



*A. M. Storrs*  
*Major Genl. U. S. V.*

**In Memoriam**  
**Henry Warner Slocum**

**1826-1894**



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## NEW YORK MONUMENTS COMMISSION

FOR THE

### BATTLEFIELDS OF GETTYSBURG AND CHATTANOOGA

23 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

February 1, 1904

To His Excellency the Governor of the State of New York

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

Yours obediently

DANIEL E. SICKLES

Chairman

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## In Memoriam

### Henry Warner Slocum

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#### Introductory

A MEETING of the New York Monuments Commission for the Battlefield of Gettysburg was held April 17, 1894, to take some appropriate action touching the death of Major-General Henry W. Slocum, one of its members, who died at his residence in Brooklyn, N. Y., on Saturday, April 14, 1894. The following preamble and resolutions, offered by General Sickles, Chairman, were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, This Board has learned with profound sorrow of the sudden decease of our colleague, Major-General Henry Warner Slocum; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Secretary be directed to enter upon the minutes this expression of our sense of the bereavement we have suffered; and we unite with our comrades of the Union Army, and especially the surviving veterans of the State of New York, in placing on record our appreciation of the distinguished military services of the deceased and the high standard of rectitude and honor which marked all his conduct in his civil life;

*Resolved*, That this Board, as a body, attend the funeral of General Slocum, to-day, in Brooklyn.

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the widow and family of the deceased.

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A bill was prepared by his surviving colleagues of the Gettysburg Commission, providing for the expenditure of twenty-five thousand dollars (\$25,000) for placing an equestrian statue of General Slocum on the Battlefield of Gettysburg. Hon. John Raines, on February 5, 1895, introduced this bill in the State Senate, and it was referred to the Committee on Finance.

The Common Council of the City of Brooklyn, on December 10, 1894, adopted a resolution recommending to the State Legislature the erection of a statue at Gettysburg to General Slocum.

Senator Raines again introduced, on January 23, 1896, a similar bill to that of the previous year, which was passed with some amendments March 30, 1896, becoming a law April 4, 1896, with the approval of the Governor.

At a meeting of the Board, held April 25, 1896, the action of the Legislature was reviewed by the Chairman, who advised his colleagues that he considered the proper location for the statue an important feature, and a visit to the battlefield by a Committee of the Legislature would afford an opportunity to get their views on the selection of a site; also for the inspection of the work already done at Gettysburg by this Commission. This suggestion was embodied in the following action:

*Resolved*, That the Chairman be and is hereby authorized to invite fourteen members of the Legislature, including the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the Assembly — the members of each house to be designated by the presiding officer, respectively — to visit the Battlefield of Gettysburg, as the guests of the Commissioners, and advise them in the selection of a site for the bronze equestrian statue to Major-General Henry Warner Slocum, deceased, provided for by Chapter 203, Laws of 1896, and also to inspect the work already done on said field under the direction of the Gettysburg Commissioners.

In pursuance thereto, the Commissioners, accompanied by the Legislative party selected by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the Assembly, left New York for Gettysburg on May 1, 1896, returning May third. The location where the monument is erected was chosen on this occasion.

Subsequently, A. J. Zabriskie, Engineer, with Major Richardson, of the National Park Commission, who is also a member of this Board, designated the boundaries of a plot about 100 feet



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square, embracing the above mentioned site, which was surveyed by the Engineer of the National Park Commission and the result traced on a map at the office of the New York Commission. This tracing was forwarded to the National Park Commission for their approval of the site and for that of the Secretary of War, which was given January 19, 1899, as per endorsement on the map now on file at the office of the Secretary of the State of New York.

Invitations were extended, from time to time, to submit a design for the Slocum statue, to such sculptors as had expressed a desire to offer sketch models for the work. These models began to reach the office of the Commission during the early part of 1897, and in April of that year they were set up in a large room at their office. Ten models, the majority of them about three-fourths of an inch to a foot, the work of nine sculptors, were examined frequently by members of the Board; and, at a meeting held June 15, 1897, the relative merits of the respective designs were fully discussed. It was apparent from the opinions expressed, that while each model possessed points worthy of favorable commendation, no one of them was altogether satisfactory. The Chairman was, therefore, authorized to invite the artists to submit other designs. At the request of several sculptors, the Construction Committee, at a meeting August 31, 1897, extended the time for the reception of designs to October 11, 1897.

As a result of the action of the Commission, at their meeting June 15, 1897, and of further inquiries on the part of other artists, eighteen models, from seventeen sculptors, were submitted and placed on exhibition in a large room. Each of the models was numbered, and in the examination and balloting which followed, the name of the sculptor was not identified with his work, nor known except to the Engineer of the Commission. These models received careful inspection.

The Board met December 10, 1897, for the formal inspection and discussion of the various designs. After a series of balloting, the question of cost upon the lines indicated in the several designs that received favorable consideration was next taken up, and the Chairman and Engineer were instructed to invite proposals from five sculptors for furnishing a full-sized plaster model, about one and



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a half life size, and to make inquiries from bronze founders as to the probable cost of casting the same.

These estimates were submitted by the Chairman to his colleagues, at a Board meeting held December 28, 1897, when the terms of the several propositions were fully canvassed and attention given to the probable cost of an appropriate pedestal. It was found that the money available from the present appropriation would provide an insufficient sum for a suitable pedestal. This question was taken up at a meeting of the Board, January 6, 1898, at which time the Chairman stated that he called together those of his colleagues who were in the city, to confer with them before making application to the Legislature for an additional appropriation.

The design of Mr. Edward C. Potter having been adopted by the Commissioners, and his proposal accepted by the Board, a contract, bearing date of January 18, 1898, was duly executed by him and the Chairman, on behalf of this Board.

Mr. Potter shortly after began the preparation of a one-third size model, as stipulated by the contract, and at the invitation of the Commission, several members of the family of General Slocum and intimate friends inspected the model at Mr. Potter's studio in New York. It was likewise critically examined, from time to time, by members of the Board and the Engineer. The Construction Committee, on January 19, 1899, made a formal examination, upon notification of the completion of the model by Mr. Potter, and expressed their approval of it.

A design for the pedestal was prepared by the Engineer, under the direction of the Chairman, at the office of the Commission. This design was accepted at a meeting of the Board, December 27, 1900, after a full discussion. Tenders for the various parts of the contemplated work were submitted at this meeting and referred to the Construction Committee, which canvassed the bids January 21, 1901. A contract, bearing date April 6, 1901, was executed with C. E. Tayntor & Co., for the construction and erection of the pedestal of Barre granite. The foundation of the pedestal was put in by George W. Lady & Son, of Gettysburg. An additional sum of five thousand dollars (\$5,000) was appropriated by Chapter 645, Laws of 1901.



THE SLOCUM MONUMENT.

View from easterly side. Citizens Cemetery in right background; buildings in left middleground are on Baltimore Pike.



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The full-sized model of the statue was inspected from time to time, as the work progressed, at the studio of Mr. Potter, at Enfield, Mass., by members of the Board and the Engineer. The final inspection of the plaster model, by the Chairman, took place on February 1, 1901, at Enfield, Mass.

The contract for the statue in bronze was awarded by the Chairman to the Gorham Manufacturing Company, and was dated June 10, 1901.

On May 7, 1901, the work of construction of the foundation was begun. Its dimensions are twenty-two feet long by sixteen feet two inches wide and six feet four inches deep, composed of a monolith of concrete five feet high, capped with a course of dimension stone sixteen inches thick, of Gettysburg granite. The Barre granite for the pedestal was delivered at Gettysburg, November 19–December 10, 1901, and on May 8, 1902, the work of setting the granite was begun. The large granite cap was placed in position July 29, 1902.

Mr. Potter, the sculptor, and Engineer Zabriskie, visited the foundry of the Gorham Manufacturing Company, at Providence, several times during the progress of the casting and finishing of the statue. On Saturday, August 2, 1902, General Sickles and several of his colleagues of the Board, Mr. Potter, and the Engineer, visited the foundry for a final inspection of the statue before shipping to Gettysburg. The Board expressed their satisfaction with the work, which reached Gettysburg on August 13, and was set in place August 18, 1902. The contract for the bronze tablets on the pedestal was awarded to the Gorham Manufacturing Company who executed the contract with this Commission on June 24, 1902. On September third, the work of placing tablets in position was completed.

Arrangements were made in August, 1902, through Major Richardson, for the labor and material required for grading around the base of the pedestal, which was later covered with fine limestone screenings, for its protection and to better its general appearance during the period of dedication.

The general dimensions of the granite pedestal are twenty-one feet eight inches long, fifteen feet ten inches wide, and sixteen feet three and one-half inches high, divided into ten courses. The



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bronze statue, including plinth, is fifteen feet six inches to the top of the head of the rider; the plinth measuring eleven feet nine and three-quarter inches long by four feet wide. The bronze letter tablets on the sides of the granite pedestal are each four feet nine and three-quarter inches wide by three feet ten and one-eighth inches high. Total cost \$29,941.57. Amount appropriated \$30,000.

Important parts of the work having been awarded and its completion assured without question by the autumn of 1902, the matter of an appropriate dedication at that time received the attention of the Chairman, early in that year, and its proposed plan and scope in general terms tentatively outlined.

General Sickles visited Albany, March 17, 1902, and conferred with His Excellency the Governor, and members of the Finance Committee of the Senate and the Ways and Means Committee of the House, explaining his plans and expressing his desire to procure an appropriation for the transportation of survivors of the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps, the Governor and his staff and an escort of the National Guard, the family of General Slocum, and the incidental expenses connected therewith. A draft of an item to be placed in the Supplemental Supply Bill, embodying the views of the Chairman, was submitted by him upon the occasion of another visit to Albany, March 24, 1902, which draft was later revised on his return to New York, as a result of this visit, and the revised draft forwarded the following morning to the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate.

The item, as amended, was placed in the Supplemental Supply Bill, which became a law, with the approval of the Governor, April 15, 1902. This act provided \$12,500 for the transportation to Gettysburg of fifty survivors of each of the New York regiments belonging to the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps, together with the Governor and staff and the family of General Slocum. The Chairman designated September nineteenth–twentieth as the dates for the dedication of the monument, which was ratified by the Board at its meeting May 5, 1902, and Friday, September nineteenth, was fixed as the date for the dedication ceremonies.

The Board authorized the Chairman to proceed with the necessary arrangements to carry out the provisions of the act.

From official sources, it was learned that nineteen New York



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regiments of infantry and five batteries of artillery belonged to the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps, as follows: Twenty-eighth, Forty-fifth, Fifty-eighth, Sixtieth, Sixty-eighth, Seventy-eighth, One Hundred and Second, One Hundred and Seventh, One Hundred and Nineteenth, One Hundred and Twenty-third, One Hundred and Thirty-fourth, One Hundred and Thirty-sixth, One Hundred and Thirty-seventh, One Hundred and Forty-first, One Hundred and Forty-third, One Hundred and Forty-fifth, One Hundred and Forty-ninth, One Hundred and Fiftieth and One Hundred and Fifty-fourth New York Infantry, Batteries I, K, M, First N. Y. Light Artillery, and the Tenth and Thirteenth Independent Batteries. The five batteries were considered in the allotment of fifty survivors as one regiment, which gave a representation of ten survivors for each. The Twenty-seventh New York Infantry, of which General Slocum was the first colonel, was later included in the list to which the Engineer was instructed to issue free transportation also.

Application was made, in a communication dated June 20, 1902, to the commissioner of the passenger department of the Trunk Line Association, for an authorization of a one-fare rate, short line mileage, for this occasion. A desire was expressed that the same rates of fare be extended also to all those who wished to accompany survivors. A list of stations was prepared and appended.

The rate asked for was authorized and the same was extended to comrades, families and friends of the survivors. The legislative enactment authorizing this movement specified that the survivors entitled to this transportation should be designated by the respective regimental organizations. Correspondence was, therefore, opened with the executive officers of these veteran organizations, and on June 23, 1902, Circular No. 1 was sent out, advising the recipients of the matter in hand, fixing the date for ceremonies of dedication, and requesting the preparation of a list of fifty honorably-discharged veterans of their respective regiments, who were to receive from the State, through this Commission, free transportation. Blank muster rolls were transmitted on which to prepare these lists.

Circular No. 2, dated July 9, 1902, was promulgated to embody the substance of the decision of the Trunk Line Association, authorizing the one fare rate and to issue a circular of rates, stations, railroads, etc., hereinbefore referred to. The form of transportation orders and the manner of their distribution were also given in this



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circular, which was followed on the same day by Circular No. 3, outlining the plan and scope of the dedication ceremonies, and which was issued for the information of the general public.

Under date September ninth and tenth, circulars were issued, and with each certificate there was sent a bulletin of instructions relating to the manner of exchange of the certificate, its return if not used, dates of exchange and the information that tent accommodations would be provided on Culp's Hill, adjacent to the site of the monument, for those who desired quarters under canvas. The first certificate was issued on August 22, 1902, and the work of preparation and forwarding of certificates to the senior officer of each of the organizations continued uninterruptedly until September sixteenth.

A suitable design for the cards of invitation to the ceremonies was prepared at this office, under the direction of the Chairman, and the requisite plates engraved. Five hundred cards were printed therefrom and 480 invitations sent out. Careful study was likewise bestowed upon the design, workmanship and character of the paper for the transportation orders, to be issued by this Commission, so that their proper use might be reasonably safeguarded.

