

ARTICLE.

Third Monograph.

Published by the Sunday Magazine, 1907.

No. 21, Vol. 10.

SUBJECT.

Campaigning with Sherman.

1. Shiloh, 2. Chattanooga, 3. The Knoxville March.

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Comparing with Sherman.

J. Shiloh, S. Chaffin, & The Knoxville March.

3860 words.

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Campaigning with Sherman.

- (1) Shiloh
- (2) Chattanooga
- (3) The Knoxville March.

Before taking our readers to the Chattanooga fields of 1863 where I was with General Sherman every day, I will introduce into my story a few incidents some of which he told me, which will serve to connect his remarkable doings of the previous year with the great events where we were more intimately associated.

The brief orders of General Halleck of date February 13, 1862, constitute a well established mile-stone in Sherman's ^{career} ~~career~~. Confidence in him had returned, ~~at least to these western headquarters.~~ From time to time previous to this Halleck had reported him as "convalescing"-as "much better",-"his health is pretty nearly recovered," ^{ye-ye.} ~~and etc, etc.~~

At last Sherman is, all agreeing, well again! ^{Expressive rather amusing - seeing that he had been far from ill than at work all the while.}

Orders:-
" You will immediately repair to Paducah, Kentucky, and assume command of that Post. X x X * * * * *

H. W. Halleck,
Major-General. "

As soon as he arrived at Paducah further confidence was ^{evinced} ~~evincet~~ in the instructions which were waiting for him. Sherman was ^{himself} ~~happy~~ again.

Among the instructions was this message:-

"Send General Grant everything you can spare from Paducah and Smithland. X x x y X * * * * *
Halleck."

The most cheering news which that year furnished very soon followed,- the news of Grant's victories at Fort^s Henry and Donelson. These carried immediately a clear sweep of all the Confederate Armies from the State of Kentucky. The strategy ^e that Sherman had so earnestly suggested at the St. Louis Conference had now been splendidly executed by Sherman's

true friend, Ulysses S. Grant, and a new campaign was to begin ~~start out~~. ^{now}

"Hurlbut", said Sherman as he was sending his companion forward to ~~see~~ Grant, "The great campaign has already begun. I am part and parcel of it, and shall soon be with you."

Sherman was then in his element. He records of others what was true of himself, for example, - "Everybody was ready to help. Boats passed up and down constantly." They took reinforcing regiments and supplies up the Tennessee and the Cumberland and brought back Confederate prisoners from Henry and Donelson. "I was busy sending boats in every direction." - These ~~according to the dispatches~~ were ordered by several generals including Halleck, Grant and Buell. Amid ~~this~~ excitement Sherman in his memoirs quietly remarks, "And at the same time I was organizing out of the new troops that were arriving at Paducah a Division for myself when allowed to take the field, which I had been promised by General Halleck." Notice that Sherman had, by this time, learned to labor and to wait. Still he took wise precautions. The time so anxiously waited for at last came suddenly. However his heart may have been quickened in its pulsations, he made a very simple announcement of what he did. "On the 10th of March (1862) having received the necessary orders from General Halleck I embarked my Division at Paducah."

Sherman now passed ~~down~~ ^{up} the Tennessee and reported with his troops at Savanna, first to Gen. C.F. Smith (a Division commander who for a long time was considered by Halleck and other officers of high rank, the equal if not the superior of all officers in western fields). Smith's death soon after this meeting with Sherman was caused by ^{an accident, a} dreadful wrench ~~caused by~~ of his leg ~~caused by~~ ~~an unruly horse~~.

It was a glad day to Sherman (the 14th of March, 1862) when he reached the front lines ~~of the Army of the Tennessee~~ with his Division. Smith immediately put him upon a most important duty, namely, to push up the river and make his way from the nearest practicable point on the

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Smith immediately put him upon a most important duty, namely, to push up
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Tennessee to the Memphis and Charleston Railroad and break up that important Confederate connection of the east and west. But Dame Fortune still repressed him. The roads were horrible and, the rains coming on, became impassable, so that the expedition, half accomplished, had to be given up; and Sherman was compelled to bring his troops back after a hard march without accomplishing the purpose for which they were sent. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick, -yet, like a resolute soldier that he was, he descended the Tennessee River to Pittsburg-Landing, and after a personal visit along that front he went out about two miles and a half from the landing and pushed his Division near ^{to} the famous Shiloh Church, that lonely structure of logs which ~~has given~~ ^{gave} the name to the battlefield.

