



A. M. Stevens

Major Genl. U. S. V.

In Memoriam
Henry Warner Slocum

1826-1894



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NEW YORK MONUMENTS COMMISSION

FOR THE

BATTLEFIELDS OF GETTYSBURG AND CHATTANOOGA

23 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

February 1, 1904

To His Excellency the Governor of the State of New York

Sir:— Pursuant to the provisions of chapter 600, Laws of 1903, the New York Monuments Commission for the Battlefields of Gettysburg and Chattanooga has the honor to submit herewith its report of the exercises held at the dedication of the equestrian statue at Gettysburg, erected in honor of Major-General HENRY W. SLOCUM, to which has been added a biography of his life and a history of the corps which served under his command.

Yours obediently

DANIEL E. SICKLES

Chairman

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Life of General Slocum.

By William F. Fox, Lieut. Col., U. S. V.

Henry Warner Slocum

THE War for the Union brought many persons into prominence, some of whom achieved renown by merited success, while others attracted temporary notice by their failures. After the lapse of years a better opportunity is afforded to study the men and the events then occupying the public mind. The truly great still command the attention of the historian; the others who, with little cause, held for awhile the public eye and ear, have passed off the stage and no longer divert attention from the real actors in those stirring scenes. As distance is necessary in viewing rightly the proportions of the lofty mountain or grand cathedral, so time alone can furnish a true perspective in estimating the deeds and character of the real heroes in that great epoch of our national life.

Henry Warner Slocum was born September 24, 1826, in Delphi, a quiet, pretty village in Onondaga county, N. Y. For three generations his ancestors had lived in Newport, R. I., whence his father, Matthew B. Slocum, moved to Albany, N. Y., in 1812. While residing at the State capital he married Miss Mary Ostrander, of that city. They moved to Delphi in 1817, where the elder Slocum engaged in mercantile pursuits. Of the eleven children in the family Henry was the sixth. Though the business of the village merchant was prosperous as accounted in those days, yet his income hardly sufficed to give his children the advantages accorded to the rich. Young Slocum had ambitions which could be gratified only by earning money for himself. To obtain the higher education which he keenly desired he engaged in business ventures of a minor character which were successful, and at sixteen he secured a position as teacher in a country school.

General Howard, in speaking of Slocum's occupation at this time, says that in those days our schools were not systematized, the daily work of instruction was various and prolonged, and the management was no easy task. Yet there was no better training of the mind and character. As a preparation for his eventful life, he

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acquired in this work some of that self-control, just dealing, and constant patience so characteristic of his later years. These virtues, entering into the life of the young teacher, became a habit. While imparting instruction to others he acquired a thorough knowledge of the fundamental studies of an education which he retained and used throughout his life.*

In accordance with his plans for acquiring a more liberal education and preparation for a college course he entered the seminary at Cazenovia, N. Y., and afterward studied at the State Normal School in Albany. He then returned to Cazenovia, where he resumed teaching, this time in one of the public schools of that town.

The Mexican War was now the one pervading topic of interest throughout the land. The brilliant successes of the American army had imbued the people with warlike ardor and a pride in its soldiery. The young men of the country saw that public honors and preferment were reserved largely for military heroes.

Young Slocum entertained an ambition for a military career, and sought an appointment as a cadet at West Point. As there was no one in his circle of friends that had the special political influence to secure this favor, his first efforts to secure a nomination were fruitless. But with a youth of Slocum's temperament failure does not bring discouragement. The day finally came, replete with joyous pride, when he received notice that the Hon. Daniel F. Gott, member of Congress, had named him as the cadet from the Syracuse district. He entered West Point July 1, 1848.

General Howard in his reminiscences of Slocum's life at the Military Academy says: "It was my good fortune, my second year, during Cadet Slocum's first class-year, to room on the floor just below him. Of course there was class separation, and I was three years his junior; but he treated me with kindness and attention. His individuality especially impressed itself upon me. He expressed himself openly, when it cost so much to do so, as an opponent of human slavery. The pro-slavery sentiment at West Point was so great at that time that it derogated from one's popularity to express, or even to be suspected of, abolition sentiments. In spite of the opposition thus awakened, and his known attitude against prevailing

* Address of General Howard at the Memorial Service in honor of General Slocum, held by Rankin Post, G. A. R., at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

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opinions, Cadet Slocum was, nevertheless, highly esteemed by all thoughtful fellow cadets, resulting in a lasting respect, which was only deepened by his subsequent life."

General Sheridan, who was at West Point with Slocum, pays this kindly tribute, in his Memoirs, to the memory of his old class-mate: "Good fortune gave me for a room-mate a cadet whose education was more advanced than mine, and whose studious habits and willingness to aid others benefited me immensely. This room-mate was Henry W. Slocum, since so signally distinguished in both military and civil capacities as to win for his name a proud place in the annals of his country."

Although many of Slocum's classmates entered the Academy with the advantage of a collegiate education he maintained a high standing in his scholastic work and graduated seventh in a class of forty-three. He was immediately commissioned as second lieutenant in the First United States Artillery, and assigned to duty in Florida, at that time the seat of the Seminole War. After a year or more of service there he was ordered, in the latter part of 1853, to Fort Moultrie, S. C.

While on duty here the young lieutenant obtained a furlough, and returning to his native State took unto himself a wife, Miss Clara Rice of Woodstock, N. Y. It was the culmination of a happy acquaintance begun at Cazenovia Seminary when they were students in that institution. They were married February 9, 1854. The lieutenant brought his bride back with him to Fort Moultrie, where they remained three years. The post was one of the pleasantest stations in the army, and the social attractions of the city of Charleston helped to relieve the monotony of garrison life.

While here Slocum received a commission as first lieutenant, a promotion that brought with it an increase of pay which was highly acceptable, as he had no income aside from this source. Having considerable spare time at his disposal he utilized his leisure hours in reading law. During the three years he was stationed at Charleston he studied under the direction of Hon. B. C. Presley, who was afterwards a judge of the Supreme Court of South Carolina. In 1856 he was qualified for admittance to the bar.

Army life in time of peace had no attraction for Slocum. His regiment was ordered to Florida at a time when his child was ill, and the health of his wife would not permit a residence in that

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climate. He resigned his commission in 1857, and taking up a residence in Syracuse, N. Y., he began the practice of law.

While in the army he developed the same business-like management in his private affairs which in later years made him a wealthy man. Without being parsimonious he was careful and economical. It is related of him that even while a cadet, he was able to save some money and to assist his father in a small way financially. From his moderate pay as a lieutenant during his four years of service, he accumulated enough to buy a home in Syracuse and some city lots, that he improved, on what is now called Slocum Avenue.

The young barrister speedily attained popularity in his new residence. He was elected Treasurer of Onondaga County, and in 1859 he represented this important district in the lower house of the State Legislature. He was appointed, also, as an instructor in the militia, with the rank of colonel.

With the firing of the first gun on Sumter his former military ambition revived. Moreover, as he explained to his sad, but brave young wife, he had been educated at the expense of his country and he felt it his duty to respond promptly at the first alarm.

He went to Albany, called upon the Governor and tendered his services to his State. He did not ask for a commission as brigadier-general or a colonelcy, although he was far better qualified to fill either position than most of the men to whom these appointments were given. He merely asked for authority to recruit a battery of light artillery. But the Governor, imbued with the optimistic spirit of the hour, gravely informed him that the South would be subdued without the use of artillery and the modest application was denied.* Slocum, whose residence at Charleston had made him familiar with the warlike attitude and terrible earnestness of the South, went home sadly discouraged over this condition of affairs.

A regiment having been raised in Onondaga County, some of his friends suggested that the command should be given to him; but this appointment was given to a militia colonel, and a good regiment lost the opportunity to gain the name and fame that would have been conferred could it have had the benefit of Slocum's services.

* From a historical sketch of General Slocum's life by Major William G. Tracy, of his staff.

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It happened, however, that at this time the Twenty-seventh New York Infantry was organizing at the general rendezvous in Elmira. The officers determined that their regiment should have a West Point graduate as its colonel, and, although Slocum was known to them only by reputation, they tendered him the command. He accepted promptly and received his commission as colonel of the Twenty-seventh, with date of rank from May 21, 1861. His major was Joseph J. Bartlett, a brave, efficient officer who attained the rank of major-general before the close of the war. The companies for the most part were from Binghamton and the vicinity of Rochester. One company was composed almost entirely of students from the seminary at Lima, in Livingston County. The regiment, both officers and men, was composed of exceptionally good material, and under Slocum's instruction soon attained a proficiency in drill and discipline that made it one of the crack regiments in the war.

Leaving the Elmira Barracks, July tenth, the Twenty-seventh proceeded to Washington by rail where it was assigned to Hunter's Division of McDowell's army. At the battle of First Bull Run the regiment distinguished itself by its efficiency in action and its steadiness under a severe fire amid scenes of confusion and panic. Colonel Slocum attracted favorable attention by the conspicuous gallantry with which he handled his regiment in the battle until he was carried off the field, suffering from a severe wound. Colonel Andrew Porter, who succeeded to the command of the division when Hunter was disabled, acknowledges in his official report the meritorious services of "Col. H. W. Slocum, who was wounded while leading his gallant Twenty-seventh to the charge, and Major J. J. Bartlett, who subsequently commanded it, and by his enthusiasm and valor kept it in action and out of the panic." Porter states, also, that, "Upon our first position the Twenty-seventh was the first to rally, and around it the other regiments engaged soon collected their scattered fragments." In this battle the Twenty-seventh sustained a loss of 130 killed, wounded, and missing.

The marked efficiency of the regiment in this, the first general engagement of the war, furnished ample evidence of the skillful training bestowed upon it by its accomplished colonel. The Government quickly recognized the military ability of the man whose services at Bull Run contrasted so strongly with the incapacity and ignorance displayed there by many favorites from whom

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great things had been expected, and before Slocum had recovered from his wound he was cheered and gratified by the announcement of his promotion to the rank of brigadier.

The following letter, dated July 25, 1861, written by him to Mrs. Slocum while he was lying on his cot in the Washington Infirmary, supplies some interesting details of the battle:

My Dear Clara:

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

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

After going a few rods the General made another attempt to check the utter rout of our troops. He again ordered the regiments to form in line, but ours was the only one that could be formed again. The General then cried out in a loud voice, "Soldiers, form on that noble regiment! We must make a stand." . . . This same attempt was repeated a third time, with the same result. A person told me to-day that General McDowell reported all this to General Scott, with a high encomium on the regiment.

All this may appear singular in view of the accounts of the battle given in the New York papers, wherein our regiment is not even mentioned. . . . But the truth is known in quarters where I desire to have it known. It is all right.

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

His commission as brigadier-general bore rank from August 9, 1861. He was assigned to the command of a brigade in Franklin's Division, composed of the Sixteenth and Twenty-seventh New York, Fifth Maine, and Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania, regiments which afterwards became famous by reason of their brilliant records.

But at the start they received some wholesome lessons from the disciplinarian who commanded them. For instance, in a letter written home from Alexandria, Va., October 11, 1861, Slocum says:



THE WATT'S HOUSE.

Battlefield of Gaines' Mill; headquarters of Gen. Fitz John Porter. Slocum's Division occupied a position nearby, and some of his wounded were carried to this house.

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

In May, 1862, Franklin's Division was ordered to the support of McClellan's army, then on the Peninsula in front of Yorktown. This stronghold having been evacuated just before Franklin's arrival, his troops proceeded up the York River without disembarking and landed at West Point or Eltham's Landing. The division engaged the enemy here, May seventh, an action in which the conduct of General Slocum "was admirable," as described in the official report of his superior. Upon the assignment of General Franklin to the command of the newly-organized Sixth Corps, Slocum succeeded him as general of the division—First Division, Sixth Corps. An old story this—the fortunes of war. In 1861 Slocum was vainly importuning the governor of his state for a commission as captain of artillery. A year later he rode at the head of one of the finest divisions in the Army of the Potomac.