There were 986 certificates issued, 34 of which were to survivors of the five batteries hereinbefore mentioned; 710 to survivors of the nineteen New York regiments of the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps, and 40 to the Twenty-seventh New York Infantry; 25 each to the Eighty-fourth and One Hundred and Forty-seventh New York, of the First Corps; 3 to Field and Staff Officers; 1 to an employee of the Adjutant-General's office (who was detailed to look after the canvas procured by this Commission from the Quartermaster's Department); 1 to the Commander of Slocum Post; 6 to survivors of Sickles' Excelsior Brigade; 12 to members and guests of the Army of the Potomac Society; 21 to members of the Medal of Honor Legion; 7 to invited guests, and 1 to an employee of this Commission.

Certificates to the number of 858 were exchanged for tickets at seventy-six stations, on eight railroad lines; 83 were returned unused, and 45 unused certificates did not reach the office of the Commission. Of the railroad tickets, 4 were returned and the redemption value taken from the bill of the railroad companies. The average cost per capita was \$8.39.

From a personal application by the Chairman, while at Wash-

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ington, to Lieutenant-General Miles, U. S. A., this communication followed:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY:

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,

WASHINGTON, April 17, 1902. }

THE COMMANDING GENERAL,

Department of the East,

Governor's Island, N. Y.:

SIR.—Major-General D. E. Sickles, representing the Committee having in charge the dedication of a monument to General Slocum, at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, September 19 and 20, 1902, has requested that two troops of cavalry and band, and one field battery of artillery be sent to Gettysburg to take part in the ceremonies, and this request has been approved by the Secretary of War.

The Lieutenant-General Commanding the Army, therefore, directs that the troops in question be taken from Fort Myer, and that the journey be performed by practice march.

Very respectfully,

(Signed) GEO. ANDREWS,

*Assistant Adjutant-General.*

The War Department was reminded of this request by the following communication:

23 FIFTH AVENUE,

NEW YORK, June 25, 1902. }

Lieut. General NELSON A. MILES, U. S. A.,

Commanding U. S. Army, War Department,

Washington, D. C.:

DEAR GENERAL MILES.—Allow me to remind you of my request, made on behalf of this Board of Commissioners sometime ago, that you would send a battery of light artillery and a squadron or two of cavalry to the Battlefield of Gettysburg, for salutes and escort duty, on the nineteenth and twentieth of September next, on the occasion of the dedication of an equestrian statue of the late Major-General Henry Warner Slocum, commanding the right wing of our army in that engagement. This statue is erected by the State of New York. The ceremonies will be attended by the Governor of this State and the Governor of Pennsylvania. The Governors of New Jersey, Maryland and Delaware are likewise invited, but have not yet signified their acceptance, although it is unofficially intimated that Governor Murphy of New Jersey, a veteran soldier, like Governor Stone of Pennsylvania, will attend. The Seventh New York National Guard will likewise be present in full strength, as



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the escort of the Governor of New York. One thousand veteran soldiers, representing the New York Regiments in the Twelfth and Twentieth Army Corps commanded by General Slocum, are invited as guests of the State, together with the family of General Slocum.

The occasion is one of such interest that I venture to ask your own presence on the occasion as the head of the army and as a distinguished veteran of the Civil War,

Very sincerely your comrade and friend,

(Signed)

D. E. SICKLES,

*Chairman.*

On the same day, another letter was addressed to General Miles, embodying a request for tents for those veterans desiring quarters under canvas. A copy of this letter follows:

23 FIFTH AVENUE,  
NEW YORK, June 26, 1902. }

General NELSON A. MILES, U. S. A.,

Commanding U. S. Army,

War Department, Washington, D. C. :

DEAR GENERAL.—In my recent letter to you I overlooked a request I intended to make informally, and on an intimation from you that my request might be favorably considered, I will make it official and formal. As I told you, we expect about a thousand of Slocum's New York Veterans, serving in the Twelfth and Twentieth and Sixth Corps, to come to the Field on the occasion of the dedication of the monument. It would be very convenient for us, and I am sure most agreeable to the men, if we could provide quarters for them on the Field, in the neighborhood of Culp's Hill, during their visit of three or four days, and to that end, I would like very much to have, say a hundred tents, 12 by 14 or thereabouts, if convenient, if the Government would loan them to me on my responsibility. It would be well, I think, to have an officer of the Quartermaster's Department detailed in charge of them. They could be pitched and struck by the men of the artillery or cavalry, whom I hope you will send to us.

In July, '93, the War Department loaned me 700 tents for a like purpose on the occasion of the dedication of the New York monuments, when we had 9,000 veterans present. We had also details of artillery, cavalry and infantry sent at my request, by your predecessor, Lieut. General Schofield.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed)

D. E. SICKLES.



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To the foregoing two letters the following reply was received from General Miles:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY, }  
WASHINGTON, *June 27, 1902.* }

MY DEAR GENERAL SICKLES.—Replying to your letter of the twenty-fifth instant, with reference to two troops of cavalry and a light battery to be present at Gettysburg on the nineteenth and twentieth of September for salute and escort duty on the occasion of the dedication of the equestrian statue of the late Major-General Henry Warner Slocum, and also your letter of the twenty-sixth instant, with reference to tents for veterans, I have to state in reply to the first that on the seventeenth of April the Commanding General Department of the East was instructed to send the troops as requested by you, and a copy of these instructions is inclosed herewith. Your letter in regard to tents has been referred to the Commanding General Department of the East for consideration and remark, and upon its return I will at once take the necessary action to see that your request is complied with if possible.

Very sincerely and truly yours,

(Signed) NELSON A. MILES,

*Lieutenant-General.*

Major-General D. E. SICKLES,  
23 Fifth Avenue,  
New York City.

Respecting the tentage above referred to the following letter was received:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY, }  
WASHINGTON, *July 2, 1902.* }

General D. E. SICKLES,  
23 Fifth Avenue,  
New York City:

MY DEAR GENERAL.—Replying to your letter of the twenty-sixth ultimo, requesting that tents be furnished the Slocum veterans at Gettysburg, on the occasion of the dedication of a monument to General Slocum, I have to inform you that after reference of your letter to the Quartermaster-General he informs me that "the tentage referred to by General Sickles as having been loaned to him in 1893, was what was known as Flood Sufferers' tents — tentage which had been used on previous occasions, etc. The supply of this class of tentage has become exhausted. The tents now on hand are new and serviceable and having been procured for issue to the Army there is no authority of law or regulations under which the request can be granted."

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Regretting that under these conditions I am unable to further your wishes in the matter,

Very sincerely and truly yours,

(Signed) NELSON A. MILES,  
*Lieutenant-General.*

It appearing from the above-quoted letter that the Quartermaster-General had no authority to loan any tents now on hand, the Chairman made application for the desired tentage to the Secretary of War, in the following communication:

23 FIFTH AVENUE,  
NEW YORK, *July 3, 1902.* }

Hon. ELIHU ROOT,

*Secretary of War,*

War Department, Washington, D. C. :

MY DEAR SECRETARY ROOT.—In reply to a recent application for the loan of 100 tents, to be used three or four days at Gettysburg, in September next, by the veterans of the Twelfth and Twentieth Army Corps, on the occasion of the dedication of an equestrian statue, erected by the State of New York to Major-General Slocum, Quartermaster-General Ludington replies that the tents loaned to me in '93, on a similar occasion, are no longer available and that he has no authority to loan any tents now on hand. Under these circumstances I am constrained to apply to you, asking that in the exercise of your supreme discretion, you will have the goodness to shelter 1,000 or more old veterans of Slocum's commands, whom I have invited to represent his New York regiments and batteries, when his statue is unveiled.

By the way, you will receive a formal invitation before long to be present on this interesting occasion, which I hope you will find yourself able to accept. Governor Odell and Governor Stone of Pennsylvania and a few other Governors, will attend. Governor Odell will be escorted by our Seventh Regiment. Altogether, we shall make a big "New York Day" of the occasion.

I shall feel much obliged if you can let me have the tents, for headquarters for the old soldiers. This favor will save them money and contribute to the picturesque feature of the scenes around Culp's Hill, where a battery of regular artillery and some regular cavalry will be encamped, besides the Seventh National Guard. We shall have some capital music and the speeches full of "fireworks."

Very sincerely yours,  
(Signed) D. E. SICKLES,  
*Chairman.*



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The following reply was received:

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON, July 8, 1902. }

MY DEAR GENERAL SICKLES.— I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the third instant in the matter of loan of tents for the accommodations of veterans of the Twelfth and Twentieth Army Corps upon the occasion of the dedication of the Slocum statue at Gettysburg in September next.

I am strongly moved to comply with your request, but feel that the Quartermaster-General has not overstated the difficulties which stand in the way of its approval. A resolution authorizing such loans, which would have exactly covered your case, failed to receive legislative sanction at the session of Congress which has just closed.

The practice of loaning tents to veteran organizations of the Civil War, under specific resolutions of Congress authorizing the same, practically came to an end at the outbreak of the war with Spain and has not since been revived. This has been due, in great part, to the fact that the veterans of the Civil War have reached an age at which the practice of camping out is attended with such serious danger to health as to cause a very considerable diminution in the number of applications to Congress for tentage for reunion purposes.

The mere furnishing of tents, were it possible to do so under the law, without floors, bed sacks, bedding or other necessary sleeping accommodations, which it is quite out of the power of the Department to supply in any event, would not meet the need which is so strongly set forth in your appeal in behalf of the Slocum veterans.

Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to be present upon the occasion of the unveiling of the Slocum monument and to pay the tribute of my personal attendance to the memory of the distinguished soldier whose services are to be commemorated upon that important occasion; and I remain,

Very truly yours,  
(Signed) ELIHU ROOT.

General DANIEL E. SICKLES,  
*Chairman, New York Monuments Commission,  
for the Battlefields of Gettysburg and Chattanooga,  
23 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.*

The receipt of the above-quoted letter was acknowledged by General Sickles, and a further appeal made to the Secretary of War on behalf of the Slocum veterans, by the Chairman, in the communication which follows.



## Henry Warner Slocum

23 FIFTH AVENUE,  
NEW YORK, July 9, 1902. }

Hon. ELIHU ROOT,

*Secretary of War,*

Washington, D. C. :

MY DEAR MR. ROOT.—Appreciating your kind reply to my recent letter about tents to be occupied by our veterans at Gettysburg, next September, allow me to say that it seems to me the difficulties in the way of acceding to my request are somewhat overestimated by yourself and the Quartermaster-General. Although these tents are not to be used precisely in the military service, for which they have been acquired, the occasion will be one that is wholly military; the men who will use them, although not in the army to-day, were soldiers for four years and fought on the very field where the tents are now to be once more pitched. The occasion is one to do honor to a distinguished commander on the same battlefield. The old veterans will have for their neighbors, on the tented field, the regiment of our National Guard which contributed over 300 of its members to hold commissions in the great army of '61-'65. The monument to be dedicated is erected by the State of New York; the ceremonies are arranged by that great commonwealth. The Governors of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey will be present. We trust that the Secretary of War will likewise honor the occasion. In a word, the day will be historical — military — national. It is as if we were paying the last tribute in memory of one of the most distinguished officers in our military service, in which a thousand of his men, representing all the regiments and batteries of his commands, will participate.

I do not believe that you will strain your authority a hair's breadth in allowing the use of a hundred of your tents for such an occasion. I will be personally responsible for their safe keeping and return. An officer of the quartermaster's department could be detailed to look after them. Detachments of artillery and cavalry of the army, I am assured by General Miles, will be present, for salutes and escort duty. Details from these commands might pitch and strike the tents. I will provide straw and other conveniences for Slocum veterans. Of course, we will not allow the infirm to occupy them. Each of the regiments to be represented has been requested to designate fifty of their most efficient survivors as delegates.

If the weather should prove inclement, I shall quarter the men in houses, in the town, and not use the tents at all; but if, as we may reasonably anticipate, the season is propitious, the occupation of the tents by the old veterans, surrounded as they will be by a large encampment of soldiers from New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, will contribute much to the picturesque impressiveness of the scene.

Let me ask you then, my dear Mr. Root, to review your impressions of the other day, in the light of the suggestions I am now making, and I trust that

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when you shall have done so, you may incline to accede to my wishes. Pardon my tenacity in pressing this request upon your consideration. "Hear me for my cause."

Very sincerely yours,  
(Signed) D. E. SICKLES.

This communication resulted in the issuance of an order for the desired tentage, as set forth in the following copy:

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON, *July 21, 1902.* }

MY DEAR GENERAL SICKLES.—I have endorsed upon your letter of July ninth the following directions to the Adjutant-General:

"Order a troop of Cavalry from Fort Myer to make a practice march to Gettysburg, and to be present at the ceremony referred to in the within letter, and to perform escort duty on that occasion.

"Direct the Quartermaster-General to furnish and transport, and the command to take, 100 additional Sibley wall tents or hospital tents, and to permit the use of them to the veterans referred to by General Sickles, during their stay there."

I am sorry to say that I shall probably be unable to attend myself, as I am sailing for Europe on Thursday, and do not expect to be back in time.

Always faithfully yours,  
(Signed) ELIHU ROOT.

General DANIEL E. SICKLES,  
23 Fifth Avenue,  
New York, N. Y.