It was a long frontage from the Owl Creek ^{on Sherman's right} across, eastward, to the Lick Creek. Sherman's four brigades were really an outside picket force. The left brigade, Stuart's, was far off from the Church, about a mile to the left, watching the approaches and covering the left flank of Grant's ^{whole} Army at a most important point.

It was an overwhelming attack that came upon Grant's troops the 6th of April, 1862, Sherman having the very front of the battle. How Sherman here regained his standing, not only among military men, but throughout the country, is perfectly evident from what others ^{testify} of him. ~~during the battle of Shiloh.~~ Grant says, " During the whole of Sunday I was continually engaged in passing from one part of the field to another. X x X X... In thus moving along the line, however, I never deemed it important to stay long with Sherman. Although his troops were then under fire for the first time (and it was an awful fire) their commander by his constant presence with them inspired a confidence in the officers and men that enabled them to render service on that bloody battlefield worthy of the best of veterans. X X X X... A casualty to Sherman that would have taken him from the field that day would have been a sad one for the

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troops engaged at Shiloh. And how near we came to this! On the 6th Sherman was shot twice,- once in the hand, once in the shoulder, the ball cutting his coat and making a slight wound, and a third ball passed through his hat. In addition to this he had several horses shot during the day." Halleck, ~~was~~ not always ~~so~~ friendly ~~to Sherman, but~~ concerning this action, remarked, "It is the unanimous opinion here"(among the officers around him)" that Brig-General W.T. Sherman saved the fortunes of the day on the 6th of April." A well informed historian adds to this record:- " The next day, when Buell's fresh battalions took the field, Sherman led his battered regiments into the fight and enacted over again the heroic deeds of the day before. x x x X x x x Untiring to the last he pushed out the third day after the victory and defeated the enemies cavalry, capturing a large supply of ammunition." Bowman and Erwin in their military biography say, " Sherman was everywhere; encouraging his troops, rallying the stragglers, directing the batteries with his own hands, advising with other commanders and superintending every movement in person. Those who still fancied him crazy did not after this deny his energy, coolness, courage, skill and perseverance upon the battlefield. X x x X On Monday (at Shiloh) he was again wounded and had three horses shot under him, but mounted a fourth and staid on the field." Was it not a Providence which brought ^{on this field} Grant and Sherman into close intimacy? Halleck had a slight excuse for relieving Grant from command, because, after Donelson, he went over to Nashville to consult with Buell; and he had a ^{rather} better reason, because he did not ^{quickly} get reports from Grant which he had ordered. But Grant's good faith was spedily manifested, just as soon as the facts became known. Again, however, in reorganizing his troops when he himself came to the front Halleck for no good reason

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put Grant aside into the nominal position of second in command with absolutely nothing to do. It was at this time that Sherman did Grant and the country a great service. One day ^{Sherman} ~~he~~ was visiting him and found all Grant's belongings packed up for departure. Grant with his immediate staff was about to start for St. Louis. He had already written his resignation, but had not yet submitted it to Halleck. Sherman, seeing how things were, pleaded with him earnestly not to go. "The war is on, General; battles and campaigns will succeed each other and if you go away you will be left out." Sherman did not succeed at this interview in getting ^{his wish} a ~~positive promise~~. The General, ^{however,} promised to think over what he urged and said, "I will see you again, Sherman, before my final decision." Sherman's arguments did prevail; Grant did not go. Shortly after this Halleck went to Washington as a military adviser to the President and Grant was restored to command. Grant and Sherman did not always agree in opinion as was demonstrated at Vicksburg when Grant folded Sherman's protest and kept it in his pocket till after the surrender, and then returned it to him. Sherman had protested against the down-river movement; they were, however, never divided in heart from Shiloh and Corinth to the close of the war; *Theirs was an ideal friendship.*

From that time on we catch glimpses of Sherman in various campaigns and battles that ensued, while the Army was working its way southward to Vicksburg; sometimes he succeeded in his ^{marches} attacks and sometimes he failed; ^{and} ~~yet~~ ^{friend} Grant was ~~always~~ his defender. He always had an important command. In Memphis he exercised all the powers of a military commander as well as those of a civil governor. He restored to the local authorities their civil affairs. Trade was revived and social life in that captured city again became endurable. There never was an instance in which Sherman did not put the interests of the United States above his own. Money could not tempt him, nor offers of bribery in any shape ~~could~~ cause him to

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depart from his high sense of duty.

