C. DAVIS COMMANDING.
2. BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES D. MORGAN COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—Brigadier-General J. D. MORGAN. *Second Brigade.*—Colonel JOHN G. MITCHELL. *Third Brigade.*—(1) Colonel DANIEL MCCOOK; (2) Colonel CALEB J. DILWORTH. *Artillery.*—2d Minnesota, "I" 2d Illinois, and 5th Wisconsin batteries.

THIRD DIVISION.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL ABSALOM BAIRD COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—(1) Brigadier-General JOHN B. TURCHIN; (2) Colonel MORTON C. HUNTER. *Second Brigade.*—(1) Colonel F. VANDERVEER; (2) Colonel NEWELL GLEASON. *Third Brigade.*—Colonel GEORGE P. ESTE. *Artillery.*—7th Indiana and 19th Indiana batteries.

TWENTIETH ARMY CORPS.

1. MAJOR-GENERAL JOSEPH HOOKER COMMANDING.
2. MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY W. SLOCUM COMMANDING.

FIRST DIVISION.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—Brigadier-General JOSEPH F. KNIPE. *Second Brigade.*—Brigadier-General THOMAS H. RUGER. *Third Brigade.*—(1) Brigadier-General H. TYNDALE; (2) Colonel JAMES S. ROBINSON. *Artillery.*—Batteries "M" and "I," 1st New York.

SECOND DIVISION.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN W. GEARY COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—Colonel CHARLES CANDY. *Second Brigade.*—(1) Colonel A. BUSCHBECK; (2) Colonel PATRICK H. JONES. *Third Brigade.*—Colonel DAVID IRELAND. *Artillery.*—Battery "E" Independent Pennsylvania, and 13th New York.

THIRD DIVISION.

1. MAJOR-GENERAL DANIEL BUTTERFIELD COMMANDING.
2. BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM T. WARD COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—(1) Brigadier-General W. T. WARD; (2) Colonel BENJAMIN HARRISON. *Second Brigade.*—Colonel JOHN COBURN. *Third Brigade.*—Colonel JAMES WOOD, Jr. *Artillery.*—Batteries "C," 1st Ohio, and "I," 1st Michigan.

CAVALRY.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL W. L. ELLIOTT, CHIEF OF CAVALRY.

FIRST DIVISION.

COLONEL EDWARD M. MCCOOK COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—Colonel A. P. CAMPBELL. *Second Brigade.*—Colonel O. H. LA GRANGE. *Third Brigade.*—Colonel L. D. WATKINS. *Artillery.*—18th Indiana.

SECOND DIVISION.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL KENNER GARRARD COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—Colonel WILLIAM B. SIPES. *Second Brigade.*—Colonel R. H. G. MINTY. *Third Brigade.*—Colonel A. O. MILLER. *Artillery.*—Chicago Board of Trade Battery.

ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE.

1. MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES B. MCPHERSON COMMANDING.

2. MAJOR-GENERAL OLIVER O. HOWARD COMMANDING.

FIFTEENTH ARMY CORPS.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN A. LOGAN COMMANDING.

FIRST DIVISION.

1. BRIGADIER-GENERAL PETER J. OSTERHAUS COMMANDING.

2. BRIGADIER-GENERAL CHARLES R. WOODS COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—(1) Brigadier-General CHARLES R. WOODS; (2) Colonel WILLIAM B. WOODS. *Second Brigade.*—Colonel JAMES A. WILLIAMSON. *Third Brigade.*—Colonel HUGO WANGELIN. *Artillery.*—Battery "F" 2d Missouri and 4th Ohio Independent.

SECOND DIVISION.

(1) BRIGADIER-GENERAL MORGAN L. SMITH COMMANDING.

(2) BRIGADIER-GENERAL J. A. J. LIGHTBURN COMMANDING.

(3) BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM B. HAZEN COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—(1) Brigadier-General GILES A. SMITH; (2) Colonel J. S. MARTIN; (3) Colonel THEODORE JONES. *Second Brigade.*—(1) Brigadier-General J. A. J. LIGHTBURN; (2) Colonel WELLS S. JONES. *Artillery.*—Battery "H," 1st Illinois, and "A," 1st Illinois.