The Acting Secretary of War, Hon. W. C. Sanger, in a communication addressed to Colonel Nicholson, dated August 5, 1902, granted permission for the Seventh Regiment to encamp on East Cemetery Hill at the time of the dedication of the Slocum Monument, subject to the condition that General Sickles and Colonel Appleton would furnish a certificate of guarantee that all damages which may be done by any members of the regiment will be made good and that at the conclusion of the encampment the grounds will be restored to their former condition.

The camp of the detachment of regular troops was located on what is known as "Geary Field," a short distance in the open from Spangler's Spring. The tents of the veterans were put up adjacent to the Slocum Monument.



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By special order No. 189, Headquarters, Department of the East, Governor's Island, New York city, August 18, 1902, the commanding officer at Fort Myer, Va., directed the band and two troops of the Second Cavalry and the Fourth Field Battery to march to Gettysburg to participate in the ceremonies incident to the dedication of the monument and to perform escort duty on this occasion.

Col. Lewis R. Stegman was appointed grand marshal of the ceremonies. General Orders Nos. 1 and 2 of the grand marshal are appended hereto.

The transportation and subsistence of his Excellency, the Governor, and Staff, and the family of General Slocum, the Board of Commissioners and invited guests were provided for on the "Headquarters' Train." It departed from the Pennsylvania Depot, Jersey City, September eighteenth, and left Gettysburg Saturday, September twentieth.

The family of General Slocum was represented by Mr. and Mrs. Henry W. Slocum, Miss Gertrude Slocum, Miss Natalie Slocum, Mrs. Henry P. Kingsbury, Miss Clara Kingsbury, Miss Elizabeth Kingsbury, Master Slocum Kingsbury, Mr. and Mrs. Clarence R. Slocum, Mr. and Mrs. George E. Slocum, Mr. and Mrs. George F. Slocum, Master Raymond Slocum, Major Peter Leary and Mrs. Henry Edsall.

There was also present his Excellency, the Governor of Pennsylvania and party, with members of his Staff, and the Governor of New Jersey and party.

All the Commissioners were present except Colonel Beckwith. Invited guests with the Commissioners' party were Senators George R. Malby and Jotham P. Allds, Generals James C. Rogers, Roy Stone and Orland Smith, Col. Archie E. Baxter, and Judge Edward Bartlett. His honor Mayor Low of New York accompanied the party on the trip going.

# Henry Warner Slocum

HEADQUARTERS, GRAND MARSHAL,  
GETTYSBURG, PA., *September 15, 1902.* }

GENERAL ORDERS }  
No. 1. }

Having been appointed by the New York Battlefields Commission for Gettysburg and Chattanooga, Grand Marshal of the parade at Gettysburg, on the occasion of dedication of the equestrian statue of Major-General Henry Warner Slocum, on Culp's Hill, September 19, 1902, I hereby assume command.

The following staff appointments are announced:

Brig. Gen. Horatio C. King, Army of Potomac, Chief of Staff.

Col. Francis M. Crafts, Twelfth Corps, Adjutant-General.

Col. E. B. Cope, Chief Engineer and Chief of Aids, Army of Potomac.

They will be obeyed and respected accordingly. The full staff will be promulgated in future orders. The hour for "Assembly" for the parade will be one-fifteen P. M.

The following will be the order of formation for the parade:

Detail from Second United States Cavalry.

Corporal Skelly Post, G. A. R., of Gettysburg, Guard of Honor.

Gettysburg Guard.

Grand Marshal and Staff.

## ESCORT TO VETERANS.

Band of Second United States Cavalry.

Two troops of Second United States Cavalry.

Fourth Battery, United States Field Artillery.

Society of Army of Potomac, as Guard of Honor to Veterans of Slocum Corps.

Twenty-seventh New York Volunteers,— Gen. Slocum's own regiment.

## TWELFTH AND TWENTIETH CORPS.

First Division. Indicated by "Red Star" on white field.

First Brigade: Twenty-eighth, One Hundred and Twenty-third, One Hundred and Forty-first, One Hundred and Forty-fifth New York Volunteers.

Second Brigade: One Hundred and Seventh, One Hundred and Fiftieth New York Volunteers.

Third Brigade: Forty-fifth, One Hundred and Forty-third New York Volunteers.

Battery "I," First New York Light Artillery.

Battery "M," First New York Light Artillery.

Battery "K," First New York Light Artillery.



## Henry Warner Slocum

Second Division. Indicated by "White Star" on blue field.

Second Brigade: One Hundred and Nineteenth, One Hundred and Thirty-fourth, One Hundred and Fifty-fourth New York Volunteers.

Third Brigade: Sixtieth, Seventy-eighth, One Hundred and Second, One Hundred and Thirty-seventh, One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York Volunteers.

Fourteenth New York National Guard.

Thirteenth New York Independent Battery.

Third Division. Indicated by "Blue Star" on white field.

Third Brigade: One Hundred and Thirty-sixth New York Volunteers.

Fourth Division. Indicated by "Orange Star" on white field.

Fifty-eighth, Sixty-eighth New York Volunteers.

Grand Army of the Republic.

Civic Organizations.

Fifth Division. New York Board of Commissioners, Major-General Daniel E. Sickles, United States Army, Chairman.

Slocum Family.

Orators of the Day.

Seventh Regiment, N. G., S. N. Y., escorting his Excellency, the Governor of New York.

Governor of New York and Staff.

Governor of Pennsylvania and Staff.

Governor of New Jersey and Staff.

Gettysburg National Park Commission.

Advisory Committee of Gettysburg.

Invited Guests.

Retired Officers.

Crippled Veterans in Carriages.

On arrival at Culp's Hill, the Escort Division will move, in quick time, beyond the stand and mass to the east thereof. The Veterans of the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps will mass in front of the stand, or to its north side. The Society of the Army of the Potomac, G. A. R., and Civic Organizations will mass to the west of the stand. The Second United States Cavalry Band and the Seventh Regiment N. Y. N. G. Band will furnish the music at the dedicatory services.

Salutes will be fired by the United States Artillery.

First. Salutes for each of the Governors of States on their arrival at Gettysburg.

Second. Major-General's Salute for General Slocum when Statue is unveiled.

Third. National Salute after Benediction.

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The Board of Monuments Commissioners, the Governors of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and their respective Staffs, and other invited guests, will occupy the Grand Stand.

LEWIS R. STEGMAN,  
*Grand Marshal.*

Official,  
FRANCIS M. CRAFTS,  
*Adjutant-General.*

HEADQUARTERS, GRAND MARSHAL,  
GETTYSBURG, PA., *September 16, 1902.* }

GENERAL ORDER }  
No. 2. }

1 The following officers have been appointed on the staff of the Grand Marshal, in addition to those already announced:

Col. Henry C. Burhans, Twelfth Corps.  
Col. Edward Barr, Army of Potomac.  
Col. Edward J. Maxwell, Army of Potomac.  
Major Charles H. Burbeck, M. D., Twelfth Corps.  
Major C. E. Goldsborough, M. D., Army of Potomac.  
Major William N. Johnston, Twelfth Corps.  
Major D. M. Robertson, Twelfth Corps.  
Major Marshal J. Corbett, Twelfth Corps.  
Capt. William T. Ziegler, Army of Potomac.  
Capt. George K. Collins, Twelfth Corps.  
Capt. Calvin Gilbert, Army of Potomac.  
Capt. James Hearst, Army of Potomac.  
Lieut. Shannon W. Lassell, Twelfth Corps.  
Rev. Dr. Wm. R. Jenvey, Army of Potomac.  
Dr. Henry Stewart, Sons of Veterans.  
Charles Cobeans, Sons of Veterans.

2 Brig. Gen. John A. Reynolds, Twelfth Corps, is appointed Marshal of the Escort Division. Col. Allan H. Jackson, U. S. A. (retired), Twentieth Corps, is appointed Marshal of the Division of the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps Veterans. Col. Nicholas Grumbach, Twelfth Corps, is appointed Marshal of Second Division, Twelfth and Twentieth Corps. They will be obeyed and respected accordingly.

3 The headquarters of the Grand Marshal will be on Chambersburg street, opposite the Eagle Hotel.

4 The right of the Escort Division, cavalry and artillery, will rest on the public square at Gettysburg, extending westward on Chambersburg street. The right of the Seventh Regiment, N. G., N. Y., will rest on the public



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square, extending eastward toward Stratton street. The right of the Society of the Army of the Potomac and the Veterans of the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps will rest on Washington street, at its intersection with Chambersburg street, and extend southward. The right of the cavalry detail and the Guard of Honor to the Grand Marshal will rest on the public square, extending along Baltimore street northwardly. The public square will be kept entirely free. Details to guard the grand stand and public square will be made from the military forces present.

5 The order of parade, by divisions, will be as prescribed in General Order No. 1, each division moving into its proper place, at marching distance, as the preceding division develops its left.

6 The line of march will be southward from the public square, through Baltimore street, to Culp's Hill and the Slocum Memorial.

7 Organizations will salute as they pass the grand stand.

8 The Seventh Regiment, N. G., N. Y., will escort the Governor of the State of New York and the Society of the Army of the Potomac.

9 After the ceremonies at the dedication are completed the organizations will return to their respective headquarters, except the Seventh Regiment, N. G., N. Y., which will escort the Governor of New York and the Society of the Army of the Potomac, on their return to Gettysburg.

10 The Medal of Honor Veterans will form on Washington street, and take their position in the marching column immediately in rear of the Society of the Army of the Potomac.

LEWIS R. STEGMAN,

*Grand Marshal.*

Official: FRANCIS M. CRAFTS,

*Colonel and Adjutant-General.*

★  
MAJOR GENERAL  
HENRY WARNER SLOCUM, U.S.V.  
1826-1894

IN COMMAND OF RIGHT WING  
OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC  
AT THE

BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG  
JULY 1. 2. 3. 1863

“STAY AND FIGHT IT OUT”

GEN. SLOCUM AT COUNCIL OF WAR JULY 2, 1863

ERECTED BY STATE OF NEW YORK, 1902



BRONZE TABLET.

Placed on westerly side of granite pedestal.





**Program of Exercises at the Dedication of the Slocum  
Monument, Gettysburg, September 19, 1903**

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Music — Seventh N. Y. Regiment Band.

Prayer — Rev. W. T. Pray, D. D.

Address by Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, U. S. A., Chairman.

Music — Second U. S. Cavalry Band.

Unveiling of Monument by Governor B. B. Odell, Jr.

Major-General's Salute, Fourth U. S. Battery.

Address by Governor Benj. B. Odell, Jr.

Address by Gov. William E. Stone.

Music — Second U. S. Cavalry Band.

Address by Gov. Franklin Murphy.

Oration by Gen. James C. Rogers.

Music — Seventh N. Y. Regiment Band.

Oration by Col. Archie E. Baxter.

Music — Seventh N. Y. Regiment Band.

Benediction — Rev. Jos. Twitchell, D. D.

Salute — Fourth U. S. Battery.



Prayer by Rev. W. T. Pray,

*SEVENTY-EIGHTH AND ONE HUNDRED AND SECOND N. Y. V.*

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Our Father who art in Heaven! Almighty and everlasting God: The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who has given us grace at this time and with one accord to make our common supplication unto Thee, hear us now as we give thanks for the protection and guidance which Thou hast thus far vouchsafed us.

We praise Thee that, while we are assembled to give tangible, substantial and permanent expression of our love and veneration for the memory of our departed commander, we are assured of the Divine presence and blessing, in order that we may be guided in the exercises of the hour and thus glorify Thee and enjoy a comradeship with one another that shall be sacred and enduring.

We thank Thee that so many of us are permitted to engage in the services which we here render, bringing vividly to our thoughts a history that is full of important interest and a personage great in valor and patriotism. We praise Thee for the soldierly bearing, the loyal purpose and the unreserved consecration to the country's welfare and its flag, which characterized the hero whose name is upon every tongue as we here hold communion as comrades of the past, yet of the present, and we hope and pray of the eternal future.

We thank Thee for the high type of life revealed to the American people by him as a soldier and a citizen. May it inspire us all to a higher standard of citizenship. We are grateful, O God, for the privilege of recording our remembrance of his manly character, his acts, his greatness, his modest simplicity, his calmness, his capability, his leadership, his conquests.

We thank thee that we hold in remembrance the priceless gift in his example of a useful and pure life in the home circle, his fidelity to public trusts and the lofty ideals he cherished in his dealings with his fellowmen.

We implore Thy blessing upon the kindred of the valiant leader who are honored by his name and the tender association of family

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ties. Hear us for the fellow officers who are with us and who fought by his side or counseled with him in the midst of the battle; and for those of us who were obedient to his wise orders.

Oh Lord, while we praise Thee for the memory of those who have gone from our ranks to join the eternal hosts, we would ask Thee to bless the veterans of all our wars who bear the marks of life's march and way, and perhaps the scars and enfeeblement incurred in their country's defense; and in the care for such may it never be said that "Republics are ungrateful."

We pray Thee to continue Thy blessing upon our fair country. We praise Thee for Thy goodness to the nation—for the fraternal spirit within our borders—for peace and prosperity; for which we give unto Thee thanks and glory.

Hear us for Thy blessing to rest upon the Chief Magistrate of our Nation. Grant unto him courage, patience and wisdom; and in Thy name may he advise the people, and execute the affairs of the great Republic. Bless the commonwealths that have made this occasion possible, and may their governors and all in authority and all our population be crowned with Thy benediction. Let Thy blessing be with those who are in charge of the exercises of this important event and upon all who contribute in any way to make this day memorable in our country's history; and thus may the pleasure of the Heavenly Father rest upon us, and the brotherhood and comradeship of men become stronger and more hallowed than ever.

