

# THE BATTLE OF NASHVILLE DECEMBER 15–16, 1864

By Sean Michael Chick

#### **Endnotes**

# **CHAPTER ONE: North to Nashville**

<sup>&</sup>quot;There is no hell left in them. Don't you hear them praying?" 1

<sup>&</sup>quot;cordial but undemonstrative."2

<sup>&</sup>quot;were more exhausted physically than I have ever seen them on any other occasion."3

<sup>&</sup>quot;the McClellan and Rosecrans strategy of do nothing and let the enemy raid the country,"

<sup>&</sup>quot;we can carry any position occupied by our enemy."5

<sup>&</sup>quot;a bad sign."

<sup>&</sup>quot;on the heels of the enemy."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> William Lee White, *Let Us Die Like Men: The Battle of Franklin, November 30, 1864*, (El Dorado Hills: Savas Beatie, 2017), 136

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> John M. Schofield, Forty-Six Years in the Army, (New York: Century Company, 1897), 226

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. (OR) Vol 45 Part 1, 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> OR 45, (2): 15-16

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> OR 45, (2): 628

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Josiah Gorgas, *The Journals of Josiah Gorgas 1857-1878*, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 1995), 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Hood, Advance and Retreat, 300.

- "a rare degree of elegance"8
- "Our pulse leaps with pride when we see the grand old architecture."9
- "We are at the gates of Nashville, with Tennessee rescued from the grasp of the invaders." <sup>10</sup>
- "with the enemy cooped up in his works and the fruits of two years hard marching..." 11
- "...the wails and cries of widows and orphans made at Franklin..."12
- "I remember when passing by Hood, how feeble and decrepit he looked..."13
- "If it were not for the disgrace to my family I would not hesitate to desert." 14
- "one of the many miserable exhibitions of generalship" in the army's history. 15
- "tyrannical and hot-headed." <sup>16</sup>
- "High Pressure Brigade." <sup>17</sup>
- "Not a cartridge of any kind will be burned until further orders..." 18
- "There will be more blood spilled in 1865 than in 1864." <sup>19</sup>
- "the Army of Tennessee will yet be crowned with glorious victory." <sup>20</sup>

#### **CHAPTER Two: Return to Murfreesboro**

- "Men, all I ask of you is to hold the enemy back for fifteen minutes..."<sup>21</sup>
- "Rally, men for God's sake rally!"<sup>22</sup>
- "Boys, save yourselves! Every man for himself!"23
- "That was the worst thing I ever saw Southern men do in battle..."<sup>24</sup>
- "has already measurably demoralized and if continued, will ruin it." <sup>25</sup>
- "time strengthens him, in all probability, as much as it does you."<sup>26</sup>
- "I believe it will be hazardous with the small force of cavalry now at my service." 27
- "Thomas seems unwilling to attack because it is hazardous..."28

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> M. Todd Cathey and Gary W. Waddey, "Forward My Brave Boys!" A History of the 11th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry C.S.A. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2016), 30, 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Sam R. Watkins, Company Aytch or a Side Show of the Big Show, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), 236.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Wiley Sword, *The Confederacy's Last Hurrah* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), 307.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Richard M. McMurry, *John Bell Hood and the War for Southern Independence*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 178.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Samuel T. Foster, One of Cleburne's Command, (Austin: University of Texas Pres, 1980), 150-151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Watkins, 238.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ben Wynne, *A Hard Trip: A History of the 15th Mississippi Infantry, CSA*. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2010), 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ross Massey, Nashville Battlefield Guide, (Nashville: Tenth Amendment Publishing, 2007), 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> McDonough, 272

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> O. Edward Cunningham, Shiloh and the Western Campaign of 1862, (New York: Savas Beatie, 2007), 194.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> OR 45, (2): 641.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Sword, 281.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Sword, 307.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> John Wyeth, *That Devil Forrest: Life of General Nathan Bedford Forrest* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 487.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Wyeth, 488.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Nathaniel C. Hughes Jr., *The Pride of the Confederate Artillery*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 245.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Hughes, 243.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Massey, 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> OR 45, (2): 55

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> OR 45, (2): 106

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> OR 45, (2): 84

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"There is no better man to repel an attack than Thomas..."29
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### **CHAPTER THREE: Skullduggery in the Union High Command**

- "wrapped in blue rags, evidently cut from the uniform of a dead Federal soldier." 33
- "Many men were still bare-footed, and more becoming so every day..."<sup>34</sup>
- "stand around their fires warming one side while the other side grows cold..."<sup>35</sup>