THIRD DIVISION.¹

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN E. SMITH COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—Colonel JESSE I. ALEXANDER. *Second Brigade.*—Colonel GREEN B. RAUM. *Third Brigade.*—Colonel JABEZ BANBURY.

FOURTH DIVISION.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM HARROW COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—Colonel REUBEN WILLIAMS. *Second Brigade.*—Colonel CHARLES C. WALCUTT. *Third Brigade.*—Colonel JOHN M. OLIVER. *Artillery.*—1st Iowa Battery.

SIXTEENTH ARMY CORPS.²

MAJOR-GENERAL GRENVILLE M. DODGE COMMANDING.

SECOND DIVISION.

(1) BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS W. SWEENEY COMMANDING.

(2) BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN M. CORSE COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—Colonel ELLIOTT W. RICE. *Second Brigade.*—(1) Colonel P. E. BURKE; (2) Colonel AUGUST MERSY; (3) Lieutenant-Colonel PHILLIPS; (4)

¹ This division garrisoned Alatoona and other posts, and was not with the moving column.

² The First and Third Divisions of this corps were left in the Mississippi Valley. After the fall of Atlanta the Second Division was transferred to the Fifteenth Corps, and the Fourth to the Seventeenth.

Colonel R. N. ADAMS. *Third Brigade*.—(1) Colonel M. M. BANE; (2) Brigadier-General WILLIAM VANDERVEER. *Artillery*.—Battery "H," 1st Missouri Light Artillery.

FOURTH DIVISION.

- (1) BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES C. VEATCH COMMANDING.
(2) BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN W. FULLER COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—Brigadier-General JOHN W. FULLER. *Second Brigade*.—Colonel JOHN W. SPRAGUE. *Third Brigade*.—(1) Colonel JOHN TILLSON; Colonel JAMES H. HOWE. *Artillery*.—14th Ohio Battery.

SEVENTEENTH ARMY CORPS.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRANK P. BLAIR, JR., COMMANDING.¹

THIRD DIVISION.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL MORTIMER D. LEGGETT COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—(1) Brigadier-General MANNING F. FORCE; (2) Colonel GEORGE E. BRYANT. *Second Brigade*.—(1) Colonel ROBERT K. SCOTT; (2) Lieutenant-Colonel G. F. WILES. *Third Brigade*.—Colonel ADAM G. MALLOY. *Artillery*.—3d Ohio, Battery "D" 1st Illinois, 8th Michigan Battery.

FOURTH DIVISION.

- (1) BRIGADIER-GENERAL WALTER Q. GRESHAM COMMANDING.
(2) BRIGADIER-GENERAL GILES A. SMITH COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—(1) Colonel WILLIAM L. SANDERSON; (2) Colonel B. F. POTTS. *Second Brigade*.—Colonel GEORGE C. ROGERS. *Third Brigade*.—Colonel WILLIAM HALL. *Artillery*.—Company "F," 2d Illinois.

Besides the artillery above mentioned, the following batteries were in the Army of the Tennessee, viz.: Illinois, batteries "E," "F," and "G" of 1st Light Artillery; batteries "F" and "G" of 2d Light Artillery, and Cogswell's Battery. Indiana, 3d, 9th, and 14th. Michigan, 2d Battery. Minnesota, 1st Battery. Ohio, 7th, 8th, 10th, 15th, and 26th batteries. Wisconsin, 6th, 7th, and 12th. Only part of them were at any one time with the moving column. They were under the direction of Colonel Andrew Hickenlooper, Chief of Artillery.

ARMY OF THE OHIO.

TWENTY-THIRD ARMY CORPS.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN M. SCHOFIELD COMMANDING.

FIRST DIVISION.²

BRIGADIER-GENERAL ALVIN P. HOVEY COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—Colonel RICHARD F. BARTER. *Second Brigade*.—(1) Colonel JOHN C. MCQUISTON; (2) Colonel PETER T. SWAINE.