Fulfill, O Lord, the desires and petitions we bring to Thee, as may be most expedient for us; granting us in this world knowledge of Thy truth and in the world to come life everlasting—All of which we ask in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.



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The following letter from Lieut. Gen. James Longstreet, C. S. A., who was unable to be present as expected, was then read by Gen. Horatio C. King:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF RAILROADS,

WASHINGTON, *September 19, 1902.* }

General D. E. SICKLES, *Chairman,*

Gettysburg, Pa. :

MY DEAR SIR.—My plan and desire was to meet you at Gettysburg on the interesting ceremony attending the unveiling of the Slocum monument; but to-day I find myself in no condition to keep the promise made you when last we were together. I am quite disabled from a severe hurt in one of my feet, so that I am unable to stand more than a minute or two at a time. Please express my sincere regrets to the noble Army of the Potomac, and to accept them especially for yourself.

On that field you made your mark that will place you prominently before the world as one of the leading figures of the most important battle of the Civil War. As a Northern veteran once remarked to me, "General Sickles can well afford to leave a leg on that field."

I believe that it is now conceded that the advanced position at the Peach Orchard, taken by your corps and under your orders, saved that battlefield to the Union cause. It was the sorest and saddest reflection of my life for many years; but to-day I can say with sincerest emotion that it was and is the best that could have come to us all, North and South, and I hope that the nation, reunited, may always enjoy the honor and glory brought to it by that grand work.

Please offer my kindest salutations to your Governor and your fellow comrades of the Army of the Potomac.

Always yours sincerely,

JAMES LONGSTREET,

*Lt. Gen. Confederate Army.*

Address by Maj. Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, U. S. A.,

CHAIRMAN, NEW YORK MONUMENTS COMMISSION FOR THE BATTLEFIELD  
OF GETTYSBURG.

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*Governor Odell, Comrades and Guests :*

My colleagues have requested me to preside to-day. It is my first duty to offer to all the guests of the State of New York who are with us a cordial welcome. The Governors of the States of Pennsylvania and New Jersey have honored this occasion by their presence. Governor Stone of Pennsylvania and Governor Murphy of New Jersey are both veterans of the Civil War, and wear on their breasts the emblems of their honorable service in defense of our flag. Conspicuous among our guests, as well for their numbers as for their imperishable claims upon the gratitude of the American people, let me welcome more than a thousand of Slocum's surviving soldiers of the Twelfth and Twentieth Army Corps, who have accepted the invitation given to them by the Legislature of New York. They are here to-day to dedicate this statue of their beloved commander, Major-General Henry Warner Slocum, erected by a grateful commonwealth to commemorate his heroic services on this battlefield.

This battlefield has become hallowed ground for the people whose kindred have contended here for the life of our Nation. More than a million of our citizens have come to Gettysburg since July, 1863. The states represented in the Union Army have erected here more than four hundred graceful memorials to the patriotism and valor of their men who fought at Gettysburg. No battlefield on earth is so consecrated by loving tokens of remembrance. And yet we are told by superficial observers of character that "Americans are without sentiment."

In the North and East and West, thousands of soldiers' monuments reveal the affection cherished by our people for their defenders. There are more soldiers' monuments in this country than have ever been erected in all the rest of the world. If we are not a martial



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people, we know at least how to honor the memory of our soldiers. We give almost \$150,000,000 a year towards the support of the surviving soldiers of our wars and their families,—more than is given for like purposes by all the nations of Europe combined. Ten of our presidents have been chosen from our armies.

New York may well be satisfied with her part in the battle of Gettysburg. The first shot was fired as the sun rose on the morning of the first day by a trooper belonging to the Ninth New York Cavalry, under Colonel Sackett. The name of this dragoon was Corporal Alphonse Hodges of Company F. In the skirmishing which soon followed, Silas W. James of Company G of the same regiment was killed. Thus it happened that the first shot at Gettysburg was fired by a New York soldier, and the first man on our side to fall was a New York soldier, both belonging to the Ninth New York Cavalry.

In the battle of the first day, a division of the First Corps, under Wadsworth of New York, was the earliest to reach the field. Cutler's Brigade, containing four New York regiments, was in advance, the Seventy-sixth New York in the lead, the first infantry that encountered the enemy. The six divisions of the Union Army engaged on July first, and their artillery, were all commanded by New Yorkers, Doubleday, Robinson and Wadsworth in the First Corps, under Reynolds; Schurz, Von Steinwehr and Barlow in the Eleventh Corps, under Howard.

On July second the right and left flanks of our Army were held by New York commanders, Slocum and Sickles. Here on Culp's Hill Greene's brigade of five New York regiments defended this important position against Johnson's division of Confederates on the night of July second. All honor to the gallant old general, George S. Greene and his brigade, the Sixtieth New York, under Col. Abel Godard; the Seventy-eighth New York, under Col. Hammerstein; the One Hundred and Second New York, under Col. Lewis R. Stegman; the One Hundred and Thirty-seventh New York under Col. David Ireland; and the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York, under Col. Henry A. Barnum. Slocum complained that the splendid work of this brigade on the night of July second had not been mentioned in the official report of the battle, and in a letter to General Meade he exclaimed, speaking of that eventful night:

"The failure of the enemy to gain entire possession of our



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works was due entirely to the skill of General Greene and the heroic valor of his troops."

Five New York brigade commanders in the Third Army Corps, Ward, Carr, Graham, De Trobriand and Brewster; three in the Second Army Corps, Zook, Willard and Kelly, Ayres, a division commander, and Brigadier-Generals Weed and Vincent and Colonel Rice, who succeeded to the command of Vincent's brigade of the Fifth Army Corps, all of them sons of New York, sustained the many fierce combats that ended in the final repulse of the enemy on our left flank on the evening of the second day of the battle. Of these leaders, Zook, Weed and Willard were killed, and Sickles and Graham wounded.

Among the commands that shared the honors won on the third day, when Lee made his desperate and hopeless attempt to regain a lost battle, were the brigades of Alexander Stewart Webb of the Second Corps, and of Alexander Shaler of the Sixth Corps, both of New York; the latter included three New York regiments of infantry, and helped Slocum recover Culp's Hill, so nearly lost the night before; and when Webb's Pennsylvania brigade repulsed the final assault of Armistead's Virginians the enemy had fired his last shot. So it happened that New York commanders began and ended the battle of Gettysburg.

In the Union Army on this field New York had sixty-eight regiments of infantry, nineteen batteries of artillery, seven regiments of cavalry and two regiments of engineers. The losses of the New York commands in the battle were 6,707, more than thirty per cent of the total losses in the Union Army. Besides these troops, the Governor of New York, Horatio Seymour, sent to Harrisburg, as soon as Lee crossed the Potomac, twenty-six regiments of the infantry of our National Guard, numbering 14,000 officers and enlisted men, to assist in repelling the invasion of Pennsylvania.

New York has erected on this battlefield eighty-six regimental and battery monuments, besides the State Memorial to our dead, who lie buried in yonder National Cemetery, and besides this equestrian statue to General Slocum. All of these monuments have been placed here to commemorate the valor and patriotism of the volunteers who enlisted in New York for service in the Union Army.

New York regiments and batteries fought in every division but



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one in the Army of the Potomac, and in forty-six brigades. One-third or more of the corps, division and brigade commanders were sons of the Empire State. New York contributed to the Union armies from April, 1861, to April, 1865, 400,000 volunteers. Of this vast number 53,000 died in service. We expended \$125,000,000 during that period in raising, organizing and equipping our forces. Of the 300 famous battalions whose losses in the Civil War were the largest, as shown by Fox, the historian, fifty-nine of these battalions were New York troops. New York regiments and batteries fought in more than a thousand battles and skirmishes during the Civil War.

The Governor of New York is here to-day to unveil this monument. He is escorted to Gettysburg by the Seventh Regiment of the National Guard of New York, a regiment that was frequently summoned to the field during the Civil War, and from whose ranks were graduated 603 officers who served in the Union Army and Navy. Of this number, 41 were killed in action, and 17 died of disease during the war. The Seventh was the West Point of the volunteer army.

Slocum used to say to his intimate friends, "I have in my possession a small scrap of paper three or four inches long" (which he described by holding up two fingers), "about that size," he said, "that would throw a flood of light on the battle of Gettysburg; but it will be time enough bye-and-bye to turn on the light," intimating that the "scrap of paper" would appear after his death.

The day before Hooker was relieved from command it was arranged that Slocum should intrench his army corps, reinforced by 10,000 men, to be withdrawn from Harpers Ferry, on General Lee's line of communication, a position from which Slocum could not have been driven. If Hooker had not been superseded Slocum would have been at Williamsport on the Potomac with 20,000 men intrenched, and Lee would never have returned to Virginia with his army.

On the night of July 2, 1863, after a bloody battle, fought on the afternoon of that day on our left flank, a council of war was convened by the commanding general, to consider our situation and advise him what to do. The corps commanders present expressed their views in order of their rank respectively. Slocum, being the ranking officer in the council, was the last to reply. He said: "Stay and fight it out."

That speech settled the matter. Slocum was not an orator, but



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no orator ever made a better speech. It was brief, like Cæsar's "*Veni, vidi, vici*," but it told the whole story. It was Spartan eloquence, and it won the assent of the council. "Stay and fight it out" was the advice given by the council to General Meade, who was not satisfied with his position at Gettysburg.

The Army of the Potomac did "stay and fight it out." The victory gained is the best comment that can be made on Slocum's judgment.

"Stay and fight it out" would be a good motto for Slocum's descendants. "Stay and fight it out" would be a good motto for all our American youth. We have inscribed it there on the pedestal of the statue, where for centuries to come American soldiers will read Slocum's inspiring speech, "Stay and fight it out."

After the Gettysburg campaign, the Eleventh and Twelfth Army Corps were severed from the Army of the Potomac. They were sent to the mountains of Tennessee, eight hundred miles away, under Hooker, where they won endless fame at Lookout Mountain, and shared in the brilliant victory of Mission Ridge, under Grant. Afterwards, in 1864, under Sherman and Slocum and Howard, they fought their way from the heart of the continent to the sea.

Then came the final combat between the Army of Virginia, under Lee, and the Army of the Potomac, under Grant, a battle of giants, which Grant won and gave us peace.

I am thankful to have been spared to come here to-day to assist in the dedication of this monument to my comrade and friend, the foremost soldier New York sent to the field during the Civil War. Fortunately, he was one of the few of our commanders who had unbounded confidence in our volunteers; therefore he never failed.

We were associated in four campaigns of the Army of the Potomac. We were both successively regimental, brigade, division and corps commanders.

Slocum never lost a color or a gun. Although his voice will never again be heard by his beloved comrades, this heroic figure will stand for ages to come, as a type of an American commander, modest, resolute, sagacious, brave.

On this field we see a glorious group—Meade, Reynolds, Slocum, Hancock. The observer will note that while there are only four memorials erected to commanding generals at Gettysburg, there are four hundred monuments dedicated to the memory of the soldiers who fought here.



## Henry Warner Slocum

There are some people who think you old vets live too long, that you don't die off fast enough. They say you are making the Government and the country poor by the pensions you get; the woods and the newspapers are full of such people. They say they represent the "taxpayers." The taxpayers, you know, of course, are the folks that support the government and the people. They are the salt of the earth. They fight our battles. They put down the Rebellion. They saved the Union.

They are amazed at your presumption in pretending that your services were of any particular value. They think that eleven dollars a month in greenbacks, worth fifty cents on the dollar, was ample pay for all you did, and that your claims on the gratitude of the nation are all bosh.

Fortunately these people, although immense in their own estimation, are only heard of in the newspapers and in their own little corners. They have no voice in Congress, nor in our State Legislatures, nor in our municipal councils. I would like to see one of them set up as a candidate for president. A blind man could count his votes.

My comrades, don't you mind these taxpayers. The heart of this nation is yours. The American people love you, as they honored and revered the soldiers of Washington, who gained our independence. As you move onwards toward your graves, your tottering footsteps will be tenderly watched, and with tearful eyes, until the last one of you hears the final call.

And on every Memorial Day, as long as the history of your noble deeds is taught in the common schools of the people, the tombs of the heroic volunteers of 1861-1865 will be shrines for all patriotic Americans. You will be remembered and honored, while your detractors will be as utterly forgotten as the noisy frogs that scream in slimy pools.

Compare this country to-day with our situation in 1863, when the battle of Gettysburg was fought, forty years ago. No parallel in history can be found for the marvelous advance we have since made in all the elements of power.

To you, my brave comrades, belongs the glory of saving our Union of States, the foundation of all our strength, the fertile source of our growth and of our felicity as a nation.