*Chattanooga Campaign
and battles*

After the battles in Lookout Valley, in the fall of 1863, my Corps (the 11th) and part of the 12th remained encamped not far from Wauhatchee, till Grant came to Chattanooga to prepare for his fall campaign against Bragg. Bragg ~~still~~ occupied Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge and connecting spaces. Thomas's Army of the Cumberland was still hemmed in and lay in and about the Village of Chattanooga. Grant was gathering all available troops ^{from along the railroad} between Memphis, Tennessee and Bridgeport, Alabama, and marching them eastward ^{so long continued} to help break up this bothersome besiegement ^{of by} the Confederate Commander. Sherman just then had the general control of the 15th Army Corps with its four divisions. He was ^{hurrying} ~~inventing~~ ^{forward} ~~bringing~~ them ^{forward} under Grant's instructions. By the 13th of November, 1863, he had reached Bridgeport, 28 miles from Chattanooga. He stopped his advance there to close up his brigades, but under a call from Grant he came up ^{by boat & escort} to Chattanooga to participate in an informal council to be held at Thomas's headquarters. I also had been invited. In the early evening as I entered a large room on the second floor of Thomas's temporary abode I found there already assembled Grant, Thomas, Sheridan, Gordon Granger, Palmer, B.F. Smith and some others. It was ^{in no way an official} ~~not a~~ sitting and though a comparative new-comer I was soon made at home in this cheerful assembly. Very soon Sherman joined us. He at once by his strong personality drew the attention of all. The first impression upon me was made by his sprightly prepossessing manners, his evident heartiness in what he said, and by his ~~sonorous~~ sonorous voice that filled the room when he spoke.

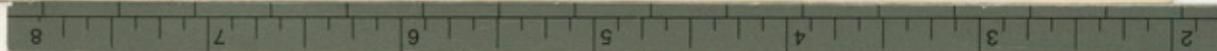
He was six feet in height- muscular without extra flesh, shoulders rather too sloping for a military model. His eyes were very bright, his beard closely trimmed, his hair light and thin and his clear forehead

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was ~~very~~ high. All of us rose to welcome him. ~~Noticed that~~ Grant was especially cordial. With a smile he extended to Sherman a cigar and then pointing to a high-backed rocker, with a humorous expression on his face, said:- "Take the chair of honor, Sherman!" "The chair of honor! Oh, no, that belongs to you, Grant". "But", said Grant, "We must not forget to give due respect to age." "Well, General, if you put it on that ground I must accept." *Laughingly he took the seat of honor!*

That night afforded me a new experience. With evident cordial friendship I heard campaigns discussed as never before. Regarding the future, in suggestions, in plans proposed and in rapidity of thought Sherman kept the lead. Thomas was accurate in his information concerning the enemy and the surrounding country. The plan before us was that Sherman should move his troops up ^{the} eastern bank of the Tennessee till he came among the rough hills ^{his men then to be} ~~well~~ concealed opposite to Missionary Ridge. My Corps was to move across both bridges in plain sight of the Confederates into Chattanooga, and Hooker with such troops as would be left to him was to make ~~such~~ demonstration ~~as he could~~ against Lookout Mountain; while Thomas with the Army of the Cumberland was to hold himself in readiness to strike ^{near} ~~at~~ ^{the broad river} ~~about~~ the middle of Missionary Ridge. It was thought that Sherman could cross over and skim along ^{the} ~~Missionary~~ Ridge at least as far as the railroad tunnel. These as I remember them were substantially the plans for the great battle. ^{that night} I was strongly drawn to Sherman and recognized him ~~that night~~ as a natural leader of men. He talked much, but ~~always~~ clearly and concisely ~~to the purpose in hand~~, and produced a magnetic effect upon his listeners. Grant's judiciousness and reserve impressed us, but Sherman's intensity and activity of thought were in happy contrast.

The plans talked over ~~that night~~ were substantially carried ~~out~~ into execution. The ^{accidental} breaking of the bridge at Brown's Ferry left to Hooker

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Osterhaus's Division of Sherman's column, and Sherman finally had other ^{replacing} troops from Thomas.