¹ The First and Second Divisions of this corps were left in the Mississippi Valley.

² At the beginning of June this division was distributed. the 1st Brigade to the 3d Division, and the 2d Brigade to the 2d Division of the corps.

SECOND DIVISION.

(1) BRIGADIER-GENERAL HENRY M. JUDAH COMMANDING.

(2) BRIGADIER-GENERAL MILO S. HASCALL COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—(1) Brigadier-General NATHANIEL C. McLEAN; (2) Colonel JOSEPH A. COOPER. *Second Brigade.*—(1) Colonel JOHN R. BOND; (2) Colonel WILLIAM E. HOBSON. *Third Brigade.*—Colonel SILAS A. STRICKLAND. *Artillery.*—Shields' 19th Ohio and Paddock's 6th Michigan batteries.

THIRD DIVISION.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JACOB D. COX COMMANDING.

First Brigade.—Colonel JAMES W. REILLY. *Second Brigade.*—(1) Brigadier-General M. D. MANSON; (2) Colonel DANIEL CAMERON; (3) Colonel JOHN S. CASEMENT. *Third Brigade.*—(1) Brigadier-General N. C. McLEAN; (2) Colonel ROBERT K. BYRD; (3) Colonel THOMAS J. HENDERSON. *Artillery.*—Harvey's 15th Indiana; Wilber's 23d Indiana, and "D" 1st Ohio (Cockerill's).

CAVALRY, ARMY OF THE OHIO.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE STONEMAN COMMANDING.

FIRST DIVISION.

COLONEL ISRAEL T. GARRARD COMMANDING.

The cavalry of the army, though nominally connected with the three subordinate armies, was, during the active campaign organized into four commands, which were assigned to duty by General Sherman as circumstances required, and as will be seen by the narrative of the campaign. One division was usually upon each flank and one covering the communications at the rear, whilst the fourth was ready for expeditions in front which might be ordered. The nearest subordinate army commander usually exercised authority over the cavalry coöperating with him.

In the War Department records for June, they are stated as follows:

PRINCIPAL CAVALRY COMMANDERS.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE STONEMAN.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JUDSON KILPATRICK.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL KENNER GARRARD.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL EDWARD M. MCCOOK.

APPENDIX C.

CONFEDERATE ARMY.¹

Organization of the Army of Tennessee, commanded by GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON for period ending June 30, 1864.

HARDEE'S ARMY CORPS.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL WM. J. HARDEE COMMANDING.

MAJOR-GENERAL B. F. CHEATHAM'S DIVISION.

Brigades.—Maney's, Wright's, Strahl's, Vaughn's.

MAJOR-GENERAL W. H. T. WALKER'S DIVISION.

Brigades.—Mercer's, Jackson's, Gist's, Stevens'.

MAJOR-GENERAL PAT. R. CLEBURNE'S DIVISION.

Brigades.—Polk's, Loring's, Govan's, Smith's.

MAJOR-GENERAL W. B. BATE'S DIVISION.

Brigades.—Tyler's, Lewis's, Finley's.

HOOD'S ARMY CORPS.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL J. B. HOOD COMMANDING.

MAJOR-GENERAL T. C. HINDMAN'S DIVISION.

Brigades.—Deas', Colonel J. G. COLTART Commanding; Manigault's; Tucker's, Colonel J. H. SHARP Commanding; Walthall's, Colonel SAM. BENTON Commanding.

MAJOR-GENERAL C. L. STEVENSON'S DIVISION.

Brigades.—Brown's, Cumming's, Reynolds', Pettus'.

¹ The Confederate Army did not have its corps, divisions, etc., numbered; they were known by the names of the commanders, and in the case of the brigades, seem to have continued to bear the name of the brigadier commanding at the beginning of the campaign, even when changes in command occurred.

MAJOR-GENERAL A. P. STEWART'S DIVISION.

Brigades.—Stovall's, Clayton's, Gibson's, Baker's.

WHEELER'S CAVALRY CORPS.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOS. WHEELER COMMANDING.

MAJOR-GENERAL WM. T. MARTIN'S DIVISION.