## Address by Governor Benj. B. Odell, Jr., of New York.

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*Ladies and Gentlemen :*

Gettysburg will always occupy a place in history as the decisive battle of the Rebellion, and perhaps to a greater extent than any other this field will be the Mecca of those who in years to come desire to pay tribute to the memory of the brave men who sacrificed their lives in defense of our nation's honor. When we recall the Rebellion and view it from the standpoint of later history, we can perhaps understand and appreciate the conditions which at that period were wholly inexplicable and clearly misunderstood. The rancour and bitterness of the time led to a misconception of the sincerity and the honesty of purpose of those separated in our nation of commonwealths by an imaginary line, one side standing in name only for the rights of human beings, as enunciated and guaranteed in the Declaration of Independence, while the other stood for freedom of thought and individual liberty in its highest sense. The man who, satisfied in his own mind of the righteousness of his cause, sacrifices his sentiments to the policy of the State which burdens or oppresses the weak is devoid of those attributes which God has given him, and loses his independence. Convictions founded upon false premises may be excused, and teachings may lead us to believe that that which has been established through years of civilization is right. Yet, underlying all, is the knowledge in man's own mind which must determine for him and decide his action. Nations cannot exist, republics would crumble, were there a purpose to oppress the individual or a desire to give to that which may exist as a wrong the appearance of right. Every contest that has been waged, every battle that has been fought in the world's history, has had as its origin the purpose of the human being to protect himself against invasion of his liberty. While the helpless have always been obliged to depend upon the strong, men in the full vigor of their strength and manhood, to redress their wrongs, yet there has always been this underlying principle of equality, of right and of justice, which has determined action and which has



## Henry Warner Slocum

been one of the factors through which civilization has come and humanity has been uplifted. Whatever may have been the incentive which led those of the South to assail the flag and to attempt the dismemberment of a country which stood before the world as a refuge for those of all nations who believed in individual rights and the liberties of mankind; whatever may have been the reason that led to that great struggle; whatever it was that brought about the sacrifice of life and property, we of the present generation can look upon the conflict with lessened regret, because one of the results of the war has been a country greater, more powerful and more potent for good.

In these days, therefore, when the glory of the Revolution is supplemented by the achievements of arms in later struggles, and when we have united in bonds of sympathy and patriotism, we may well consider the heroism and bravery of the men who fought on both sides in the great Civil War. The victory for the Union has brought about a community of interests, has brought about a brotherhood in our country that is beginning to forget as it clasps hands over the border which heretofore separated us—that forgets those issues which made the horrors of civil war possible, while we stand as brothers beneath the flag of a greater nation, revering the memory and extolling the deeds of brave men of a common ancestry.

What might have happened, however, if the tide of battle upon this field had turned against the North cannot be conceived, but I am satisfied that while the movement to extend slavery might have secured temporary advantages, yet it never could have eventually succeeded; because, with the progress of civilization, those who were devoted to the advancement of this peculiar idea would inevitably have abandoned it, if not through the shock of arms, through the religious convictions and training of our people. While perhaps this stain upon our Nation's honor might have been effaced in later years through these influences, yet an all wise Providence had decreed that our country should pass through a period of war, and that in the great struggle between the men upon both sides of this great question the strength of our Nation, whose ultimate object was liberty of man, should be disclosed and shown to the world.

So battles were fought, and from this baptism of blood the Nation became stronger, through this bitter experience which filled



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our homes with mourning and which threw a pall over our country which made the hearts of men heavy, the Nation emerged, and stands to-day, not as a power to coerce, but as one that is potent for good in the civilization of the world. We can, therefore, meet at this time upon this battlefield and accord to those who participated in its strife the praise that their heroism merits, and recount the deeds of glory without opening old wounds incident to the struggle of death, which made the whole land so desolate.

New York has a pride in this field, because here, perhaps to a greater extent than in any other battle, she showed her devotion by furnishing a greater number of men. In the patriotic general, whose monument we dedicate to-day, was found one of those sturdy men who knew not only duty but who gave to its performance an intelligence which insured to him the respect and confidence of his associates and those whom he led. He and the brave men of New York and other States of the Union need no monument to perpetuate their glory. Monuments may be erected as the Nation's tribute, but our country and this battlefield stand as the monument of their devotion, their patriotism and their heroism. But it is fitting for us at times to visit these scenes, to come with those who took part in the great struggle and to show by our presence that time has not tempered our love, but that it is as strong as ever for those brave boys in blue; and while we drop the sympathetic tear upon the graves of the men from the North, let us also express our sympathy for those who fell upon the side of the South. There are no longer dividing lines in our patriotism. There is no blot upon our national escutcheon to cause the blush of shame to mantle the cheek of the sturdy men of the North, of the chivalry of the South, while the men of the West extend the hand of fellowship, all faithful citizens of a reunited country with nothing but respect for an adversary whose blood courses through their own veins. It is upon this spot that the immortal Lincoln gave voice to those words which will stand forever in our classics as the patriotic utterances of one who was not privileged to witness the results of the four years of suffering, of anguish and of devotion to the cause that he had espoused, which gives us to-day the opportunity to repeat his words that our government still stands "a government of the people, for the people and by the people," and that it "shall not perish from the earth."



## Address by Governor Wm. A. Stone, of Pennsylvania.

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*Mr. Chairman :*

Pennsylvania is proud of the fact that the most decisive battle of the war was fought on her soil, and while the soil is the soil of Pennsylvania it is consecrated by the blood of the bravest men in all the states and territories. This battlefield belongs to the whole Nation, because here it is where the whole Nation was saved from dissolution.

Whether it is among nations or among individuals, some decisive moment comes in the lives of each. The decisive moment for our Nation was here at Gettysburg, in 1863, and the Nation was saved.

We feel honored to see the different states come here and erect monuments to the bravery of their distinguished sons. We are proud of the brilliant record of General Slocum, and we are proud of and we love the brilliant record of General Sickles; and we will never forget that the battlefield of Gettysburg is in our possession, simply as trustees for every liberty-loving man and woman in the whole country.

I was especially interested in the remarks of General Sickles relating to the services of the "old vets." It is true we are paying them \$150,000,000 a year but there is one thing we never yet have paid them. We have redeemed our contracts and paid our obligations in gold; and the time will come — and that soon — when the old soldiers will be paid in gold the difference between what they received and what they should have received. If it is good politics and good statesmanship to redeem an army contract by making the money a gold value, it is good politics and good statesmanship to pay the difference between five and a half dollars a month and thirteen. While you are left and before we die let us do the square thing.

I was not at the battle of Gettysburg, and when I come to hear of the many that stayed on the battlefield of Gettysburg I am glad that I was not here.

## Address by Governor Franklin Murphy, of New Jersey.

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*Mr. Chairman, etc., etc.:*

It would not be kind if I were to detain you with more than a word. There are two or three things, to be said in not more than two or three minutes, which I would like to say.

First and over all, I feel it a very great privilege and honor to be with you, to join with the representatives of the great State of New York in doing merited honor to my old Commander.

If you will look at his face — and I never saw a more speaking face in bronze than that face yonder — you will understand how it was that General Slocum easily won and always held the confidence and affection of his soldiers. They never doubted him, and when we saw him we had the confidence in him. A face like that inspires the world over. I repeat that I am glad to be here with you, to join with the citizens of New York in doing honor to that great man.

I have another thing to say, and that is, touching the reference of my colleague, Governor Stone, to the payment to the veterans of the difference between what they should have received were they paid in gold and what they did receive. The Government may make good in time to come the difference between currency and gold in the times of the war; but if it should pay us all the money the Government has it would not be worth as much to us as the memory that you and I fought on this field! There is something worth more than money to the soldier that fought at Gettysburg. (Applause.)

I will say just one thing more. I went over this field to-day; it was my first visit in thirty-eight years. I cannot tell you how it impressed me. Our regiment fought away over yonder, on the extreme right, and we started this morning and went over the field to the left and saw this magnificent monument. As I rode over the field and the inspiration of that heroic day came to me, it seemed that I should go away from here — as I believe you will go away — a better citizen, not alone from the beauty of the day and its great attractions, but because of the patriotic inspiration which on this day inspires us.



## Oration by Gen. James C. Rogers, Twelfth Army Corps.

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*Mr. Chairman, Comrades of the Old Twelfth Corps and of the Army of the Potomac:*

It is with extreme embarrassment that I arise before this great gathering of fair women and brave men to take the part assigned me in these exercises, especially so after listening to the brilliant addresses of our chairman and the other distinguished orators who have preceded me. For the audiences I have been accustomed to talk to have not, as a rule, contained soldiers of national reputation, governors of great states, mayors of great cities, and judges of our highest courts, like those who surround me here to-day. But, while there is embarrassment to an unskilled speaker like myself in such an audience, and with such surroundings on this famous battlefield, there is inspiration in it too—enough almost to make the mute speak and the tongue-tied eloquent. And I would that it might touch my lips right here and now, so that I might say something worthy of you, my comrades, and worthy of the great soldier we are here to-day to honor.

But then I remember that I was doubtless invited to make this address not because of any special gift of oratory, but because it was my good fortune to have been associated with General Slocum during a large part of his brilliant military career, and because I knew him and loved him with the enthusiastic ardor that the young soldier feels for the chief in whom he trusts and believes. And General Slocum had that in him, both as officer and as man, to inspire confidence, admiration and love.

During the four years of that tremendous contest which we call the Civil War it was my lot to be connected, in an humble way, with both the Eastern and Western armies, and to come in contact, more or less closely, with some of the most notable generals of those times. The first year and a half I served in the brigade of the distinguished soldier whose name is inseparably connected with this battlefield, and whose statue dominates the hill to our left, as

MAJOR GENERAL HENRY WARNER SLOCUM, U. S. VOLS.

CADET U. S. MILITARY ACADEMY JULY 1, 1848; 2ND LIEUT. FIRST ARTILLERY JULY 1, 1852; 1ST LIEUT. MARCH 3, 1855. RESIGNED OCTOBER 31, 1856.

COL. 27TH N. Y. INFANTRY MAY 21, 1861. SEVERELY WOUNDED. BULL RUN JULY 21, 1861. BRIG. GEN'L OF VOLUNTEERS AUGUST 9, 1861. ASSIGNED TO COMMAND OF 2ND BRIGADE, FRANKLIN'S DIVISION, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC SEPTEMBER 4, 1861 AND TO COMMAND OF 1ST DIVISION, 6TH CORPS MAY 18, 1862.

MAJ. GEN'L U. S. VOLS. JULY 4, 1862. ASSUMED COMMAND OF 12TH CORPS OCTOBER 20, 1862. TEMPORARILY COMMANDED THE RIGHT WING OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, CONSISTING OF THE 5TH, 11TH AND 12TH CORPS APRIL 28-30, 1863. IN COMMAND OF THE RIGHT WING OF THE UNION ARMY, COMPOSED OF THE 5TH AND 12TH CORPS, AT GETTYSBURG JULY 1, 2, 3, 1863.

RELINQUISHED COMMAND OF THE 12TH CORPS APRIL 18, 1864 AND ON APRIL 27, 1864 ASSUMED COMMAND OF THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF VICKSBURG, WHICH HE HELD UNTIL AUGUST 14, 1864.

ASSUMED COMMAND OF THE 20TH CORPS AUGUST 27, 1864 AND OF THE LEFT WING OF SHERMAN'S ARMY, KNOWN AS THE ARMY OF GEORGIA, NOVEMBER 11, 1864. ASSIGNED, IN ORDERS DATED JUNE 27, 1865, TO THE COMMAND OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI, HEADQUARTERS AT VICKSBURG, WHICH HE HELD UNTIL RELIEVED SEPTEMBER 18, 1865 AND ON SEPTEMBER 28, 1865 GEN'L SLOCUM RESIGNED FROM THE ARMY AND WAS HONORABLY DISCHARGED.

BRONZE TABLET.



## Henry Warner Slocum

in his life his spirit dominated every battlefield where he was present — General Winfield Scott Hancock. And in the west, in the Atlanta campaign, after the consolidation of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps under his immediate command, I served under and saw much of that other brilliant soldier and ex-army commander, General Joseph Hooker, who, if he did not win at Chancellorsville, and was not permitted to command upon this field, yet, in his "Battle above the Clouds" and at Peach Tree Creek proved that he was of the stuff of which fighting generals are made. There were others, also, almost as distinguished, whom I had the good fortune to meet and know and form an opinion of.

And now, after all this time has passed, with the impressions of those early days strengthened by the judgment of maturer years, I can truthfully say that in the combination of high soldierly qualities with the purest patriotism, in decision of character and the power of quick adaptation of means to the end to be accomplished, in coolness and courage, Henry W. Slocum was the peer of them all. He had not, perhaps, the magnificent personal appearance of Hancock, "the superb" — few had. He lacked, perhaps, the glitter and dash of some others I might name. He could not sit a horse with the picturesque impressiveness of Gen. Joe Hooker, no one else could; for when in full uniform, mounted upon that magnificent white charger presented to him by the citizens of New York, he rode down the line, at the head of his brilliant staff, he seemed to his admiring soldiers the very impersonation of the spirit of battle, a warrior born to lead them to victory. But if General Slocum lacked some of these minor accessories of the popular hero, he had all the sterling, soldierly qualities which the others possessed, and some of head and heart in which the others were deficient.

But I was to speak to you of the Twelfth Corps. That corps was organized in September, 1862, from a part of what had been called the Army of Virginia and a number of new regiments. It was a fine body of troops and was splendidly officered. Look at some of its brigade commanders! There was General Thomas L. Kane of Philadelphia, formerly of the famous "Bucktails;" General Ruger of the Second Brigade, a splendid officer; and General Greene, that grand old veteran who so gallantly defended this hill, when on the afternoon of the second day's battle the rest of the corps was sent over to reinforce the left. The First Division was commanded by



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genial, kind-hearted, and valorous General Alpheus S. Williams, "Pap" Williams, as his boys loved to call him; while General John W. Geary, afterwards Governor of this State, commanded the Second Division. And over all and inspiring all with his high soldierly qualities and calm, quiet, but impressive personality, was the great leader whose bronze statue looks down upon us here to-day.