At the battle of Gaines's Mill, June 27, 1862, Slocum was ordered to the support of the Fifth Corps, which, under General Fitz John Porter, was holding Lee's army at bay while McClellan was withdrawing his trains and troops to the James River. Putting his three brigades in motion—Taylor's, Bartlett's and Newton's—he crossed the Chickahominy and relieved a portion of Porter's hard-pressed lines. In this action Slocum lost 2,075 men—over one-fourth of the number carried into action—and half of his regimental commanders were killed. But by the timely arrival and good fighting of his troops he contributed materially to the brilliant defense made by Porter and the successful withdrawal of his forces to the south bank of the river. During the succeeding conflicts of the Seven Days battle Slocum's Division participated in the engagements at Glendale and Malvern Hill. For the conspicuous services rendered by him at Gaines's Mill and in the movement to the James, he was promoted major-general. This new commission, dated July 4, 1862, was received by him while the army was encamped at Harrison's Landing on the James.

On July tenth he wrote to his family saying:

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

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

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

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

When the Army of the Potomac was withdrawn from its position in front of Richmond and sent to the assistance of General Pope, Slocum's Division disembarked at Alexandria, Va., August twenty-fourth, and three days later encountered a portion of Jackson's army at Bull Run Bridge. A hot fight ensued, in which one of Slocum's brigade commanders, Gen. George W. Taylor, was killed.

But it was on the Maryland campaign, which soon followed, that Slocum achieved his greatest success as a division general. On Sunday, September 14, 1862, the Sixth Corps, General Franklin, found its advance contested by the enemy, strongly posted at Crampton's Gap, one of the passes in the South Mountain range. The road here ascends steeply through a narrow defile, wooded on both sides, and affording advantageous cover and position. The Confederates had posted their first line in rear of a stone wall at the base of the mountain, and had placed artillery in favorable positions on the road and at points on the slopes and summit of the mountain.

General Franklin finding that he could not use artillery with



Easterly Slope of South Mountain and Crampton's Pass. The Confederate infantry were in line behind the stone wall, covering the approach to the pass. They were driven from this position by Slocum's Division, and thence through the Pass, beyond the summit.

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advantage, determined to carry the position by an infantry assault. For this purpose he selected Slocum's Division, the Second Division — Smith's — being held in reserve. Franklin says in his report that the advance of General Slocum was made with admirable steadiness through a well-directed fire from the batteries on the mountain. The line of battle formed, a charge was ordered. The men swept forward with a cheer, over the stone wall, dislodging the enemy and pursuing him up the mountain side to the crest of the hill and down the opposite slope. This single charge, sustained as it was over a great distance and up a rough ascent of unusual steepness, was decisive. The Confederates were driven in the utmost confusion, and allowed no opportunity to rally until the pass was cleared. Slocum was a conspicuous figure in the charge, his soldierly bearing and fearless exposure of his person to the enemy's fire winning enthusiastic praise from the troops who fought at his side.

In this affair Slocum captured 400 prisoners from seventeen different regiments, four stands of colors, 700 small arms, and one piece of artillery. The losses in his division amounted to 112 killed, 400 wounded and 2 missing; total 514. There were, also, 19 casualties in Smith's Division.

The forces opposed to Slocum in this battle, commanded by Gen. Howell Cobb, consisted of three brigades — Mahone's, Semmes's, and Cobb's — two regiments of dismounted cavalry under Munford, and the batteries of Chew, Macon, and Manly. A part of Semmes's Brigade was not engaged. The Confederate losses in this action were not reported in full; but the casualty returns, so far as made, showed a much greater loss than that of the attacking column.

Three days later Slocum arrived on the field at Antietam while the battle was in progress. His division was not actively engaged although it suffered considerable loss. It was held chiefly in reserve near the east woods, with orders to attack on the morning of the nineteenth; but when the time came to reopen the conflict the enemy had fled.

While the army was encamped at Harpers Ferry, after the battle, General Slocum was promoted to the command of the Twelfth Corps, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of General Mansfield, who was killed at Antietam. This assignment was made October 15, 1862, a promotion, like the others bestowed upon him, due solely to the high order of military ability displayed by him in camp and

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field on so many occasions. One year before, as already noted, he was unable to command enough political influence to secure a commission as captain of a battery.

The Twelfth was the smallest corps in the army; but among its brigade and regimental commanders were several officers who had been educated at West Point or had served in the Regular Army—Crawford, Greene, Gordon, Geo. L. Andrews, Ruger, Ireland, Ross and others—while its artillery was officered largely by men with the same valuable experience. Gens. Mansfield, Abercrombie, Hart-suff and others had also served previously in the corps, and the men had received the benefit of their services. Although the corps had but two divisions,—and these did not contain the usual number of regiments—it was composed of veteran troops that had achieved honorable distinction on the hard fought fields of Kernstown, Winchester, Cedar Mountain, Manassas and Antietam. Under their new commander it was their destiny to inscribe other historic names upon their flags, to win further renown, and to make a record rivaling that of any corps in the armies of the Nation.

In the spring of 1863 the Twelfth Corps was encamped at Stafford, Va. While here the general wrote a letter to his wife, describing some affairs of social intercourse in the army, and containing, also, a charming allusion to an incident in his early life:

HEADQUARTERS, TWELFTH CORPS D'ARMEE,
April 19, 1863. }

My Dear Clara:

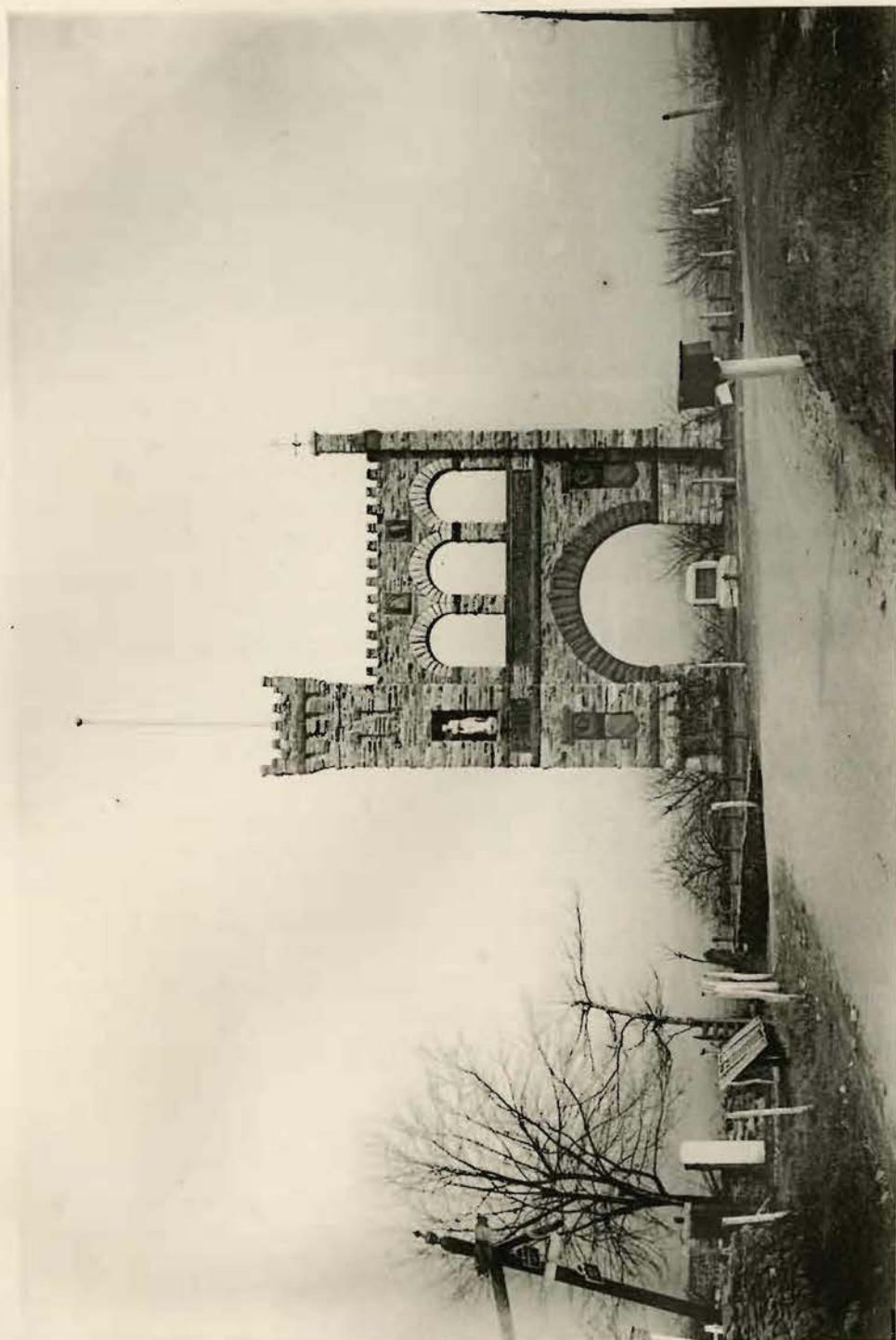
I received a beautiful bouquet this morning from Mary. The flowers are all from the President's garden. It is beautiful. The flowers are arranged according to color in three rows—red, white, and blue—with a fine japonica at the apex. I send you two or three samples.

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

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

Yours affectionately,
H. W. SLOCUM.

General Hooker, in planning the Chancellorsville campaign, arranged a strategic movement by which the right wing of his army, composed of three corps, was to flank his antagonist and establish



SUMMIT OF CRAMPTON'S PASS.

Looking easterly. Monument to War Correspondents in center of picture, with marker for Torbert's Jersey Brigade, Stetson's Division, in front of arch.

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itself south of the Rappahannock at Chancellorsville, while the rest of his army engaged Lee's attention in front of Fredericksburg. He intrusted the execution of this important plan to General Slocum, whose known ability was a guarantee that it would be successfully conducted.

Pursuant to this plan of operations Slocum was placed in command of the Fifth, Eleventh and Twelfth Corps. Breaking camp April twenty-seventh, he moved his three corps rapidly and by a concealed route. Crossing the Rappahannock at Kelly's Ford and the Rapidan at Germanna and Ely's Fords, Slocum placed his 42,000 men at Chancellorsville by noon of April thirtieth. Were it not for the personal instructions received from Hooker just before starting he could have carried out the original plan, and, marching on Fredericksburg seized Salem Heights and uncovered Banks's Ford. Had he been permitted to do this there would have been no battle at Chancellorsville. The campaign would have furnished a far different story. But Hooker arrived there that evening and took charge of affairs, whereupon Slocum resumed command of his corps.

On the following day Hooker attempted to move his army out of the Wilderness, and take position in the open country near Fredericksburg. But on encountering the opposition of the Confederate forces under Jackson, Hooker abandoned the plan and withdrew to Chancellorsville. The fruits of Slocum's flank movement were lost.

The history of this great battle has been fully written; it is needless to rehearse the oft told story here. As on other fields Slocum displayed military genius of a high order, and his troops made another record as a steady, hard fighting corps.

An incident at this time came under the writer's observation which was characteristic of the general's methods in handling troops on the field. When Williams's Division was ordered out of its breastworks to the support of General Sickles during the reconnoissance made by the latter on the second day, a regiment of Ruger's Brigade was delayed at the passage of a small stream. Owing to this hindrance it fell considerably behind the rest of the brigade, and its colonel, anxious to close up, gave the order to double-quick. The regiment moved forward at a rapid pace, the accoutrements and cooking utensils carried by the men keeping up a rattling, jingling accompaniment. Suddenly the rapid hoofbeats of a horse under the spur were heard, and the rider wheeled short in front of the column. It was Slocum, and his eyes shone with anger or excite-

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ment. "Colonel, halt your regiment!" he shouted. Then, leaning over the side of his saddle he said in low, earnest tones: "Colonel, you must not take your regiment into action on the run. I don't want these men to go into the fight tired and out of breath. Let them walk. There is no need of all this hurry." With a severe look he regarded the breathless soldiers for a moment, wheeled his horse suddenly and was gone. A trifling incident, perhaps; but it illustrates the personal attention which Slocum gave to details when putting his troops in action.

On the march to Gettysburg the Twelfth Corps arrived June twenty-seventh, at Knoxville, Md., within a short march of Williamsport, the place where Lee's army had crossed the Potomac a few days before. On that day General Hooker sent a letter to Slocum with instructions to hold the Twelfth Corps in readiness to march at a moment's notice to Williamsport. Hooker stated further, that the intention was to place the troops at Harpers Ferry, 10,000 or more, under Slocum's command, and throw this force and the Twelfth Corps on General Lee's line of communication; and that, in the meantime, he would concentrate the other corps of his army within supporting distance. Had the request of General Hooker to use the garrison at Harpers Ferry been granted, that force, together with the Twelfth Corps, would on the twenty-eighth of June have been on the line of Lee's communications, with ample time to intrench. Slocum was confident that he could have held that position until Hooker was able to bring up the other corps to his assistance.