Brigades.—Allen's, Iverson's.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL J. H. KELLEY'S DIVISION.

Brigades.—Anderson's, Dibbrell's, Hannon's.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL W. T. C. HUME'S DIVISION.

Brigades.—Ashby's, Harrison's, Williams'.

ARTILLERY.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL F. A. SHOUP COMMANDING.

BATTALIONS¹ ATTACHED TO HARDEE'S CORPS.

COLONEL M. SMITH COMMANDING.

Battalions.—Haxton's, Hotchkiss', Martin's, Cobb's.

BATTALIONS ATTACHED TO HOOD'S CORPS

COLONEL B. F. BECKHAM COMMANDING.

Battalions.—Courtney's, Eldridge's, Johnston's.

WHEELER'S CORPS.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL F. W. ROBERTSON COMMANDING.

Five Batteries.

RESERVE BATTALIONS.

Eight Batteries.—Williams', Palmer's, and Waddell's battalions.

DETACHMENTS.

ESCORTS (CAVALRY).

General Johnston's Headquarters, Company "A" and Company "B."
Headquarters—Cheatham's, Cleburne's, Walker's, Bate's, Hardee's, Hindman's,
Stevenson's, Stewart's. One company each.

ENGINEER TROOPS.

MAJOR J. W. GREEN COMMANDING.

Divisions.—Cheatham's, Cleburne's, Stewart's, Hindman's, Buckner's, Detachment of Sappers and Miners. One company each.

¹ Three batteries in each battalion.

Organization of the Army of Mississippi, commanded by Major-General W. W. Loring for period ending June 30, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL S. G. FRENCH'S DIVISION.

Brigades.—Ector's, Cockrell's, Sears's.

MAJOR-GENERAL W. W. LORING'S DIVISION.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL W. S. FEATHERSTONE COMMANDING.

Brigades.—Adams's, Featherstone's, Scott's.

MAJOR-GENERAL ED. C. WALTHALL'S DIVISION.

Brigades.—Quarles's, Canty's, Reynolds'.

CAVALRY.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL W. H. JACKSON COMMANDING.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL W. H. JACKSON'S DIVISION.

Brigades.—Armstrong's, Ross's, Ferguson's.

ESCORTS (CAVALRY).

Three companies.

ARTILLERY.

*Brigades.*¹—Storrs's, Meyrick's, Preston's, Waitie's.

¹ Three batteries each.

APPENDIX D.

BATTLE OF ALATOONA.

THE numerous authorities which have perpetuated the error referred to in the foot-note on p. 231, make it proper to refer a little more fully to the evidence. The writer's field despatches for October contain the following :

No. 169.

PACE'S FERRY ROAD, October 5, 1864, 5.45 A.M.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERMAN, Smyrna Camp Ground :

By working late last evening, we got over our train, the head of my column resting on the Pace's Ferry and Marietta road. We had to bridge a creek forty feet broad, which was filled by back-water from the Chattahoochee, swimming deep. The road along the Chattahoochee is not good, but we shall get along. The column is now starting. I can get no definite information of roads on right of railroad, but from my remembrance of what we learned when we were at Smyrna Station in July, I hope to get through.

(Signed)

J. D. COX, B. G.

No. 170.

SMYRNA CAMP GROUND, October 5, 1864.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL COOPER, Commanding Second Division :

Sir—The third division is marching along the railroad to Marietta, and I am very anxious that the trains should reach there also at an early hour. If you have not crossed the railroad when this reaches you, you may put your whole command on the railroad, except one regiment for a rear guard for the train, to follow the wagon-road. A corps has been stationed at Ruff's Mills (between here and the Sandtown road) to cover this road, which makes it safe. I will either meet you at Marietta, or leave orders for you. Try to prevent all straggling, and do not hurry your men too much.

(Signed)

J. D. COX, B. G.

No. 171.

NEAR MARIETTA, October 6, 1864.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL REILLY, Commanding Third Division :

General Vanderveer had two regiments and a section of artillery on Brushy Mountain, the high ground a little further to the right than

your right now rests. I think you will have to put your left brigade over there, and let General Cooper take the place vacated on your left. Please look at the ground, and do so unless you can detach a regiment or so with a section, and so hold the right by a detachment.

