

THE LIFE AND SERVICES
OF
MAJOR-GENERAL H. W. SLOCUM

THE
LIFE AND SERVICES
OF
MAJOR-GENERAL
HENRY WARNER SLOCUM

OFFICER IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY; IN THE
AMERICAN CIVIL WAR IN DIFFERENT MILITARY CAMPAIGNS
COMMANDER OF ARMY CORPS; COMMANDER OF ARMIES
COMMANDER OF DISTRICT; COMMANDER OF
DEPARTMENT; STATE AND NATIONAL
LEGISLATOR; CITIZEN

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GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY; AND OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

STAY AND FIGHT IT OUT—*General Slocum's Injunction to the Council of War
in the Dark Hour of the Battle of Gettysburg*

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TO THE NUMEROUS POSTS OF
THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC
A SOCIETY OF HONORABLY DISCHARGED SOLDIERS
OF THE UNION ARMIES AND NAVY OF THE CIVIL WAR OF 1861-1865
WHICH HAS CONTRIBUTED LARGELY TO THE UPLIFT
OF THE SOCIAL LIFE OF ITS MEMBERS
AS WELL AS TO THE BROADENING OF
THEIR PATRIOTIC LOVE OF THEIR COUNTRY
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED
BY THE AUTHOR

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Wm Slocum
Major Genl

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.—GENERAL SLOCUM'S *letter to his wife November 7, 1864, from Atlanta, eight days before starting on the memorable MARCH TO THE SEA.*

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This book is given to events surrounding, and centering in, one prominent actor in the Great Civil War of 1861-1865 in the United States of America, with mention of other actors and events closely associated with the subject actor for the side lights thus cast on the subject for the rounding of the record.

It has been the desire of the writer to keep each page clear in its record of men and events, and not to forget that the detail belongs to the principal subject. It is thought best to incline to some details that may be thought unnecessary by those readers fully informed, rather than to have the average reader miss too much that he would like to know. Irrelevant questions have been avoided.

More than a generation in time has passed since the close of the great internal strife of four years duration treated of in this book; and it is hoped, from the importance of the subject, that the record of the details of the army life and its great trials presented herein may be of interest to every reader. The work is based upon the Official Records, on correspondence, and other material placed in the writer's hands by the immediate family of the subject actor.

This Great Civil War originated from the legislative acts of secession of eleven Southern slaveholding States from their original Union with the Northern States; from the organizing of a separate government by the former called the Confederate States of America; the seizure by it of all the forts, arsenals, navy yards, and other United States property within the limits of this new would-be government that was readily turned over to it by sympathizing friends in charge of them; and from overt acts of war against the United States control of Union property in the Southern States not promptly surrendered to those in sympathy with the Confederate States government then being organized.

The Army of the United States had always been small. Most members of it who had been recruited in the South, remained there, as did most of the Southern officers, graduates

of the United States Military and Naval Academies. Such officers in the North and South, with the former recruits, formed only small nuclei of the contesting armies that were soon gathered with war intent, particularly in the South.

Nearly all members of the large armies, gathered by hundreds of thousands North and South for this fratricidal war, were at first short time volunteers, scarcely any one of whom was fairly well disciplined when his term of enlistment expired, the officers of each government thinking that the war, if any there was, would be of short duration. Many of these short term soldiers, however, reinlisted for longer service, and they became veterans of unexcelled worth.

It has not been the intention, or the desire, of the writer to produce a complete history or account of any battle mentioned in this book, and much less a continuous record of the great war. No such complete work has been accomplished. The most the writer hopes to do, is to show the part enacted by his subject actor in daily detail, after recording his basis for heritage through many American generations, his early ambitions, opportunities, and struggles, all contributing to the formation of an upright stable character of the poor American boy, whose watchfulness for and the embracing of opportunities for his betterment, and whose thoughtful and unfaltering devotion to duty, and to his country, eventually enrolled his name high, and indelibly, upon his country's Roll of Honor as a Union officer of the most trustworthy and successful class in the great conflict known as the great Civil War in America.

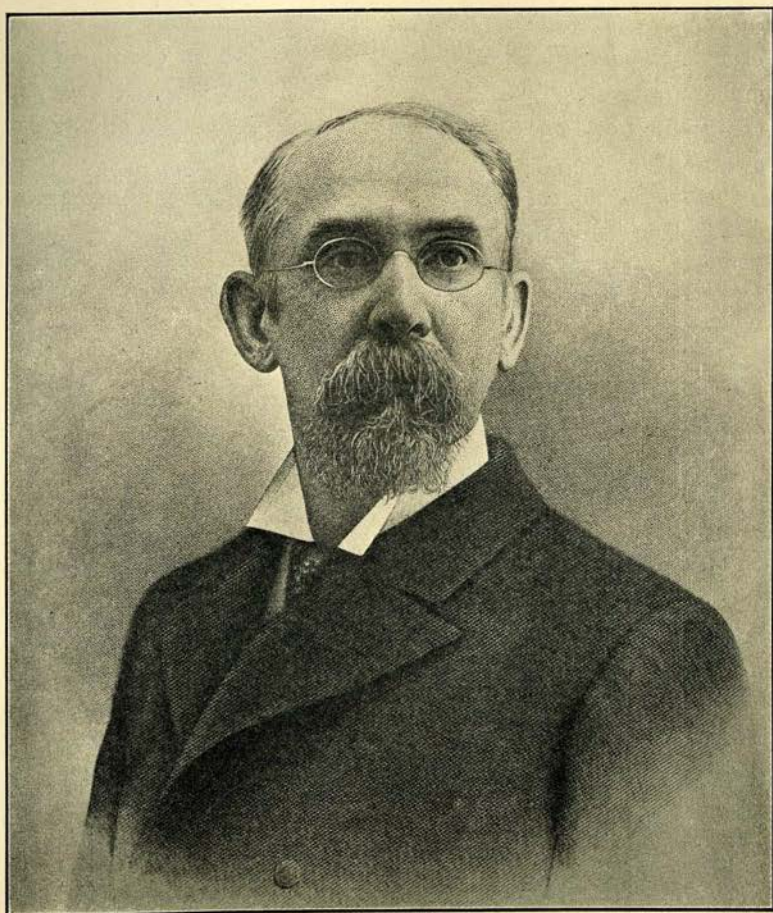
From this recounting of the experiences and services of Henry Warner Slocum day by day during his ever broadening career—in his actual military life beginning as a second lieutenant of artillery, and ending as the commanding general of an army numbering many thousands of men, engaged in many close and bloody battles, all without a single defeat, and even without the permanent loss of a cannon or flag and, later as the Union commander of a military department in the conquered Southern States, where great discretion and executive ability were necessary—it is hoped that the reader may get glimpses

of all phases of his civil and military life; and thus be able to note corrections of many of the omissions of most writers on the Civil War, and get correct views of his just rights to be recorded among the foremost of those most worthy of remembrance. The reader may, also, here get account of the war in much of its stern realities; and, withal, may have the opportunity for noting the causes why the many failed, and the few attained great success.

Charles Elihu Slocum.

Toledo, Ohio.





DR. CHARLES ELIHU SLOCUM
The Author

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

The Slocums in America date from the year 1637. From the year 1656 or before they were reared according to the tenets of the religious Society of Friends, 'in scorn called Quakers,' until removal from Massachusetts and Rhode Island westward, beginning about the year 1775, separated different families from the church society of their fathers. The families so separated united with the church in their new locality which was thought by them nearest in belief to that of the Friends, opposition to war and all strife being a principal feature of their desire.

Notwithstanding this careful rearing by precept and example, numbers of young men, and some older ones, in New England and westward were carried away from the desires and teachings of their parents by an awakened spirit of loyalty to their country, and they enlisted in the Revolutionary War of 1775-1783. General Nathaniel Greene, second only to Washington in command, was the most notable instance of Slocum blood in that war.¹ Other instances show as many as three sons of a prominent Friend's family enlisting, two of whom saw much army service, and both rose from the ranks to the commission of captain. The older of these two, Edward, was a charter member of the revolutionary officers' Society of the Cincinnati, which yet exists by membership succession of the eldest male lineal descendant in each generation. But in Edward's line no one has thus far applied for membership. Edward's brother Ebenezer's service was both on land and sea and continued through the War of 1812.² Another instance yet more interesting, to the writer particularly, is that of Eleazer Slocum and Caleb Wright, Friends and great-grandparents of the writer, who took with them the first son and nephew, Joseph Slocum, grandfather of the writer, then very young in years but large of stature, and the three enlisted in the Thirteenth New York Regiment to aid in saving their homes from desecration by the English General Burgoyne's army, which was marching down from Canada—and the three fought to the capture of this British army at Saratoga in October, 1777, freely volunteering

of their substance and their service, to the changing of the tide of war against the British invaders. Of this action they made no boast; neither did they tell the story to their descendants; the writer's father, Captain Caleb Wright Slocum, did not know of it, and the writer learned of it only from the New York State Records.³

The Society of Friends was one of the most remarkable results of the Reformation in England. Americans are indebted to this Society for religious liberty to a far greater degree than for political liberty. Its members well deserve the name of the Protestants of the Pilgrims in New Plymouth, and particularly of the Puritans in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, in New England. They would not pay tithes, nor anything, for the pecuniary support of any church other than their own. They were willing, however, to concede to all others the same right to the liberty they desired for themselves. They were a noble band of men and women, very generally of wholesome minds and characters, who won, in principle and fact, religious liberty by patiently suffering imprisonment, savage mutilations, and even death, from the authorities of the Colonial Church desiring the name 'established' in New England. To the great principles of their well founded religious belief they remained firm, while quietly enduring all persecutions without resentment, until they were formally released from persecution by the Declaration of Indulgence issued in April, 1687, by King James II. of England.

The Friends were very methodical, full and accurate in keeping the records of their different meetings, and of their vital statistics. Fortunate indeed is the genealogist who has such wealth of resource from which to draw for his American data, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries particularly.

The name Slocum has been well represented in every prominent war of the United States. In the great Civil War, 1861-1865, the number of Slocums engaged was relatively large from its beginning to its ending—different families contributing three, four, and even five, volunteers—and their patriotism and valor were thoroughly tested, and found not wanting. The large number who gave up their lives on the battle-fields for their country during this war, are recorded in the United States Roll of Honor;⁴ and the numerous others who died later of wounds

and disabilities received in this war lie buried at their several homes scattered throughout the States of the preserved Union.

Among this large number suffering death early in the war there were several who, undoubtedly, would have risen to high command had their lives been spared. Of this number but two will be mentioned here.

First. John Stanton Slocum, Colonel of the Second Rhode Island Regiment of Volunteer Infantry, was killed in the First Battle of Bull Run, at Sudley Ford, Virginia, July 21, 1861. He was a cultured officer of good judgment, great energy and coolness in danger. His regiment was hard pressed by superior numbers of the enemy, but it bravely and steadily held its ground, even beating back its foe, until their heroic Colonel fell mortally wounded. He was Major of Colonel Ambrose E. Burnside's First Rhode Island Infantry Regiment until the Second Regiment was organized, when he was chosen its Colonel. Colonel (afterwards General) Burnside reported of him in high terms.⁵ He served with distinction as an officer in the Mexican War, 1846-1848; and his monument in Providence, Rhode Island, proudly bears the words Contreras, Cherubusco, Chapultepec and Sudley Ford.⁶ It was in honor of the memory of Colonel John Stanton Slocum that one of the strongest defenses of Washington, District of Columbia, during the Civil War, was named Fort Slocum.⁷ It was situated about a mile north of the Soldiers' Home in Washington.

Second. Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Enos Slocum was born in Steuben County, New York, and resided in Indiana from the age of nineteen years. He enlisted in Company K, Fourteenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry; was commissioned Lieutenant and went with his company into Virginia in May, 1861. After participating in several skirmishes he was shot through the right thigh in the Battle of Winchester May 25, 1862, the ball shattering the bone five inches below the hip joint. He made fairly good recovery, was commissioned Major of the Eighty-second Indiana Volunteers, and was assigned to General Don C. Buell's command. After being in several engagements with the enemy, including the Battle of Stone's River, Tennessee, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel. He served thus in the battles of Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, and in the pursuit of the

enemy. February 25, 1864, while in command of two regiments, the Eighty-second Indiana and the Eighty-ninth Ohio, in the battle near Tunnell Hill, Georgia, he received a mortal wound through his left breast while passing along his line, encouraging his men.⁸ He died March 3, 1864, at Chattanooga.

Of the other Slocum officers in the Civil War, the one next in rank to Major-General Henry W. Slocum, was Willard Slocum, a prominent attorney at Ashland, Ohio. He volunteered early for army service, was retained at Columbus, Ohio, as recruiting, disciplining, and assignment officer. He was successful in this work, and was urged to continue it; but he went to the front with a regiment and, for bravery displayed in the field, particularly in the unfortunate Red River Campaign in Louisiana, he was commissioned Brigadier-General.⁹ He died at his home in Ashland, Ohio, September 23, 1894.

CHAPTER II

LINEAGE

Major-General Henry Warner Slocum was in the eighth American generation of Slocums, six generations of whom were born members of the religious Society of Friends.

His lineage runs back as follows: Seventh, Matthew Barnard Slocum married Mary Ostrander; sixth, Benjamin married Elizabeth Coggeshall; fifth, John married Martha Tillinghast; fourth, Benjamin married Meribah Earl; third, Eleazer married Elephel Fitzgerald; second, Giles married Joan ———; first, Anthony married twice, names of wives not ascertained up to this time.

Anthony Slocombe, the first American ancestor in this line, was born near Taunton, Somersetshire, England, A. D. 1590. He was one of the first proprietors and settlers of Taunton, New Plymouth, now Massachusetts, in the year 1637, and here the first clerk wrote his surname from sound as Slocum,¹⁰ which form has since prevailed with his descendants in the Northern States. Anthony was chosen to several offices in the new settlement, and he was most active in developing at Taunton the first permanent iron works in America, using the bog iron ore

found in the vicinity. After residing at Taunton twenty-five years as a freeman, and as a successful and leading though quiet citizen, he sold his holdings there, and went to the Albemarle region, Carolina, as a Lord Deputy Proprietor to aid his boyhood friend, the Duke of Albemarle, in the settlement of, and the establishment of government in, the Carolina Grant. He died at Edenton, North Carolina, aged one hundred years, having been a staunch American pioneer colonist in a double sense.¹¹

General Slocum's other ancestors were industrious, thrifty, and good citizens, generally rising to considerable prominence in their communities.

Matthew Barnard Slocum, the father of the General, our subject, was the second child and first of four sons in a family of eight children. He was born in Marietta, Ohio, in 1788, and was reared from the year 1802 at Newport, Rhode Island. In his early manhood he went to Albany, New York, and there engaged as clerk in a general merchandising business of small capital; and it appears that he invested part of his earnings in the business. He married here, April 9, 1814, Mary, daughter of John Ostrander. The business in which he was employed not proving profitable, it was closed in 1817, and later this year he moved his wife and two children to the small hamlet of Delphi, Onondaga County, near the center of New York State. Here he reared a large family, and completed his life work as a retail general merchant, using a room for his merchandise on one of the corners of the crossing of two country roads which formed the streets of the hamlet. His dwelling was attached to the rear of his business room. Later he purchased between ten and fifteen acres of land, embracing his residence and business room, which gave him facilities for keeping a horse, cow, and the smaller animals then deemed necessary for his business and rapidly increasing family. He died August 11, 1853, while visiting his son George at Scottsville, New York. He was interred at Delphi. His widow died October 31, 1865, in Syracuse, a few miles from Delphi, where she was interred.

The children of Matthew Barnard Slocum numbered eleven. Two of the six sons enlisted in the Civil War. John Ostrander Slocum, the second son and third child, was born June 9, 1820. He studied medicine and surgery and was graduated at Castle-

ton, Vermont, Medical College in 1847. He enlisted in the Civil War as assistant surgeon of the One Hundred and Twenty-second Regiment of Volunteer Infantry, in August, 1862. The next year he was commissioned Surgeon of the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, and remained with this regiment until the close of the war in 1865, excepting occasional detailings for service in the Divisional Hospital. At the Battle of Rappahannock Station, Virginia, he was the only surgeon at hand, and the untiring manner in which he cared for the wounded won for him the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet. The last year of the war his rank was that of Brigade Surgeon. His was a very sensitive nature, with high regard for honest duty. Returning home at the close of the war he completed his life work as a general physician and surgeon with residence and office at the Village of Camillus, Onondaga County, New York.

CHAPTER III

HENRY'S SCHOOLING AND EARLY TRAINING

Henry Warner Slocum, our subject, was named in honor of a favorite uncle by marriage. He was the sixth child and the fifth of six sons in a family of eleven children. He was born September 24, 1826, and was reared in the family rooms adjoining his father's small general merchandizing room. In common with all other children in the school district, he was sent to the Delphi Public School, at first only during the summer terms of three months each and, later, to the winter terms of the same length.

The average teachers of these short session schools soon failed to interest him, and his active mind found more congenial work in helping in his father's business. He was anxious to do more, and his father soon permitted him to earn money for his clothing, and for accumulation, in other work and ways during the odd moments when not needed in the home business—and this proved of great aid to his father, who was often hard pressed for money to maintain his large family with his small income. Henry bought sheep, a few at a time, paying for their keeping by a percentage of their increase and wool. He was thoughtful,

energetic and successful in small degrees in other ways of earning money until his brothers and other young friends called him Speculator, 'Spec' for short, after the all-too-common way of teasing or badgering people. His brother William, a little more than two years younger, expended the little money he obtained for a dictionary, and he soon became the definition oracle of the family, and school, he receiving the nickname 'Dic' on that account,¹² and Henry profited in knowledge thereby.

A new teacher in the winter term of the public school, a Mr. Belding, found in Henry an apt pupil, and he soon won a place at the head of his classes in arithmetic, algebra, geometry and other studies, in quick succession.

An incident exhibiting Henry's thoughtfulness and leadership among his associates about this time, also communicated to the writer by his brother William, will be here mentioned: In the early part of summer about a dozen boys near his own age united with him in the purchase of a cheap two-pounder cannon to aid in celebrating the Fourth of July, particularly. Much enjoyment was obtained from it the next Fourth without serious harm resulting. The gun was then given to the care of one of the company for safe-keeping until it was wanted for another celebration. In the meanwhile this caretaker's parents took residence in Woodstock, Madison County, about five miles southeast of Delphi; and the custodian carried to the neighboring, and competing, village the Delphi gun without permission of its owners. The abstraction of the gun caused great commotion among the Delphi boys, and the voice was generally favorable for a march to Woodstock for the purpose of capturing the gun by force. Young Slocum, who had been reading the Life of Napoleon, opposed such movement as most likely to cause a rallying not only of the Woodstock boys but of their older friends also in overwhelming numbers to defeat the capture. He would have them remain quiet until they could devise a plan for the capture of the gun by strategy, and not force. His suggestions were favored by the majority, which at once chose him as leader for the work. He accordingly appeared in Woodstock July 3rd, and overheard the plans agreed upon for the sunrise gun to open the celebration next day. He returned home and matured his plans. Before the time for firing this first gun the next morning,

two squads of Delphi boys and a large farm wagon with a span of horses were secreted behind a barn in Woodstock near the place where the gun was to be fired. Immediately after the firing the attention of the gunners and onlookers was successfully attracted by a sham fight away from the gun by one squad of the would-be captors, while the other squad hurriedly loaded the gun into the wagon and hurried their pace with it back to Delphi, where it was again used with much pleasure by its rightful owners. Another year, however, as has been experienced in numerous similar cases, this gun was exploded by an overload, and the person nearest it was killed.