But General Halleck refused this very proper request for the use of the idle troops at Harpers Ferry. Hooker, seeing in this senseless denial that he could no longer depend on the support of the commander-in-chief, sent a telegram promptly to Washington asking to be relieved. The movement on Williamsport was abandoned; but in this proposed movement we find further evidence of the confidence in Slocum's ability to exercise a separate and important command.

At Gettysburg, the greatest battle of the war, General Slocum occupied a prominent position by reason of the important duties assigned him by the general commanding. As the senior general in the Army of the Potomac he was in command of the Right Wing.

The Twelfth Corps was encamped on the morning of July first at a point within one mile of Littlestown, on the Hanover road, where it had bivouacked the previous night. It was twelve miles

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from that part of the battlefield, west of Gettysburg, on which the fighting of the first day occurred. On that morning the corps, in accordance with instructions from General Meade, moved to Two Taverns to await further instructions there. This place is five miles southeast of Gettysburg. About one o'clock, while the troops were resting in the fields along the highway, a citizen came down the road from Gettysburg and reported that a battle was being fought there. General Slocum immediately sent Major Guindon, of his staff, with an escort of mounted orderlies, to ascertain the truth of the story.

The report of this citizen was the first intimation Slocum received that there was any fighting "at the place called Gettysburg." He had heard no cannonading, for the wind that day was blowing to the north.* The distant sound of artillery was noticed, however, by some who were at the head of the column or in quiet places on high ground; but it attracted little attention from the veterans, who were accustomed to regard such sounds as among the usual preliminaries on a campaign. The citizen's story was confirmed soon after by a dispatch from General Howard. On hearing the important news Slocum promptly issued a command for the corps to push forward without delay, although he had received instructions from General Meade that day to proceed to Two Taverns only, his orders stating further that if the enemy assumed the offensive† he was to withdraw

* The same acoustic phenomenon occurred on the next day when the Sixth Corps traversed this road. Serg. A. T. Brewer, in his oration at the dedication of the Sixty-first Pennsylvania monument, says: "Miles ahead, on the side of the mountain which had long been in sight, shells were seen bursting high in the air, with red, angry flashes. Soon, smoke was observed curling along above the trees and floating away to the north, and yet up to this time not a cannon had been heard. Directly the familiar roar of battle began to be heard indistinctly." (Pennsylvania at Gettysburg, Vol. I, p. 330.)

† Circular.]

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, }
TANEYTOWN, July 1, 1863. }

From information received, the commanding general is satisfied that the object of the movement of the army in this direction has been accomplished, viz, the relief of Harrisburg, and the prevention of the enemy's intended invasion of Philadelphia, &c., beyond the Susquehanna. It is no longer his intention to assume the offensive until the enemy's movements or position should render such an operation certain of success.

If the enemy assume the offensive, and attack, it is his intention, after holding them in check sufficiently long, to withdraw the trains and other impedimenta; to withdraw the army from its present position, and form line of battle with the left resting in the neighborhood of Middleburg, and the right at Manchester, the general direction being that of Pipe Creek. For this purpose, General Reynolds, in command of the left, will withdraw the force at present at Gettysburg, two corps by the road to Taneytown and Westminster, and, after crossing Pipe Creek, deploy toward Middleburg. The corps at Emmitsburg will be withdrawn, via Mechanics-

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to a specified line of battle on Pipe Creek. But Slocum exercised the discretion allowable in such cases, and, instead of withdrawing, hastened with his corps to Gettysburg.

While on the road to the front, the troops hurrying forward at their utmost speed, Slocum met his staff officer, who was returning. Major Guindon confirmed the citizen's story and informed Slocum that he had met Generals Hancock and Howard, both of whom sent an urgent request that the Twelfth Corps push forward as fast as possible. Before reaching Rock Creek General Slocum sent the following dispatch:

July 1, 1863 — 3:35 P. M.

GENERAL HANCOCK OR GENERAL HOWARD:

I am moving the Twelfth Corps so as to come in about one mile to the right of Gettysburg.

H. W. SLOCUM,
Major-General.

Williams's Division, arriving at Rock Creek, turned off to the right, and moved against Wolf Hill, with the intention of flanking the enemy's left. But on learning that the Union army had retreated to the east side of the town, Slocum ordered Williams back to the Baltimore Pike, and, going to Cemetery Hill himself, assumed command of the field by right of seniority. Geary's Division, arriving previously, while the troops were falling back through the town, was ordered by General Hancock to take a position on Little Round Top.

In one of the earlier histories of this battle a writer says that Slocum was dilatory in coming on the field. The gross misrepresentation of certain facts and evident ignorance of other important

ville, to Middleburg, or, if a more direct route can be found leaving Taneytown to their left, to withdraw direct to Middleburg.

General Slocum will assume command of the two corps at Hanover and Two Taverns, and withdraw them, via Union Mills, deploying one to the right and one to the left, after crossing Pipe Creek, connecting on the left with General Reynolds, and communicating his right to General Sedgwick at Manchester, who will connect with him and form the right.

The time for falling back can only be developed by circumstances. Whenever such circumstances arise as would seem to indicate the necessity for falling back and assuming this general line indicated, notice of such movement will be at once communicated to these headquarters and to all adjoining corps commanders.

.
By command of Major-General MEADE:

S. WILLIAMS,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

[Official Records, Vol. XXVII, Part III, p. 458.]

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By command of Major-General MEADE:

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[Official Records, Vol. XXVII, Part III, p. 458.]

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ones would require no mention here were it not that this story, at one time, was accepted and repeated to some extent. In his desire to make out a case he says of the short halt of the Twelfth Corps at Two Taverns, "But here the corps remained idle during the whole day." Now Geary's Division, which had the lead that day, arrived at Two Taverns at eleven A. M. General Geary says so in his official report; and, furthermore, that at two P. M., his division "advanced rapidly on the road" to Gettysburg.

This writer says further: "It appears that Slocum did finally move on his own responsibility, but not until the fighting was over." But the main battle of the first day at Gettysburg did not begin until two P. M., at which time, as officially stated by Geary, the Twelfth Corps had left Two Taverns and was marching rapidly to the field.

It is well to remember, also, in connection with this matter that there were two distinct engagements at Gettysburg on that day. The first collision of infantry occurred between two brigades of Wadsworth's Division and two Confederate brigades of Heth's Division, about ten-fifteen A. M., before the Twelfth Corps had reached Two Taverns. Then all was quiet, except some occasional firing of artillery, for three hours. The second, or main battle of the day, commenced at two P. M., or thereabouts. Neither the Eleventh Corps — Howard's — nor Ewell's Confederate Corps arrived on the field until one-thirty P. M., or after; and their arrival should not be timed by the appearance of the leading regiment. The careful student of the movements that day, as told in the official records, will award great credit to General Slocum for the promptness with which he moved the Twelfth Corps to Gettysburg as soon as he heard of the fighting, although he had in his pocket an order from Meade to halt at Two Taverns, await further instructions there, and to fall back to Pipe Creek if the enemy assumed the offensive.

General Meade arrived on the battlefield before daybreak on the morning of July second, the second day of the battle. Addressing himself immediately to the situation he planned an attack, to be made by his right wing against the enemy's left. For this purpose he placed the Fifth and Twelfth Corps under command of General Slocum, with the Sixth Corps as a supporting column. The latter was expected to arrive at Gettysburg in time for this proposed movement. But General Slocum, however much he might have been pleased by such recognition of his military ability, did not allow any

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feeling of pride in this flattering selection of himself to interfere with his judgment in the matter. After carefully reconnoitering the position of the enemy in his front and the topographical difficulties presented by the intervening ground, he reported to General Meade that the proposed attack was not practicable. General Warren, chief engineer on Meade's staff, concurred in this opinion. The attack was abandoned, and these troops were saved from what, in all probability, would have been a defeat, with a terrible loss of life. The plan afforded Slocum a tempting opportunity to distinguish himself; but he possessed moral as well as physical courage.

On the afternoon of this day General Sickles, with the Third Corps, held a position on Meade's extreme left. General Longstreet, of the Confederate army, by a well-executed flank movement through the woods tried to repeat the success attained at Chancellorsville by a similar manœuvre, and fell upon the Third Corps in overwhelming numbers. Sickles held his ground stoutly for a long time, but was obliged to call for reinforcements to save his imperiled left. Meade hurried his reserves, the Fifth and Sixth Corps, to that portion of the field. In addition he stripped his front in places, and sent these additional brigades there also. He soon had more troops massed on his left than he could put in action; nevertheless, he ordered Slocum to move the Twelfth Corps to the left also.

At this time the Twelfth Corps was lying in its breastworks on Culp's Hill, where it held the right of the Union line. Its artillery had just been engaged in a general, prolonged cannonade with the Confederate batteries on Benner's Hill, the heights on the opposite side of Rock Creek, and the skirmishers of Greene's Brigade at the foot of Culp's Hill were observing the enemy, who was then forming in their front across the creek. The strong Confederate lines which Slocum and Warren had observed that morning in their front were still in position, and an attack was momentarily expected.

When Slocum received the order to abandon Culp's Hill he informed Meade that he had just received word from both Williams and Geary, his division generals, that the enemy was in their front in strong force. He urgently requested that a division be left to guard the line held by the Twelfth Corps, but General Meade would consent to leave but a brigade to defend the position.*

Slocum's insistence that some troops should be left to hold Culp's

* See address of General Slocum at the reunion of Greene's Brigade at Gettysburg, July 3, 1893. [New York at Gettysburg, Vol. I, p. 258. Albany: J. B. Lyon Company. 1900.]

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Hill was extremely fortunate. Had he not done so Meade's army would soon have been overwhelmed in an irretrievable disaster. As the Twelfth Corps was filing out of its breastworks to go to the left, three miles away, Johnson's Division of Ewell's Corps was forming in the woods on the opposite side of Rock Creek to assault these same works.

Greene attempted to occupy the vacant position by extending his own line to the right, one man deep, with intervals between, but before he could complete this movement the assaulting columns drove in his skirmishers and swarmed up the hill to the attack. Greene promptly refused his right regiment, while the rest of the brigade from its intrenched position delivered a fire that repulsed the repeated assaults of the Confederate veterans. The remainder of the line of vacated breastworks was occupied by a portion of Johnson's troops without opposition. There was nothing to prevent them from marching straight ahead through the woods to the Baltimore Pike, about four hundred yards distant, where they would have been in the rear of the Union army, menacing its supply trains and reserve artillery, and on its proper line of retreat. A short distance further and they could, without hindrance, have seized Meade's headquarters also. But the attack was not made until sunset, and nightfall soon added to the gloom of the forest that covered the hill from its base to the breastworks along its crest, where the blazing lines of musketry marked the position of the combatants. Johnson was unaware of the opportunity which awaited him; the darkness concealed the advantages before him, and his right brigades had suffered a costly repulse. He decided to wait for daylight before attempting any further advance.

Johnson was heavily reinforced during the night, but when morning came his opportunity was gone. At midnight the Twelfth Corps returned, and, finding their breastworks occupied, went into position covering the line of the Baltimore Pike. Slocum gave orders to attack at daybreak, and in a few hours, after some of the most brilliant fighting in the war, the Twelfth Corps recaptured their works and drove Johnson's forces across Rock Creek. The Union right was secure again.

General Howard, one of the corps commanders at Gettysburg, pays the following tribute to Slocum's generalship on this field:

The most impressive incident of that great battle to me was General Slocum's own battle. I was awakened from my Cemetery bed the morning of July

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3, 1863, at five o'clock, by the startling roar of Slocum's guns. For five anxious hours, with A. S. Williams manœuvering his Twelfth Corps, Slocum, having also some of the Sixth Corps and many batteries, commanded the field. That dreadful struggle to our right went on till Ewell, with Johnson's large division, reenforced with brigades from Rodes's and Early's divisions, was forced to give up and abandon his prize of the night before. That prize was our intrenched line within a stone's throw of the Baltimore Pike, and included the trains for our immediate supply. Slocum's resolute insistence upon leaving General Greene and his brigade, when General Meade directed that the whole Twelfth Corps be sent to his left,—this insistence, followed by Greene's marvelous night battle, and Slocum's organized work and engagement of the ensuing early morning, in my judgment, saved the battle of Gettysburg.*

At the close of the fighting on the second day, General Meade called his corps commanders together for a council of war. The following written questions were submitted to the generals, an answer being expected from each:

1. Under existing circumstances, is it advisable for this army to remain in its present position, or to retire to another nearer its base of supplies?
2. It being determined to remain in present position, shall the army attack or wait the attack of the enemy?
3. If we wait attack, how long?