General Slocum, although a West Point graduate and regular army officer, had resigned from the army before the breaking out of the war, and his mind had been broadened and humanized, as it were, by daily contact with all kinds of men in civil life. He knew and recognized better than most officers who had remained in the service and whose duties had run in the narrow channels of army life in time of peace, that the young officers and men of the volunteer regiments of those days were not of the kind that had been in the habit of enlisting before the war, but were of the best blood of the land and could be moulded and made effective as soldiers more by kindness and by the inspiration of duty than by rough handling and the compulsion of fear. And during the months that followed, both in the Valley and at Stafford Court House, he brought the Twelfth Corps, whose emblem was the Star, into such a state of discipline and effectiveness that it compared favorably with even the gallant corps of our Chairman, and what higher praise could I give it than that. And in the battle of Chancellorsville, which began so brilliantly, only to end in defeat, General Slocum so skillfully handled his corps that, although it was largely composed of regiments that had never been under fire, it did not waver when the troops on its right were swept away and thrown into a panic such as sometimes comes to the bravest troops when surprised and attacked at a disadvantage. With his right turned, Hooker did probably the best that could be done under the circumstances. At midnight Slocum swung forward his corps at right angles to the line of breastworks which it had built and occupied in the morning, and there at the edge of the woods at the foot of Chancellorsville Hill, with its First Division just to the left of the famous plank road, with the gallant Corps of our Chairman on its right, across the road, it fought on that Sunday morning in May as only brave men fight, until the line was crumbling all about it.

It is perhaps enough to say that General Hooker was so impressed with the coolness and skill displayed by General Slocum in that battle,



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and the gallantry of his Corps under the most trying circumstances, that when Lee had crossed the Potomac and Hooker was following him and planning how to fight and defeat the Confederate Army, he decided to send General Slocum with the Twelfth Corps and the ten thousand Union troops then lying idle and useless at Harpers Ferry to the upper Potomac, there to head off and attack and defeat what was left of Lee's Army, after the Army of the Potomac had fought and defeated it somewhere in this vicinity, and driven it back towards the river. But when Hooker applied to General Halleck for the troops at Harpers Ferry for this purpose, he was met with a curt refusal, and, stung thereby, he tendered his resignation of the command of the Army. I don't really believe that he supposed it would be accepted. But it was, and as promptly as it was given; for in those days it was the fashion of those in authority at Washington to decapitate any commander of the Army of the Potomac who failed to win a victory. Three heads had already fallen into the official basket — McDowell's, McClellan's and Burnside's — and Hooker's made the fourth.

With General Meade's appointment to command in Hooker's place, General Slocum's assignment to the duty I have mentioned fell with it. Of course, it is mere speculation now; but one cannot help thinking of what would have been the result, if, after Lee's army had been defeated here and promptly followed up, a cool determined fighter like General Slocum, with twenty thousand men had been at the fords of the upper Potomac to head it off. In that event, how much of that army and its immense baggage train would have recrossed the river into Virginia? But it was not to be. Meade, when appointed, although immediately given control of the ten thousand troops at Harpers Ferry, which had been refused to his predecessor, ignored Hooker's plan to locate a strong force on the upper Potomac to cut off Lee's retreat; and so Slocum lost that opportunity of fighting a battle on his own account, and with the Twelfth Corps pressed on to this place.

I remember as though it were but yesterday, that long, dry and dusty march on July 1, 1863. The men had tramped many miles through heat and dust, under a burning sky, and were ready to drop with fatigue, when late in the afternoon, General Slocum came riding by us towards the head of the column. As he passed he said in his cheery, pleasant way, as I have no doubt he said to the regi-



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ments behind us, "Press on, men, as rapidly as you can! There is fighting in front of us. Press on and follow me!" And at once that tired and drooping column straightened up as if a thrill of new life and strength and energy had been put into it, and hurrying on came upon the field of battle too late for that day's conflict, but ready for the fighting of the days that followed. Such was General Slocum's power over his troops.

I will not attempt to describe the battle; it has been done too often by speakers far abler than I. But even after nearly forty years have passed, as we gaze upon the scene of the conflict, we can realize what a cold thrill of apprehension swept through the North when it was known that the Confederate Army, elated with its success at Chancellorsville, was here in the State of Pennsylvania, and that upon the issue of the conflict to be waged upon this field hung in a measure the destiny of the Nation. If General Lee succeeded in defeating the Union Army here, what was to prevent his sweeping on to Harrisburg and Philadelphia, and even to New York, levying contributions of money and material as he went and leaving a broad swath of ruin and desolation behind him? And we all know that at that time the governments of Europe were only waiting for such a victory to recognize and acknowledge the Southern Confederacy.

The Union Army had never fought a great battle in a Northern State before, and the touch of the free soil under its feet and the breath of the free air from these hills seemed to inspire every man with fresh courage and determination. It was a battle of giants. Gazing back now, through the long era of peace and prosperity that has come to us as a reunited nation, where one flag floats alike over North and South and East and West, we can look upon those armies without the old sectional feeling of bitterness and recognize the merits of each.

Over on Seminary Ridge and along the line in our front was arrayed the finest and best equipped military force that the South had ever put into the field. It was commanded by Gen. Robert E. Lee, one of the ablest soldiers of the nineteenth century; and under him were such brilliant lieutenants as Longstreet, Hill, Ewell, Pickett, Pender and Gordon. It was an army of whose fighting qualities any nation might be proud. And it had but one superior, and that was composed of the long line of blue, stretching



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from Little Round Top, through Devil's Den and the open fields to Cemetery Ridge, and along the crest of this hill where we are gathered to-day. Over it was its new commander, General Meade, and under him such brilliant leaders as Hancock and Slocum and Sickles and Sedgwick and Warren, and many others, some of whom are with us here on this occasion.

I will not attempt to describe the events of those momentous days — of the attack on the left where the gallant Sickles fell, desperately wounded — of Ewell's repeated attempts to carry this hill, where our hero commanded — of the last desperate assault upon the centre, where the dauntless Hancock raged and swore and fought and fell, with two Confederate generals dead right there at the Bloody Angle, and our own gallant and beloved General Webb lying wounded not thirty paces away.

Suffice it to say that after three days of the most desperate fighting of modern times, when the next morning the sun of our natal day came up over the hills, that gallant line of blue was still there with Old Glory — the only thing of beauty on all that war-swept landscape — still floating above it, while the opposing line of gray, with its stars and bars, had disappeared from the front, and that night was hastening with all speed to place the Potomac between it and its conquerors.

Oh would that Slocum and his twenty thousand had been where Hooker designed to put them then! In that event, how many of that defeated army would have escaped across the river?

I am not much of a believer in special providences, especially in war; I am rather inclined to accept the Napoleonic maxim that "Providence favors staunch hearts and the heaviest battalions." But it did seem as though a higher power smiled upon our cause when, in the very crisis of our country's peril, the dawn of that Independence Day brought us this decisive victory here and that other glorious success at Vicksburg on the Mississippi.

The official records of this battle show that the casualties on both sides were over forty-four thousand, — much more than the entire loss in all the battles of some later wars that we have heard so much of recently. The dead of the Union Army included all ranks from Major General Reynolds, commanding the First Corps, down through all grades to the man with the musket who gave all he had — his heart's blood — for his country, while among the wounded



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were our Chairman, General Hancock, General Webb, and thousands of others.

On that Fourth of July morning there they lay where they had fallen, the dead and the dying, the blue and the gray, in close proximity to each other. Think of the loss of life here, and then remember that this battle was fought with old muzzle loading muskets and cannon, and not with the improved weapons of to-day. Every time a soldier fired he had to go through the nine motions of the old time manual of arms before he was ready to fire again. Think of it! If these two armies had been equipped with the breech loading rifles and rapid fire guns of to-day, and had fought with the same desperation and courage, it would seem that not even a corporal's guard would have been left to claim the victory. But as it was, there was enough precious blood poured out upon this battlefield and a hundred others to ensanguine the land before peace came. And of those who were living at the close of the war, how many are alive to-day? Nearly all the great leaders who fought in this battle, and a large majority of the men who fought under them, have answered their last roll call here, and casting off the blue uniform of earth have passed up to the blue of the skies.

I say all have gone up there, and I mean it. No one need tell me that the spirits of those gallant boys who fought on this field have gone down the other way. We cannot believe it. Those brave young fellows who did the fighting here and elsewhere in those red letter days — officers and privates — may not all have been saints — I am afraid some of them were not. They may at times have used language more forcible than pious in speaking of traitors and copperheads; they may not have strictly applied the doctrine of *meum* and *teum* when inspecting a rebel smokehouse, or chicken roost, or even a stray sutler's wagon; they may have assembled in their little tents and gotten down upon their knees around a cracker box too often to shuffle bits of pasteboard, and not often enough for penitence and prayer; but what did such petty faults amount to in comparison with the blood they so freely shed for their country. I believe that in the eyes of the recording angel their blood wiped all such peccadillos out, and that Saint Peter, who is said to guard the portals up there, never swings back the golden gate so willingly or says "God speed you" so fervently, as when he lets the spirit of a gallant soldier in.



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Oh, that grand old Army of the Potomac! Abused and maligned by the newspapers of those days, as is the fashion of some of them to abuse our gallant army to-day — nagged on to attempt impossibilities like the cry of “On to Richmond,” “On to Richmond,” in the first months of the war — sometimes miscommanded — sometimes meeting defeat and disaster — but never conquered in spirit — always ready to rally and fight again — and, when given a fair chance, to win victories, as on this historic field of Gettysburg.

We of the Twelfth Corps were very proud of our connection with the Army of the Potomac; and when not long after this battle we were down on the Rappahannock again confronting the same old foe, and the news came of Rosecrans’ repulse at Chickamauga, and the government alarmed at the perilous condition of his army ordered the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps to hasten to its support, we were very sorry to leave our old comrades here; but we certainly thought that those Western troops would welcome us with open arms, and look up to us as bringing the prestige of Gettysburg and the Army of the Potomac with us. But when we got down there we found that those western troops were not looking up to anything from the east; but, on the contrary, rather turned up their noses at the Army of the Potomac, and with true western modesty appeared to think that about all there was of skill and bravery in the Union Army was located out there in the west.

When we got down into Tennessee, the Twelfth Corps was immediately stationed along the lines of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, from Murfreesboro to Bridgeport, to guard the line of communication and supplies. And during the months that followed we should have had a rather pleasant time of it, if it hadn’t been for a certain Confederate cavalry leader, who kept swooping down upon the railroad at unexpected times and places, tearing up the track and burning the bridges. We would get a dispatch that the rebel cavalry were approaching some little station, and, hurriedly tumbling into and on top of any empty train of cars that was at hand, we would dash at full speed down the road and usually arrive just in time to find the rails torn up, the bridge burning, and the tails of the rebel cavalry whisking a defiant farewell to us as they disappeared over the hills in the distance. For the leader of this force was too skilled and wary a soldier to remain and fight his horsemen against infantry from the Army of the Potomac.



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But I was about to tell you of our first meeting with the western troops. When General Slocum arranged his Corps along the railroad, your speaker was assigned to the command of the post at Bridgeport, Alabama. It was on the Tennessee River, which at that point was very wide and divided by a large island; an immense railroad bridge had spanned it, but the Southern Army had very ungraciously burnt it when retreating a few months before. Bridgeport was, therefore, the southern terminus at that time of the only railroad connecting the army at Chattanooga with the North. On the other side of the river was stationed a division of our western troops, with a pontoon bridge uniting us.

As soon as we had our camp arranged and settled, we resumed our daily guard mounting, drills and dress parades. In the latter, every officer was, of course, required to appear in full uniform, with sash and sword, and all the men with boots blacked, brasses burished, and in all respects duly equipped, as had been our custom when in camp in Virginia. Now to the western troops on the other side of the river these things seemed uncalled for and ridiculous. They were brave fellows, those western lads, as we learned afterwards in many a hard fought battle, and big-hearted and generous; but they had very little regard for parades or drills or personal appearance. Most of them wore old slouch hats instead of the regulation cap, and various kinds of footgear; and they seemed to think that if they only kept their muskets in order and their cartridge boxes full, it didn't matter much how other things looked. And they rather resented the wearing of caps and collars—"paper collars," they called them—and the otherwise trim and natty appearance of the soldiers from the east. They would come over the river in groups, and, standing just outside the camp grounds, watch our evolutions. What they seemed to admire and yet resent the most were our dress parades. As at the tap of the drum each company, trim and soldier-like, marched out from its company street and wheeled into line on the colors, and the ranks were formed and the music beat off, and the manual of arms was gone through with, like the click of a single gun, and the first sergeants reported, and the orders were read and the parade dismissed—they would watch it all and grin and nudge each other and wonder, "if those paper collar galoots from the Army of the Potomac and their dandy officers thought that was anything like war." And while they were good enough





HEADQUARTERS PARTY, SEPT. 20, 1902.

Seated on the front line, beginning on the left of the picture are—Adjutant General Henry, Major Richardson, General Webb, Governor Odell, General Sikes, Major Bradley, Mr. H. W. Slocum, Mr. Clarence R. Slocum, and Mr. Geo. E. Slocum.

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to admit that those eastern chaps could drill and parade and handle their muskets to beat the band, they insisted that "they'd be dog-goned" if they believed they could fight along side of their division.