- "when we walk about, the echo of our footsteps sound like the echo of a tombstone..."<sup>37</sup>
- "The proudest day of my life was when seven Confederate generals..."38
- "We forage without molestation."<sup>39</sup>
- "I think the position of this army is now such as to force the enemy to take the initiative." <sup>40</sup>
- "Let us draw their fire," 41
- "Hurrah, boys, this looks like war!"<sup>42</sup>
- "the great potentate of Chattanooga."43
- "bumptious puppy"44
- "mournfully shook his head"45
- "I purposely delayed at Kingston until General Thomas assured me that he was..." "46
- "no more judgment than a child."<sup>47</sup>
- "If you wait till General Wilson mounts all his cavalry, you will wait till doomsday..."48
- "if you should deem it necessary to relieve me I shall submit without a murmur." 49
- "I am very unwilling to do injustice to an officer who has done as much..."50

<sup>&</sup>quot;No one here will, I think, interfere."<sup>30</sup>

<sup>&</sup>quot;Now is one of the finest opportunities ever presented of destroying one..."31

<sup>&</sup>quot;No one can tell so well as one immediately in command the disposition..."32

<sup>&</sup>quot;very much like laying down in a soldier's grave." 36

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> OR 45, (2): 84

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> OR 45, (2): 96

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> OR 45, (2): 97

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> OR 45, (2): 54

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Cathey, 235

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Edgar W. Jones, *History of the 18th Alabama Infantry Regiment*, (Mountain Brook, AL: Z. Geier, 1994), 45-46

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Larry J. Daniel, *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Jones, Edgar W. *History of the 18th Alabama Infantry Regiment*. Mountain Brook, AL: Z. Geier, 1994. Jones, *History of the 18th Alabama Infantry Regiment*, 45-46

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Watkins, 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Massey, 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> OR 45, (1): 615.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> OR 45, (1): 658.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Bruce Catton, *Glory Road*, (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1990), 168-169.

<sup>42</sup> Massey, 61

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> David Sloane Stanley, Personal Memoirs of Major-General D. S. Stanley, (Cambridge: Harvard, 1917), 191.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Anne J. Bailey, *The Chessboard of War*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Freeman Cleaves, *Rock of Chickamauga*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1948), 259.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> OR 44, 728.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Bailey, 142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> OR 45, (2): 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> OR 45, (2): 115

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> OR 45, (2): 116.

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"to ask why he was not fighting himself"51
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### **CHAPTER FOUR: The Battle of Nashville: Thomas' Opening Attack**

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"dark and somber."58
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<sup>&</sup>quot;should have sent fifty thousand pairs of skates, which alone would have made..." 52

<sup>&</sup>quot;a sheet of ice and as slippery as glass."53

<sup>&</sup>quot;they treat me as if I were a boy and incapable of planning a campaign or fighting..."54

<sup>&</sup>quot;would only result in a useless sacrifice of life."55

<sup>&</sup>quot;act according to the exigencies of the service during these operations."56

<sup>&</sup>quot;The ice having melted away today, the enemy will be attacked tomorrow morning." 57

<sup>&</sup>quot;did not possess in a high degree the activity of mind necessary to foresee..."59

<sup>&</sup>quot;we captured fifty horses, so rapidly were our lines advanced." 60

<sup>&</sup>quot;an excellent officer, a clever gentleman"61

<sup>&</sup>quot;No army on the continent ever played on any field to so large and so sullen an audience." 62

<sup>&</sup>quot;whose lips swear loyalty while their hearts hatch treason..."63

<sup>&</sup>quot;made a run for the brigade."64

<sup>&</sup>quot;they would fight in the open field."65

<sup>&</sup>quot;the niggers should have all the fighting they wanted."66

<sup>&</sup>quot;unsoldierly." 67

<sup>&</sup>quot;We had the negroes in our trap, and when we commenced firing on them..."68

<sup>&</sup>quot;all that remained on the ground were good niggers." 69

<sup>&</sup>quot;particularly sickening."<sup>70</sup>

<sup>&</sup>quot;behaved in the most cowardly and disgraceful manner" 71

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Hugh McCulloch, Men and Measures of Half a Century, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888), 275.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Wilbur Hinman, *The Story of the Sherman Brigade*. (Alliance, OH: Press of Daily Review, 1897), 678.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Hughes, 247

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> James H. Wilson, "The Union Cavalry in the Hood Campaign." In *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, 4: 467, (New York: Century, 1888)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> OR 45, (2): 155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> OR 45, (2): 183-184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> OR 45, (2): 192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Massey, 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Schofield, 242.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> OR 45, (1): 601.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Massey, 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>Isaac R. Sherwood *Memories of the War*. (Toledo: H.J. Chittenden, 1923), 149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> New York Herald December 22 1864

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> J.T. Tunnell, "Ector's Brigade in the Battle of Nashville." Confederate Veteran 12, No. 7 (July 1904), 348.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Thomas J. Morgan, *Reminiscences of Service With Colored Troops in the Army fo the Cumberland, 1863-1865.* (Providence: The Society, 1885), 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Henry Romeyn, "With Colored Troops in the Army of the Cumberland." In *War Papers* 3 (District of Columbia: Commandery of the, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, 1906), 59
<sup>67</sup> OR 45, (1): 535.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Charles B. Martin, "Jackson's Brigade in the Battle of Nashville." *Confederate Veteran* 17, No. 1 (January 1909), 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Martin, 12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Hughes, 320.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Massey, 36.