In accordance with military usage the junior officers were required to express their opinion first. Some of the replies were lengthy and there was considerable discussion. Slocum being the senior corps commander was called upon last. His answer was short and curt: "Stay and fight it out." He regarded the council as wholly unnecessary at that stage of affairs, and believed that the question of retreat, embodied in the first proposition, should never have been raised. On hearing Slocum's answer the council ended quickly, and the generals returned to their quarters. The army stayed and fought it out.

A week later the victorious forces halted in front of Lee's intrenchments at Williamsport where the Confederate chief was waiting for the swollen waters of the Potomac to subside and place his retreating army in safety on the Virginia side. After three days of inaction in the face of the enemy General Meade called another council of war. But the pet phrase of historians—A council of war never fights—received another confirmation. No attack was made, and the Army of Virginia recrossed the river unmolested.

* Address at the memorial service, Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, April 29, 1894.

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The following letter written by General Slocum, is not without interest in this connection:

HEADQUARTERS TWELFTH CORPS,
ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND,
TULLAHOMA, TENN., *January 2d, 1864.* }

MY DEAR SIR:

I presume you have read Meade's Report of the battle of Gettysburg. I can imagine the feeling that its perusal has caused you. I have not met a sensible man who has read it, either soldier or civilian, who has not felt disappointed on reading it. It purports to be the official history of the most important contest of modern times — a contest in which our troops fought with a valor and determination never before exhibited — and the only evidence in the entire report which tends to prove this heroism is contained in the closing sentence, "our losses were very severe, amounting to 23,186." Your disappointment must have been greater from the fact that the true history of the operations on the right had already been made known to you by me, and Meade's report is a plain contradiction of almost every statement I have ever written to you. It is in direct conflict with my official report, and the reports of all my subordinate commanders. My first impulse on reading his report was to ask for a court of inquiry. I was prompted to this course not so much from personal consideration, as from a desire to have justice done to General Williams and his division.

Although Meade professed the warmest friendship for me, and the utmost confidence in me, not only during the entire battle, but at all times subsequent to it while I remained in his army, yet in his report he utterly ignores me. That he did repose this confidence in me, and that he placed the right wing entirely under my control, I have abundant written evidence now in my possession. In proof of this I enclose a copy of an order sent me during the battle, showing that he had sent part of Sedgwick's corps to me, and that without visiting me or my portion of the line, he wished me to place it in a central position where he could use it as soon as I could spare it. I also enclose a copy of an order received at ten-twenty A. M., on July second, directing me to move from the strong position we then held, and with the Fifth and Twelfth Corps, then under my command, and the Sixth, which was hourly expected, to attack the enemy. The latter order was not obeyed because every general officer consulted on the subject deemed it unwise to leave the almost impregnable position we then held.

I send you copies of these orders to convince you that although my name is not mentioned in the report, yet I really occupied the position and had the commands mentioned in my former letters. At no time was I in command of less than two corps during the entire campaign, and during all the battle the right wing was entrusted entirely to me — a position to which my rank entitled me. Williams commanded the Twelfth Corps, and was at all times during the

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battle treated as a corps commander by Meade. He was invited by him to the council with other corps commanders, and yet no mention is made of this fact in the report. Nor is Williams's name or that of his division to be found in it.

I finally gave up the idea of asking for a court of inquiry, knowing that the interests of the service could not be promoted by such a course. I wrote a letter to Meade, however, asking him to correct his report, a copy of which I enclose.

There is much secret history connected with the Gettysburg campaign which will some day be made public. The proceedings of a secret council of the corps commanders held the night before the enemy crossed the river was at once divulged, and the remarks of Meade, Warren and Pleasanton published to the world in full. It was for the interest of Meade that this publication should be made; and there is no doubt that publicity was given to it with his consent, if not through his direct instrumentality. There were other councils, however, the proceedings of which were not made public and which never will be published with the consent of Meade.

On the evening of July second a council was called, and each corps commander was asked his opinion as to the propriety of falling back towards Washington that night. The majority opposed it, and after the vote was taken Meade declared that "Gettysburg was no place to risk a battle;" and there is no doubt but for the decision of his corps commanders, the army on the third of July would have been in full retreat. The 4th of July, 1863, instead of being a day of rejoicing throughout the North, would have been the darkest day ever known to our country. This piece of history can be verified by the records of that council kept by Butterfield, and cannot have been forgotten by any officer present.

On the fourth of July nearly every corps commander urged an immediate movement, but my corps was kept three days in idleness. In the meantime the enemy reached Hagerstown, took up his new line, and had abundant time to fortify. At the council held on the thirteenth of July, by which "Meade was overruled," the following question was proposed to each officer, viz.: "Shall we, *without further knowledge of the position of the enemy*, make an attack?"

Previous to putting the question, Meade answered that he could get no knowledge of the position of the enemy. This announcement, together with the peculiar phraseology of the question, indicated the decision the commanding general anticipated. He offered no remarks until a vote was taken, and the question answered in the negative. He then made some general remarks about "the necessity of doing something," which was approved by all. Having "placed himself right on record," as the politicians would say, he retired. This record he at once used to sustain himself at the expense of his brother officers, although the action of these officers was precisely what he desired and anticipated it would be when he framed the question.

You may think this a hard charge to bring against a soldier, but I believe

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I am fully justified in making it. There are circumstances which I will make known to you when we meet which will convince you that I have not done him injustice.

As long as this war continues I shall pursue the course I have thus far followed. I shall ask for no court, enter into no controversy, write no letters. But when the danger has passed from us many facts will come to light, giving to the public a better knowledge of the real history of this war than can be obtained through the medium of such reports as that written by General Meade.

Very respectfully,

Your Obt. Servant,

Hon. L. H. MORGAN,
Syracuse, N. Y.

H. W. SLOCUM.

Mention is made in this letter of a communication which Slocum addressed to General Meade, asking the latter to correct that portion of his report on the battle of Gettysburg relating to the services of the Twelfth Corps. A copy of this request will be found in the Official Records of the War, Volume XXVII, Part I, page 763. It reads thus:

HDQRS. TWELFTH CORPS, ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND,
TULLAHOMA, TENN., December 30, 1863. }

Maj.-Gen. GEORGE G. MEADE,
Commanding Army of the Potomac:

GENERAL:

I enclose herewith the report of General T. H. Ruger of operations of the First Division, Twelfth Corps, at the battle of Gettysburg, together with the reports of his brigade and regimental commanders. General Ruger, with a large portion of his division, was ordered to New York city soon after the battle, and immediately after his return from New York the corps was ordered to this department. The reports of General Williams and myself were delayed with the hope of receiving General Ruger's report in time to forward it with them.

I deeply regret the necessity which compelled me to send my report and that of General Williams unaccompanied by any report of the operations of the First Division, for although an account of the operations of this division was given in the report of General Williams, who commanded the corps during the battle, I think the absence of Ruger's report may account for some of the errors contained in your report as to the operations of the Twelfth Corps.

I enclose a letter from General Williams, calling my attention to these errors, to which I respectfully invite your attention, and if anything can be done at this late day to correct these errors I trust you will do it. Your report

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is the official history of that important battle, and to this report reference will always be made by our Government, our people, and the historian, as the most reliable and accurate account of the service performed by each corps, division, and brigade of your army. If you have inadvertently given to one division the credit of having performed some meritorious service which was in reality performed by another division, you do an injustice to brave men and defraud them of well-earned laurels. It is an injustice which even time cannot correct. That errors of this nature exist in your official report is an indisputable fact.

You give great credit to Lockwood's brigade for services on the evening of July second, but state that this brigade was a portion of the First Corps, while it never at any time belonged to that corps, but was a portion of the Twelfth Corps, and was accompanied in its operations on the evening of July second by General Williams in person. A portion of this brigade (the One Hundred and Fiftieth New York) is still in General Williams's division.

I copy the following statement from your report:

"During the heavy assault on our left portions of the Twelfth Corps were sent as re-enforcements. During their absence the line on the extreme right was held by a very much reduced force. This was taken advantage of by the enemy, who, during the absence of General Geary's division of the Twelfth Corps, advanced and occupied part of the line. On the morning of the third, General Geary, having returned during the night, attacked at early dawn the enemy, and succeeded in driving him back and reoccupying his former position. A spirited contest was maintained all the morning along this part of the line. General Geary, re-enforced by Wheaton's brigade of the Sixth Corps, maintained his position, and inflicted severe losses on the enemy."

From this statement it would appear that Geary's division marched to the support of your left; that Williams's division did not; that his (Williams's) division, or a portion of it, was guarding the intrenchments when the enemy gained possession; that General Geary returned, and with his division drove the enemy back; that the engagement on the following morning was fought by Geary's division assisted by Wheaton's brigade. This I know is the inference drawn from your history of those operations by every person unacquainted with the truth. Yet the facts in the case are very nearly the reverse of the above in every particular, and directly in contradiction to the facts as set forth in the report of General Geary, as well as that of General Williams. Geary's division did not march even in the direction of your left. Two of his brigades, under his immediate command, left the intrenchments under orders to move to the support of your left, but through some unfortunate mistake he took the road leading to Two Taverns. Williams's entire division did move to the support of your left, and it was one of his brigades (Lockwood's), under his immediate command, which you commend, but very singularly accredit to the First Corps.

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Greene's brigade, of the Second Division, remained in the intrenchments, and the failure of the enemy to gain entire possession of our works was due entirely to the skill of General Greene, and the heroic valor of his troops. His brigade suffered severely, but maintained its position, and held the enemy in check until the return of Williams's division. The "spirited contest maintained by General Geary, re-enforced by Wheaton's brigade," was a contest for regaining the portion of our intrenchments held by the enemy, and was conducted under the immediate command of General Williams, and was participated in by the entire Twelfth Corps, re-enforced not by Wheaton's but by Shaler's brigade.

Although the command of the Twelfth Corps was given temporarily to General Williams by your order, and although you directed him to meet at the council with other corps commanders, you fail to mention his name in your entire report, and in no place allude to his having any such command, or to the fact that more than one corps was at any time placed under my command, although at no time after you assumed command of the army until the close of this battle was I in command of less than two corps. I have now in my possession your written orders, dated July second, directing me to assume command of the Sixth Corps, and, with that corps and the two then under my command (the Fifth and Twelfth), to move forward and at once attack the enemy.

I allude to this fact for the purpose of refreshing your memory on a subject which you had apparently entirely forgotten when you penned your report; for you have not failed to notice the fact of General Schurz and others having held, even for a few hours, commands above that previously held by them. I sincerely trust that you will endeavor to correct as far as possible the errors above mentioned, and that the correction may be recorded at the War Department.

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

H. W. SLOCUM,

Major-General of Volunteers, Commanding.

In compliance with this request General Meade sent a communication to the War Department, February 25, 1864, making the necessary corrections and additions to his report. In a letter to Slocum, same date, Meade takes exception to some of the former's strictures, but, nevertheless, he made each alteration and correction, and amended his report on file in every particular as requested.

The Gettysburg campaign having ended, the Army of the Potomac returned to Virginia and slowly followed the Confederate columns to the Rappahannock, where both armies confronted each other for several weeks from either bank of the river. While here General Meade was called to Washington, August thirteenth, and was absent from the front for a few days. During this time, at the

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request of the general commanding, Slocum occupied Meade's headquarters, where by virtue of his seniority in rank he was temporarily in command of the army, although nothing occurred that required him to exercise the duties of that position.