Young Slocum's energy and thrift continued until he was able to attend Cazenovia Seminary, in the adjoining County of Madison. At the age of sixteen years he was thought worthy of a Public School Teacher's Certificate by the County Superintendent of Schools. A school was secured, which he taught with advantage to his pupils and honor to himself. He continued teaching at intervals for about five years, carefully saving his meager receipts; and in the meantime during vacations he attended the State Normal School at Albany part of the time, when he could be spared by his father. All of this was valuable experience to him, contributing to that necessary introspection and rounding of character that have given many thousands of American youths vantage in after life.

News of the United States' claim against Mexico, and the declaration of war with that country in 1846, particularly, brought forcefully to the notice of our subject the names of young men, educated at the West Point Military Academy, who were being appointed officers in the different commands for service in this war; and, having been stimulated to an admiration of historic military men by some of the books read, the desire for education at West Point soon assumed definite form with him. The quiet, unassuming Quaker spirit of his father was without particular political influence, however; and some lengths of time elapsed before Henry's own quiet persistency impressed itself upon Daniel F. Gott, congressman of the Onondaga, New York, district.

It was the happiest day of his life thus far when he received notice of his being named for cadetship. It was not without

many misgivings, however, that he presented himself at the West Point Military Academy July 1, 1848, with his certificate of appointment. The dreaded entrance examination was passed favorably, and he entered upon the course successfully, though modestly according to his nature.

As a cadet he suffered uncomplainingly whatever of hazing the upper classmen were disposed to subject him to; which proved to be infrequent and rather mild. He won the respect of all, notwithstanding his free expression of opinion when it was desired on questions of the time, including that of the negative side of human slavery and other questions allied with it of increasing concern between the Northern and Southern sections of the Republic, and which were often brought to discussion by the strong Southern sentiment then pervading the Academy. His frank and kindly personality deeply impressed itself upon all classmen.¹³

During his military course at West Point young Slocum often felt, and lamented, his want of the broader culture possessed by many of his fellow students who had experienced, and were constantly experiencing, the advantages of a full college course. But his persistent and circumspect efforts, which often compensate for a longer course, kept him well toward the head of his class.

His ranking the first year was quite favorable to him, the rating being twelve in mathematics, forty in French, and nine in English studies. In the order of general merit he ranked fourteen in a class of sixty. His demerit marks numbered twenty-three during the year, while those of numerous students were in excess of this number, some ranging toward two hundred. In the conduct roll he was rated sixty-five in the entire school then numbering two hundred and eighteen. His second year's ratings were, eleven in mathematics, thirty-four in French, and nineteen in drawing. In the class order of general merit he stood thirteenth in the class numbering fifty-five, with no demerits during the year. In order merit in the entire school he ranked eleventh among two hundred and twenty-one. During his third year he was rated third in philosophy, tenth in chemistry, and fourteenth in drawing. In order of general merit his rank was third in a class of fifty-three. This standing gave him the honor

of being number three of the five most distinguished cadets, to be so publicly reported at the annual examination and in the Register. He was given no demerits during this year. In the general conduct roll he ranked number eight among the entire attendance of two hundred and twenty-nine. For his fourth, and last, year he was rated ninth in engineering, sixth in ethics, sixth in mineralogy and geology, fourteenth in infantry tactics, and sixth in artillery. He stood seventh in the order of general merit in the class of forty-seven. In the general conduct roll he ranked number twenty among the entire school of two hundred and twenty-four.¹⁴

General Philip H. Sheridan was a classmate of Henry W. Slocum at West Point. In his *Memoirs*, written after his great reputation was secure, Sheridan remembered his fellow student in the following terms: "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."

CHAPTER IV

IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY. STUDIES LAW

Henry Warner Slocum was graduated at the United States Military Academy in June, 1852. He was at once commissioned Second Lieutenant and assigned for service in the First United States Artillery, which was soon ordered to Florida to maintain the peace of the yet disquieted Seminole Aborigines. In the latter part of 1853 his company was ordered to Fort Moultrie, South Carolina.

Obtaining a short furlough, Lieutenant Slocum returned home and, February 9, 1854, he was married to Miss Clara, daughter of Israel and Dorcas (Jenkins) Rice of Woodstock, New York, with whom acquaintance began while both the young people were students at Cazenovia Seminary. He returned in due time to his post of duty accompanied by his wife.

At Fort Moultrie, with abundant leisure from garrison duty, the enticing opportunities for boating, fishing, hunting, and the attractions of Charleston society, together with a variety of post duties, the time passed rapidly and pleasantly for a time. But Lieutenant Slocum could not remain long satisfied with so little of work and so much of pleasure. He decided to devote a considerable part of this time outside of his military duties to the study of law. Fortunately he secured the good services of Honorable B. C. Presley of Charleston as preceptor, who was as much pleased with his student as was the Lieutenant with his teacher, a cultured, progressive man, who was later called to the South Carolina Supreme Court as judge. Lieutenant Slocum entered upon the new study with a zest that promised good success to all persons knowing his enduring qualities. In the meantime his military duties were fully performed.

Our subject was commissioned First Lieutenant March 3, 1855, and he was continued in the First United States Artillery service. For some length of time previous to receiving this promotion Lieutenant Slocum had been considering the question of resigning from the army. His advancement in rank, while not changing his mind, delayed his action for the important change of profession.

The summer of 1855 was unusually warm. His family—a daughter, Caroline, had been born meantime—were ill from the heat and miasms; and the better health, vigor, and business of his native State appealed to him with greater force than ever before. His regiment was to be ordered again to Florida. There was no cloud of war visible, and he was becoming anxious for more useful and energetic employment. He had fully recompensed the general government for his military education. October 20, 1856, his child died in Charleston; the 31st of the same month he resigned from the United States Army.

Lieutenant Slocum returned to Onondaga County, New York, where he was admitted to the bar. He opened office in the city of Syracuse, and soon had a good clientele in the practice of law. He now saw even greater cause for thankfulness for the habit of economy and thrift which was well formed in his youthful days. From care regarding clothing and expenditures, he had been able to save money even during his cadetship,

and he was thereby able to aid his father during the time of his poor health, and business depression. During the four-and-a-third years of his army service he had saved enough from his pay receipts to pay for a modest home in Syracuse, also to pay for a row of vacant lots, upon which he built residences a few years later. The Syracuse authorities named the street, along which these lots are situated, Slocum Avenue in honor of the man whose thrift and energy improved this part of the city.

Without special effort on his part, in November, 1858, our subject was elected Assemblyman, member of the lower house, of the New York State Legislature, from Syracuse on the Republican ticket. He was not a politician but acted regarding each measure or law brought before the House in the quiet, conscientious, and thoughtful way now become habitual with him. For two years, 1859-1860, he answered the call, and served his State as Instructor of Artillery Service to the Militia with the rank of Colonel.

In the election of November, 1860, his friends chose him for the office of Treasurer of Onondaga County for a term of three years. He entered upon this important duty in due time. His patriotism, and conscientious recognition of a higher duty, however, did not permit him to serve in this lucrative and peaceful office, but called him, propelled him, to the battle-field, where life itself was in the balance.

CHAPTER V

VOLUNTEERS IN THE CIVIL WAR. AT BULL RUN

Neither local office, the practice of law, nor even the love of family and friends, could hold Colonel Slocum at home when his country needed his services.

When South Carolina, after the ordinance of secession from the United States, opened guns upon the United States supply boat *Star of the West* January 9, 1861, and particularly when she began the bombardment of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor April 12, 1861, Colonel Slocum's artillery services, and his duty to his country, were uppermost in his thoughts. He went to Albany and, calling on Governor Edwin D. Morgan, asked for

permission to recruit a battery of light artillery for United States service, from the good offices of the State of New York. The Governor received him urbanely and listened to his request with interest, but seriously sought to assure him that the rebellion of the South could be subdued without the use of artillery; and declined to comply with his request.

A regiment of infantry was organized in Colonel Slocum's native county, and a friend suggested to the company officers that Colonel Slocum would make a desirable leader. A popular officer of the militia, however, received the majority of the votes for the position. In the meantime great influence was at work to induce him to remain quietly in his important office at home.

Another regiment, the Twenty-seventh New York Volunteer Infantry, was at this time being organized at Elmira, a great rendezvous of volunteers. The companies forming this regiment were mainly enlisted in the counties of Broome, Monroe, and Livingston, one company being mostly composed of students of Lima Seminary, a prominent Methodist institution, and all the other companies were composed of like choice men. The suggestion of one officer that a West Point graduate be chosen to lead the regiment was well discussed, and prevailed by a large majority. Although known only by reputation to most of this regiment, Colonel Slocum was chosen on account of his ability shown as Instructor of the Militia. Upon the coming of the regiment's committee with its message, Colonel Slocum promptly accepted the proffered position. To his brave wife, and doubting friends, he said, "I was educated at the expense of our country and it is my duty to answer this call affirmatively." Colonel Slocum's third United States commission bore the date May 21, 1861. His Major was Joseph J. Bartlett, a man of good ability and character, who also rose to the rank of Major-General, and the other officers were well chosen men.

The active work of drilling and disciplining the Twenty-seventh Regiment was at once begun on the Elmira grounds, and the men of all the companies partook of the general interest. By working many hours each day, early and late, they soon attained a good degree of efficiency, and their first, and early, service on the battle-field showed it to be one of the best regiments then in the army.

In compliance with orders, Colonel Slocum, with his regiment, left the barracks at Elmira July 10, 1861, by steam cars and, upon his reporting to the Secretary of War in Washington the same day, his regiment was assigned to Colonel Andrew Porter's First Brigade of General David Hunter's Second Division of General Irvin McDowell's army, then a few miles south of Washington; and the brigade was joined without delay.

The regiment had but a short time to rest, and to get somewhat adjusted to its brigade surroundings, before being ordered forward to meet the enemy. The Twenty-seventh united with other regiments to form the Union center, which marched at 2 o'clock A. M. for the First Battle of Bull Run, or Manassas, July 21, 1861. This was one of the most trying days from the heat, the long march, fatigue and trying engagements under strong fire and rout, to which untried troops could have been subjected. But, in the unfortunate battle that ensued, Slocum and his men were conspicuous for their good discipline and bravery, notwithstanding the long hours they were under arms. For some length of time victory appeared to be with the Union forces when Colonel Henry W. Slocum completed the rout of the enemy's center by a well conceived, and well executed charge, in which he fell with a severe musket ball wound through his left thigh.

Fresh reinforcements rallied the enemy, who, in turn, routed the Union center in which Slocum's regiment remained true to the rigid training of their Colonel, and did great service by being the first to rally upon the first position and form a nucleus for gathering the regiments scattered by the reinforced enemy.¹⁵ But the Union army was in retreat, and but a part of the panic stricken men could be arrested to orderly pace.

At the present distance it is quite impossible to fully comprehend the conditions of the fear stricken young soldiers who, in their efforts to flee from danger, brought upon themselves more suffering than they would have experienced in an orderly retreat, if retreat was necessary. The conditions of the enemy were but little better than those of the retreating men. The weather was hot and dry. The perspiration, dust, and smoke, with the loss of sleep and rest; with short or no rations of both water and food; the great excitement, worse from being the first battle; fear and overwrought exertion to escape by crowding,

pushing, struggling, and using every means of taking advantage of every apparent help to quicken the pace, even encroaching on the wounded and adding greatly to their surgical shock, all conspired to the permanent disablement of many of the weaker ones. It was a very severe ordeal for those who were the strongest. Rain fell during the night which, while adding to the difficulty of traveling over unimproved roads, conduced to some relief in other ways. The casualties in Colonel Slocum's regiment were 26 killed, 44 wounded, including two officers, and 60 missing.

Colonel Slocum's men, from their good state of discipline, and the wise management of Major Bartlett, escaped much of the personal injury and serious results experienced by many regiments.

The Colonel, in common with other wounded who could be moved, received as good attention as could be given by the new and not fully equipped surgical force before starting for the hospital in Washington. As he rallied from the shock of his wound, his thoughts were on his men; and he was not relieved in mind until all the details of their good work were recounted to him. His joy over the favorable report was prominent in his letter to his wife, namely:

Washington, July 25, 1861.

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 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 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 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.

As soon as his wound was in condition for the journey, Colonel Slocum returned to his home in Syracuse where he made rapid recovery.

CHAPTER VI

BRIGADIER-GENERAL. RECOVERS FROM WOUND

About the middle of August Colonel Slocum was highly pleased in the receipt from the Department of War of a commission of Brigadier-General, bearing date August 9, 1861. This may have hastened his return to the field of action, where he reported for duty September 9th after an absence of only fifty days from the time of receiving his wound.

Upon his reporting to the Secretary of War he was assigned to command the Second Brigade in General William B. Franklin's Second Division of General Irvin McDowell's First Army Corps. His brigade was composed of the following regiments: The Sixteenth and Twenty-seventh New York, the Fifth Maine, and the Ninth Pennsylvania. These regiments became noted for their good discipline and general efficiency.

The following report of General Slocum to his ranking officer under date Alexandria, October 5, 1861, shows his alertness and initiative in every good act for his country:

"General: Several Union men have recently been arrested by the enemy in the vicinity of Accotink. On Saturday last three worthy and inoffensive men were taken from their houses solely on account of their sympathy with the Government. I have to-day caused the arrest of two open and avowed secessionists residing in the same neighborhood. I am confident that the

retention of these men as prisoners for a few days will have a wholesome effect, and will tend to restore quiet in the vicinity of Accotink by convincing the enemy that the practice of capturing unarmed men is one which can be followed by both sides.

"Mr. Nevitt (one of the men arrested) frankly admits that he is a secessionist; that he has sufficient influence with the enemy to secure the discharge of parties arrested by them; that he has been to Fairfax and secured the release of some of his Union friends. All this he freely admits. There is no doubt about his position. Mr. Lee occupies the same position. He admits that he is opposed to the United States Government; that his house is often visited by the enemy, and that some of his family are in the army. I think the position of both is sufficiently defined by themselves to justify the Government in retaining them as hostages for the good treatment of their neighbors and our friends who are now in the hands of the enemy. I have therefore placed them in charge of the provost-marshal at Alexandria to be held until further orders."

General Franklin, Slocum's ranking officer, passed this report on upward with the recommendation that these men be sent to Washington for imprisonment until further orders.

The efficiency and good standing of Slocum's command was brought about by his insistence upon good discipline. His first enforced lesson to this command, and its result, are shown in his call for a court of inquiry regarding disobedience of his orders, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE,
Alexandria, Va., October 6, 1861.

Sir: I received information on the 3d instant that a body of the enemy's cavalry was at Pohick Church, about 12 miles from these headquarters, together with such other information as led me to suppose that the force could be captured without difficulty. The plan for an expedition for this purpose was fully matured and was verbally communicated to Colonel Christian, Twenty-sixth New York Volunteers, who was detailed to the command. An order was then issued of which I herewith enclose a copy.

The expedition proved an entire failure, and this result I am informed and believe is to be attributed to the fact that my orders relative to the manner of the execution were not obeyed; and what is still more annoying to me and disgraceful to my command, is the fact that instead of being marched back to the camp in good order, a large portion of the command was allowed to disband beyond our line of pickets, and, as might have been anticipated from such a proceeding, this force sent to operate against the troops of the enemy was converted into a band of marauders, who plundered alike friend and foe.

I deem it my duty to lay these facts before the commanding general, and to suggest that a court of inquiry be convened for the purpose of a thorough investigation of all the circumstances attending the expedition.

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

H. W. SLOCUM,

Brigadier-General Volunteers, Commanding.

MAJ. S. WILLIAMS, Assistant Adjutant-General.

[Inclosure.]

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE,

COL. WILLIAM H. CHRISTIAN:

October 3, 1861.

Sir: You will take command of a detachment of 300 infantry from the regiments composing this brigade and one company of cavalry, and will endeavor to cut off and take prisoners a body of the enemy's cavalry, numbering probably 50 men, stationed at or near Pohick Church.

You will proceed with 225 infantry, according to verbal directions already given you, to certain points in the rear of the enemy's position, and make your attack at precisely 6 o'clock to-morrow morning.

You will send out 75 infantry and the company of cavalry on the Richmond road, with instructions to them to be at Potter's store, 4 miles from Pohick Church, and 6 miles from these headquarters, at 5:45 o'clock, driving in the enemy's pickets and advancing as rapidly as possible towards Pohick Church, in order to cut off the enemy or to render assistance to the other detachments of your command.

The object of the expedition being accomplished, you will return without delay.

By order of Brigadier-General SLOCUM.

JOSEPH HOWLAND,

Assistant Adjutant-General.¹⁶

The result of this discipline is expressed in General Slocum's letter to a friend at home, as follows:

October 11, 1861.

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 for good discipline.

General Slocum was at this time commanding one of the defenses of Washington, situated near Alexandria, Virginia.

The 15th of October, 1861, the Ninth Pennsylvania Regi-

ment of Slocum's command was replaced by the Twenty-sixth New York. Such changes made necessary a continued systematic instruction in camp and picket duties, with thorough drilling and discipline of the command in whole and in part. Self control in all emergencies was much dwelt upon. The brigade was constantly "on the firing line" as the enemy's cavalry might dash against the pickets at any moment in the night, or in certain places by day. Scouting parties for observation and discipline were often sent out. These exercises were all the more frequent as the time neared for advancing upon the enemy. These thorough drillings appealed to the best judgment and regard of the excellent officers and men in the command; and General Slocum so impressed his ability and consideration upon them that they became noted for their good work; and "in times of the greatest danger and emergency he was a rock upon which all could and did rest with confidence and support."¹⁷

In several details the medical and distinctively military authorities of the army had not been working in harmony from the beginning of the Civil War. This discord was due to the want of proper foresight, and proper orders of the Secretary of War and of his aged Commander-in-chief of the armies. The medical men had, during previous years of peace, been held in too close subservient rank and authority. A new class of medical and surgical men had arisen, and the old military commanders could not, or would not, extend to them due consideration. This resulted in confusion and no little discord in some commands. General Slocum, however, being very considerate regarding the physical condition of his men, saw to it that they received proper medical attention, and he was highly pleased to co-operate with all worthy medical men and, having confidence in their ability, he deferred to their judgments and aided in the enforcement of their directions.

In December, 1861, there were found in Slocum's brigade fifteen hundred soldiers not protected against small-pox; and by his order this unwholesome condition was at once remedied. He united with the medical authorities to stop malingering, and the true health condition of his command January 21, 1862, is shown in comparison with the report of the Assistant Adjutant General of 14.34 per cent., while General Slocum's brigade surgeon re-

ported only 6.8 per cent. of sickness. At the same time the ratio of his companion brigade's reports were 27.75 and 14.52 respectively. Measles raged severely and quite generally among the soldiers from certain parts of the different states, and re-appeared from time to time during the winter of 1861-62; the amount of sickness in some parts of the army being so great as to cause serious concern among the relatives at home. The strength of General Slocum's brigade and its health condition February 6, 1862, were as follows:

Regiments.	Mean Strength.	Total Sick.	Percentage Sick.
Twenty-seventh New York	840	49	5.83
Sixteenth New York.....	900	101	11.22
Fifth Maine	828	92	11.11
Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania	927	32	3.45
Batteries of Artillery	434	23	5.30
Lincoln Cavalry	1,100	111	10.00

Total number in brigade, 5,029; total number sick, 408; percentage of sickness as a brigade, 8.11.¹⁸

On April 6, 1862, General Slocum's brigade was yet in the defense of Washington, and the Secretary of War stated his position as "on the advance to Manassas."