But when these same Army of the Potomac fellows, under Hooker and Geary, charged steadily up the sides of Lookout Mountain in the face of a deadly fire, and, driving the Confederates down the other side, planted Old Glory on its top; and, especially, when in one of the early fights of the spring campaign, this very division that in the winter lay across the river from us, was suddenly attacked in force, and, taken by surprise, fell back in disorder; and that division of the Twelfth Corps, which included the very troops whose drills and parades they had laughed at, was ordered up, and, with the precision of the east, swept in a long, steady line right over them and retook and held the position they had lost—we heard no more about those "dandy officers and paper-collared galoots from the Army of the Potomac" not being able to fight alongside of their division.

And what was thought of them by that grim old chieftain, Tecumseh Sherman—who at one time was considered at Washington to be crazy, but whose craziness was of the kind the War Department ought always to keep on tap, along with that brand of whiskey which General Grant's enemies claimed he took too much of—what Sherman thought of them is shown by the fact that when he had captured Atlanta—and the Twelfth Corps boys were the first to get into the city, and was arranging that wonderful march to the sea which cut the Confederacy in twain, he sent back to Chattanooga a large share of his western troops but took all the boys from the Army of the Potomac and their "dandy officers" with him;—and, more than that, he assigned the two major-generals who had come from the east with them to the command of the right and left wings into which he had divided his army. That he made no mistake in the selection of our Chief is proved by the record of that marvelous campaign through Georgia and the Carolinas, and especially by the fact that when he had got up into North Carolina and the left wing was near a little place called Bentonville, marching leisurely along through the mud without anything to indicate that there was a fight ahead, Kilpatrick's cavalry came rushing back with the report that Joe Johnston's whole command was just in front of us, and in short order the battle of Bentonville was on. It seems that General Johnston, having collected an army of forty thousand, and knowing that Sherman was with



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the right wing marching on a parallel road miles away, thought he could fall upon Slocum's command and annihilate it before Sherman and the rest of the army could come up. That Confederate chieftain had made many mistakes before, but never a worse one than that, for instead of annihilating Slocum's command, he was so neatly and completely defeated himself that he lost all stomach for fighting thereafter, and in a short time surrendered his whole army to General Sherman. The battle of Bentonville was Slocum's battle, and General Sherman gave him full credit for it.

Look at his record, briefly summed up. Educated at West Point; soon afterwards, in time of peace, resigning from the army; then, at the first bugle call to arms, raising the gallant Twenty-seventh New York Volunteers and going to the front as its colonel; wounded at Bull Run; promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and then, within a few months, assigned to the command of a division in the old Sixth Corps, distinguishing himself at the battle of Gaines's Mill and other battles of the Peninsular campaign, and afterwards at Crampton's Pass and Antietam; then promoted to the command of the Twelfth Army Corps, he made it the magnificent fighting machine whose prowess at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg has given it a conspicuous place in history; and in the west, as the trusted lieutenant of the dauntless Sherman, in his marvelous marches and campaigns, he ends the fighting in that department with his victory at Bentonville. Not one mistake, not one event in those long years of active leadership which we would wish to blot out. And then, when the war is over and that for which he fought is won, he sheathes his sword and returns to the peaceful avocations of the citizen. Oh, life is worth living when it can furnish such a record as this! Is it any wonder that the officers and men whom he commanded trusted and believed in him and loved him? Is it any wonder that the great State of New York erects this magnificent statue to his memory on this historic battlefield, which as the years go by shall more and more become the Mecca of American patriotism and valor? Here our children's children shall come, and, gazing at this statue, and others like it, and these hundreds of monuments of regiments and batteries, and those thousands of little nameless granite slabs over yonder in the cemetery, be inspired with new love for the Union of these States, and new reverence for all that is noble and beautiful and good in the lives of those who fought and won our country's victory here.



## Oration by Col. Archie E. Barter, 20th A. C.

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*General Sickles, Ladies and Gentlemen — Comrades :*

Our old camp fires have gone out, we pitch and strike our tents no more, and the reveille no longer awakens us from our slumbers. Traces of forts, earth works, and abattis are passing away. Upon fields that echoed with the turmoil of battle, the shouts of victory, the cries of wounded and dying, we see churches and school houses, and hear the hum of industry, the laughter of children, the song of birds, and the rustle of waving grain.

Nearly forty years ago! And yet in the midst of these impressive surroundings, how thrillingly come thronging back memories of the old times. Once more we meet where was fought the mightiest and most fateful battle of the war. Here rebellion reached its highest mark, and was, by the valor, courage, and devotion of heroic souls contending for national unity, the freedom and uplifting of a race, stayed and turned back forever.

We meet on ground hallowed by the blood of patriots, and sacred as an encampment of our soldier dead. As we entered, it seemed as if unseen hands had thrown wide the gates; that they saluted the living throng, and that shadowy forms were keeping noiseless tread beside us.

While this was a great national battlefield where every State was heroically represented and upon which even the vanquished won imperishable renown, there is no other field upon which the sons of our imperial State may more proudly erect memorials in honor of their soldier dead. In a large sense Gettysburg was New York's battlefield. During the three momentous days in which the awful struggle swept from Seminary Ridge to Round Top, along the blazing heights of Cemetery Hill, through the Peach Orchard and over the Wheatfield, in front of the Bloody Angle and through the Devil's Den, nearly one-third of the mighty throng who wore the blue were New York veterans. When the smoke



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of this battle of the giants had lifted, when joyous bells were pealing and our people singing glad hosannas, there was weeping and wailing in stricken homes all over our great State over the loss of nearly one-third of those who lay here wounded, dying and dead, — wounded, dying and dead that they might keep Old Glory flying in the name of liberty and humanity, of their country and their God.

Had New York called the roll of her generals who rendered conspicuous services on this famous field, in addition to the name of the great soldier whose deeds we commemorate to-day, what a brilliant galaxy would have answered, "Here." High among that distinguished array would have stood the honored name of General Sickles, who, far out in front held back the advance of one-third of Lee's army for an hour, a precious sixty minutes, every one of which was worth to General Meade a hundred priceless lives; and the gallant General Webb, who was decorated with wounds and covered himself with glory in the desperate struggle at the Bloody Angle. Of New York's generals two were killed and seven wounded upon this field.

Our purpose here naturally recalls recollections of the illustrious soldier, who, at a crisis in this great struggle, averted irretrievable disaster and made possible the victory that marked the beginning of the end of the Confederacy, brought fresh renown to our arms and a luster to our flag that will never fade. As boys we loved, trusted and were proud of this great captain, and confidently followed wherever he led. To-day, as men, many of us grown old beyond our years, we are reverently gathered to honor his memory. Patriotic New York has been generous with monuments and statues in honor of her sons, but never has she erected one more deserved than is this in commemoration of the inestimable services to his State and Nation of her greatest soldier, Major-General Henry Warner Slocum.

How like is this bronze hero of to-day to the living soldier of forty years ago. True, there is no recognition in the sightless eyes; no greeting falls from the silent lips. The flag he loved, streaming gloriously in the sunlight, the strains of war-like music, the roar of cannon, or the acclaims of those he led to victory no longer thrill the warrior's heart. Heedless of all, he keeps, in this city of the dead, ceaseless vigils over the field he fought to save. And yet, as



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we gaze on the grim, bronze figure, forgotten are the years that are gone. Once more we are boys in the presence of the general we loved so well. Again we see the kindly eyes, the grave, clean-cut, soldierly face, the erect martial figure. We see him in the quiet of the camp, dignified yet gentle and approachable, modest and unassuming. We see him with his staff, an elder brother in his military family, admired, honored and loved by all. Genial, warm-hearted and familiar, but through his innate dignity restraining excesses and exacting the respect due him and his exalted station. We see him in the heat of battle, cool, deliberate, and self-poised amid the wild excitement, the awful crash and roar.

But mark the change when he discovers that "some one has blundered." The whole man seems transfigured. There is a terrible intensity in the compressed lips, the blazing eyes. It is not the joy of conflict, the lust of battle, but rather the outward mark of a relentless will, of a determination to save what the blunder has endangered, to triumph for his flag and country. Let the battle roar, the lines surge and waver, he never loses his soldierly grasp of the situation. No sudden reverse discourages or dismays. Through scenes that blanch the faces and unnerve the hearts of veterans, he stands unshaken, noting, with eyes from which no detail escapes, the shifting scenes, and weighing with unerring skill the varying chances of battle. Never needlessly sacrificing his men, but relentless as death where victory may be won by supreme courage and sublime devotion. We see him on a score of historic fields stemming disaster, wresting victory from defeat, winning new glory for the flag, and from Bull Run to Bentonville, carving with stainless sword his name among the immortals. He still lives in the memory of his great achievements and exalted manhood. His example is a constant incentive to higher resolves and nobler deeds.

For

"When we see in our dreams that shadowy region  
Where the dead form their ranks at the wan drummer's sign,  
He rides on as of old at the head of his legion,  
And the word is still Forward, along the whole line."

It is my privilege to speak to-day for the Twentieth Corps; for the living and the dead of that army of heroes who, fresh from scenes of glorious conflict in the east, sought and won new laurels on



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western fields; whose place in line was always where the battle raged the fiercest, whose flag was never lowered on the field, whose bugles never sounded a retreat, whose proud boast was that they never lost a color or a gun; and whose stars, like those that blazed on the flag they bore, grew brighter in every battle from Chattanooga to the sea. We saw the flashes of their musketry and heard the roar of their cannon at Wauhatchie's midnight fight. We watched them clamber up grim Lookout's rugged side and plant Old Glory in triumph above the clouds. We beheld them sweep grandly across the plain and with ringing cheers storm the towering heights of Missionary Ridge. We saw them between Chattanooga and Atlanta when, in all that hundred days, the "minies" never ceased singing in ghoulish glee; fighting gloriously, dying fearlessly, always victorious and constantly displaying the splendid courage, endurance and devotion that made them the equals of the best soldiers the world has ever seen.

"They won the name in the ancient game  
Where the toss is death or life;  
They won the name 'mid the searing flame  
And the hell of an awful strife;  
They bore the flag as true men should.  
Can a better thing be said?  
Then a cheer and a wreath, and a tear and a wreath  
We give to the quick and the dead."

September second, at the head of the Twentieth Corps, General Slocum was the first to enter Atlanta. Then began preparations for a campaign, bold in conception, brilliant in execution, and fruitful in results, the march from the mountains to the sea; a campaign that split the Confederacy in twain, cut off the supplies upon which Lee's army had subsisted, filled with consternation the heart of that great soldier who saw that Sherman's real objective was a junction with Grant, made clear the hopelessness of further resistance, and sounded the death knell of the Rebellion.

To General Slocum, who so valiantly commanded the right wing of the army at Gettysburg, was intrusted the left wing of Sherman's army. It was a post of great importance, one that called into full play the superb soldierly traits of the experienced and resourceful general.



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November fifteenth the army cut loose from the outer world and swung boldly towards the sea. As General Slocum's command was the first to enter Atlanta, so was it the first, in the person of the gallant General Henry A. Barnum and his men, to scale the Confederate works and enter the city of Savannah.

His mid-winter march with heavy wagon trains and artillery through the flooded swamps and across the swollen and bridgeless rivers of the Carolinas was one of General Slocum's greatest achievements. At Averasboro he won a handsome victory over General Hardee. Near Bentonville, General Joe Johnston, discovering that our two wings were moving by divergent routes, massed his whole force and entrenched in General Slocum's front, intending to surprise him and crush his army. But General Slocum, always alert, rapidly deployed in line of battle. While his men were hurriedly gathering fence rails for barricades, using their tin plates and cups for shovels, the shock of battle broke upon them. Out of the woods in front burst the gallant gray lines. Their flags were waving gayly in the sunlight; sabres flashed and bayonets gleamed. To our waiting lines fronting the onset it was a thrilling sight. On, though ploughed and torn by our artillery, with the steadiness of veterans confident of success, they came. Midway across the field they broke into a run and, with the old Confederate yell, came sweeping towards us. Suddenly out from our ranks leaped sheets of living flame. Volley after volley ran flashing, rattling and hissing down our lines. Thinned and staggered by the withering fire, they wavered, broke, and went reeling back across the field. Again and again with desperate courage they recklessly charged, and though men of the blue and the gray fell side by side, six times they were driven back over a field thickly strewn with their wounded and dead. Then, as the sun broke through the smoke of battle and bathed our flag in a flood of glory, from our triumphant lines the old Union cheer burst from the lips of veterans, who, in grim silence, had fought like heroes and splendidly won the last battle of Sherman's Army.

Bentonville was known as Slocum's battle. Here practically ended his military career. The war over, the Union saved and liberty proclaimed throughout the land, his heart turned longingly towards the pursuits of peace, and he gladly sheathed his sword forever.

As a soldier he had never reached the dazzling summit of supreme



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command; but he had proved equal to every trust committed to him. His heart had been untouched by intrigue, quarreling, rivalry, envy or disappointed ambition. Unmindful of personal advancement he sought only his country's safety and glory. Heedless of all else save personal honor, he was content to do his best modestly and resolutely where duty called him, calm, strong and fearless in the gloom of disaster and in the glory of victory.