Mention has been made of the rigid discipline maintained by Slocum in whatever body of troops was placed under him, whether regiment, brigade, division or corps. Yet, withal, he had a kindly nature which often tempered the severity of his judgment. While the Twelfth Corps was encamped along the Rappahannock in 1863, a young field officer who had received a furlough when wounded returned to the front. In accordance with the army regulations he reported at corps headquarters immediately on his arrival, and handing his papers to Colonel Rodgers, the adjutant-general, acknowledged that he had overstayed his leave of absence. Rodgers looked grave, shook his head doubtfully, and said it was a matter for the General. Slocum entering the room just then, his attention was called to it. After talking in low tones with Rodgers he turned to the delinquent and asked him what excuse he had for such a breach of discipline. The young fellow knew enough to look the general squarely in the face and say, "I have no excuse; I was having a good time in Washington, and hated to leave." Slocum tried to frown, but as he looked at the youthful culprit, who in appearance was hardly more than a smooth-faced slender boy, the general's face relaxed, and with something very like a smile he said to Rodgers, "Colonel, we can't afford to be too hard on these boys." Then turning to the young officer, who was uneasily fingering the gilt acorn on his hat cord, he said, "I am afraid you are a bad lot, but I will excuse you this time. Report to your regiment!" adding in a sharper tone as the lad was hurrying to the door, "Major, you understand, this mustn't happen again." "O certainly not, certainly not," was the fervent reply. That fellow went to his quarters walking on air, so happy was he. Then, opening his haversack, he took out a flask of choice commissary he had brought from Washington, and hastened away to propitiate his colonel.

Although General Slocum was always approachable and affable in his intercourse with subordinates he would not brook any undue familiarity on their part. He invariably maintained the dignified reserve which, in his opinion, befitted the position held by him as commander of a corps, and, as in the latter part of the war, a sepa-

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rate army. Chaplain Jordan, in his history of the Tenth Maine, tells this story:

About the middle of September the battalion broke camp and moved to the Rapidan River, near Raccoon Ford. While on this march an incident occurred which afforded much merriment for the officers and men attached to headquarters. General Slocum and staff had halted at a certain spot for lunch, when Lieut. ———, of the ———th U. S. Artillery, slightly intoxicated, rode up to Gen. Slocum, dismounted, threw his arms about the general's neck and exclaimed, "O! Sloky! You're a hunky boy!" Such a breach of military discipline might not have been very remarkable in some of the armies, but was an almost unheard of affair in the Army of the Potomac. It is needless to say that it was promptly punished by keeping the offending officer in arrest until he amply apologized. The Lieutenant furnished the battalion with a phrase which the men delighted to repeat, not so much for the fun of the thing as for the completeness with which it expressed their feelings towards the general.*

One of the most important events affecting General Slocum's military career occurred while the army was encamped along the Upper Rappahannock, in the fall of 1863. Owing to the prolonged inactivity and superior strength of the Army of the Potomac at this time the War Department ordered two corps sent to the assistance of the Army of the Cumberland at Chattanooga. The Eleventh and Twelfth were designated for that purpose. General Hooker was placed in command of the two corps.

But in this arrangement the feelings of the two corps commanders had not been taken into consideration. Slocum promptly refused to serve under Hooker, and in a letter to President Lincoln, September 25, 1863, he tendered his resignation. Mr. Lincoln realized that the country could not afford to lose the services of men like Slocum at this time, and refused to accept it. A satisfactory arrangement was made, however, under which it was agreed that if the general would accompany his corps to Tennessee he would not be required to serve under Hooker, and that he would be assigned to some other equally important command at the first opportunity.

[* History of the Tenth Maine Battalion. By Rev. Leonard G. Jordan. Portland: Stephen Berry. 1871.]

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During the long journey to the Southwest Slocum gave personal attention to the comfort of his troops, doing everything in his power to secure comfortable accommodations and lessen the fatigue. When the soldiers left the cars to cross the Ohio River the general was greeted by the Twenty-seventh Indiana with a round of cheers. In response he complimented the regiment on its orderly behavior, and said, "How are the Twenty-seventh boys standing the trip?" Among the many replies an unabashed Hoosier shouted, "We would feel better about passing through Indiana if we had some money." "Haven't you been paid off?" the general enquired with evident surprise and interest. "No, no!" the men replied. "Well, now," he continued, "I will see to that." He did so. That evening the train carrying the Twenty-seventh was standing on a siding to allow an express to go by. As the express dashed past a letter was thrown off addressed to Colonel Colgrove informing him that a paymaster was aboard who would pay the regiment at Zanesville. Arriving there the men found him waiting for the regiment, and all through the night, by the dim light of the soldiers' candles, the paymaster went from car to car until the last Indianian had received his little sheaf of greenbacks. The general was thoughtful enough, also, to arrange the movement of his troops so that the Twenty-seventh could remain a day at Indianapolis, in order to meet the relatives and friends who had been notified by personal telegrams from the soldiers that they were coming.

General Slocum was always in sympathy with the private soldier; his experience in civil life had brought him in touch with the plain people and their ideas. No general of high rank understood better than he the character of the American soldier, his ideas and peculiarities. For this reason a man in private's uniform could always approach him, if done in a proper manner.

On this same trip through the West a young soldier of the Twenty-seventh Indiana, who chanced to see the general at a time when he seemed to be at leisure, saluted him and respectfully asked a hearing. The soldier stated that the train would soon pass through the town where his father resided; that he had not been home nor absent from his regiment a single day since he enlisted, two years or more before. He asked the general for permission to stop and see his people for one day. Slocum's sympathy was awakened, and

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he replied, in substance: "Soldier, I am very sorry, but I cannot give anyone a furlough at a time like this. Still, if I had served in your regiment over two years without being home once, or absent from duty a single day, and was passing through my own home town, I would certainly stop for just a little while on my own responsibility. And, I will say this much, if you conclude to do so, and should get into trouble over it, I will do all I can to help you out."* No wonder the veterans in his corps regarded their general with affection as well as pride. Slocum, in all essentials was the strictest of the strict; in non-essentials he was ever willing to exercise whatever latitude the circumstances would permit.

On arriving in Tennessee, General Hooker, with the Eleventh Corps, proceeded to the front, at Chattanooga, where he was joined, a few weeks later, by Geary's Division of the Twelfth Corps. To Williams's Division of the Twelfth Corps was assigned the duty of protecting the railway communication between Nashville and Stevenson. The regiments belonging to this command were encamped at various points along the railroad for a period of over six months, and so were not engaged in the fighting done by Hooker's command at the battles near Chattanooga.

In accordance with the arrangement granted him by the War Department before leaving Virginia, General Slocum made his headquarters at Tullahoma, Tenn., where General Williams was stationed. Although still in command of his corps and present with a portion of it, the circumstances did not require him to take orders from General Hooker.

But in April, 1864, the situation was simplified by the consolidation of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, forming a new corps, designated the Twentieth, which was placed under General Hooker. General Slocum was assigned to the command of the District of Vicksburg. On April 9, 1864, he issued a general order containing a farewell to his old corps, and then, taking his staff with him, established his headquarters at Vicksburg, Miss.

The position thus assigned to General Slocum was befitting his rank and record. As a military command it was an important one, for it embraced bodies of troops outnumbering those of an ordinary army corps. Furthermore, as it included a territory wrested from the

* History of the Twenty-seventh Indiana Volunteers. By E. R. Brown.

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enemy, it imposed duties of a grave responsibility in the management of a disaffected people and the adjustment of the various civil questions incident to such a condition. The Government had selected him for this trying position, relying on his superior judgment and administrative ability, which, as well as his brilliant record in the field, had won for him the confidence of the War Department.

But, in the exercise of his authority, Slocum had to contend with complications and annoyances that were extremely distasteful to him as a soldier. There were other generals at this time on the Mississippi who held territorial commands, and Slocum was annoyed repeatedly by orders from these officers, all of them juniors in rank, instructing him to detach large bodies of troops for purposes regarding which he had little or no knowledge. But he stood stoutly on his rights and refused these requests, especially as they would have crippled his own command and prevented him from sending the expeditions into the enemy's country which he had been commanded to make.

General Sherman, also, misled by false information, wrote Slocum in regard to a certain matter, notifying him that if it was not attended to "you need not expect military favors from General Grant or myself." But Slocum was the last man to shape his line of action by expected favors, and in his answer to Sherman said: "Without any particular desire to secure favors from yourself or any other person, I shall continue faithful in the discharge of my duty, which, I think, you readily perceive a very disagreeable and difficult one when you compare the different orders issued to me by General Canby with those issued by yourself." Sherman, finding that his source of information, "the Atlanta paper of the 25th" was not to be relied on, wrote Slocum an explanatory and somewhat apologetic letter which closed the incident.

In accordance with instructions Slocum organized expeditions into the interior, where, by the activity of his troops he prevented the Confederates from sending reinforcements to Lee or Johnston. Taking with him 2,800 infantry and cavalry, and six pieces of artillery, belonging to the Seventeenth Corps, he left Vicksburg, July second, for the purpose of destroying the bridge over Pearl river. After accomplishing this he encountered a strong force of the enemy under command of Lieut. Gen. S. D. Lee, posted on the Clinton road, three miles from Jackson, the State capital. Slo-

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cum attacked early on the morning of the seventh, and after an engagement of two hours' duration forced his opponents back, and moved on to Clinton. He did not attempt a pursuit as his command had about exhausted the supplies with which it started. In this affair Slocum lost 33 killed, 156 wounded, and 31 missing; total 220. General Lee claims a victory in his report, but makes no mention of his casualties aside from the wounding of General Gholson.

Another and successful expedition was made from Vicksburg, July 10-17, 1864, by General Slocum, during which his forces advanced to Port Gibson and Grand Gulf. Some brisk fighting occurred at each place in which the enemy was driven from its position with considerable loss. The object of the movement having been accomplished, the troops returned to Vicksburg. Other expeditions of a similar character, but unimportant as events, were successfully undertaken, Slocum's activity in these matters keeping a large force of Confederates in Mississippi that otherwise might have been employed against Sherman or Grant.

The persistent efforts of the Confederates, aided by sympathizing residents, to get supplies for their army through the lines at Vicksburg, necessitated a vigilant management on the part of the commandant of that district. Strict measures had to be inaugurated, also, to protect the large number of freedmen within the lines, to regulate the cotton trade, to suppress the efforts of corrupt officials, and to protect the many interests of the Government that were continually involved in the administration of affairs on the Mississippi.

Some of Slocum's orders in connection with these matters are of historical value as indicating the condition of affairs at Vicksburg at this time:

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HDQrs. DISTRICT OF VICKSBURG,
VICKSBURG, MISS., *May 5, 1864.* }

GENERAL ORDERS, }
No. 4. }

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IX. No rations will be issued, nor property of any kind transferred to citizens to reimburse them for losses sustained by the operations of the war. The

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persons to whom damages are to be paid, and the amounts due, are questions which no military officer is authorized to adjust.

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

By command of Maj. Gen. H. W. Slocum:

H. C. RODGERS,

Assistant Adjutant-General.

HDQRS. DISTRICT OF VICKSBURG, }
VICKSBURG, MISS., May 12, 1864. }

GENERAL ORDERS, }
No. 6. }

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

II. It is therefore ordered that hereafter in every instance where a Government lessee is robbed of his property, the commanding officer of the nearest military post shall send a sufficient force to the locality, with instructions to seize from disloyal citizens property sufficient to fully indemnify the lessee, which property will be sold at public auction and the proceeds paid to the injured person. If the crops of the lessee are destroyed, or in any manner injured, crops of the same kind will be seized from disloyal citizens and harvested for the benefit of the injured party. If any lessee is killed by guerrillas, an assessment of \$10,000 will at once be levied upon the disloyal people residing within thirty miles of the place where the offense was committed. Property of any kind will be seized and sold for this purpose. The amount so assessed will be appropriated for the benefit of the family of the lessee. Full reports of all seizures and sales of property under this order will in all cases be forwarded direct to these headquarters.

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

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he must be held accountable. Men must be judged by their acts and not by the oaths they have taken.

By command of Maj. Gen. H. W. Slocum:

H. C. RODGERS,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

HDQRS. DISTRICT OF VICKSBURG,
VICKSBURG, MISS., May 18, 1864. }

GENERAL ORDERS, }
No. 7. }

The attention of the officers of this command is called to the importance of maintaining discipline and preventing all marauding and pillaging on the part of the soldiers, while every effort should be made to punish citizens who aid the enemy, or who in any manner violate military law or orders. The punishment in every case should be inflicted by the proper authority, and in a proper and lawful manner. Every act of pillage and every unjustifiable encroachment upon the right of citizens serve only to bring disgrace upon our armies and encourage a spirit which should be unknown among brave men engaged in a noble cause.