General George B. McClellan, who had secured to the Union that part of Virginia north of the Kanawha River and west of the mountains, was called to Washington after the First Battle of Bull Run to take charge of the defenses of Washington and of the Union troops in northeastern Virginia. He soon brought order out of chaos and, notwithstanding many limitations, restraints, and embarrassments received from the War Department, some of which were probably necessary or well directed, he accomplished good results in reorganizing the Army of the Potomac. McClellan favored advancing upon the Confederates, and their capitol city, Richmond, by way of the Peninsula between the York River and the James. After many delays, concessions to the authorities, and re-adjustments, a council of four army corps commanders, organized by the President of the United States March 13th, coincided with McClellan that Fort Monroe, Virginia, was the proper base of operations for move-

ment of the Army of the Potomac against the Confederates and Richmond.¹⁹ The leading division of troops for this Peninsular Campaign was started by transport from Alexandria March 17, 1862. Other troops followed, and General McClellan arrived at Fort Monroe April 2nd. There were again great delays from want of means of transportation, the want of additional gunboats, and of army reinforcements, as McClellan had determined, as he thought, that his land force was outnumbered by the enemy, many of whom were intrenched.

McClellan wanted General Franklin's division; and his persistency in calling for additional troops, and Franklin's in particular, foreboded their transfer to the Peninsula.

CHAPTER VII

TRANSFERRED TO THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

In compliance with a specially urgent request from General McClellan, General Franklin's division, including Slocum's brigade, was ordered to the Peninsula. They arrived at McClellan's headquarters near Yorktown April 22, 1862, and were disembarked from the transport on the north bank of the York River, under protection of gunboats then there, to operate against Gloucester.

At this juncture the Confederates abandoned their fortifications in and around Yorktown that were being besieged by McClellan, and retreated on Williamsburg in the night of April 30th.

Slocum's brigade, with Dana's brigade of General Sedgwick's division, was then sent up the York River by boats, while McClellan with his besieging army followed the retreating enemy by public roads. The York being at flood and the current rapid, but slow progress could be made by the heavily laden transports. They steamed only by day, and could not arrive at their destination, at the mouth of the Pamunkey River, until the forenoon of May 7th.

The troops disembarked on the right bank opposite West Point, and took defensive positions near Eltham's Landing. Here they were soon attacked by the enemy composed of the Confeder-

ate General Whitney's division, and others. Although at considerable disadvantage, the Union force was victor. This Battle of Eltham's Landing, McClellan reported, was the most important in which these Union troops had been engaged, and it was highly creditable to them. General Franklin stated in his report that "General Slocum displayed great skill in the placing of his troops, and that the control of his brigade in action was admirable." The battle began between ten and eleven A. M. and continued until three P. M., when the Confederates acknowledged their defeat by hastily retreating. General Slocum's official report is brief and characteristically non-assertive, namely:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE,
Near West Point, Va., May 7, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor to report that in the engagement which occurred to-day I was in command of the center and left wing of our forces. It was apparent soon after the commencement of the engagement that the efforts of the enemy were to be directed mainly against our right wing, and at the request of General Newton I sent reinforcements to him, consisting of the Fifth Maine Volunteers, the Sixteenth and Twenty-seventh New York Volunteers, which are attached to the brigade under my command. The brigade of General Dana, and the Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania Volunteers, of my brigade, were retained on the left.

All of our troops, so far as my observation extended, behaved with great coolness and bravery. The First Massachusetts Battery, under command of Captain Porter, is entitled to great credit for the accuracy of its fire.

I am greatly indebted to Capt. H. C. Rodgers, Captain Hopkins, Captain Sturdevant, and Lieutenants Wead and Shannon, members of my staff, all of whom were actively engaged during the entire day; also to Lieutenant Harbert, Fourth New Jersey Volunteers, and Lieutenant Landon, Adjutant Seventh Michigan Volunteers, who volunteered their services as staff officers, and proved of great assistance to me.

I am sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CAPT. E. SPARROW PURDY,	H. W. SLOCUM,
Assistant Adjutant-General. ²⁰	Brigadier-General Volunteers.

Consonant with orders, these troops awaited at Eltham's Landing the oncoming of the commands of Generals Sedgwick, Fitz J. Porter, and Richardson's divisions, and protected their landing. Communication was soon opened between this force and the other part of the army after its Battle of Williamsburg and the general retreating of the enemy toward Richmond; and

all supplies for the Union army were then received by the York River at Eltham's Landing.

On May 13th the headquarters of the general commanding the Army of the Potomac, McClellan, also of Franklin's division, embracing Slocum's brigade, and those of F. J. Porter, George Sykes, and William F. Smith, arrived at Cumberland, Virginia, which place was made a temporary depot of supplies. It was a very wet season, copious rains being frequent. The 15th of May the divisions of Franklin, Porter and Smith were started for White House at the crossing of the Pamunkey River and the Richmond Railroad. The distance was but five miles, but it required thirty-six hours of serious effort to complete the march through the deep and tenacious mud with the heavy guns, baggage and supplies.

At White House General McClellan, with permission of President Lincoln, organized two additional army corps, to be known as the Fifth and Sixth Provisional Corps; the Fifth to be composed of the divisions of Porter, Sykes, and the Reserve Artillery, to be under command of General Fitz John Porter; and the Sixth Corps, composed of the divisions of Franklin and Smith, to be under command of General William B. Franklin. General Smith remained in command of his division, and General Slocum was promoted to the command of the division in which he had been serving with the Second Brigade. This promotion to a command of three brigades was a high honor for a young brigadier-general of short service with one brigade. McClellan knew his men, however, and he met with no disappointment in Slocum.

General McClellan's headquarters were moved to White House May 16th, and the depot of supplies was there established, the supplies to come by water and be transported thence by railway. The 19th, the headquarters of the army, including those of the two new corps, were moved to Turnstall's Station, an advance of five miles toward the main body of the enemy. The rain continued, but by the 21st of May the position of the Union troops had been advanced as follows:

General Stoneman's advance guard to within one mile of New Bridge over the Chickahominy River; Franklin's Sixth Corps, with Slocum's division, three miles from New Bridge

near the main body of the enemy with the river between and at high flood stage; Porter's Fifth Corps at supporting distance in the rear; E. V. Sumner's corps by the railway about three miles from the Chickahominy, connecting the right of the army with the left; E. D. Keyes' corps on the New Kent Road near Bottom's Bridge; and General S. P. Heintzelman's corps at supporting distance in the rear.

The ford at Bottom's Bridge was in possession of the Union army. The bridge there had been destroyed by the enemy, and a new bridge was begun by the soldiers now in possession. Army headquarters were removed to Cold Harbor May 22nd. The railroad was in operation by the Unionists on the 26th to the Chickahominy, and a new bridge for it there was nearing completion.

McClellan was very expectant of success in the capture of Richmond, as he was now dominating the principal approaches to its defenses on the east. He at the same time realized that he was near an alert Confederate army which he persisted in reporting as outnumbering his own; but the river separating them was at high flood, and he was expecting reinforcements again from Washington.

The Union center and right flank were advanced to the river above the left; and the 24th of May the enemy was driven from Mechanicsville to within ten miles of Richmond, the fleeing foe destroying the bridge after crossing it. The same day the enemy was driven from Seven Pines fifteen miles southeast of Mechanicsville on the south side of the Chickahominy, and the advance Union line secured a strong position near there.

The effective Union forces were being greatly reduced daily by wounds, sickness, deaths, garrisons, and guard duties and, while the Confederate army was being reinforced daily, no reinforcements came to the Union army.

McClellan had telegraphed the War Department that, "It is possible that the enemy may abandon Richmond; but I do not believe he will—and it would be unwise to count upon anything but a stubborn and desperate defense, a life and death contest. I see no other hope for him than to fight this battle, and we must win it. I shall fight them whatever their force may be; but I ask for every man that the Department can send me."¹⁹

The 26th of May, learning that a considerable force of the enemy was at the village of Hanover Court House, to the right and rear of his army, McClellan dispatched General Porter with one division of his corps to that place. Porter was soon involved in two or three sharp engagements, in which the enemy was routed each time and some prisoners captured. The enemy persisted in demonstrations toward the Union capitol as a feint, or to get vantage ground in the rear of the Union army. In the meantime the Union left continued to cross the Chickahominy and to threaten Richmond. This flank was attacked by a strong force of the enemy at Fair Oaks where a bloody battle was fought May 31st and June 1st. Here the enemy was routed with greater loss than suffered by the Union forces; and his pickets were pressed back to within five miles of Richmond. Further advance against the enemy at this time seemed impracticable, and the men in the new Union lines contented themselves with the thought of being well in advance of their former front.

The composition of General Slocum's division June 20th, 1862, was as follows: Officers, 393; men in the ranks, 8,853; present and equipped for duty, 9,246. The aggregate number in camp was 9,841. Those absent, sick and wounded numbered 1,236.

CHAPTER VIII

ENDING OF THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

Among the reinforcements of the enemy at this time, hurriedly brought from a distance to aid in the protection of Richmond, was General Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson's command of rapid fighters. The approach of this formidable command decided McClellan to change his base of supplies and operations from the York and Pamunkey to the James River, but a few miles south of the Chickahominy. McClellan fully realized the great danger of this movement at this time when about to be assailed by a supposed superior force in numbers; but the dangerous Confederate gunboat *Merrimac* having been destroyed by the Union *Monitor* in Hampton Roads left the James River open to Union gunboats which could be used in different ways as supports. The change of base was, therefore, hopefully entered up-

on the evening of June 26th. An unexpected advance of the enemy across the Chickahominy above the Union forces disarranged some of McClellan's plans, which were soon righted, and the change was more than compensated for by the delay of Jackson's expected attack.

This attack occurred soon after noon of June 27th near Gaines' Mill, and it was rapid and general along General Porter's chosen position upon an elevation known as Gaines Hill. At two P. M. General Porter asked for reinforcements. General Slocum's division hastily responded from the south side of the Chickahominy, and succeeded in arriving to his support at 3.30 P. M. Slocum's troops were immediately distributed along the weaker parts of Porter's hard-pressed line, increasing his force to about thirty-five thousand men, which was estimated, as usual by McClellan, to be contending with at least double this number of the enemy.¹⁹ The distribution of Slocum's men prevented Porter's line from being broken by the enemy, and thus saved the battle, "as its being pierced at any one part would have been fatal." (McClellan.) About seven P. M. the enemy again attacked the Union line impetuously with fresh troops, and succeeded in pressing back Porter's left and causing there some confusion, which was righted by the time of the arrival of fresh Union troops and without their entering the contest. The shade of night was now come, and the enemy retired.

The following extracts from his Diary of the Battle of Gaines Mill was contributed to the National Tribune, Washington, D. C., of February 27, 1913, by William B. Westervelt of Newburgh, New York, member of Company F, 27th Regiment, New York Volunteers. It possesses features of interest, namely: "On Friday, June 27, at 8 A. M. we were called into line and, after receiving a fresh supply of cartridges, we moved in light marching order about two miles and stopped near the Chickahominy River. Our brigade never looked better than it did that morning. General Slocum (our first Colonel) had been advanced to the command of our division, while General J. J. Bartlett (our second Colonel) commanded our brigade that was made up of the 5th Maine (hardy lumbermen from the northeastern part of that State, and were commanded by Colonel Jackson); the 96th Pennsylvania (from the coal regions of Lu-

zerne County and commanded by Colonel John Cake, whom the soldiers dubbed *Johnnycake*); the 10th New York (from St. Lawrence County, commanded by Colonel Joseph Howland who, the day before at his own expense, had furnished his regiment with neat, comfortable straw hats). We who were wearing our fatigue caps that hot morning looked with envious eyes at Howland's regiment. As the Colonel rode at the head of his regiment no one would have believed him to be the brave and dashing officer that ere the sun went down he proved himself to be. My regiment, the 27th New York, was also in this brigade, and was commanded by Colonel Alexander D. Adams, of Lyons, New York, a man of education and refinement, but lacking the dash of our former Colonel Slocum. We remained quiet during the day, stretched out in the shade, where we ate our dinner. We could hear the sound of cannon on the opposite side of the Chickahominy, little thinking that it would be the last day on earth for many of our immediate comrades. General Fitz John Porter with his corps was gradually falling back from Mechanicsville and Gaines Mill, but gallantly disputing the ground inch by inch, under the incessant hammering of Stonewall Jackson's army, heavily reinforced from Lee's army from around Richmond. About 4 p. m. the Duc de Chartres, a young officer from France who was on General McClellan's staff arrived and, after a few hurried words with General Slocum, galloped away. Soon our division was in line, and we supposed we were to return to camp. However, we turned to the left and took the road towards Woodbury's Bridge across the Chickahominy. Years afterwards General Porter paid the following tribute to our division: 'While withdrawing from Beaver Dam I had seen, to my delight, Slocum's Division of Franklin's Sixth Corps crossing the river to my assistance. McClellan had promised to send it, and I needed it; it was one of the best divisions of the army. Its able, experienced and gallant commander and his brave and gifted subordinates had the confidence of their well-trained soldiers. They were all worthy comrades of my well-tried and fully trusted officers, and of many others on that field subsequently honored by their countrymen.' After crossing the river we ascended a hill, when there was plain evidence that our army (Porter's command) was getting the worst of the fight. One evidence was

that of a company of pioneers was cutting the spokes out of some of our army wagons, to render them useless if they fell into the hands of the enemy. This clearly proved that Porter's command anticipated retreating, if it was not already doing so. We halted a few moments in a small ravine, when up rode a staff officer and called out 'Bring up Bartlett's Brigade at double-quick.' With an agility that would have done credit to an athlete General Bartlett sprang into his saddle and, calling 'Attention,' we were soon quickly moving to the front. One hundred yards brought us face to face with the enemy, when we relieved (took the places of) the 5th New York (Duryea's Zouaves) whose showy uniforms were strewn thickly over the ground, showing some desperate fighting. We immediately got to work and for a few minutes the fighting was fast and furious. We lost many, but managed to hold our ground. Soon the firing slackened in our immediate front as the enemy fell back under cover of some woods where they seemed to be massing on our right in front of one of our batteries which was supported by the 16th New York, holding the extreme right of our line. We were not kept in suspense long. On looking to the right of our regiment we saw them forming just outside of the woods and here we witnessed as complete a move by the enemy as could be made on drill or parade. They came out of the woods at double-quick with guns at right-shoulder shift (Hardee's tactics) and by a move known as 'on the right by file into line' they formed the line of battle complete. Every man on taking his place brought his gun to shoulder, and stood waiting until the battalion was formed (unless knocked over by a shot), when they moved forward and made room for another battalion to form in the same way. We thought that troops who could make that move under concentrated fire of artillery and musketry were, to say the least, 'safe to bet on.' We had not long to admire them. Forward they came, intending to strike our line on the right. Not a gun did they fire until within less than fifty yards when, after a volley, they gave a yell and charged, five lines deep. No single line, as ours, could withstand such onslaught. The 16th New York was crowded back, disputing the ground inch by inch, while the artillerymen stood by their guns until the enemy closed in and actually struck them down or knocked the cartridges out of their

hands. Now Colonel Howland got in his grand work. He was riding from right to left of his regiment, urging his men to stand firm. Soon they rallied and under the lead of the Colonel they drove the enemy back and recaptured the battery. Here Colonel Howland was severely wounded, and was carried from the field. Once more the enemy came forward, and the word was passed down the line, 'help the 16th.' Without waiting for Colonel Adams to give the order, but following the example set by General Bartlett and led by his brother Lieutenant L. C. Bartlett of the General's staff, we turned by the right flank and were soon among the 16th, each man on his own hook! There was then done some of the most desperate fighting. The blue and the gray were mixed, and in the gathering darkness we could scarcely detect friend from foe. The ground was fairly covered with the dead and wounded of both sides. Every artillery horse was killed. Finally the enemy dragged off two of the cannon, while we held possession of the ground and kept the other two. As night closed upon us the second of the 'Seven Days' Fight' in front of Richmond was ended; and the writer, with a dislocated ankle, limped to the rear using his Springfield rifle as a crutch."

During the night the Union forces retired to their comrades with their trains, on the south side of the Chickahominy, the rear guard being composed of infantry regulars who crossed early in the morning of June 28th, destroying the bridge behind them. The result of this Battle of Gaines' Mill resulted as favorably as the commanding general expected—to hold the enemy in check on the left (north) bank of the river until night in order that the wagon trains and artillery might be safely crossed and well on the way to the James River before morning.

The evening of June 28th General Slocum received orders from McClellan to move his division to Savage's Station early the next morning, and to hold that position during the day to cover and protect the movement of wagon trains, and then to fall back across the White Oak Swamp and join the army. Slocum arrived at the Station as directed, and there received orders to cross the Swamp at once and relieve General Keyes' corps. Keyes, being thus relieved, moved his corps to the James River where he arrived safely with all his artillery and supplies. This change of order for General Slocum kept him away from the

beginning of the battle at Savage's Station. General Franklin was ordered to hold the passage of White Oak Swamp Bridge and to cover the withdrawal of the army trains from that point. The trains were delayed by taking the wrong road, repairing the road, and from causes not reported at the time; and the engineers did not send their report as ordered.

About 12.30 P. M. of June 30th, while General Slocum with his division was on the right of the Charles City Road, the enemy attacked the divisions of Smith and Richardson and the brigade of Naglee at White Oak Swamp Bridge. At two P. M. the enemy advanced in force by the Charles City Road and was met by such vigorous opposition from Slocum's artillery that he deflected and attacked McCall's division which was compelled to retire after a severe engagement. Generals Slocum, Kearney, and Taylor soon occupied the field vacated by McCall, and drove back the enemy, who then retired from the contest. These engagements were styled the Battle of Glendale, which "was the most severe action since the Battle of Fair Oaks." (McClellan). Among the enemy at Glendale were the commands of the strong Confederate Generals Longstreet and A. P. Hill.

"There is a story told, by those who know, of a night when Colonel Calvin E. Pratt (afterward general, now judge of the Supreme Court) stumbled into Slocum's tent, drenched from head to foot with his own blood, having come two days' march from the Gaines Mill battle-field, where he had been left for dead. Slocum was asleep, but hearing that he had had nothing to eat for thirty-six hours, Pratt woke him and tendered him some French soup put up in a metal phial that gave up its contents when squeezed. Slocum did not recognize the exceeding grim-looking angel of mercy, but he took the soup, and afterwards said that though by waking he had left a wonderful banquet, of which he had been dreaming, that soup was well worth the loss of the delusion."¹¹³

This nearly exhausted condition of General Slocum is briefly mentioned in his letter to his wife, given on the following page.