"line was stretched to utmost tension"<sup>72</sup>

### CHAPTER FIVE: The Battle of Nashville: The Capture of the Redoubts

- "the pageant was magnificently grand and imposing" 73
- "self-supporting detached works"<sup>74</sup>
- "Captain, we can't do it. Their skirmishers alone outnumber us two or three to one." 75
- "I found each regiment competing with the others to reach the redoubt..."<sup>76</sup>
- "Take care of yourselves boys!"<sup>77</sup>
- "That's the one we want now boys!"78
- "We started for the fort, more like the wild rush of a mob than an orderly charge." <sup>79</sup>
- "Boys, we are to have the post of honour again today."80
- "but feeble resistance"81
- "So I guess I will be with him in hell too!"82
- "Bring us a fort"83
- "nothing could stop his brigade."84
- "Not by a damned sight!"85
- "Texans, I want you to hold this hill regardless of what transpires around you."86
- "relieved the operations of the Federal cavalry from the great peril it would have otherwise incurred." 87
- "The troops behaved splendidly..."88
- "So far I think we have done pretty well."89
- "We have whipped the enemy, taken many prisoners and considerable artillery."90
- "intended to mention her heroic conduct in his report, which will immortalize her." 91

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> OR 45, (1): 709

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> OR 45, (1): 128-129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Hood, Advance and Retreat, 305.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> James Robert Maxwell, *Autobiography of James Robert Maxwell of Tuskaloosa, Alabama*. (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1996), 267.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> OR 45, (1): 590-591.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Maxwell, 269

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> A.O. Abbott, "Last Battle of Nashville." In *War Sketches and Incidents* 1. (Omaha: Burkley Print Company, 1902), 239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Ibid., 239

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Massey, 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> OR 45, (1): 709.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Massey, 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> John H. Stibbs, "McArthur's Division at Nashville." In *Military Essays and Recollections* 4. Chicago: Cozzens & Benton, 1907), 491.

<sup>84</sup> Stibbs 492

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> I.G. Bennett, and William M. Haigh. History of the Thirty-Sixth Regiment Illinois Volunteers. (Aurora, IL: Knickerbocker & Holder, 1876), 679.

<sup>86</sup> Tunnell, 348

<sup>87</sup> Wyeth, 490.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> OR 45, (2): 194.

<sup>89</sup> James F. Rusling, Men and Things I Saw in Civil War Days. (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1899), 96

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> OR 45, (2): 195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Bromfield L. Ridley, *Battles and Sketches of the Army of Tennessee*. (Mexico, MO: Missouri Printing & Publishing, 1906), 413.

- "I never witnessed such want of enthusiasm." 92
- "We were anxious to flee, fight, or fortify. I have never seen an army so confused..."93
- "take the responsibility for such a radical action" and it explains...94
- "I have never seen better work."95
- "they will have to court-martial me... The result shows you did right." 96
- "from the mortification of a summary removal." 97

#### CHAPTER SIX: The Battle of Nashville: The Attack on Peach Orchard Hill

- "Thomas is slow in mind and in action, but he is judicious and brave..."98
- "A grand consummation is within your easy reach; do not let it slip." 99
- "Much is now expected." <sup>100</sup>
- "when Thomas attacks a victory is sure...the rebels have not force enough to stop him." <sup>101</sup>
- "I knew Hood much better than he did, and I was sure he would not retreat." <sup>102</sup>
- "too difficult for cavalry operations." <sup>103</sup>
- "The practice of the batteries was uncommonly fine." <sup>104</sup>
- "They fell like wheat before a mowing machine." <sup>105</sup>
- "veterans dread" 106
- "I felt a sudden compassion. He was a big, fine looking chap. It seemed a pity." <sup>107</sup>
- "They came only to die." 108
- "They did not hesitate a moment: their long lines swept into that fatal obstruction..." 109
- "At the battle of Nashville it was borne in upon me that I had made a fool of myself." <sup>110</sup>
- "Gentlemen, the question is settled; negroes will fight."<sup>111</sup>

<sup>92</sup> McDonough, 209.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Watkins, 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> James H. Wilson, *Under the Old Flag* 2. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1912), 67.