My next meeting with Sherman was after the battle had begun. Using the little steamer, Chattanooga, which Thomas had caused to be built on the Tennessee, Sherman had ferried over one or two brigades from the north bank of the River and was constructing his bridge of boats by the help of the same steamer from both banks at the same time. His men, that were across, first drove back or captured the Confederate pickets and promptly made intrenchments to protect their bridge. Early that morning, fortunately it was a little foggy, I took Bushbeck's Brigade for an escort and General Steinwehr, the Commander of my second division, as a companion ^{and} made my way up the river on the enemies' side, driving back Confederate skirmishers as I went. On arriving I ran out on the bridge to meet Sherman. He was watching the bridge-men as they were putting the last boat in place. ^{quick & brisk as ever,} Sherman sprang across the still open space and grasping my hand cried out cheerily; "How are you, Howard? Glad to see you, -how did you get here?" Before I had half answered his questions we were walking together towards the Confederate side of the River. ^{with his eyes on the ascent & his hand raised} He explained his proposed march and attack to Steinwehr and Bushbeck, then turning to me he said; "Howard, you and Steinwehr must leave Bushbeck and his Brigade with us. Osterhaus ^{is not here} ~~is back~~ and we shall need reinforcement badly." At this request I left my escorting brigade to be put in on the right of Sherman's men when he should advance up the wooded heights. Then ~~General~~ Steinwehr and ~~myself~~ went back to our Corps near Orchard Knob. Here I remained till after ~~midday~~ ^{midday} of the 25th. I had had glimpses of Hooker's work among the clouds of Lookout Mountain; I had seen also the gallant advance of the Fourth Corps supported by the other ^s from "Old Fort Wood" to Orchard Knob; but I did not see the gallant charge of Thomas's long

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line to the foot of Missionary Ridge, and ^{thence} ~~then~~ up The Heights, because General Grant had sent me with my whole Corps back to Sherman whose men ^{thro. his field glass} he could see so hotly engaged in the rough ground north of the railroad tunnel. Sherman was glad enough ^{when I came} to ~~see me~~ again. He feared that I could not help him much in getting ahead. He said that his several charges had been sadly repulsed; ^{there were} Confederate batteries and intrenchments and sometimes ~~of~~ fierce counter-charges. He requested me to push ^{my troops} ~~me~~ over beyond him. ^{So I did} ~~I~~ endeavored to cover his left, doing my best to get my men through the ^{trickets} ~~tickets~~ and over ~~several~~ crooked streams and swampy grounds. ^{my corps} ~~I~~ moved substantially along a line parallel with ^{his} ~~Missionary~~ Ridge. The battle was over too soon for my ^{supporting} ~~march~~ to be very effective.

That day ^(as part of my men were on his right & I spent some time with Sherman) I saw ~~Sherman~~ ^{new} in battle. He was quiet and self-possessed all the time, ^{and} ~~but~~ very active. He went constantly from brigade to brigade. He never ^{Thought} ~~spared to think~~ of personal exposure to shot or shell. He ^{Kept searching} ~~searched~~ for new openings and for better places to plant his batteries. He abruptly ordered ^{some} ~~the~~ reluctant commanders to move forward; but he encouraged the most who were evidently doing their best, ^{to press on} ~~pressing~~ from Ridge to Ridge ^{through the dangerous} ~~cross-ravines~~. He took me to different places and explained the situation while the air was full of the excitement and the roar of battle. Meanwhile, one of his staff ^{and mine were} ~~was~~ ^{of bullets} guiding my troops into position.

Missionary Ridge on the northern stretch of its narrow crest was easily defended. The Confederates with a few cannon and one or two divisions of infantry could keep back an Army. This state of things became evident ^{enough} to Sherman as he advanced. His work for which he had hoped better things proved to be to keep ^{only busy} as many of Bragg's forces ~~as~~ ^{in order} as possible to enable Thomas and Hooker to finish the engagement, ^{actually} as they did after Grant had issued the order for a general advance straight in his front. Before night Bragg and his Confederates were in full flight towards Dalton.

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 He searched for new openings and for better places to plant his batteries.
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 couraged the most who were evidently doing their best ^{to pass over} from Ridge
 to Ridge ^{to cross-tavines}. He took me to different places and explained
 the situation while the air was full of the excitement and the roar of
 battle. Meanwhile, one of his staff ^{was} guiding my troops into position.
 Missionary Ridge on the northern stretch of its narrow crest was easily
 defended. The Confederates with a few cannon and one or two divisions of
 infantry could keep back an Army. This state of things became evident
 to Sherman as he advanced. His work for which he had hoped better things
 proved to be to keep as many of Bragg's forces ^{as possible} to enable
 Thomas and Hooker to flank the engagement as they did after Grant had
 issued the order for a general advance straight in his front. Before
 night Bragg and his Confederates were in full flight towards Dalton.