Early in the morning of July 1, 1862, that part of the Union army engaged at Glendale arrived at Malvern Hill by the James River with the Reserve Artillery and supply train, to take part in the battle there already begun. Slocum, with his division, took position on the right wing of the Union army. The

enemy was here in force, and was repulsed with great loss. The Union gunboats in the James River acted a part in this battle. This ended the Seven Days' Battles of General McClellan with his Army of the Potomac in its Peninsular Campaign.

This army then moved a few miles down the left bank of the James and chose, and occupied, desirable ground for encampment at Harrison's Landing and Harrison Bar. Here was afforded time and opportunity for the much needed rest and recruiting of greatly depleted strength; and the first opportunity for writing at much length to friends at home, and for the officers' preparation of their official reports of the momentous Seven Days' Battles.

CHAPTER IX

LETTERS. REPORTS. PROMOTED MAJOR GENERAL

Harrison's Landing, Virginia, July 10, 1862.

Dear Wife:

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 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 it 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 for several days. Rest and quiet will soon make me all right. I dreamed every night after our arrival here 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.

Reports of Brigadier-General Henry W. Slocum, U. S. Army, commanding First Division, of the Battle of Gaines' Mills,

action at Bracketts, and Battles of Glendale (Frazier's Farm) and Malvern Hill.

Hdqrs. First Division, Sixth Provisional Corps,
Camp near Harrison's Landing, Va., July 8, 1862.

Sir: On the 27th June last, in obedience to orders received from General Franklin, I ordered the brigade commanded by Brigadier-General Newton to cross Alexander's Bridge to the left bank of the Chickahominy to the support of General Porter. The order was received at 2 o'clock P. M. and the brigade immediately moved in light marching order. At 2.30 P. M. I was ordered to cross at the same point with the remainder of my division. The movement was executed at once, and General Taylor's brigade crossed at about 3 P. M., followed by the brigade of Colonel Bartlett.

On my arrival near the field I was met by a member of General Porter's staff, who directed me to place one brigade near the right of the line of battle and another on the left of the first brigade. General Newton's brigade was at once formed in two lines, of two regiments each, the first line deployed, the second in double column, and moved to the point designated, accompanied by Lieutenant Upton's battery (D), of the Second U. S. Artillery.

This brigade was subsequently, by order of General (Fitz John) Porter, directed to enter the woods in front of them, two regiments at one point and two at another. The Thirty-first New York and Ninety-fifth Pennsylvania, under the immediate command of General Newton, stormed the woods which were then occupied by the enemy in very strong force, and maintained their position more than two hours under a most galling fire and against greatly superior numbers. The other two regiments of this brigade, the Eighteenth and Thirty-second New York, under command of Colonel Roderick Matheson, of the latter regiment, occupied a position on an eminence near the woods occupied by General Newton until nearly all their ammunition was exhausted, when they were ordered to retire to a position in the rear, where a new line was formed.

The New Jersey brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. G. W. Taylor, on its arrival on the field was formed in the same order as that of General Newton, and on arriving near the line of battle its regiments were ordered into the woods. The Fourth New Jersey, under command of Col. J. H. Simpson, was detached from the brigade and ordered to an advanced position in the woods, where cut off from the rest of our troops, the greater portion of it, together with its gallant Colonel and all of its officers except those who had already fallen, were taken prisoners. The remaining regiments of the brigade maintained the positions assigned to them until their ammunition was expended and our entire line withdrawn. This brigade was accompanied by and supported Hexamer's battery (A), of the First New Jersey Artillery.

Having received no specific directions as to the disposition of the remaining brigade under command of Col. Joseph J. Bartlett, of the Twenty-seventh New York, I directed Colonel Bartlett to take position on the ex-

treme left of the line, near the new road leading through the valley from Doctor Gaines' house to Alexander's Bridge. On approaching the point indicated Colonel Bartlett found our troops engaged to the right of his position, and immediately moved his brigade to their support. He was subsequently ordered to the right of the line to support General Sykes, whose troops, fatigued by the long contest of this and the previous day, were nearly overpowered by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. Porter's battery (A) of the First Massachusetts Artillery, was assigned to the command of Colonel Bartlett, and remained with his brigade during the day.

For detailed accounts of the operations of the several brigades of my command I would respectfully refer you to the reports of the brigade commanders, copies of which are herewith inclosed. It will be seen from the reports that not only were the brigades of the division separated from each other, but at least in two instances was the brigade organization broken up and regiments detached to hold isolated positions in the woods. As to the conduct of the officers and men of my division, I have only to say that the division entered the field 8,000 strong, and that the list of killed, wounded and missing amounts in the aggregate to 2,021. These lists attest the devotion and heroism of officers and men. Notwithstanding this fearful loss (including as it does many of the bravest and best officers of the division) all the regiments left the field in good order, and returned to their camps in the same compact and orderly manner that characterized their march to the scene of conflict.

The brigade commanders, Generals Newton and Taylor and Colonel Bartlett, are each entitled to the greatest praise, not only for their heroic conduct on the field, but for their untiring efforts after the close of the action in bringing off the wounded and in maintaining order and steadiness amid the prevalent confusion.

The loss of the division in officers was particularly severe, not only in numbers but in the character of those killed and wounded. Colonel Tucker and Major Ryerson, of the Second New Jersey, and Lieutenant-Colonel Heath, of the Fifth Maine, were killed while gallantly discharging their duty. Their loss is deeply felt in their regiments and throughout the division, and will be lamented by a wide circle of friends. Colonel Gosline and Major Hubbs, of the Ninety-fifth Pennsylvania, and Lieutenant-Colonel Marsh, of the Sixteenth New York, were mortally wounded while in the thickest of the fight and have since died. Colonel Howland, of the Sixteenth New York; Colonel Pratt, of the Thirty-first New York; Colonel Jackson, of the Fifth Maine; Major Gardner, of the Twenty-seventh New York, and Major Hatfield, of the First New Jersey, were so severely wounded as to be rendered unfit for duty. Over the fate of Colonel Simpson, Lieutenant-Colonel Hatch, and Major Birney, and the other officers of the Fourth New Jersey, hangs a painful uncertainty. They either rest in a soldier's grave or have fallen into the hands of the enemy.

Of the many other officers of less rank—the non-commissioned officers and soldiers—I cannot here write in detail. Like soldiers and like men

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they performed their duty and met their fate, and a grateful country will long bear them and the thousand nameless heroes of this conflict, who have offered up their lives at the nation's shrine, in lasting and honored remembrance.

H. W. SLOCUM,

Brig.-Gen. of Volunteers, Commanding First Division of Sixth Corps.
CAPT. FRED T. LOCKE, Asst. Adjt.-Gen. Hdqrs. Fifth Provisional Corps.

Hdqrs. First Division, Sixth Provisional Army Corps,
Camp near Harrison's Landing, Va., July 10, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor to submit the following report of the movement of the division under my command from the close of the Battle of Gaines' Hill, on the 27th ultimo, until its arrival at its present position.

The division returned from the field of battle at Gaines' Hill at about 11 P. M., leaving on the field in killed, wounded and missing one-half of its regimental commanders, about one-fourth of all the other officers, and at least one-fourth of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who had so recently crossed the river to the support of General Porter. The men, weary with the labors and excitement of the day, were allowed but little rest. Early the following morning their camps at Courtney's were changed to a position where they could be better sheltered from the fire of the enemy's batteries planted at Garnett's and Gaines' Hills. The same evening (the 28th) orders were received by me to move the division to Savage's Station, there to await further orders. The movement commenced at 11 P. M., but was so delayed at Trent's Hill by the passage of other troops that the division did not arrive at Savage's until about 5 A. M. on Sunday, the 29th.

At this place I received orders from General McClellan in person to move the division across the White Oak Swamp. We crossed at 2 P. M., and at 5 P. M. I was ordered to proceed to a point on the Long Bridge Road, about 1 1-2 miles beyond the swamp, to relieve the divisions of Generals Couch and Peck, both of whom were under orders to proceed to the James River on the arrival of my command. The division reached this place at 7 P. M., and full one-half of the effective force was immediately sent out on picket duty for the night. On the following morning I took position on the Charles City Road, about 1 mile from its junction with the Long Bridge Road and about an equal distance from Brackett's Ford.

In anticipation of an attack by a force said to be approaching on the Charles City Road this road was blockaded as thoroughly as possible. Soon after our arrival our line was established, and Upton's battery (D), Second Artillery, and Porter's and Hexamer's Volunteer batteries placed in position. The infantry necessary to support the artillery was posted on the flanks of the batteries, and the remainder so disposed as to be entirely protected from the fire of the enemy's artillery. The bridge near Brackett's Ford was destroyed by our troops immediately after our arrival, and an infantry force, with one 12-pounder howitzer of Hexamer's battery, placed to defend the position. At 10 o'clock the enemy appeared at this point and attempted a reconstruction of the bridge, but was repulsed.

At 11 A. M. our pickets on the Charles City Road were driven in and the enemy immediately appeared in full force in a large open field in our front, their position being partially screened from our view by a narrow belt of woodland. They opened fire from two batteries, which was at once replied to by Porter's and Upton's batteries and two pieces of Hexamer's battery. Our artillery, with the exception of the two pieces of Hexamer's battery, was exceedingly well served.

About this time a large body of infantry and some artillery which had approached our lines by the Charles City Road and moved to our left, and were brought against the troops of Generals Kearny and McCall. The artillery fire was continued by the enemy in our front until nearly dark, but our troops were so well covered that we suffered but few casualties, our total loss not exceeding 25 in killed and wounded.

At 7 o'clock it was reported to me that the left of our line, held by General Heintzelman, was severely pressed, and the fire of the enemy in our front having ceased, I ordered the brigade of Colonel Bartlett to move to the front and gain possession, if possible, of the field on which the enemy first appeared. As soon as his brigade moved down the road leading to this position a strong force of the enemy's infantry appeared, drawn up in line a short distance beyond a creek separating our position from that held by the enemy. Upton's battery of light 12-pounders was at once moved to the front and a very effective fire of canister opened upon them, which caused their well-formed lines to disappear.

At this time General Heintzelman arrived on the field, and at his suggestion I ordered the First New Jersey Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General Taylor, to the support of General Kearny. Under the circumstances I deemed it imprudent to attempt an advance.

Our position during the entire day was defended mainly by our artillery, which on this, as on all other occasions, was most admirably served. Of Upton's battery (D) Second Artillery, and Porter's battery (A) First Massachusetts Volunteer Artillery, I cannot speak too highly. The officers and men of both these batteries have on all occasions manifested that coolness and bravery so necessary to this branch of the service. Hexamer's battery has usually been well served, but on this occasion the two pieces under command of a lieutenant (since resigned) were poorly handled, and proved of but little assistance. Captain De Russey's battery, of the Fourth Artillery, and Captain Randolph's Volunteer battery were in position on our line during a portion of the day, and did good execution. To Captain E. R. Platt, chief of artillery, I am greatly indebted, not only for his services during both the recent engagements, but for his unceasing care and vigilance on the march. The fire on our left was continued until a late hour in the evening, and at times the shells and even musket balls from the enemy fell in the road directly in rear of our position.

At 9 P. M., having expended nearly all our ammunition and being entirely destitute of rations, I sent a staff officer to general headquarters to report our condition. At 11 P. M., having permission of General Heintzel-

man, I moved the division to Malvern Hill. We arrived at this point at daylight, and at 9 A. M., the 2d instant, moved to a position on the right of our line. From the time of our arrival until the commencement of the engagement on this day the men were employed in constructing abatis and otherwise strengthening our position. During the engagement on our left the division was under arms.

At 11 P. M. orders were received to move to our present position, where we arrived at daylight on the 3d instant. During this entire week the troops were allowed scarcely an hour of undisturbed rest either by night or day, yet the division marched into its present camp in good order, leaving very few stragglers, and without the loss of any arms, ammunition, clothing, or wagons, and with a cheerfulness prevailing among the soldiers as well as officers which to me was as astonishing as it was gratifying.

Great credit is due to the brigade commanders, Generals Newton and Taylor, and Colonel Bartlett, for their vigilance and untiring efforts on the field as well as on our night marches. They were constantly with their commands, cheering them by noble example as well as by words.

To the members of my staff, Captain Rodgers, assistant adjutant-general; Captain Hopkins, quartermaster; Captain Sturdevant, commissary of subsistence; Lieutenants Wead, Shannon, and Guindon, aides, and Surgeon Burr, I am greatly indebted. They were with me during the entire week, and proved very efficient in the discharge of their respective duties.

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

H. W. SLOCUM,

Brigadier-General Volunteers, Commanding.

CAPT. E. SPARROW PURDY, Assistant Adjutant-General.

The opposing forces engaged in the Seven Days' Battles numbered as follows: The Army of the Potomac was composed of 150 regiments of infantry; 2 regiments and 1 battalion of engineers; 1 regiment of heavy or siege artillery; 58 batteries and 10 regiments of cavalry. The Confederate forces were composed of 173 regiments and 12 battalions of infantry; 71 batteries; and 12 regiments of cavalry.

The Union losses during the Seven Days Battles were: Killed, 1,734; wounded, 8,062; missing, 6,075; total, 15,849. The Confederate losses were: Killed, 3,478; wounded, 16,261; missing, 875; total, 20,614.¹¹³ The losses at the Battle of Gaines Mill alone were: Union, killed 894; wounded, 3,107; missing, 2,836; total, 6,837. Confederate, total, killed and wounded, 8,751.

General Slocum was again cheered by even greater recognition and appreciation of his services than before, in his promotion to the rank of Major-General by President Lincoln, Chief,

and the War Department, the commission bearing date July Fourth, 1862. Surely this was a rapid rise to the command of numerous batteries of artillery, and of many thousands of men by a man who, but a little over one year before, could not get the consent of the Governor of his State to organize one light battery. This was a graceful recognition unsolicited by himself or friends of his conscientious devotion to duty, a characteristic that led to yet broader and more valuable service; as the President and War Department were anxious to advance their worthy officers.

A period of comparative quiet to the Army of the Potomac now followed. The camps were put in good condition, and the defensive features were strengthened. The Richmond forces of the enemy often appeared threateningly, and then withdrew their main forces, leaving at Malvern Hill a medium force, which was soon routed, and the scattered enemy disappeared. Coming down the south side of the James, the enemy placed a battery of artillery one night at Coggins' Point opposite the Union encampment, and with it killed ten Union soldiers, and did other harm. This battery was soon silenced by Union artillerists who then constructed a battery in its place that stopped further mischief. The country on both sides of the James was kept well under observation, and numerous scouting parties of the enemy were punished and scattered.

All parts of the army were in different ways kept in good exercise. The hot season caused much malaria, and this, with its complications, caused much sickness. August 3rd the sick list of the Union army at Harrison's Landing and vicinity numbered 12,500 persons.

Reinforcements for advance on Richmond had repeatedly been requested by McClellan; and at times they were promised; but the enemy again began to threaten Washington and, August 3rd, the authorities there sent an order for McClellan to withdraw the army at once from the James River and to transport it up the Potomac to the mouth of Aquia Creek, to aid General Pope in the protection of Washington, and to there combat the enemy while formulating plans against Richmond from that quarter. This was a severe blow to McClellan's plans and desires, but he at once began preparations to comply with the order, and at the same time renewed correspondence with Washington

in defense of his plans for the attack of Richmond by way of the James River. Better protection of Washington was insisted upon by the War Department, and McClellan was urged, harshly he thought, to hasten the army's coming to the aid of General Pope, who was south of Washington.

The shipping facilities for even the wounded and sick were inadequate on the James, and it was necessary for those able to walk to join the marching columns.

When the order to break camp was sounded, the readiness with which the army, artillery, and army wagons disappeared from the grounds was astonishing. Major-General Slocum's command took up the march August 16th, and moved this day to Charles City Court House, a distance of seven miles; the next day they crossed the Chickahominy River at Barrett's Ford, marching a distance of fourteen miles; the 18th they passed through Williamsburg, having marched fifteen miles; the 19th to Yorktown, twelve miles on the way; the 20th to Young's Mill, fourteen miles; the 21st the march extended nine miles to Newport News, where the soldiers embarked on transports for the Potomac River, August 22nd and 23rd.

CHAPTER X

TO ALEXANDRIA. BATTLE OF MANASSAS

After seeing his men and subordinate officers on board transports at Newport News, General Slocum was fortunate in obtaining more rapid transit to his destination that he might make arrangements for their landing and reorganization. His corps, the Sixth, arrived at Aquia Creek, the designated landing, late the 24th of August and, Slocum having found the wharves there small and fully occupied, it was decided to disembark the troops at Alexandria, a few miles above. Report had been made to the authorities at Washington, who directed that the Sixth Corps go into camp at Alexandria immediately upon its arrival.

There was not full feeling of accord between Generals McClellan, Pope, commanding the Union troops of the advance guard of Washington, and Halleck, their ranking officer at Washington, who had been most active in the correspondence with McClellan, and who would not now give definite answer to

McClellan's question regarding his future relation to Pope and the future operation of the army.

During the last few days the enemy had been appearing at intervals, here, there and elsewhere, and he had succeeded amazingly well in causing loss to the authorities in Washington of his whereabouts, and of even the Union General Pope and his troops. The authorities were even doubtful of proper protection to Washington before the arrival of the Army of the Potomac. Surely an evasive and wily enemy were the Confederates at this time.

Gradually McClellan learned something of the whereabouts of the parts of what he yet considered his own army, which had been quietly scattered by Halleck. Fitz J. Porter's Fifth Corps was marching on Warrenton Junction to reinforce Pope; Kearney had been at Rappahannock Station the day before, and Williams was at Falmouth.

The cavalry and artillery horses had not been received from the Peninsula. McClellan continued alert and acted promptly, so far as possible, on all orders received from Washington for the arrangement of troops and supplies.

In a communication dated August 31, 1862, Halleck released McClellan from all participation and responsibility in the battle thought then to be in progress by General Pope's command, closing in these words: "You will retain the command of everything in this vicinity not temporarily to be Pope's army in the field. . . . I beg of you to assist me in this crisis with your ability and experience."¹⁹

The infantry of General Slocum's division of the Sixth Corps arrived at Alexandria August 25th and 26th. The horses and artillery were received separately, only sixteen of the former being received by the 28th. On the 27th order came from General Halleck to send a brigade to Centerville, the enemy being reported at that place. In compliance with this order, General Slocum dispatched from his division General Taylor's brigade by railway train, which inadvertently ran into serious disaster. As this train arrived at the bridge over Bull Run it was assailed by four brigades, with artillery, of the Confederate A. P. Hill's division of Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson's corps. The Union loss here was great, including the death of General Taylor,

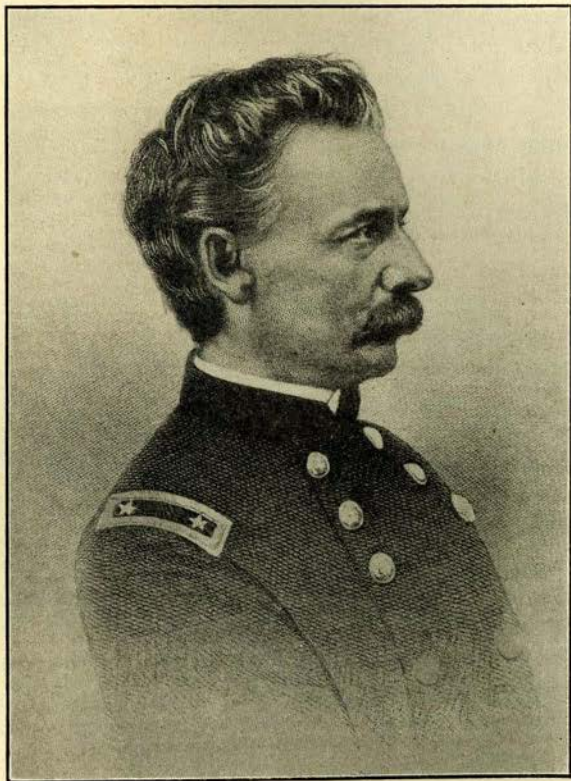
a watchful and efficient officer. The brigade was withdrawn in good order, however, evidencing the high degree of discipline it had attained under directions of its chief commander, General Slocum.