As a citizen, though crowned with the lustre of great achievements, he bore himself so meekly there was no reminder of the days when his words were potent upon fields of mighty conflict. Successful, esteemed, and loved, he might, had he but consented to "stoop to conquer," have held the highest places within the gift of his grateful countrymen. Amid the cares and responsibilities of an active life, he took pleasure in guarding with watchful care the welfare of the helpless veterans at the State Soldiers' Home, and in advancing the educational interests of the children of the city of his adoption. Time had already whitened the honored head, but had left throbbing within the old soldier's breast, a great, tender, loving heart. When the "Taps" sounded and his light went out forever, his city lost her most illustrious citizen, his State her greatest soldier.

Comrades, I have spoken mainly of our great commanders. Were yon bronze figure addressing you, much of the credit, and justly too, would be given to the fathers and mothers of those trying days, and to the men of the rank and file. Who can measure the sacrifice that gives the first born to the perils of battle, or the grief that mourns his untimely death? Who can fathom the love of country that sends another from the stricken home, to fill the gap in the line made by a brother's fall? The pathetic story of those who mourned, with a grief that refused to be comforted, may be told in the words of the old man whose son came not back from the front:

"There hangs a sabre and there a rein,  
With a rusty buckle and a green curb chain;  
A pair of spurs on the old gray wall,  
A mouldering saddle,—well, that's all.

Come out to the stable, it is not far;  
The moss-covered door is hanging ajar;  
Look within! there's an empty stall  
Where once stood a charger,—well, that's all.

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The good black horse came riderless home,  
Flecked with blood spots as well as foam;  
See yonder hillock, where dead leaves fall;  
The black horse pined to death,— that's all.

All, my God! it is all I can speak,  
Question me not, for I'm old and weak;  
The saddle and sabre hang on the wall,  
The black horse pined to death,— that's all."

There is a desire in every heart to be remembered. We shrink from the belief that we will be forgotten when we are laid away. Statues, shafts, history, song and story guard the memories of the mighty chieftains. What of the heroic souls whose bleeding bodies paved their way to immortality? Slocum will live in the story of his great deeds at Culp's Hill and on a score of other celebrated fields. What of the men who lay in furrows around those gory heights and the hilltops that blazed with flame? What of the unsung dead whose blood enriched the wheatfield and those who lay among the old gray rocks and boulders in the Devil's Den? What of the rank and file whose steeds after the battle wheeled riderless at the bugle call as if guided by invisible hands? What of those who sleep where they fell on countless fields, or among swamps and everglades, beneath the moss clad oak and the sighing pine, under the dead grass and the withered leaves? No matter how daring their deeds, how sublime their heroism, how exalted their devotion, they live only in the general story of the great struggle in which they fell. Yet of each of those "uncrowned kings" some one can say:

"I knew him and also I knew,  
When he fell on the battle-swept ridge,  
The poor battered body that lay there in blue,  
Was only a plank in the bridge  
Over which some would pass to a fame,  
That will live while the bright stars shine;  
Your hero is known by an echoing name,  
But the boy of the musket is mine."

We cannot commemorate with marble or bronze the deeds of each of the rank and file, but we should revere the memory of even the humblest soldier who fell in defense of his country.



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Every memorial in this enclosure is a mute reminder of sacrifices made to defend principles and make them enduring. Each recalls the thrilling story of four long years of waiting and watching, of hope and fear, of success and defeat, of gladness and heart-aches and of courage, endurance and devotion as sublime as the world has ever witnessed.

The highest tribute we can pay the memories of our soldier dead is to sacredly guard and make immortal that for which they fought and fell. They died for the preservation of the Union, for liberty, for their country, for the flag and all it stands for. Have we faithfully endeavored not only to perpetuate, but to develop and perfect the noble heritage they left us? If not, the dedication of monuments and statues would be but an idle and meaningless ceremony. To-day our Union rests on as firm a foundation and is as stable as the everlasting hills. Were it assailed none would defend it more loyally than those who so valiantly strove to rend it asunder. Liberty reigns everywhere within our borders, and America is in truth not merely the land of the free, but we have, in the name of humanity, broken the shackles that bound the oppressed of other shores. We have given to the freedmen rights won amid the throes, the agony of battle, while defending the flag so many of them died to save. We have kept that flag, at home and abroad, stainless and growing brighter with an ever-increasing glory. We have stood for the enactment of wise, just and beneficent laws and for their honest and fearless enforcement. We are elevating the standard of American citizenship and making our government, in all that contributes to a country's happiness, intelligence, progress and prosperity, the foremost in the world. We have taken our proper place in the forefront among the great nations of the earth, and are exerting a potential influence in advancing the cause of liberty, justice, humanity and civilization; and for the first time in our history our flag commands respect on every land and sea.

Comrades, we can truly say to those who slumber here, "We have kept the faith. Rest in peace."

In the old days you were relied upon to protect upon the field all that was dearest to your countrymen as citizens, and you were faithful to that trust. The sons of those who then wore the blue and the gray are bravely, generously and unselfishly upholding our flag under the blazing sun and in the pitiless storm, in the deadly

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swamps and trackless jungles, amid foes who exult over their treachery and fiendish cruelty. Our honor, the lustre of our flag, are as safe in their keeping as they were in yours on the battlefields of the Rebellion.

In the name of patriotism, of loyalty and of the flag they bear, criticise them less and praise their valor and devotion more. Let us as a people make for our country a tithe of their sacrifices, and we will awaken to a truer sense of the duties of citizenship, love our country more zealously, advance with quickened stride the cause of liberty and humanity, and prolong the days of our republic's greatness and glory.

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## Benediction by Rev. Joseph H. Twichell, D. D.

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The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God and of his Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord; And the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, be among you, and remain with you always. Amen.



**Reunion of Greene's New York Brigade, Culp's Hill,  
Gettysburg, Pa., September 19, 1902.**

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**ORDER OF EXERCISES.**

Introductory Address, Capt. George K. Collins, President.

Music by the Band.

Poem, "Slocum the Soldier," by Col. Juan Lewis.

Song, "America."

Oration, "The Right Wing," by Col. Lewis R. Stegman.

Music by the Band.

Address by Gen. John A. Reynolds, Chief of Artillery.

Address by Gen. Robert Avery.

Music by the Band.

These exercises were held on the forenoon of September 19, 1902, at Culp's Hill, on the ground occupied by Greene's Brigade at the Battle of Gettysburg. The veterans of the five regiments composing the brigade formed column in the public square, and, headed by the band, marched to Culp's Hill. The theme of the oration, addresses and poem related closely to the operations of General Slocum and the right wing on this battlefield; but more particularly to the services rendered by the Twelfth Corps, and the troops from other commands which assisted in the defense of this important position. At the close of the exercises the veterans broke ranks and spent an hour or more in viewing the regimental monuments, and talking over the stirring scenes in which they participated on this historic ground.

## Foreword.

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The following biographical sketch of Major General Henry W. Slocum, and the historical narrative of the Twelfth and Twentieth Army Corps, have been compiled by Col. William F. Fox, of the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps.

Appreciating the loyalty, diligence, and zeal displayed by Colonel Fox in his work, the Commissioners decline responsibility for the views and criticisms expressed by General Sherman, General Slocum, and others, in the interesting letters now, for the first time, published.

General Slocum, himself, long before his decease, had chosen Colonel Fox as the historian of the Twelfth Army Corps. General Slocum's family kindly placed his correspondence at the disposal of Colonel Fox in the preparation of the biography.

THE COMMISSION.



# **Life of General Slocum.**

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

## Henry Warner Slocum

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

*My Dear Clara:*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



#### THE WATT'S HOUSE.

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



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

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

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

On July tenth he wrote to his family saying:



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

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

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

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

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

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

General Franklin finding that he could not use artillery with





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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

*My Dear Clara:*

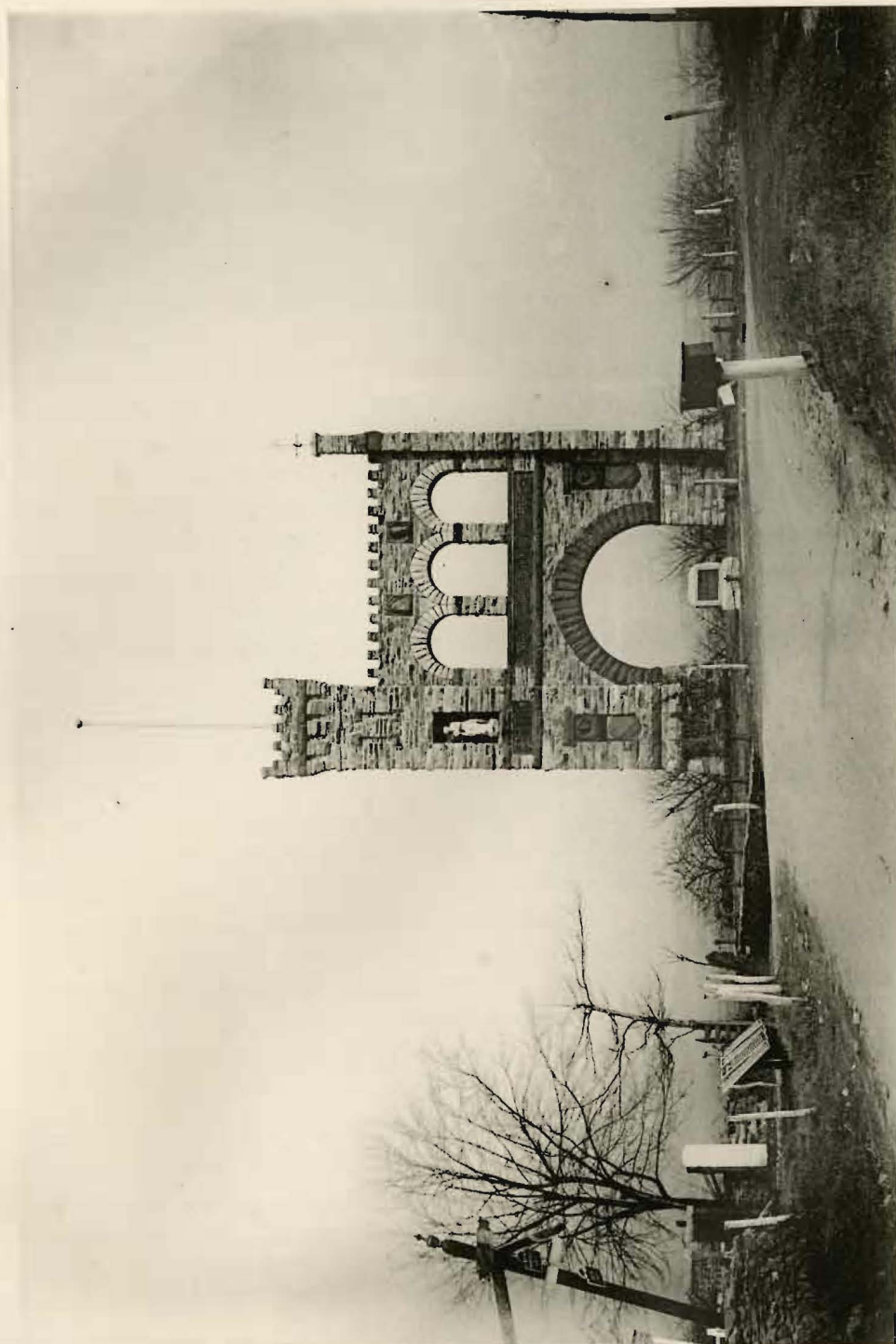
I received a beautiful bouquet this morning from Mary. The flowers are all from the President's garden. It is beautiful. The flowers are arranged according to color in three rows — red, white, and blue — with a fine japonica at the apex. I send you two or three samples.

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

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

Yours affectionately,  
H. W. SLOCUM.

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



# SUMMIT OF CRAMPTON'S PASS.

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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\* The same acoustic phenomenon occurred on the next day when the Sixth Corps traversed this road. Serg. A. T. Brewer, in his oration at the dedication of the Sixty-first Pennsylvania monument, says: "Miles ahead, on the side of the mountain which had long been in sight, shells were seen bursting high in the air, with red, angry flashes. Soon, smoke was observed curling along above the trees and floating away to the north, and yet up to this time not a cannon had been heard. Directly the familiar roar of battle began to be heard indistinctly." (Pennsylvania at Gettysburg, Vol. I, p. 350.)

† Circular.]

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

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

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



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

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

*July 1, 1863 — 3:35 P. M.*

GENERAL HANCOCK OR GENERAL HOWARD:

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

H. W. SLOCUM,  
*Major-General.*

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

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

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

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

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

. . . . .  
By command of Major-General MEADE:

S. WILLIAMS,  
*Assistant Adjutant-General.*

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



## Henry Warner Slocum

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

MY DEAR SIR:

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

Very respectfully,

Your Obt. Servant,

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

H. W. SLOCUM.

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

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

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

GENERAL:

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

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

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



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

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

I copy the following statement from your report:

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

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



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

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

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

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

H. W. SLOCUM,

*Major-General of Volunteers, Commanding.*

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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HDQ'RS. DISTRICT OF VICKSBURG,  
VICKSBURG, MISS., *May 5, 1864.* }

GENERAL ORDERS, }  
No. 4. }

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

H. C. RODGERS,

*Assistant Adjutant-General.*

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

GENERAL ORDERS, }  
No. 6. }

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

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

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



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

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

H. C. RODGERS,  
*Assistant Adjutant-General.*

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

GENERAL ORDERS, }  
No. 7. }

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

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

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

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

H. C. RODGERS,  
*Assistant Adjutant-General.*