Nobody could have better performed his part in ^{the} action than did Sherman during ~~the 24th and 25th of December on Missionary Ridge.~~ I was happy and proud to be with him. # The march to Knoxville

The next day after the battle Sherman accompanied and commanded the columns of pursuit ^{that} with which I was ^{connected} ~~commanded.~~ We went on as far as Galesville, Georgia, having ^{however} nothing more than skirmishing ~~as we went.~~

Sherman directed me to go through a pass in Taylor's Ridge and break up the railway between Dalton and Cleveland, E. Tenn. ^{which led} Hooker's troops ^{primarily} ran upon a strong ~~force~~ ^{of} Bragg's rear guard at Ringold. The Confederates had ^{there} secured a good position and caused a heavy sacrifice of life among Hooker's men especially among those who belonged to the Army of the Tennessee on account

see. ~~that~~ Sherman was very much hurt of this encounter. He rightly said that if the column at Ringold had been a ^{held back} ~~little more wary and observant~~ the loss of life might have been prevented. "Howard's movement", ~~he de-~~ ^{because} ~~clared,~~ through ^{the} a more ^{worthily} ~~northern~~ pass in Taylor's Ridge ~~would have~~ ^{so extremely} the Confederates ^{Hooker} retire without a battle dis-advantageous to us." I do not know how much anybody was to be blamed. The facts ^{at the time} as I give them caused a good deal of talk and hard feeling.

Grant was ^{very} ~~so~~ anxious about Knoxville, lest Burnside who had already fought a ^{bloody} ~~hard~~ battle ~~and was~~ ~~being~~ ~~besieged~~ should be completely defeated or captured. ^{so} ~~that~~ he endeavored to hasten Gordon Granger with the 4th Corps to Burnside's relief. Granger ^{delayed; he} complained of the want of supplies of all kinds; ~~that~~ he particularly needed shoes for his men, and animals for his wagons. When I was with Sherman returning after the pursuit of Bragg he received the well-known letter of Grant begging him to turn northward with the 15th Corps. Sherman wrote immediately a brief note and said, "Why ^{will go} not send Howard ^{with me?}" Grant at once ordered me to accompany

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Sherman. My Corps was in the same condition as Granger's, but I could not ^{Rose} ~~let~~ the opportunity of marching with Sherman ~~with~~. By hard work on the part of my quartermasters and commissaries my 11th Corps was soon in as good condition for the 100 miles ~~as~~ as was Sherman's 15th Corps. We made the eventful march abreast of each other about five miles apart. We bridged the streams without a pontoon train and ^{Sherman with trees newly cut & g with the village sheds} ~~had~~ ^{from} ~~not~~ ^{we} ~~gone~~ ^{more} 13 miles ~~to~~ Knoxville when a messenger met us and brought the news that Longstreet ^{had} ~~had~~ given up the siege ^{as soon as he heard of our approach} and made off eastward to join Gen. Lee in Virginia. In Sherman's memoirs he says that Granger made the march with him and rode with him those last 13 miles. I cannot account for this error except that perhaps some clerk or aide-de-camp slipped ^{into the packet} ~~in~~ Granger's name instead of mine. ~~Granger~~. Granger did actually make the march at a later period, and leave a part of his command beyond Knoxville towards Virginia until the following Spring. But it was I who rode by Gen. Sherman's side ^{into Knoxville} ~~those last 13~~ ~~miles~~. The loyal people of E. Tennessee met us everywhere and showed ^{had} most ardent love for the old flag and the Government. Col. Brownlow, ^{near Loudon} the 2nd son of the Senator, joined me with a regiment of East Tennessee ~~and~~ ^{remained with us and} who did ~~after that~~ excellent service. ~~He~~ ^{was} Burnside had never wanted for provisions, though he had been very closely besieged ~~by Longstreet's Confederates~~. When Sherman and I arrived we were treated to such a dinner as we had not had for many a day. There were meats in abundance ^{and sauces galore} at his headquarters including turkey. ^{At the dinner Sherman's talk was} Our two corps had been ^{entirely} ^{he} ^{quite} ^{engaged} ^{his} ^{last} halted north of the little Tennessee. We did not try to keep together on our return. Sherman hastened ~~back~~ to Grant leaving his officers to bring back the 15th Corps. I kept steadily with my own and returned all the way to Lookout Valley where we went into winter quarters and remained till the Spring of 1864. Gen. Sherman after this campaign gave me beauti-

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