With the meager receipts of horses and artillery August 28th by Slocum's command, attempts were made to collect a train to carry food to Pope's troops at the front, but facilities for accomplishing much in this work were wanting. Friday, August 29th, however, the Sixth Corps started for the front with orders to communicate with General Pope and, at the same time, guard communication with Alexandria, the starting point. The advance at Annandale, ten miles in front, reported that fugitives from Pope's command were constantly arriving there and giving information of a large force of the enemy near Fairfax Court House six miles distant. The ammunition of Slocum's men was short, they now having only ten rounds for each gun, and McClellan ordered a halt at Annandale during the night, and to proceed at six o'clock next morning. In the meanwhile ammunition and provision wagons had been hurried forward; and the Sixth Corps was further ordered to withhold movement for the protection of the oncoming trains.

Upon arrival at Fairfax Court House August 30th, General Slocum detached a brigade of infantry and a battery, under command of Colonel Alfred T. A. Torbert, with order to guard the junction of Little River and Warrenton Turnpike, between Centerville and Alexandria. Colonel Torbert later reported that about 8 o'clock of August 31st his brigade was attacked by the enemy with three pieces of artillery which caused confusion among the wagon teams then under his protection. He succeeded in driving the enemy away, and thereby preventing catastrophe to Pope's men, as well as avoiding loss of the trains. Pope had not placed protection at this point; and only to Slocum's keen discernment and good judgment were due the credit of providing for the driving of a dangerous part of the enemy from this vulnerable place. It was afterwards determined that this attack on Slocum's men was made by General J. E. B. Stuart the enemy's noted cavalry leader.

At 1.30 P. M. order was received from McClellan directing the other part of the Sixth Corps to join General Pope at once.

The troops accordingly moved through Centerville and, when about three miles beyond, many of Pope's men were met in wild retreat. The remaining part of Slocum's division, being in advance, was formed across the road in effort to arrest the frightened, fleeing mass, the different parts of which were promiscu-



MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY W. SLOCUM
At the Close of the Peninsular Campaign. Age 36 Years

ously struggling to get at the head of the retreat—a mass and press “as great as the First Bull Run Battle retreat of July 21st, 1861,” said General Slocum. With great effort, by himself and men, they succeeded in gathering about three thousand of these panic-stricken soldiers in a somewhat protected place nearby; but from a flying report of a force of Confederate cavalry being

seen, though a mile distant, the fugitives forcibly broke through all guarding lines and continued a precipitate retreat. General Pope soon appeared, and directed the Sixth Corps to return to Centerville, at which place he desired to reform his line.

The next morning, August 31st, a detachment of the Sixth Corps, including artillery, was sent to Cub Run Bridge as rear guard to Pope's troops, the only protection between them and the enemy; and it secured peaceful movement of the long trains to safe stations. The Sixth Corps followed Pope to Fairfax Court House, and the next evening, September 2, it returned to guard and recruiting duties near Alexandria.

As soon as the Confederate general commanding, Robert E. Lee, became aware of the severity of the defeat of Pope's troops, and the somewhat disorganized condition of the Army of the Potomac, he left cavalry to watch and harass the broken Union forces, and the other defenses of Washington, and with his main army he moved rapidly to the invasion of Maryland, hoping to find there a double, or triple, gain—recruits for his own depleted forces; army supplies; and prestige at home and abroad, all or either one of which would detract from the Union. As a matter of course, the possibility of capturing Washington could but form at least a hope. This was the Confederacy's first bold, well-conceived, extra-Confederate territorial offensive movement.

Affairs were now, to some degree, in worse chaotic condition in Washington than at the defeat of General McDowell at the First Battle of Bull Run the preceding year. President Lincoln and his aids of the War Department again sought the counsel and assistance of General McClellan. He had been "released" from the Army of the Potomac, and was now restricted to duty in and immediately around Washington. After a long conference with him the President favored, under date of September 2, the brief order, that "Major-General McClellan will have command of the fortifications of Washington, and of all the troops for the defense of the capitol." This order was signed by Major-General Henry W. Halleck, and it was interpreted by McClellan to embrace soldiers in the field as well as those in the immediate fortifications; and it was well that he acted accordingly.

The same day McClellan ordered General Pope to distribute his forces near Washington. Franklin's Sixth Corps, with Slo-

cum's division, was in the advance at Alexandria. The Army of Virginia, composed of McDowell, Banks, and Fremont's commands, was consolidated with the Army of the Potomac, and General Pope was relieved from the service September 5th.²³



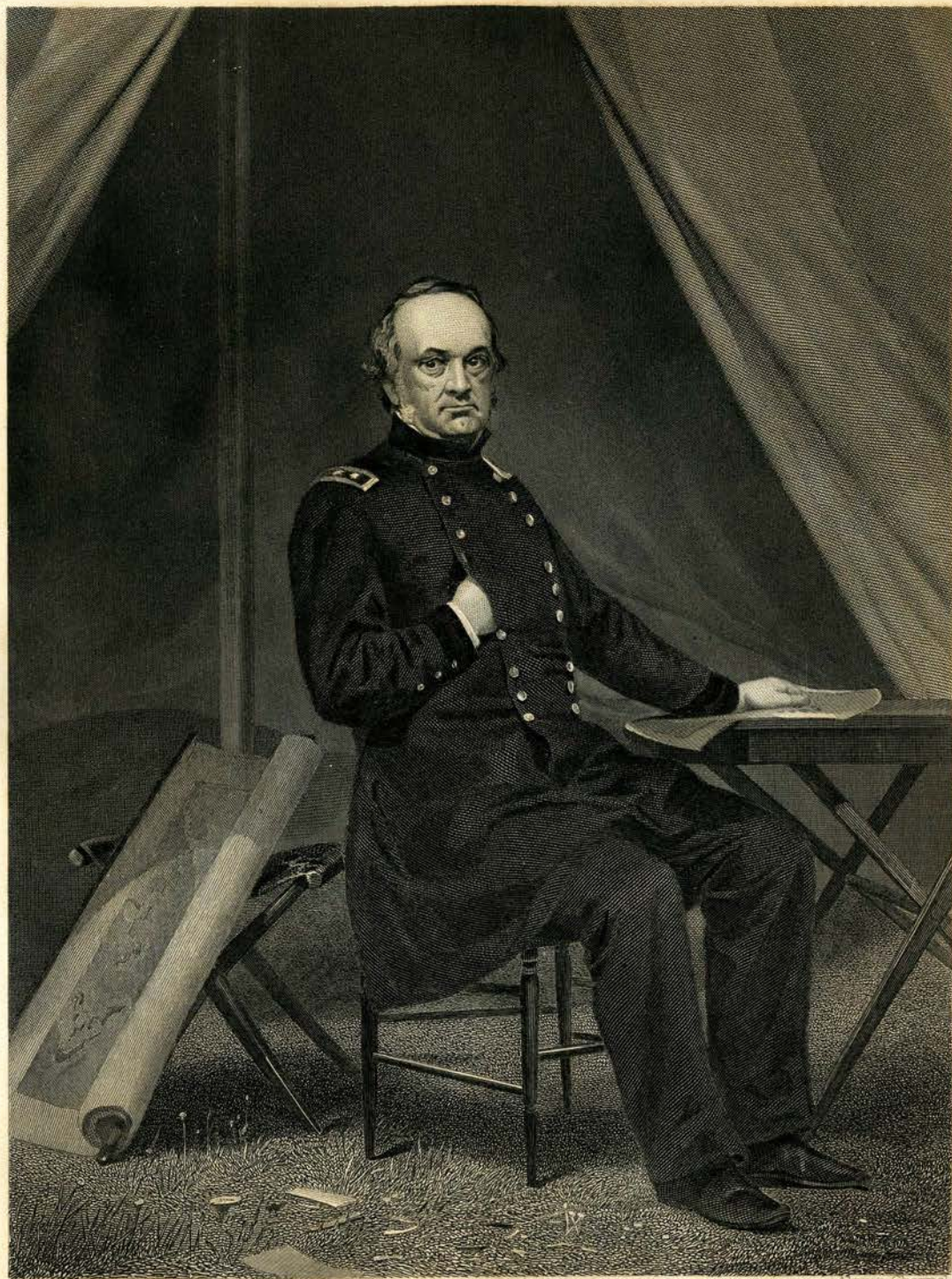
HENRY W. SLOCUM.



MAJ. GEN. GEO. B. McCLELLAN, U. S. A.

Geo B McClellan
Maj Gen USA

Engraved for Rebellion Record



Painted by

Alonso Chappel

W. W. Halluk

Likeness from a recent Photograph from life

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers, New York



Eng'd by Geo. E. Porine, N.Y.

MAJ. GEN. JOHN POPE, U. S. A.



BRIG. GEN. IRWIN McDOWELL U.S.A.

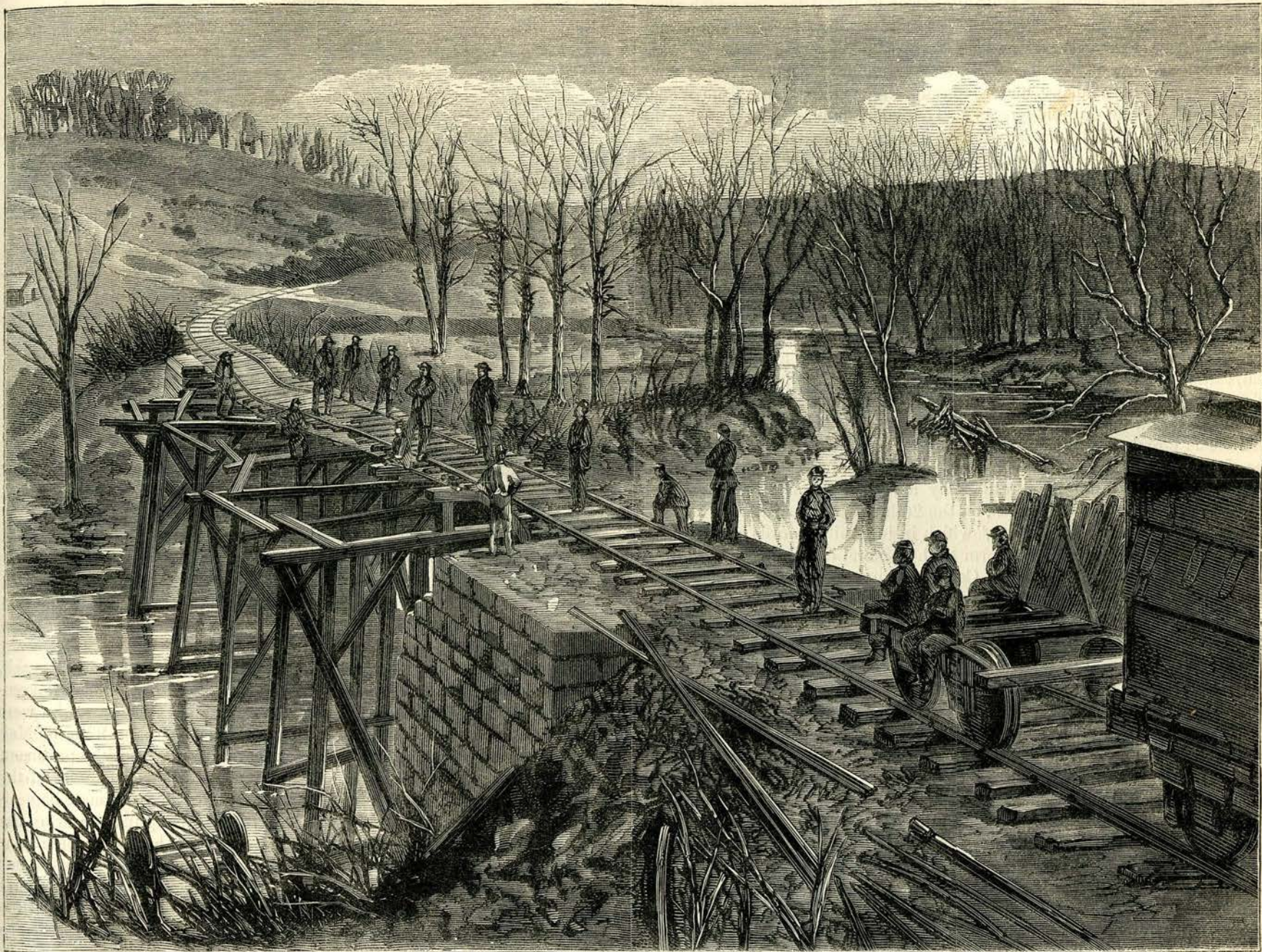
From Photograph by Brady.



FITZ-JOHN PORTER.



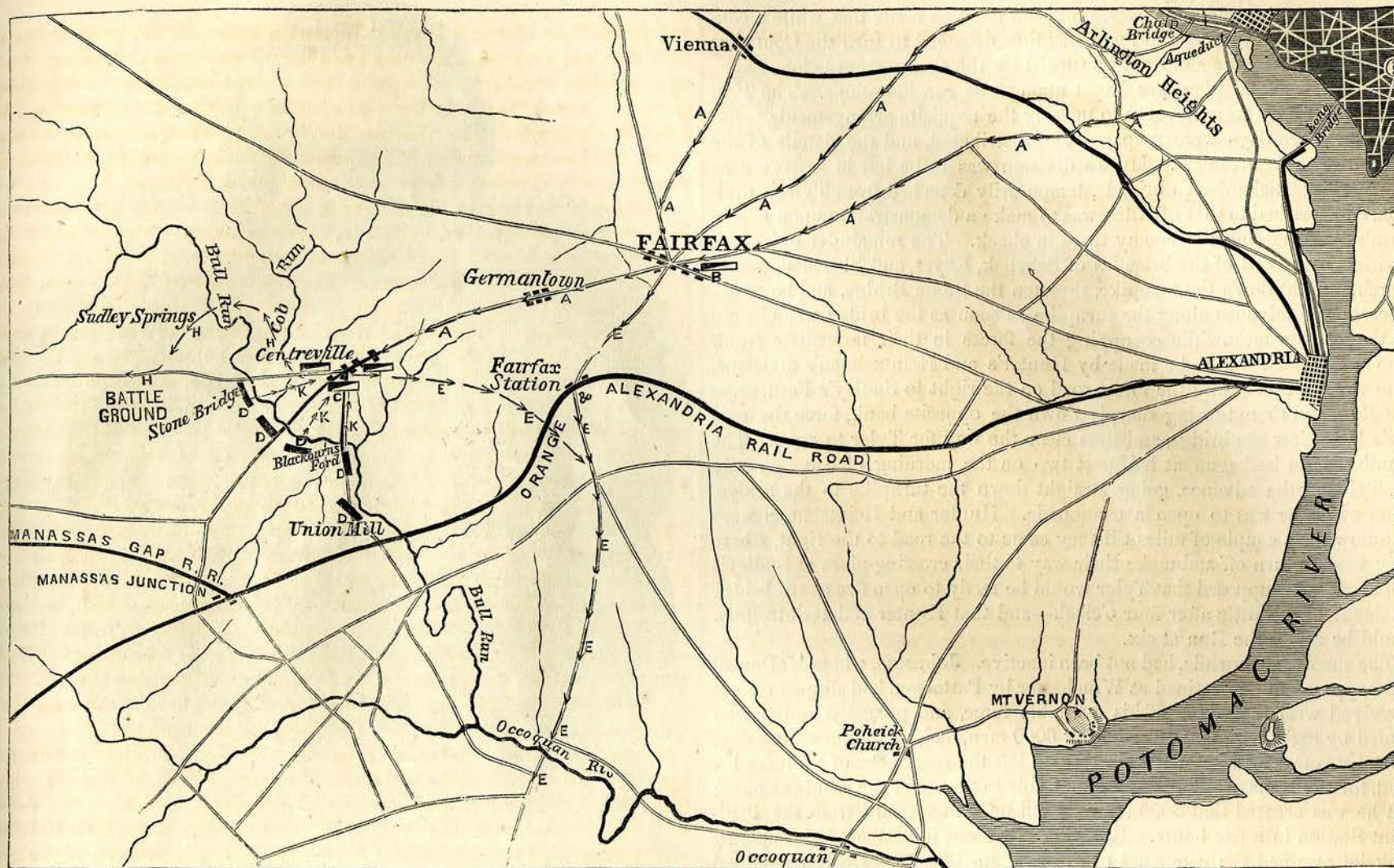
MAJ. GEN. W. F. SMITH.



BULL RUN, NEAR UNION MILLS, CROSSED BY THE ORANGE AND ALEXANDRIA RAILROAD.