The recent murder of a citizen by colored soldiers in open day in the streets of this city should arouse the attention of every officer serving with these troops to the absolute necessity of preventing their soldiers from attempting a redress of their own grievances. If the spirit which led to this act of violence is not at once repressed, consequences of the most terrible nature must follow. The responsibility resting upon officers in immediate command of colored troops cannot be overestimated. The policy of arming colored men, although at first strongly opposed, has finally been very generally approved by loyal men throughout the country. If this experiment is successful, if these troops prove powerful and efficient in enforcing obedience to law, all good officers connected with the organization will receive the credit which will be due them as pioneers in the great work. But if in teaching the colored man that he is free, and that, in becoming a soldier, he has become the equal of his former master, we forget to teach him the first duty of the soldier, that of obedience to law, and to the orders of those appointed over him; if we encourage him in rushing for his arms and coolly murdering citizens for every fancied insult, nothing but disgrace and dishonor can befall all connected with the organization.

Every wrong done to the colored soldiers can and shall be punished, but he must not be permitted to take the law into his own hands, and hereafter the officers of any regiment guilty of such crimes as that which has to-day brought disgrace upon the colored troops, will be held to a strict accountability.

By command of Maj. Gen. H. W. Slocum:

H. C. RODGERS,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

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But Slocum was needed at the front again. Having been appointed to the command of the Twentieth Corps, then on the Atlanta campaign, he relinquished his duties at Vicksburg August 14, 1864, and after waiting a few days to close his business there hastened to join Sherman's army.

The Twentieth Corps was engaged at this time in the siege of Atlanta. Just before Slocum's arrival the corps had been sent to guard the line of the Chattahoochee River, while the main army, abandoning its trenches, moved against the railroad communications of the enemy on the south side of the city. Slocum arrived at the camps of the Twentieth Corps, August twenty-seventh, his appearance being greeted with enthusiastic cheers. The Gettysburg and Chancellorsville veterans were especially prominent in this demonstration, as they rejoiced greatly at the prospect of serving under their old commander again.

Sherman's movement to the south of Atlanta had the intended effect. General Hood was forced to come out and fight in order to protect his line of supplies, and encountering defeat he was compelled to order the evacuation of the city. Before abandoning Atlanta the Confederates destroyed seventy carloads of ammunition and burned a large amount of material on the night of September first. The continuous and heavy explosions aroused the camps of the Twentieth Corps, some six miles distant. As the men listened to the uproar, plainly heard in the stillness of the night, they argued that Sherman had returned and was attempting an assault. But when Slocum saw the red glare of the sky he knew that the enemy was evacuating the city, and immediately ordered forward a strong detachment from each of his three divisions. Starting before daylight these troops entered the outer works in a few hours, where they were met by the civil authorities who made a formal surrender of the city. Sherman, who was at Jonesboro, some thirty miles away, soon received a despatch from Slocum announcing the fall of Atlanta and its occupation by his corps.

The Twentieth Corps remained in the city, and the rest of the army, on its return, encamped at various points in that vicinity. Sherman's confidence in Slocum's administrative ability was such that he left him, with the Twentieth Corps, to hold Atlanta and manage its affairs while he (Sherman) moved northward in pursuit of Hood. Slocum remained in the city over two months, his time

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being occupied with provost duties and in organizing expeditions into the country for gathering food and supplies for his command.

The pursuit of the elusive Hood proved fruitless. Sherman returned to Atlanta with part of his forces, having left the rest under General Thomas, with instructions to follow the Confederate army and destroy it. On the return to Atlanta preparations were made for the movement through Georgia to Savannah. For this purpose the army was divided into two separate commands, designated respectively as the Right and Left Wing. The former, composed of the Army of the Tennessee, was placed under General Howard; the latter, made up of two corps from the army of the Cumberland — Fourteenth and Twentieth — was assigned to General Slocum.

The March to the Sea began November fifteenth. One week before, General Slocum wrote a letter to his family describing some of the scenes of preparation:

ATLANTA, GA., Nov. 7th, 1864.

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

I have been to the R. R. depot for the past three days several times, and have witnessed many sad and some ludicrous scenes. All citizens (white and black) begin to apprehend that something is about to happen. The whites are alarmed, and many are leaving the city, giving up houses, lands, furniture, negroes, and all. The blacks want to go North, and the Car House is surrounded by them. Hundreds of cars are literally *packed* with them and their dirty bundles, inside and out. Old toothless hags, little pickaninnies, fat wenches of all shades, from light brown to jet black, are piled up together with their old bags, bundles, broken chairs, etc. Some are gnawing old bones, some squatted by the cars making hoe-cakes, some crying for food. Many of the whites are as anxious to get North as the darkies, and gladly accept a place in a car reeking with the odor peculiar to "the American of African descent." It is a sad sight, but I anticipate seeing many such before spring.

I wish for humanity's sake that this sad war could be brought to a close. While laboring to make it successful, I shall do all in my power to mitigate its horrors.

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General Slocum held now the highest command in his military career, that of a separate army. The able manner in which he conducted his forces while on the March to the Sea justified his selection for this responsible position.

Though his column did not encounter the enemy in strong force, and his troops did comparatively little fighting, he demonstrated that he was a master of the art of military logistics. Despite all difficulties, the various divisions of his army never failed to reach their appointed destination within the allotted time. When the hour came, whether noon or night, every wagon of his trains was in its park, every regiment of his command at its place of bivouac. In military science there are many branches besides fighting; and Slocum's wide experience embraced them all.

When Sherman's forces reached Savannah, an investment of the city and a siege became necessary. General Hardee occupied the place with 15,000 Confederate troops, under able, experienced commanders. The strong line of works, combined with certain natural advantages, indicated a prolonged defense. But the investment was not complete. Hardee had one avenue of escape, across the Savannah river to the North. As the left of Slocum's army rested on the river, he made a demonstration against this one line by which the enemy might retreat, and had he secured the desired permission would have placed a strong body of troops across it. But Sherman had a different arrangement in mind, and went to Beaufort to secure the co-operation of some troops for this purpose. During his absence, Hardee, alarmed by the threatening movement of one of Slocum's brigades towards his rear, evacuated the city, and withdrew his forces in safety. Crossing the river, he reached a causeway through a swamp, his one and only way of escape. Had Slocum's suggestion been adopted, the entire garrison would have been compelled to surrender within a short time. Upon the evacuation a division of the Twentieth Corps was the first to enter the city, and to these troops was accorded the privilege of remaining there on provost duty while the army lay outside the town.

In January, 1865, Sherman's two armies started northward on the campaign of the Carolinas, with the ultimate intention of joining the Army of the Potomac, at Petersburg, or co-operating with it. This campaign was the most remarkable one in the history of the war for its duration, the number of miles marched, and the hardships

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encountered by the soldiers. It was undertaken at the most inclement season of the year in that climate.

The route was crossed at frequent intervals by rivers that, owing to the frequent rains, had overflowed their banks and filled the great swamps on either side. Though the pontoon trains were sufficient for bridging any stream on the line of march, they were useless in the wide areas of flooded lowlands. The soldiers were obliged to wade repeatedly through long stretches of deep and chilling water, often exposed to the fire of the enemy. The Confederates availed themselves of every opportunity to contest the passage of these streams. In addition, there was the toilsome work of destroying the railroads along the route, and the still more arduous labor of assisting the wagon trains and artillery through the swamps.

In passing through North Carolina, Slocum, still in command of the Left Wing, encountered Hardee's forces near Averasborough. An engagement, one of the minor battles of the war, ensued, in which Slocum defeated Hardee handsomely and drove him from the field. Three days later, Gen. Jos. E. Johnston, having united his scattered forces, attacked Slocum at Bentonville. The Confederate leader, having over 20,000 veterans under his command, hoped that by a sudden dash upon the Left Wing he could defeat that army before it could receive assistance from the Right Wing, then many miles distant. But Slocum, wary and cautious, quickly divined the intention of his antagonist. Recalling his advance and bringing forward his divisions from the rear, he threw his forces into position quickly and repulsed Johnston's fierce onslaught. When night came he was still in possession of the field. The next day he was reinforced by troops sent to his support by General Howard. There was some desultory fighting, and then Johnston retreated to Raleigh. Another victory was added to Slocum's record.

The careful, methodical action which always characterized Slocum's movements when about to encounter the enemy in force was well displayed at Bentonville. When the general found that a battle was imminent he halted until he could bring up all his available forces, and in the meantime ascertain the position of the enemy. General Kilpatrick, who was in command of the cavalry, urged Slocum strongly to make a bold dash and clear the Confederates out of the way as he (Slocum) had done at Averasborough. Had he done so he would have invited a serious disaster. But rejecting

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the advice thus offered he said, significantly, "General Kilpatrick, I don't propose to advance farther until I know just what is on my flanks." The doughty cavalryman looked thoughtful for a moment, and then hurried away to obtain this highly important information.

Hon. J. B. Foraker, United States Senator from Ohio, who was a member of Slocum's staff on this campaign, says that Major Mosely, also of the staff, suggested to Slocum that he should order the advance division to charge the enemy and clear the road; that there could not possibly be a very strong force in front; that if the general waited for his other forces to come up a whole day would be lost; and that if it should turn out that there was nothing in front to justify such caution it would injure the prestige of the Left Wing. Slocum replied, earnestly, "I can afford to be charged with being dilatory or overcautious, but I cannot afford the responsibility of another Ball's Bluff affair.*

To Slocum's credit, it should be said that he did what he could to maintain a proper state of discipline in his own command. Major William G. Tracy, of Slocum's staff, states that "During this march he (Slocum), so far as was in his power, endeavored to restrain unnecessary pillage and injury to the inhabitants of the country, but never received the credit due him for such efforts, for he had but scant sympathy in that regard from his superior officer."†

The Carolina campaign ended practically with the occupation of Goldsborough. Here the designation of the Left Wing was changed to that of the Army of Georgia, although no change was made in its composition. General Slocum, retaining his command, served with the Army of Georgia in the pursuit and at the surrender of Johnston, and rode at the head of this army in the final Grand Review in Washington at the close of the war.

The time having arrived for disbanding the army and mustering out the regiments, General Slocum issued a farewell address to his soldiers:

* Battles and Leaders of the Civil War. Vol. IV, p. 693. New York: The Century Co. 1888.

† Address at Slocum memorial service, All Souls' Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., May 4, 1894.

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HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF GEORGIA,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 6th, 1865.* }

GENERAL ORDERS, }
No. 15. }

With the separation of the troops composing this Army in compliance with recent orders, the organization known as "the Army of Georgia" will virtually cease to exist. Many of you will at once return to your homes. No one now serving as a volunteer will probably be retained in service against his will but a short time longer. All will soon be permitted to return and receive the rewards due them as the gallant defenders of their country.

While I cannot repress a feeling of sadness at parting with you, I congratulate you upon the grand results achieved by your valor, fidelity and patriotism.

No generation has ever done more for the permanent establishment of a just and liberal form of Government — more for the honor of their Nation — than has been done during the past four years by the Armies of the United States, and the patriotic people at home, who have poured out their wealth in support of these armies with a liberality never before witnessed in any country.

Do not forget the parting advice of that great Chieftain who led you through your recent brilliant campaign, "As in war you have been good soldiers, so in peace be good citizens."

Should you ever desire to resume the honorable profession you are now about to leave, do not forget that this profession is honorable only when followed in obedience to the orders of the constituted authority of your Government.

With feelings of deep gratitude to each and all of you for your uniform soldierly conduct,— for the patience and fortitude with which you have borne all the hardships it has been necessary to impose upon you,—and for the unflinching resolution with which you have sustained the holy cause in which we have been engaged, I bid you farewell.

H. W. SLOCUM,

Major-General Comd'g.

After a brief leave of absence he returned to Vicksburg where he assumed command of the military department of the Mississippi. Here he exercised his administrative ability in alleviating so far as possible the unhappy conditions incidental to a long and terrible war, the effects of which had been especially disastrous to the people in that district. Under his able guidance a peaceful condition of affairs was soon restored and business was resumed in all its various branches.

But the position and its duties were in too strong a contrast with his four years of active life in the field. The general found the routine

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at Vicksburg irksome and burdensome in the extreme. He had an intense longing for home and the attractions of civil life. He had defended his country well in its time of trial, and now that there was no further need of his services he felt at liberty to resign his commission.