(Signed)

J. D. COX, B. G. Commanding.

No. 172.

NEAR MARIETTA, October 6, 1864.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL COOPER, Commanding Second Division :

You may put in your command on Reilly's left this morning—putting them in two lines for the present.

(Signed)

J. D. COX, B. G. Commanding.

Special field-orders, No. 85.

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
In the field, KENESAW MOUNTAIN, October 6, 1864.

I. Major-General Stanley, Army of the Cumberland, will occupy a strong defensive position across the Marietta and Burnt Hickory, and Marietta and Dallas roads, his right near Pine Hill, and left behind Noses Creek.

II. Major-General Howard, Army of the Tennessee, will join on the left of General Stanley, and make a line covering the Powder Spring road; and the cavalry on that flank, General Kilpatrick, will prevent any enemy from reaching the railroad below Marietta.

III. Brigadier-General Cox, Army of the Ohio, will move out on the Burnt Hickory road, *via* Pine Hill, and Mount Olivet Church, west, until he strikes the road by which the enemy have moved on Alatoona. He will have his columns ready for a fight, but not deployed. He will park his wagons near Kenesaw.

IV. General Elliott will send cavalry to-day to Big Shanty, Ackworth, and Alatoona, and bring back official reports.

V. The utmost attention must be given to the grazing of animals, parking wagons, and economizing rations.

By order of MAJOR-GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN,

(Signed)

L. M. DAYTON, Aide-de-Camp.

My pocket-diary contains the following entry :

"Thursday, October 6th.—March at nine o'clock *via* Pine Mountain to Sandtown road, and make reconnoissances in all directions. On the right, nearly to Ackworth; in front, to Alatoona church; on left, nearly to Lost Mountain and to Hardshell church. The enemy have retreated south beyond Lost Mountain."

In making reports after a considerable interval of time, General Sherman evidently made by accident a mistake of a day in the dates, and the error has perpetuated itself in numerous ways.

APPENDIX E.

MOVEMENTS OF OCTOBER 13, 1864.

In his Memoirs, General Sherman, misled, apparently, by his formal orders for the day which he subsequently modified, has inadvertently spoken of the movement of Corse's division on the left bank of the Coosa as that which resulted in the capture of the guns and the accomplishment of his wish for definite information. His official report has it correctly. It says: "I therefore on the 11th moved to Rome and pushed Garrard's cavalry and the Twenty-third Corps, under General Cox, across the Oostanaula, to threaten the flanks of the enemy passing north. Garrard's cavalry drove a cavalry brigade of the enemy to and beyond the narrows leading into the valley of the Chattooga, capturing two field pieces and taking some prisoners."

The following are from the field despatches of the writer.

No. 179.

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE OHIO,
October 13, 1864, 8 A.M.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERMAN, Commanding, etc. :

Your despatch received. Garrard fills the road ahead of me and is pushing on. My infantry is close on his heels. He finds some cavalry in his front, but no serious resistance as yet. He has not reached the position where the enemy had their battery yesterday. As soon as he is seriously checked, I will have him give way and let the infantry through.

Very respectfully, etc.,

(Signed)

J. D. COX, B. G. Commanding.

No. 180.

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE OHIO,
5½ miles from Rome, October 13, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERMAN, Commanding M. D. M. :

Garrard is pushing on finely, my infantry in close support. He has driven Armstrong's cavalry the last two miles, captured two pieces of artillery and a number of prisoners. Citizens report a larger force

of cavalry (Harrison's division) ahead. I leave one division of infantry to cover the roads coming in from Summerville by Texas Valley, and push the other forward.

Very respectfully, etc.,

(Signed)

J. D. COX, B. G. Commanding.

No. 183.

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE OHIO,
October 13, 1864, 1.45 P.M.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERMAN:

We have found the place where the bridge was. The information is positive that Hood took it north with him. A brigade of cavalry went two miles beyond. I am returning with the infantry.

(Signed)

J. D. COX, B. G.

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