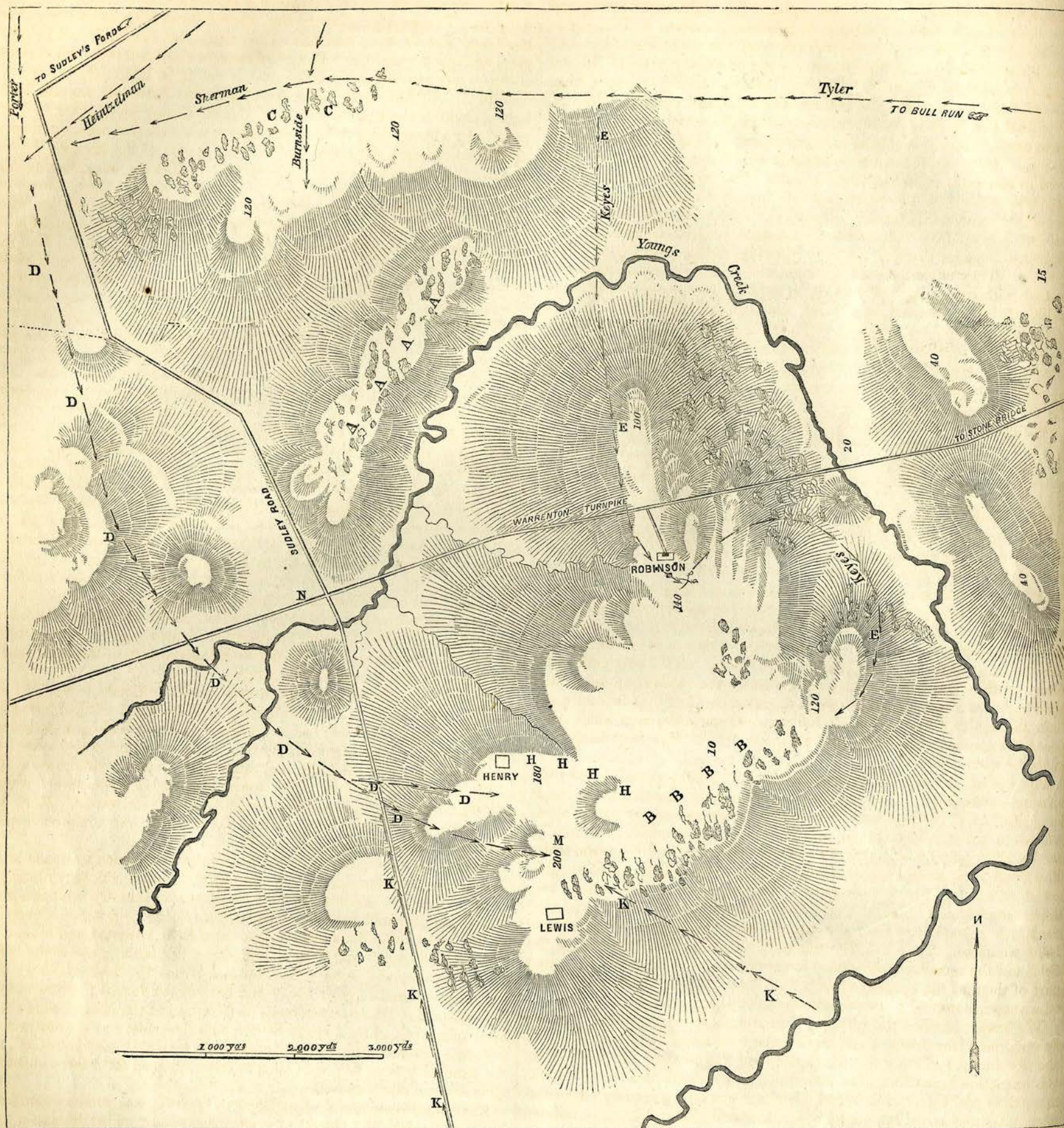


MANASSAS JUNCTION AFTER ITS EVACUATION BY THE CONFEDERATES, FEBRUARY, 1862.



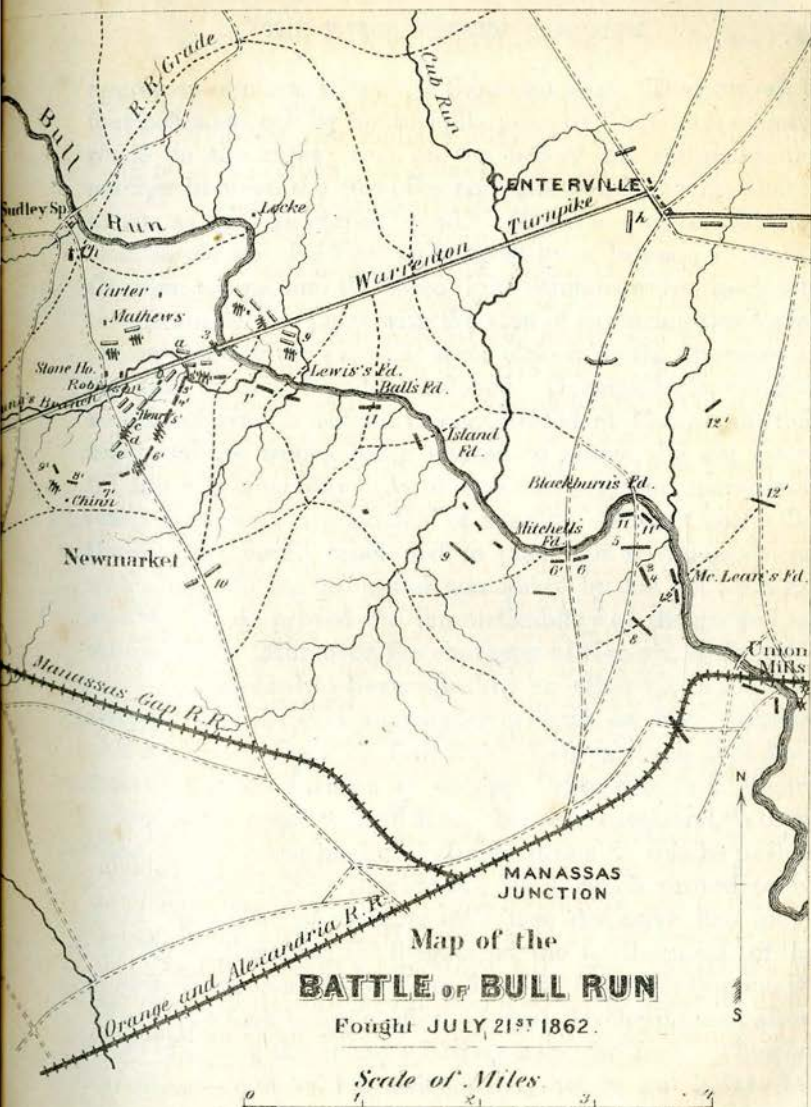
PLANS OF OPERATIONS.

This map indicates, in a general way, the operations, actual or proposed, on both sides, previous to the battle of Bull Run.—A A shows McDowell's advance to Centreville.—B Runyon's division, left in reserve near Fairfax Court House.—C C McDowell at Centreville.—D D Confederate brigades across Bull Run.—E E McDowell's first plan to turn the Confederate right.—H H McDowell's second plan to turn the Confederate left, which brought on the battle.—K K Beauregard's original plan of attacking with his right the Federals at Centreville.



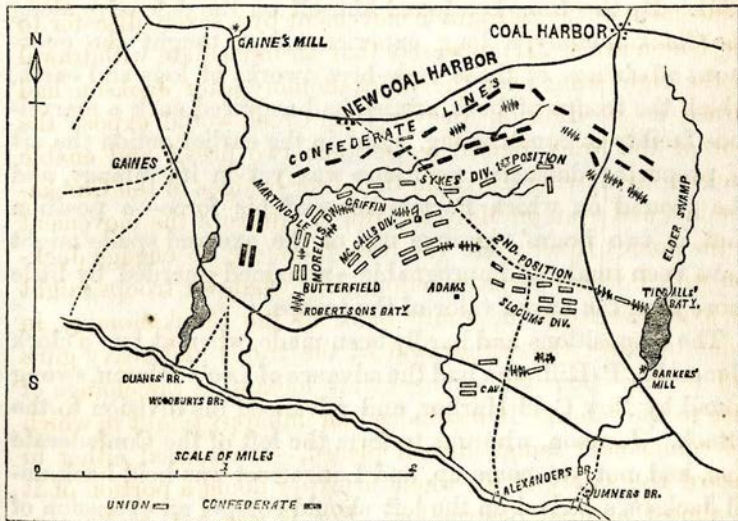
THE BATTLE-FIELD OF BULL RUN.

This map shows the topography of the field, and the principal positions during the battle, Bull Run being about half a mile to the east. A A scene of the Confederate repulse in the morning. B B Confederate stand on the southern edge of the plateau. C C Burnside withdrawn from the action after the fight of the morning. D D general line of advance of the united columns of Porter, Heintzelman, and Sherman upon the Confederate right. E E Keyes's movement after the separation of his brigade from that of Sherman, of Tyler's division. H H final advance of the Confederates. K K advance of the last Confederate re-enforcements. M hill where Griffin's and Ricketts's batteries were disabled. N Sykes's stand with the regulars after the rout. The figures denote the elevation above the level of Bull Run.



REFERENCES

<i>Union Troops.</i>	<i>Confederate Troops.</i>
	<i>First & Last Positions</i>
<i>a</i> Keyes	1. 1 st Cooke
<i>b</i> Sherman	2. 2 nd Barton
<i>c</i> Franklin	3. 3 rd Evans
<i>d</i> Howard	4. 4 th Bee
<i>e</i> Wilcox	5. 5 th Jackson
<i>f</i> Porter	6. 6 th Bonham
<i>g</i> Schenk	7. 7 th Ely
<i>h</i> Miles	8. 8 th Early
	9. 9 th Stuart's Cav.
	10. 10 th Ewell
	11. 11 th Longstreet
	12. 12 th D. R. Jones
	13. 13 th Rufford's Cav.



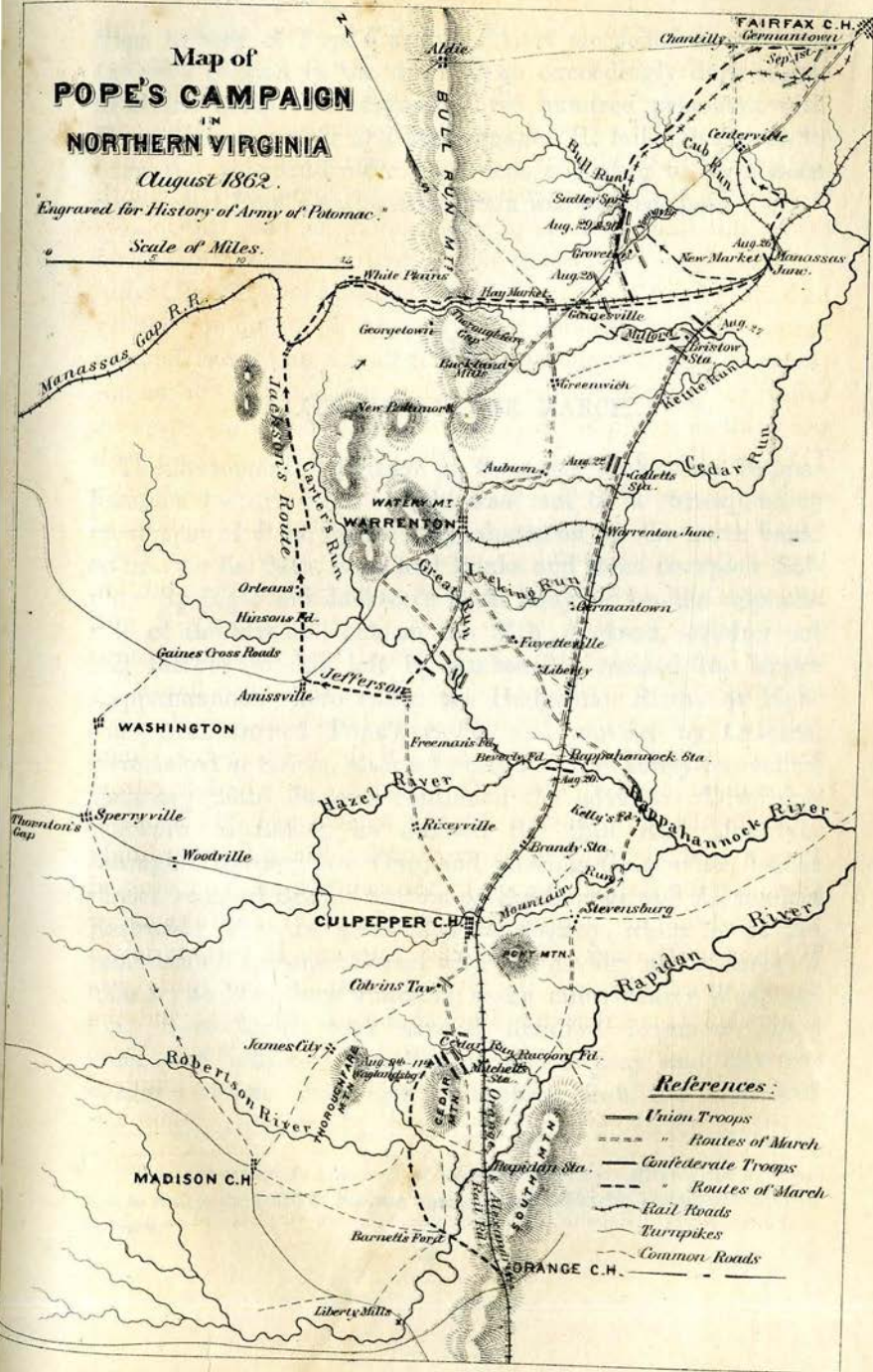
SKETCH OF THE FIELD OF GAINES' MILL.

Map of

43

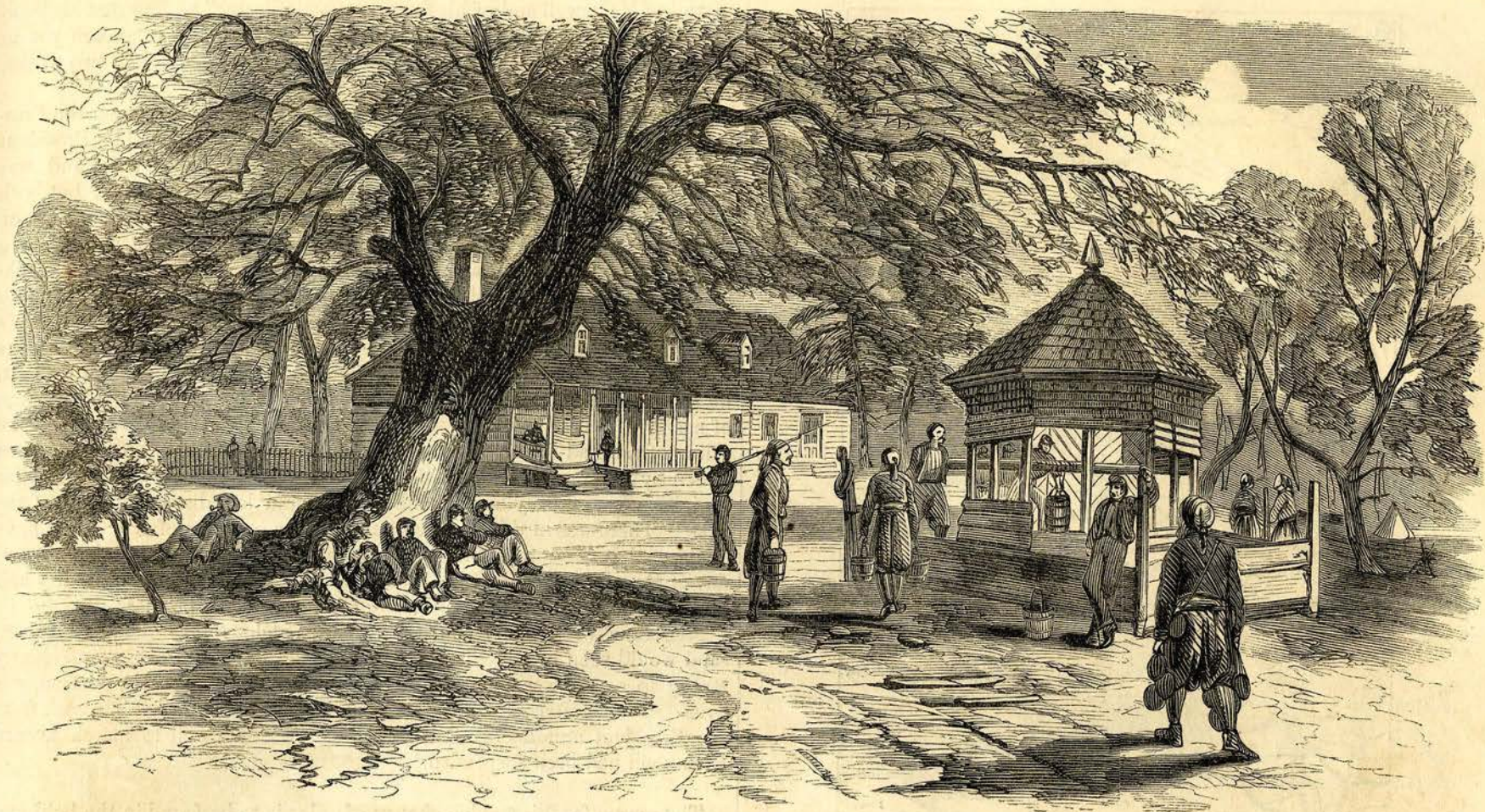
Engraved for History of Army of Potomac.

Scale of Miles.





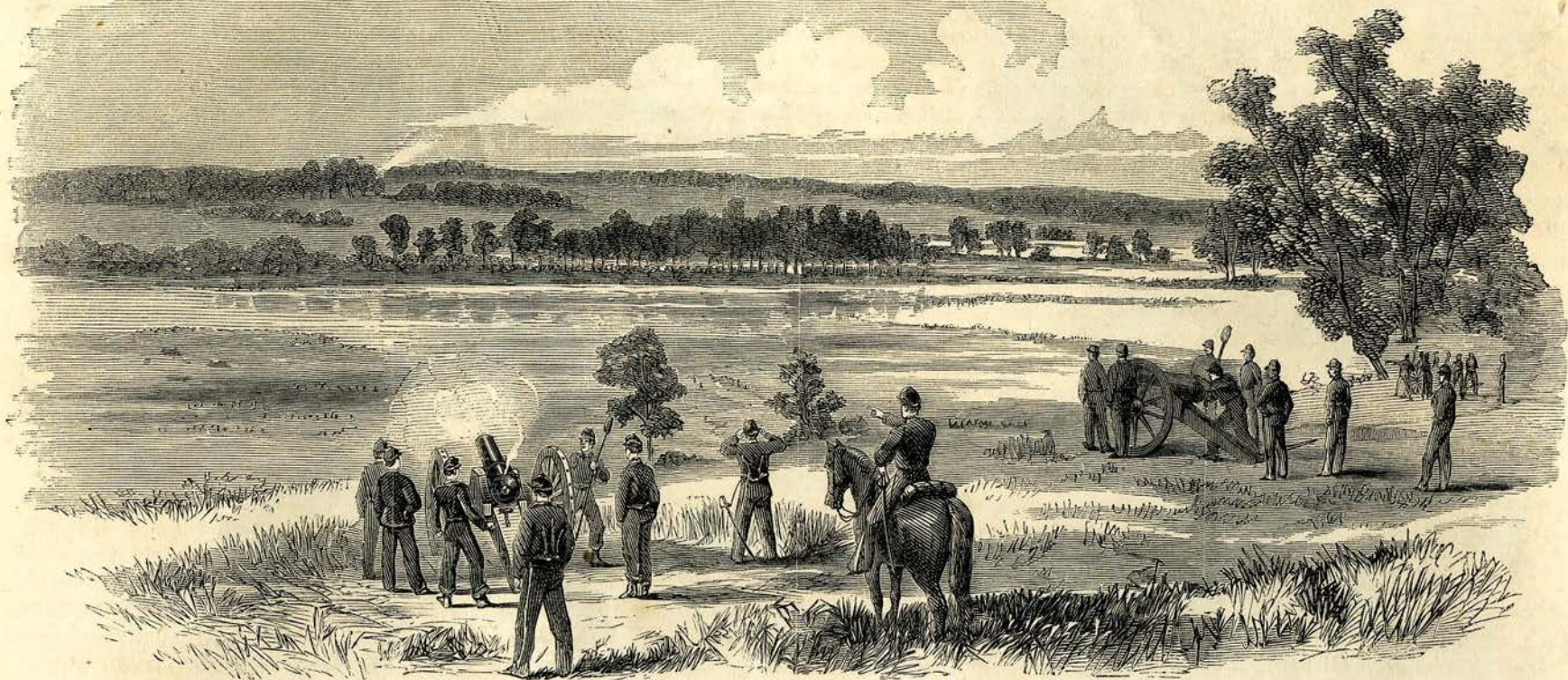
THE MARCH FROM WILLIAMSBURG.