At this time the politicians of his State, eagerly seeking for a candidate whose brilliant record and popularity would render him available for party success, were giving his name favorable consideration. Prior to the war, Slocum had been a Republican and had held important offices under that party. But during the war he had always refrained from any expression of opinion whatever on political matters. Although loyal to the Administration he had never by word or deed allowed any intimation of his views on the management of affairs to escape him. Hence a nomination on the State ticket was tendered him by each party. He received two letters in Vicksburg that are of particular interest in connection with this matter:

SYRACUSE, N. Y., *August 11, 1865.*

DEAR GENERAL:

We of the State of New York, of the chosen of the Lord, who are desirous of sustaining the administration of President Johnson, etc., are looking around for candidates for state offices this fall.

And now to the point. I have no doubt a *nearly*, if not entirely, unanimous nomination for the office of Secretary of State (the head of the ticket) can be secured you. I now think the nomination can be secured by acclamation; but certainly it can be secured so as to be, or appear to be, entirely unsought after by you,—if you desire it. I came from Saratoga yesterday, where together with Belden I talked with several of our friends. To-day, Watson, of Cayuga county, has been here. He is present at this writing and would be most happy to honor you. Therefore you see my judgment is not mere speculation. I believe, also, that you know enough of me to have a fair opinion of my discernment in political matters.

The question now is, What do you desire in the matter? Please write me fully, that your friends may act advisedly. I hardly know whether to advise you or not, but it must be obvious to you that for your own good, if you intend to come back to this State, the sooner you mix in State politics the better, and there can hardly be a better or more propitious way of entering than as a military "Hero," and before all the military heroes have retired to civil life, and have become your rivals for civic honors.

Most truly, your friend,

FRANK HISCOCK.

Henry Warner Slocum

SYRACUSE, N. Y., *August 22, 1865.*

Strictly confidential.

MY DEAR SIR:

The political campaign is about opening, and from present appearances promises many curious combinations. I have just returned from a meeting of our Democratic State Committee at Albany, which called a State Convention for the nomination of State officers to meet on September sixth.

Now to the point. I am authorized by our leading politicians to offer you the place of Secretary of State on our ticket; or if the duties of this are too active for you, to ask you to accept that of Treasurer, where the duties are less active and require but little of your time. We would, however, prefer you to head the ticket.

Mr. Robinson, the present Comptroller, elected by the Republicans two years ago, desires a renomination from us, and he will in all probability get it. Martin Grover, elected by the Republicans to the Supreme Court bench, will be one of our nominees for the Court of Appeals. I mention these facts in order that you may get some idea of the drift affairs are taking.

There is not much doubt in the minds of good politicians but that we shall carry the State this fall. We intend to endorse President Johnson's administration with regard to his treatment of the Southern States, and while we shall endorse it quite generally, we shall avoid finding fault with it upon any question — believing that in a very short time the President's policy will conform to what is desired by the Democratic party. I am also warranted in saying that if you accept our nomination for Secretary of State, the pleasantest office on the ticket, and should be elected, you can have the nomination for Governor next year. The present would be but a stepping stone to the other. Understand me, this offer is not made by any particular interest or clique in the party, but would be given to you *unanimously* in the Convention. Dean Richmond knows of my writing this, and I shall expect — with your permission — to show him your reply. You will notice that I have written you very frankly; my acquaintance with you warrants me in doing so.

Regarding you more of a soldier than politician, you will pardon me when I express my belief that everything now indicates the speedy dissolution of the Republican party and the return of the Democracy to power — a result which just laws, equal taxation, and the best interests of the country imperatively demand. You will of course consider my letter as entirely confidential, and favor me with an immediate reply.

Yours very truly,

JNO. A. GREEN, JR.

To Maj. Genl. H. W. SLOCUM.

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General Slocum had already made up his mind to retire from the army, but he delayed his resignation for various reasons, one of which appears in a letter to General Sherman:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF MISSISSIPPI,
VICKSBURG, MISS., *August 27, 1865.* }

MY DEAR GENERAL:

Your favor of the twenty-second has just come to hand. I came here without my family and with the intention of remaining only until the surplus generals were mustered out. I did not like to go out with a crowd of worthless officers who should have been mustered out long ago; but I think —— & Co. will outlive me after all, as I do not intend to spend the winter here. I shall pay you a visit on my way home.

Force has reported and been assigned to the command of the Vicksburg District, relieving Maltby. Force is a good officer and I am glad to get him. Charley Ewing has not yet come.

Woods has been very sick at Mobile but is better. I have met many of your old officers and soldiers since we parted, and all of them, without exception, are "loyal."

I enclose an order just published. I did not like to take this step; but Sharkey should have consulted me before issuing an order arming the rebs — and placing them on duty with the darkies in every county of the State. I hope the U. S. Military will soon be removed from the State, but until this is done it would certainly be bad policy to arm the militia.

Yours, truly,

Maj. Genl. W. T. SHERMAN,
St. Louis, Mo.

H. W. SLOCUM.

To this letter General Sherman replied as follows:

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
ST. LOUIS, MO., *September 7, 1865.* }

DEAR SLOCUM:

I have just received your letter of August twenty-seventh. Since I wrote you, Charley Ewing has gone down, and must now be with you. I have read all your orders and of course approve beforehand, as you, on the spot, are the competent judge. Sooner or later the people South must resume the management of their own affairs, even if they commit *felo-de-se*; for the North cannot long afford to keep armies there for local police. Still as long as you do have the force, and the State none, you must of necessity control. My own opinion

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is that self interest will soon induce the present people of Mississippi to invite and encourage a kind of emigration that will, like in Maryland and Missouri, change the whole public opinion. They certainly will not again tempt the resistance of the United States; nor will they ever reinstate the negro. The only question is when will the change occur.

I agree with you that if you see your way ahead in civil life, it is to your permanent interest to resign; it don't make much difference when. You have all the military fame you can expect in this epoch. All know your rank and appreciate you, and I would not submit to the scrambling for position next winter if I were in your place, unless you have resolved to stay in the army for life.

I shall be delighted to meet you as you come up. I am now boarding at the Lindell Hotel, but expect to go to housekeeping in a few days on Garrison Avenue, near Franklin Avenue, a fine property, presented to me, on the outskirts of the city, where I shall be delighted to receive you. My office is on Walnut Street, between five and six, near the Southern Hotel.

Always your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

The resignation of General Slocum was dated September 28, 1865. Leaving Vicksburg, he returned to Syracuse with the intention of resuming the practice of law. To the surprise of his friends he accepted the nomination for Secretary of State on the Democratic ticket. He was in accord with President Johnson's views as to the status of the returning States, and the measures best adapted to the political pacification of the South. It was with keen regret that he broke with his old party friends to whom he had been indebted in his earlier life; but he followed the path of duty as he saw it, yet without questioning the right of others who remained loyally within the old appointed lines. He was defeated in the election that fall, together with the rest of his ticket. It was a Republican year. If the Democratic leaders thought that his nomination would make an inroad in the soldier vote they were mistaken. The Republicans nominated for the same office, Gen. Francis C. Barlow, an officer whose fine war record would fully justify any Republican veteran in adhering to his own ticket at that election. If Slocum was disappointed over his defeat he gave no evidence of it; but Sherman's sympathy for his friend and companion-in-arms appears in his next letter:

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SAINT LOUIS, MO., *December 26, 1865.*

Gen. H. W. SLOCUM,
Syracuse, New York:

DEAR SLOCUM:

I got home last Friday after a three weeks absence down in Arkansas, and found, among a budget of letters received, your valued favor of Nov. thirtieth. This is my first leisure hour since, and I hasten to assure you of my great personal attachment, and that I would do almost anything that would mark my favor to you.

I think I was more disappointed at your non-election than you could have been; for I thought that politics had not so strong a hold on New York as to defeat you for an office that should have been above the influence of mere party organization. But you are young, and can stand it; and I know that, some-time later, your State will recognize and reward, if you need it, military services such as you rendered your country.

At some future time I will come on to Syracuse and stop a day with you to assure you of my great partiality, and also to renew the short but most agreeable acquaintance formed in Washington with your wife, to whom I beg you will convey my best compliments.

As to delivering a lecture at Albany, I must decline. The truth is, on abstract subjects I know I would be as prosy as a cyclopedia, and not half as accurate; and to speak on matters of personal interest, past, present or future, I would be sure to give rise to controversies, useless or mischievous. Of the events with which we were connected, I am already committed, and must stand by the record. Were I to elaborate them it would detract from the interest of what now stands as a contemporaneous narrative. I really think we do best to let others now take up the thread of history, and treat of us as actors of the past.

Please write to Mr. Doty that I am very much complimented by his flattering invitation; that I appreciate the object he aims to accomplish, and would be glad to assist therein, but that outside considerations would make it unbecoming to appear in the nature of a lecturer. Too much importance has already been given to the few remarks I have made at times when I simply aimed to acknowledge a personal compliment, and to gratify a natural curiosity by people whose imaginations had been excited by the colored pictures drawn by the press.

I have not preserved out of the late war a single relic — not a flag, not a curious shot or shell; nothing but those simple memories which every New York soldier retains as well as I do. I do think that your regiment was so filled by young men of education and intelligence that the commissioners will find their records swelling to an extent that will more than gratify their fondest expectations.

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We are now living in great comfort here. Your excellent photograph has its place in the albums of each of my children, and Mrs. Sherman regards you with special favor. Wishing you all honor and fame among your own people, I shall ever regard you as one of my cherished friends.

With respects,

W. T. SHERMAN,

Major-General.

A position in the Regular Army suitable to his previous rank and record was tendered General Slocum by the Government, but as he had other plans in view he declined the honor, expressing his high appreciation of this further recognition of his services. After a brief stay in Syracuse he moved his residence to the city of Brooklyn, where he soon became connected with business enterprises of an extensive character.

Although he had no aspirations for a political life and made no efforts to promote his interests in this direction, political honors were conferred upon him. In 1868 his name was placed on the State ticket as a Presidential Elector; and the next year he was sent to Congress from a Brooklyn district. In 1883 he was elected Congressman-at-Large from the State of New York by a flattering majority. In the discharge of his duties at the National Capital he paid little attention to the details of party or petty legislation, but was always prominently identified with measures relating to the army, the welfare of the veterans, and the various questions arising from conditions engendered by the Civil War. He took an active part in securing the passage of the bill granting a second court of inquiry in the case of Gen. Fitz John Porter, which resulted in the reinstatement of that officer in the Regular Army with his former rank and position. In this generous action he had the concurrence of General Grant, and, also, the approval of every thoughtful student of history who had made a careful, unprejudiced examination of the facts and records bearing on this celebrated case. General Slocum served three terms at Washington, and then, finding that his private business required his entire time and attention, declined a renomination.

Despite his long, busy life, with all the requirements of politics and wide-spread business connections, the general found time to

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keep in touch with army acquaintances. Some of the letters written and received by him are interesting in connection with this period of his life:

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *March 8, 1868.*

MY DEAR GENERAL:

Your favor of February twenty-fourth has been received. The enclosure (relative to claim for services of a woman in Georgia) was endorsed and forwarded in compliance with your request.

I read with much interest your views as to the future meetings of the officers of your old armies. I have read the proceedings at Cincinnati, including the speeches of yourself and General Thomas, and I frankly confess to you what I have admitted to no other person, that I was a little disappointed that no mention whatever was made by any one of my command under you on the Great March. My command constituted nearly one-half your force on that march, and your reports show that it bore more than one-half of the losses you suffered, and I did think it entitled me to a word of recognition. According to the maps, General Thomas commanded the Army of Georgia as well as that which defended Nashville, and I cannot for the life of me tell what command I had. I begin to doubt whether or not I was with you. In order that I may get posted on these matters, I think I shall attend the next meeting; but I assure you I am too lazy or too indifferent on the subject to quarrel with my associates for "the honors."

Since the eventful days that we spent in Raleigh, I have witnessed some wonderful changes. Logan, who then feared that Frank Blair and myself would be radicals when we reached home, can now throw even old Thad Stevens in the shade. Stanton is earnestly supported by the Grand Army of the Republic, although at that time he was exceedingly unpopular in the Army of Georgia.

Ambition and self-interest have wiped out the memory of the past, buried old friendships, and brought into the same fold those who were then sworn enemies. I presume that it is better that it should be so. Still, I cannot curse a man one day and fawn on him the next. I cannot declare slavery the natural and proper condition of the negro to-day, and to-morrow advocate his right to make constitutions and laws. Hence I think I shall never make a politician. And if I am not a politician, of what value is a military record? Thomas may have the credit of commanding your left wing, and Logan the credit of Bentonville. . . . On personal as well as political matters, I still stand on the Raleigh platform.

Perhaps I owe you an apology for referring to these matters in replying to your kind letter; but as I never allude to them in conversation with friends, or

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in letters for the press, I trust you will pardon me for writing to you just what I think and feel.

I am still living a quiet and happy life at my home in Brooklyn where Mrs. Slocum as well as myself will ever be glad to welcome you.

Your friend,

Lieut. Gen. W. T. SHERMAN,
St. Louis, Mo.

H. W. SLOCUM.

To which Sherman replied as follows:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *March 13, 1868.*

DEAR SLOCUM:

Yours of March eighth is received. I was very glad to see that you took things so philosophically. It should have been my business to have looked after the interests of the absent; but I was told that all would be toasted and noticed, and as very many officers of the Fourth and Fourteenth Corps were there I looked to them to say some kind words of you. At all events, I was not conscious that any one had been so omitted till the reports came in print, when I saw at a glance what construction you would put upon it. I will, however, make all the amends I can, and aim to bring all together for once this winter at Chicago, early in December, and afford all the armies once in my command an opportunity to have their own spokesmen.

I have a letter from Schofield highly approbating and will now write Thomas, who has never recovered exactly from the criticisms on his slow fighting at Nashville, and my taking out of his army two strong corps, a fact that I see, plain enough, he would ignore.

As to politics, it is impossible for language to convey my detestation of them. I have seen Fear, Cowardice, Treachery, Villainy in all its shapes contort and twist men's judgment and actions, but none of them like politics. It may be that politics are honest, respectable, and necessary to a republican form of government; but I will none of them. As you say, Logan is a sample. I remember his ranting and pitching about that old Pagan in Raleigh, pretty much the same style as now, but slightly different in principle.

They have tried to rope me in more than once, but I have kept out and shall do so as long as I can; and then I hope I shall die before what little fame I have is lost and swept away.

Your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN,

Lt. General.

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The limits of this brief biography will not permit the publication here of the many interesting letters found among General Slocum's papers relating to the men and affairs of his time. A few, however, contain enough of unwritten history to justify their insertion:

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *May 20th*, 1875.

DEAR GENERAL:

Please accept my thanks for the copy of your book received yesterday. I have not yet read it, but have read all the extracts published in the New York papers, together with editorial comments. While I anticipate a great row to result from it, I am glad you published it. It throws a flood of light on the story of your campaigns, and not only corrects many errors that have crept into history, but will prevent other falsehoods from appearing.

I accidentally met General Hooker a day or two ago. He was very cordial in his manner towards me. Your book of course became a topic of conversation at once. He is not pleased with it, but was less bitter than I anticipated he would be. He showed me a letter written to him by Geo. Wilkes on October 14, 1864, in which Wilkes relates an interview he had just had with Stanton, in which Stanton shows his animosity to you. He suggests to Hooker that he has placed him in command of a Department where he can not only build up himself, but can undermine you. There is not a doubt but that the letter is genuine, and it is a truthful statement of the interview.

I would like very much to see you. When are you going on the plains? You promised to inform me.

Yours truly,

H. W. SLOCUM.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Dec. 9*, 1882.

DEAR SLOCUM:

Looking over the New York papers of this morning I noticed the Club Dinner in Brooklyn in which you and Beecher spoke, and it occurred to me that may be I ought to have written you congratulating you on your recent election to the next House of Representatives. As a matter of course, my thoughts of you, if not of all persons and things, revert back to our army service together, and I do believe I feel the pleasure of a father when any of my old comrades attain anything they desire, be it wealth, influence or station; but time has not stopped, and we hardly recognize each other after seventeen eventful years.

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Politics too, seem to color objects as with a glass, and it might seem disloyal for me to rejoice at the success of a Democrat. But if you, General Slocum, want to come to Congress, I surely am glad that you have come endorsed by such a vote of your fellow citizens, which I choose to interpret as more due to your personal merits and qualities than to your partisan associates. One reason of my regret is that you come just as I leave.

Don't for a moment believe that because a few newspaper scribblers have construed me a martyr, and consequently that I am a fit subject for a Presidential candidate. The thought to me is simply repulsive. I would not be a candidate if I could, and I could not if I would. No, I have my house at St. Louis, my family are anxious to get back, and I am equally so. All our neighbors there are jubilant at the idea of our coming back, and I would be the veriest fool to undergo the torture of a canvass and four years of worry and discomfort for an honor I do not covet or appreciate.

I have seen Presidents Jackson, Harrison, Taylor, Grant, Hayes and Garfield, and there is nothing in their experience which tempts me to depart from my convictions. I am under no obligations to sacrifice myself for the Republicans. They called me to Washington against my will, and so legislated that I could not afford to live in a house given to me as a compliment. They cut my pay down below what Lt. Gen. Scott had in 1848, when a dollar was worth two of to-day. Not a year since but my personal expenses have exceeded my salary. They allowed Secretary Belknap to pile up his indignities on me, so that self respect compelled me to go away. All this you know; so that I should owe anything like gratitude to the Republicans is out of the question. But enough. I am glad you have succeeded, and sorry I must leave just as you are coming.

Yours truly,

W. T. SHERMAN.

ARMY BUILDING, }
NEW YORK, Dec. 29, 1886. }

DEAR SLOCUM:

Yours of the twenty-seventh was received yesterday. I am glad you answered the Press Interviewer as you did, and as was reported. Of course, I do not remember the exact words used at the New England dinner, but surely Logan is entitled to even exaggerated encomiums at this time. He had, as you well know, some magnificent qualities and some petty defects. For a long time he rankled over the seeming injustice of my agency in making Howard instead of Logan to succeed McPherson, killed in battle, and he visited on me the injustice of a reduction of pay when I could ill afford it, and succeeded in driving me out of Washington, etc.

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But with more mature years he recovered from his spasm, and became more than friendly, not only to me personally, but to the regular army officers and men. This you must have noticed. I have had many most friendly jousts with him in debate and on paper.

Meantime I must go to-morrow to Washington to act as pall bearer at his funeral on Friday. I have official notice that the funeral ceremonies will be held in the Senate Chamber at noon Friday, and that his body will be temporarily deposited in a private vault in Washington, I infer afterward to be transferred to Chicago.

"And seven cities claimed the Homer dead,
Through which the living Homer begged his bread."

So the world wags. Ever since the war Logan has been toiling for a maintenance, died poor, and now cities contest for his place of burial.

Always glad to hear from you and hoping to meet you soon,

I am, truly and sincerely, your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

It is doubtful if Slocum could have attained any special prominence in political life. At long intervals some fearless, outspoken man of high ideals is selected by a party organization to head its State or National ticket, but only when the party is in dire stress and the political leaders are obliged to tender the nomination in order to avoid defeat.

But this man, who had always measured up to the highest standard of the Regular Army and its traditions, whose consciousness of his own integrity of purpose prompted him to write General Sherman that he had no "desire to secure favors from him or any other person," would naturally receive but scant consideration from the machine bosses who must always have a candidate with whom they can make a deal, or whom they can bind by promises of patronage. Hence, when Slocum, at the urgent request of enthusiastic friends, allowed his name to come before the Syracuse Convention in 1882 as a candidate for the gubernatorial nomination, he was defeated. Had he received the nomination, the phenomenal majority accorded at the polls that fell to his competitor would have been given him as well, and, probably, a still greater one, owing to his popularity and distinguished record. For him, too, the election to the office of Governor would have proved a stepping stone to the Presidency of the Nation. But, whatever ambitions he may have entertained, he

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wanted the office only for the power for good it had in it, and so, having made no effort on his own part to secure the nomination, he abided the action of the Convention cheerfully and with unruffled temper.

General Slocum could well afford to forego the preferments of political life in view of the large fortune which accrued from his business ventures. His success in these affairs must have been very gratifying to him when he recalled to mind his efforts in early life to earn sufficient money to provide for his education.

In every enterprise entrusted to his management he displayed an administrative ability which won the confidence and respect of the entire business community within which he operated. His success as an executive officer was demonstrated in the development of the "Crosstown" surface railroad system, which, under his management, became the most profitable line in the city. He was a large stockholder in other lines, and was president of the Brooklyn and Coney Island Railroad Company. Though his holdings in the latter were small compared with his other interests, this company was a special object of his regard. In the management of that property, his quick discernment made him first among local railway presidents to appreciate the merits of electricity as a motive power, and, with characteristic self-reliance, to install that system on his road.

Among the other investments which occupied his attention, he was a director in the People's Trust Company, the Williamsburg City Fire Insurance Company, the Hecker-Jones-Jewell Milling Company, and the Coombs, Crosby & Eddy Company.

Although the exacting requirements of his business affairs would not permit his continuance in public office, his interest in the welfare of the veterans in his State constrained him to accept an appointment on the first Board of Trustees of the Soldiers' Home at Bath, N. Y. His name was sent to the Senate for this place by Gov. Lucius Robinson, and it was confirmed without reference. This Board, comprising some of the most distinguished soldiers in New York, elected General Slocum as its President, by a unanimous vote at the first meeting. It was an office without emolument or profit, but during the remainder of his life he continued in the discharge of its duties with unabated zeal. Although residing at a great distance from the Home, he seldom missed a meeting, and never failed in his faithful devotion to the institution and its varied interests.

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He served also, until his death, as a member of the New York Monuments Commission for the Battlefield of Gettysburg, an office with important and exacting duties, owing to the large sums of money expended by the State in the erection of monuments for each New York regiment and battery that participated in the battle. He was a member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, and held for one term the highest office in the Commandery of New York. With all his cares and duties he found time for the enjoyments of social life, taking a prominent interest in the affairs and management of the Brooklyn Club.

He was no longer seeking the great things in life. His only ambition was to do what good he could while pursuing the quiet tenor of his way. Gen. Stewart L. Woodford relates that at one time he asked Slocum if there was any truth in the report that he was willing to serve on the Board of Education in Brooklyn. Slocum replied that there was, and said further: "Mayor Schieren is my near neighbor, and I would not like to speak to him myself, but I wish you would tell him that if, when he is making up the list of new trustees, he has no one else, I would like to go on the Board of Education. All my ambition has passed away, but in the closing years of my life I would like to help the children of Brooklyn." And then he added: "A man can do more good in helping the children to be taught well than he can in commanding an army." This incident will be better understood when it is remembered that he taught school himself for awhile before entering West Point.

And so, amid quiet, peaceful pursuits, surrounded by all the enjoyments of an ideal home life, the years passed by.

General Slocum died April 14, 1894, at the age of sixty-seven, after a brief illness, at his home in Brooklyn.

Upon the news of his death the House of Representatives at Washington passed resolutions expressing profound regret and an acknowledgment of the loss which the Nation had sustained. Both the Senate and Assembly at Albany passed similar resolutions and adjourned as a token of respect, the lower house having appointed a committee from its members to attend the funeral. The Common Council of the City of Brooklyn took appropriate action, and ordered that business in the public buildings be suspended on the day of the funeral. The Military Order of the Loyal Legion issued an

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obituary pamphlet, and many Posts in the Grand Army of the Republic — some of them in other States — passed resolutions testifying to the loss which the veterans of the war had sustained in the death of their friend and advocate.

The funeral was held at the Church of the Messiah, where the exercises were conducted in accordance with the solemn ritual of the Episcopal service. On the conclusion of the ceremonies in the church the remains were placed on a gun-carriage, and, covered by the flag he so heroically defended, were escorted to Greenwood Cemetery by a large body of troops from the Regular Army and National Guard, under command of Col. Loomis L. Langdon, First United States Artillery. The imposing military pageant, with the funereal music of the bands, made a deep impression on the silent throngs of citizens who lined the route along which the procession moved. At the Cemetery four volleys were fired by a battery of artillery, a bugler sounded "Taps" and the hero was laid at rest.

And so, having lived the allotted years of human life, lived them in honor and to the good of his country and his fellow men, the "good gray head that all men knew" was seen no more.