COLD HARBOR.—MCLELLAN'S HEAD-QUARTERS.

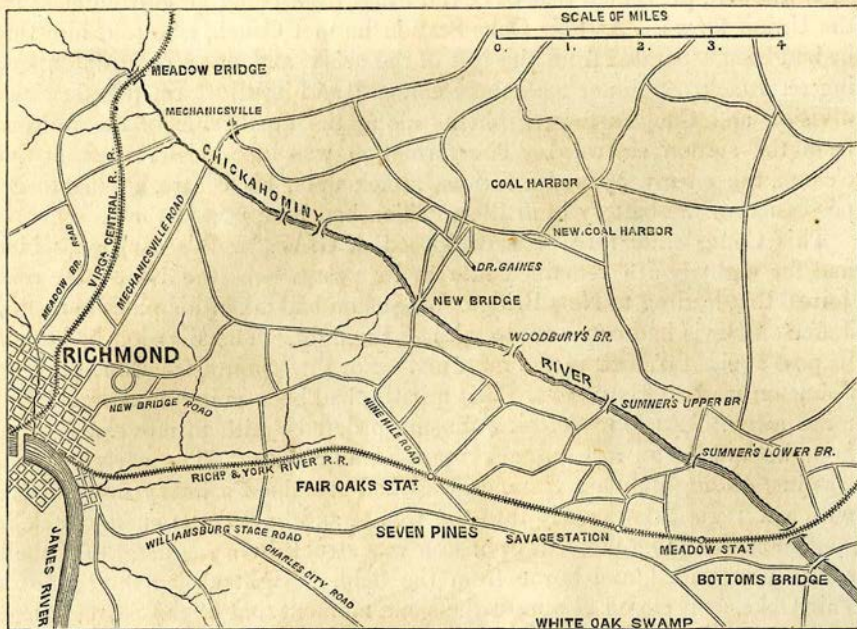


BRIDGE ACROSS THE CHICKAHOMINY SWAMP.



SHELLING ACROSS THE CHICKAHOMINY SWAMP.





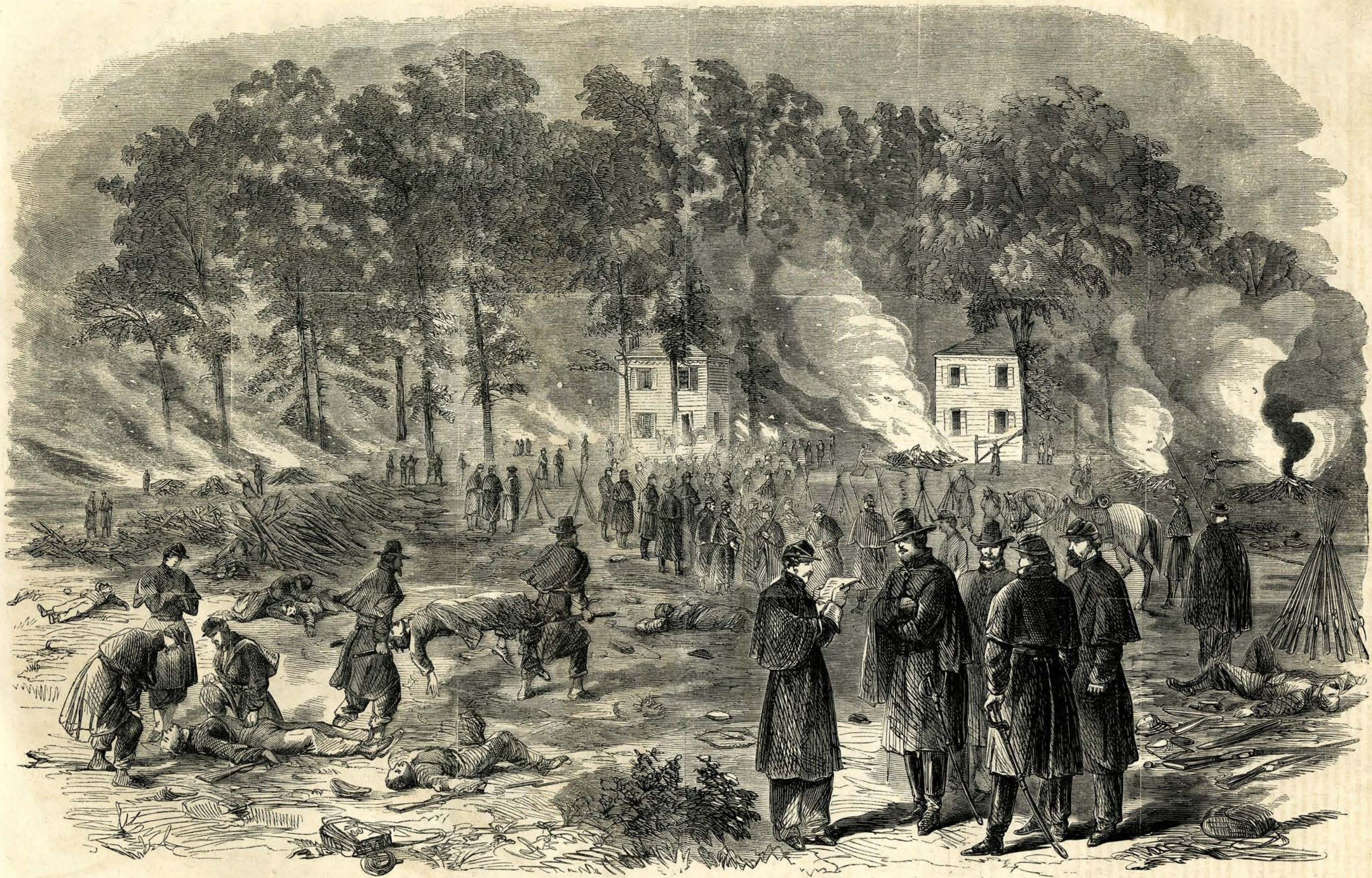
SEVEN PINES AND FAIR OAKS.



SEARCHING FOR THE DEAD AND WOUNDED.



PICKETS IN THE WOODS.



FAIR OAKS FARM.—BURYING THE DEAD AND BURNING THE HORSES.



PICKET GUARD ON THE CHICKAHOMINY.

JUNE, 1862.]

ON THE SHENANDOAH AND THE CHICKAHOMINY.



WOODBURY AND ALEXANDER'S BRIDGE.





BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF RICHMOND AND VICINITY.



JAMES E. B. STUART.



CAMP LEE, HEAD-QUARTERS, NEAR RICHMOND.



CONSCRIPT OFFICE, CAMP LEE.



ASILAND,
4 Y



MECHANICSVILLE.



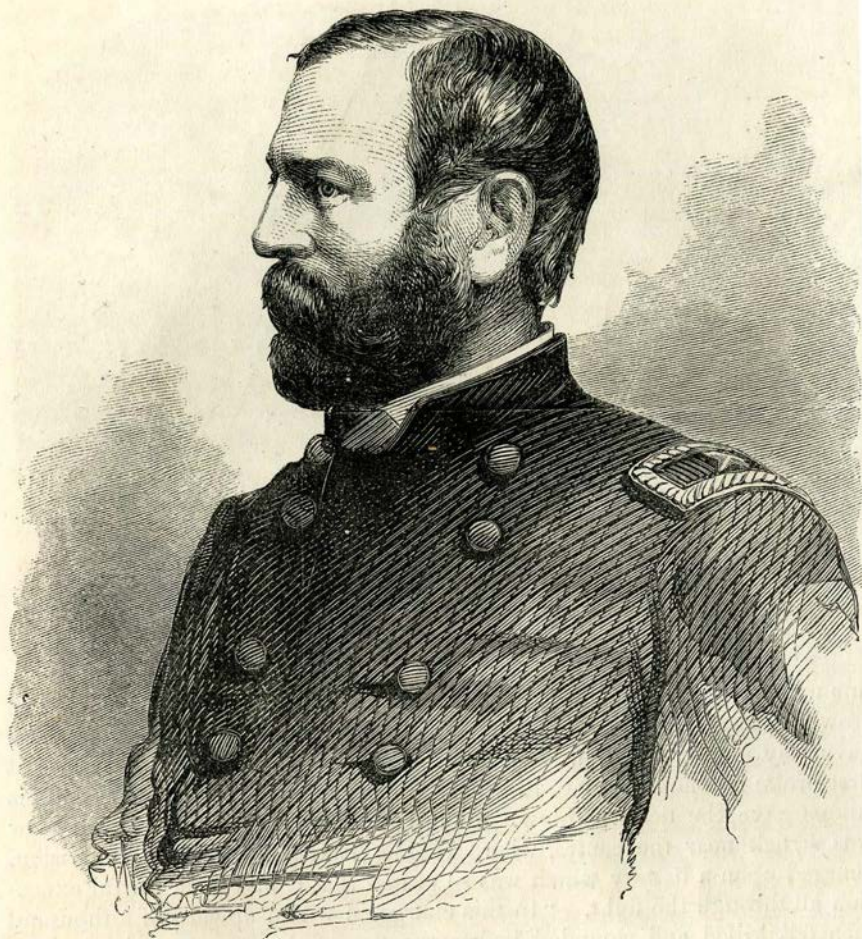
JAMES LONGSTREET.



AMBROSE P. HILL.



HENRY W. SLOCUM.



FITZ-JOHN PORTER.



DANIEL BUTTERFIELD.



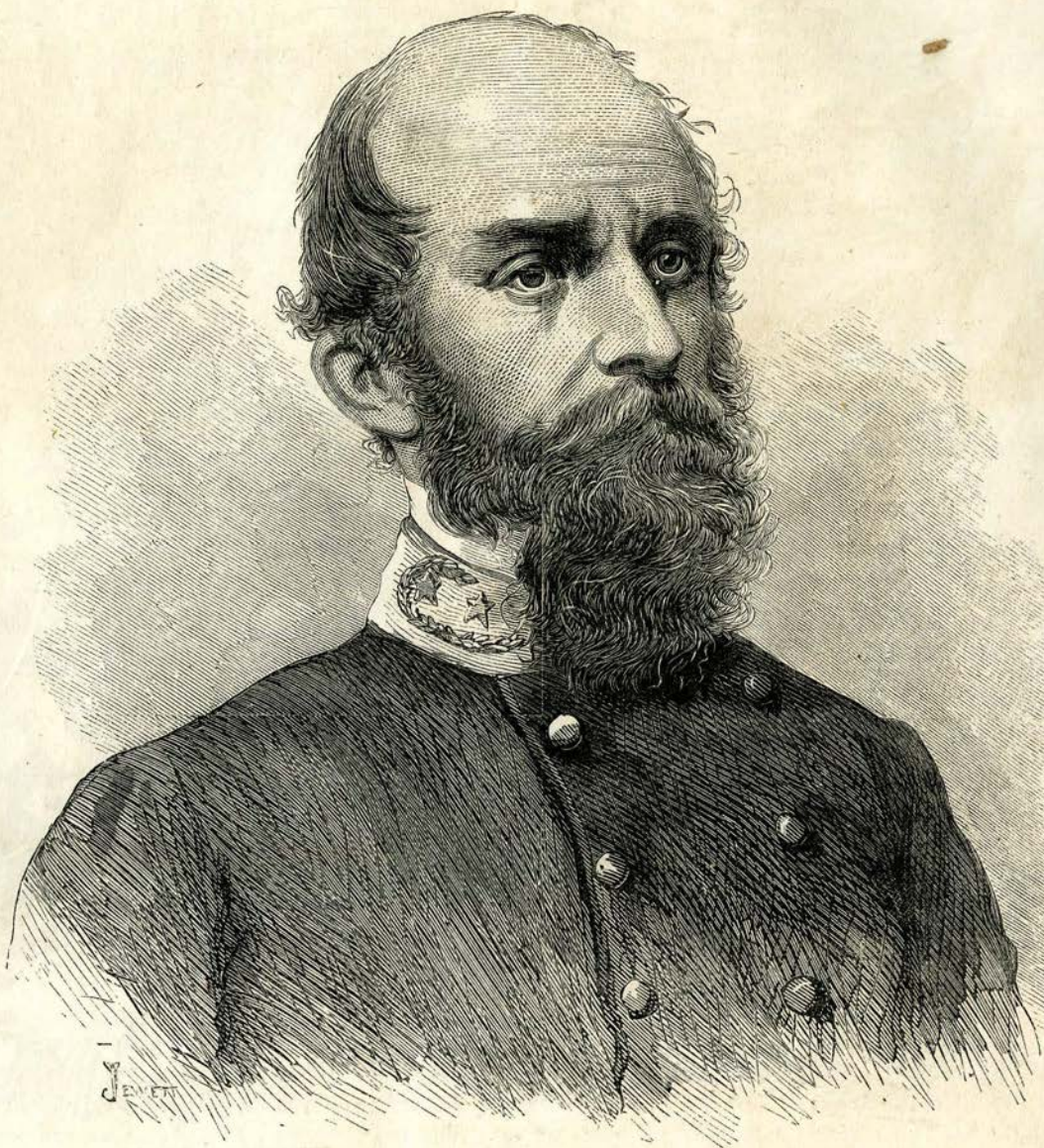
THE FINAL CHARGE AT COLD HARBOR.



CAVALRY CHARGE AT COLD HARBOR.



SKIRMISHING IN THE WOODS.



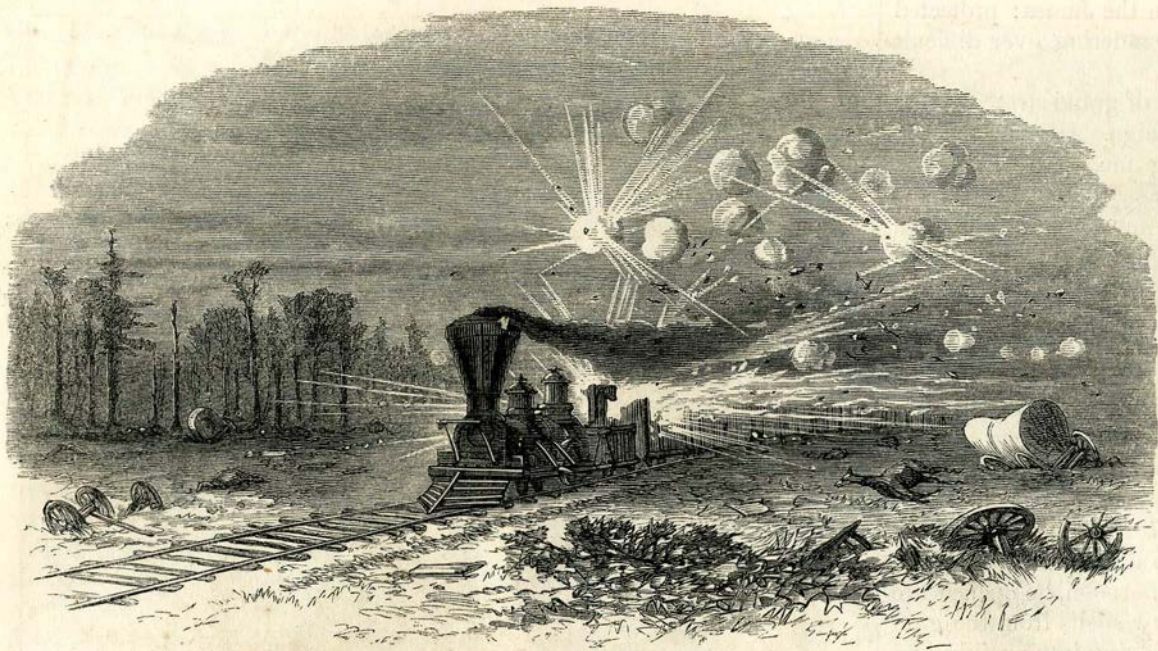
RICHARD S. EWELL.



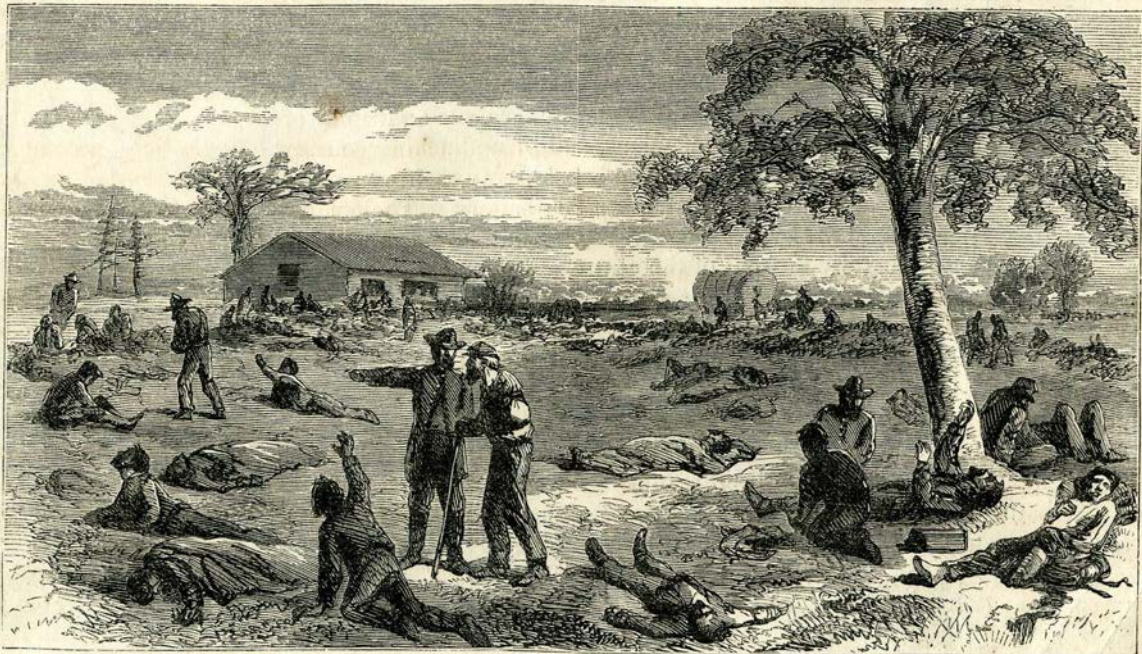
COMMENCEMENT OF THE RETREAT.—JUNE 29.



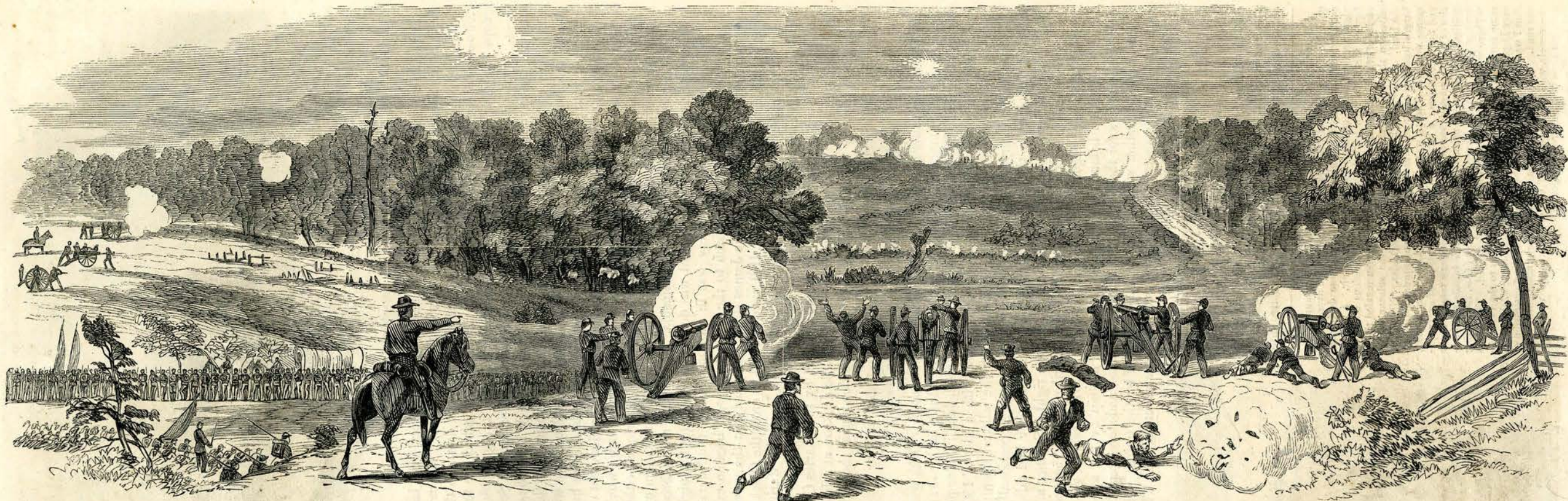
MAP OF THE REGION NEAR RICHMOND.



DESTRUCTION OF THE TRAIN.



SAVAGE'S STATION ABANDONED.



JACKSON IN CHECK AT WHITE OAK CREEK.



BAYONET FIGHT AT FRAZIER'S FARM.



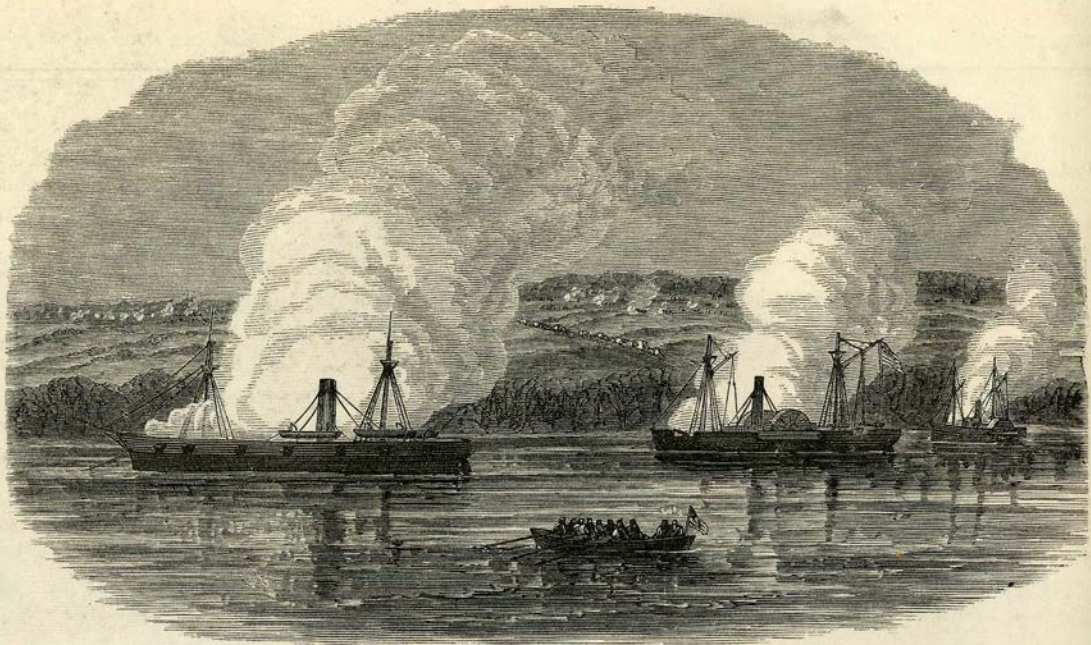
ON THE FIELD.



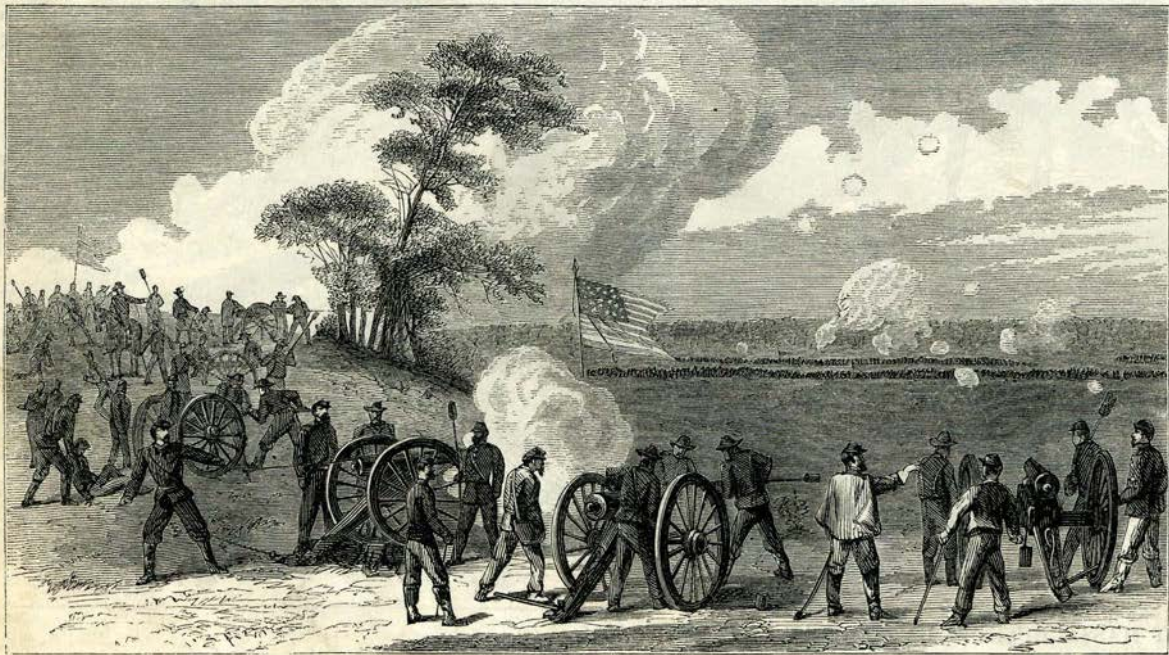
BATTERY D., FIFTH U. S. ARTILLERY, AT FRAZIER'S FARM.



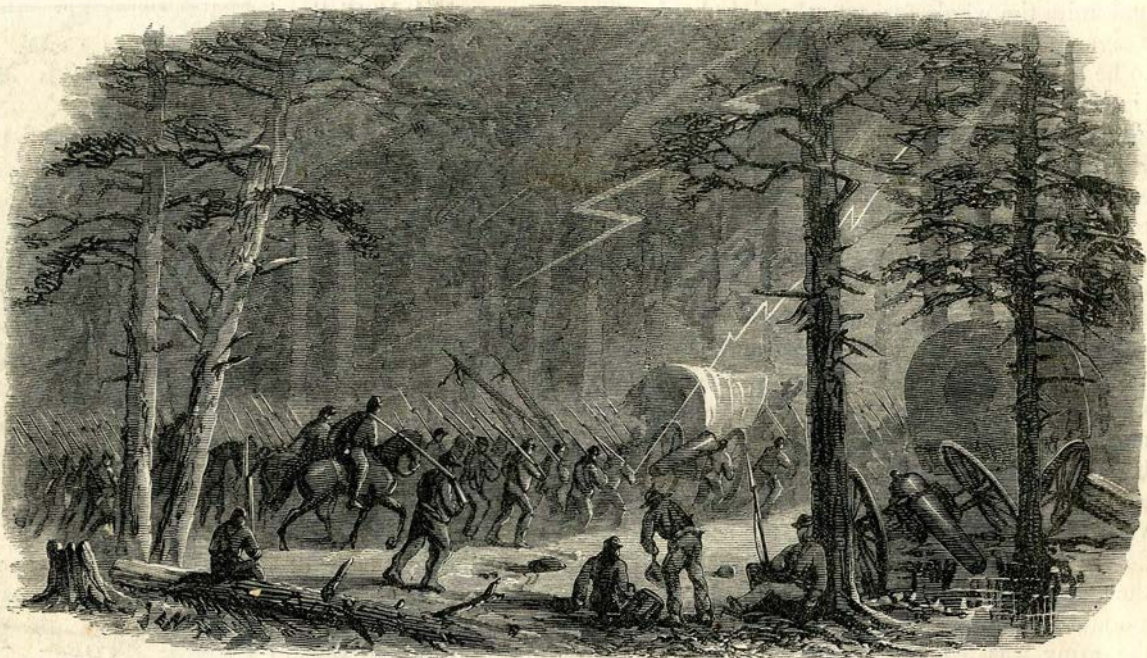
FIRST MASSACHUSETTS BATTERY AT FRAZIER'S FARM.



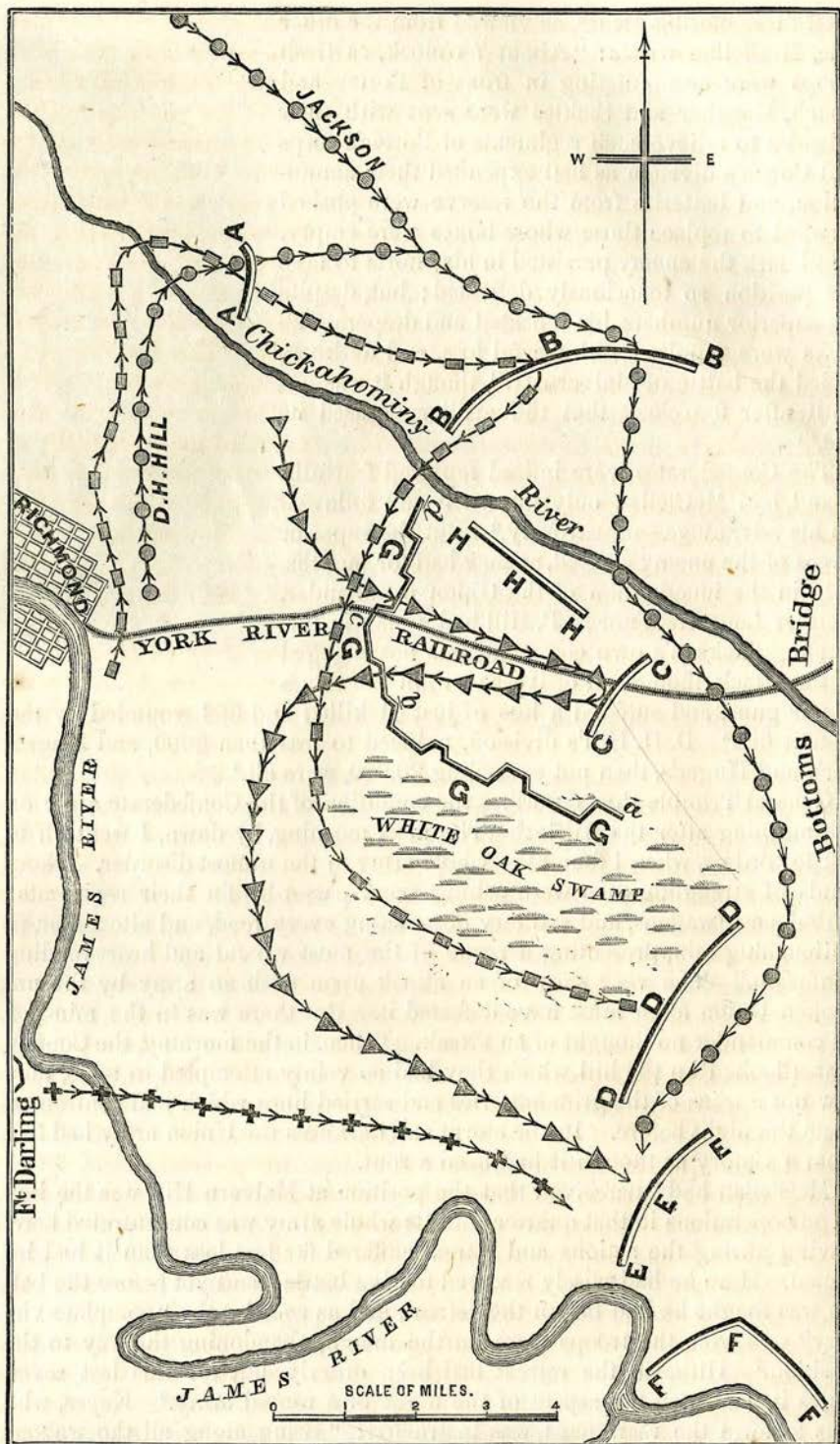
THE GUN-BOATS AT MALVERN HILL.



THE BATTLE OF MALVERN HILL.



THE RETREAT FROM MALVERN.



POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS, JUNE 25 TO JULY 1.

This plan indicates, in a general way, the positions and movements of the armies from June 25 to July 1.

- | | |
|-------|--|
| A. A. | Union position at Mechanicsville, June 26. |
| B. B. | " " Cold Harbor, June 27. |
| C. C. | " " Savage's Station, June 29. |
| D. D. | " " Frazier's Farm, June 30. |
| E. E. | " " Malvern Hill, July 1. |
| F. F. | " " Harrison's Landing, July 4. |

- | | |
|---------|--|
| G. G. | Union intrenchments before Richmond: <i>a.</i> Keyes; <i>b.</i> Heintzelman; <i>c.</i> Sumner; <i>d.</i> Franklin. |
| H. H. | Porter and McCall, after crossing the Chickahominy. |
| →○→○→○→ | Jackson's and D. H. Hill's march. |
| →■→■→■→ | Longstreet's and A. P. Hill's march. |
| →▲→▲→▲→ | Magruder's and Huger's march. |
| →+→+→+→ | Holmes's and Wise's march. |

The retreat of the Union army was by the same line as Jackson's march, after crossing the Chickahominy.

LOSSES FROM JUNE 26 TO JULY 1.

After the retreat to Harrison's Landing, the losses of each division of the Union army, in killed, wounded, and missing, were summed up, but no attempt was made to give the proportion in each engagement (*McC. Rep.*, 272). If any confirmation of the accuracy of the statement were needed, it would be found in a comparison of the official reports of June 20 and July 20 (*McC. Rep.*, 53; *Com. Rep.*, 337, 344). The entire loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, is undoubtedly accurately stated; but as the dead and many of the wounded were abandoned, probably some hundreds should be added to these and taken from the number put down as "missing." Lee, indeed, says (*Rep.*, i., 14) that more than 10,000 prisoners were taken; but this is clearly erroneous. Besides the 2000 at Cold Harbor, and the 2500 at Savage's Station, almost all of whom were sick or wounded, and perhaps 1000 (*Lee's Rep.*, i., 11, 134, 184) picked up by Jackson on his march to White Oak Bridge, very few prisoners were taken by the Confederates.

Of the Confederate commanders, Jackson, D. H. Hill, Longstreet, A. P. Hill, Holmes, and Pendleton, give their exact losses. The losses of Magruder and Huger can be made up very closely from the reports of their brigade commanders. Barksdale (*Lee's Rep.*, i., 296) says that "one third of his brigade fell upon the field: it numbered about 2400, which would make the loss 800. Cobb (*Ibid.*, i., 279) puts his loss in killed and wounded at "nearly 500." McLaw's (*Ibid.*, i., 161, 164), 97 killed, 456 wounded. D. R. Jones (*Ibid.*, i., 172), 103 killed, 708 wounded. Ransom (*Ibid.*, i., 370), 69 killed, 354 wounded. Mahone (*Ibid.*, i., 372, 378), 63 killed, 216 wounded. Armistead (*Ibid.*, i., 438, 439, 448, two regiments estimated), 320 killed and wounded. Wright (*Ibid.*, i., 397), 55 killed, 243 wounded. In all, 3984, of whom 656 were killed, and 3328 wounded. Of the cavalry and reserve artillery, we find mention of about 20 killed and 104 wounded.

The missing in A. P. Hill's division are not given; the number was evidently small, probably about 100. In Magruder's command we find about 400 missing in about two thirds of the brigades; we set down the whole at 600.

From the foregoing data we have compiled the following table of

KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING.

UNION.					CONFEDERATE.				
	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.		Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
McCall	253	1240	1581	3,074	Jackson	376	1,892	14	2,282
Sumner	187	1076	848	2,111	D. H. Hill	714	3,192	48	3,954
Heintzelman	189	1051	833	2,073	Longstreet	763	3,429	237	4,429
Keyes	69	507	201	777	A. P. Hill	619	3,251	100(?)	3,970
Porter	620	2430	1198	4,278	Magruder and Huger...	656	3,328	600(?)	4,584
Franklin	245	1313	1179	2,737	Holmes	3	59	..	62
Engineers and Cavalry..	19	62	118	199	Artillery and Cavalry ..	20	104	..	124
Total	1582	7709	5958	15,249	Total	3151	15,255	999	19,405

The losses in the separate battles can be given only approximately, by considering the troops engaged in each, and the nature of the fighting, aided by a few indicia scattered here and there through the various reports of Confederate commanders.

Keyes was engaged mainly at Malvern Hill; we put his entire loss in that battle. Sumner was engaged at Savage's Station, Frazier's Farm, and Malvern; we divide his loss between those three engagements. Heintzelman at Frazier's Farm and Malvern; we divide his loss between them. McCall was at Mechanicsville, where he lost about 300, and at Cold Harbor, and the Farm, losing about equally in each. Porter was chiefly engaged at Cold Harbor and Malvern; we put three fourths of his loss at the former. Of Franklin's corps, half with Slocum was at Cold Harbor, the other half with Smith at Garland's and Price's Farms, and elsewhere; we put two thirds of his loss at Cold Harbor, dividing the remainder among the other engagements.

Jackson was engaged at Cold Harbor and slightly at Malvern; D. H. Hill at Mechanicsville, Cold Harbor, and Malvern: both of these distinguish between their losses in each engagement. A. P. Hill was at Mechanicsville, Cold Harbor, and Frazier's Farm. We estimate his loss in the first at 750, in the last at 900, leaving the remainder for Cold Harbor. Longstreet was at Cold Harbor and Frazier's Farm; we put his loss in the latter battle at 1100, leaving the remainder for Cold Harbor.

From these data we construct the following approximate table of

KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE SEVERAL ENGAGEMENTS.

	UNION.			CONFEDERATE.		
	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Mechanicsville	50	250	300	250	1,250	1,500
Cold Harbor	75	3250	3925	1500	8,000	9,500
Savage's Station	100	500	600	75	325	400
Frazier's Farm	300	1500	1800	325	1,700	2,025
Malvern Hill	375	1800	2175	900	3,500	4,400
Skirmishes (say)	82	509	591	101	480	581
Total	1582	7809	9391	3151	15,255	18,406