<sup>95</sup> OR 45, (2): 196.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> David Horner Bates, *Lincoln in the Telegraph Office*. (New York: Century, 1907), 317.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Bates, 321.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> OR 44, (1): 728.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> OR 45, (2): 210.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> OR 45, (2): 194.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Joseph A. Rose, *Grant Under Fire*, (New York: Alderhanna Publishing, 2015), 516.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Schofield, 244

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> OR 45, (2): 216.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> OR 45, (1): 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Massey, 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> OR 45, (1): 543.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Massey, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> OR 45, (1): 705.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> San Francisco Examiner, June 5, 1898.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> San Francisco Examiner, June 5, 1898.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Henry A. Norton, "Colored Troops in the War of the Rebellion." In *Glimpses of the Nation's Struggle* 5. (St. Paul: Review Publishing, 1903), 71.

### CHAPTER SEVEN: The Battle of Nashville: The Collapse of the Army of Tennessee

- "consolidated fragments." 113
- "showed merit beyond his years, [and] managed the battalion not only to my satisfaction..."114
- "The superiority of the National artillery was such that the Confederate gunners..."115
- "useless and helpless" 116
- "be heard for miles away." 117
- "a hail storm of bullets." 118
- "This could scarcely be dignified by the name of 'a charge,' as the enemy..." 119
- "drive the Yankee cavalry from our left and rear, or all is lost." <sup>120</sup>
- "General Smith is attacking without waiting for you; please advance your entire line." <sup>121</sup>
- "a loud hurrahing was heard in our rear." 122
- "Captured a General, by God! I'll take you to Nashville, myself." 123
- "whether the yielding of gallant and well-tried troops to such pressure..." 124
- "We were feeling rather exultant when, on looking to the left, we saw thousands..." 125
- "a howling mob." 126
- "The infantry ran like cowards...." 127
- At some point Selkirk's brigade was ordered back to the left. 128
- "we are whipped." 129
- "Look there at the United States flag on the hill!" 130
- "cannon balls were plowing the mud from every direction." <sup>131</sup>
- "This was the most disorderly retreat I experienced..." 132
- "the whole army had caught the infection, had broken, and were running.." 133

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Stuart Salling, Louisianians in the Western Confederacy, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010), 212.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> McDonough, 240.

<sup>114</sup> OR, 45, (1): 751.

<sup>115</sup> Jacob D. Cox, Campaigns of the Civil War. Vol. 10 (New York: Charles Scribner's' Sons, 1882), 118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Hughes, 250.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> OR 45, (1): 453.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Watkins, 239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> D. W. Comstock, Ninth Cavalry (Richmond, IN: J. M. Coe, 1890), 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Wilson, *Under the Old Flag*, 115

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Thomas B. Van Horne, *The Life of Major General George H. Thomas*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882), 332.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Martin, 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup>Martin, 13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> OR 45, (1): 750.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Massey, 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Stibbs, 499-500

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Daniel, 161.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Massey thinks Selkirk and Abercrombie were sent south to the wagons. It seems Selkirk was certainly ordered back, according to Danny M. Sessums and John R. Lundberg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> John R. Lundberg, *Granbury's Texas Brigade: Diehard Western Confederates*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012), 234.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Luke W. Finlay, "Another Report on Hood's Campaign." Confederate Veteran 15, No. 8 (August 1907), 405.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Cathey, 241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Cathey, 240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Watkins, 240.

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"I am a disarmed prisoner." 134
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simply said "God bless him." 146

## **CHAPTER EIGHT: The Last Retreat From Tennessee**

<sup>&</sup>quot;Not by a damn sight" 135

<sup>&</sup>quot;It was more like a scene in a spectacular drama than a real incident of war." 136

<sup>&</sup>quot;I beheld for the first and only time a Confederate army abandon the field in confusion." <sup>137</sup>

<sup>&</sup>quot;You go to hell, I've been there." 138

<sup>&</sup>quot;fine spirits and confident of success" 139

<sup>&</sup>quot;Rally, men, rally! For God's sake, rally! This is the place for brave men to die!" <sup>140</sup>

<sup>&</sup>quot;The enemy was literally swept out of his whole line..."141

<sup>&</sup>quot;as long as there is a shred of them or a man left." <sup>142</sup>

<sup>&</sup>quot;dark was closing down like a pall over both victor and vanquished." <sup>143</sup>

<sup>&</sup>quot;Pour it into them, boys! Pour it into them!" 144

<sup>&</sup>quot;a scene of pandemonium." <sup>145</sup>

<sup>&</sup>quot;gallantly and well." 147

<sup>&</sup>quot;was like trying to stop the current of Duck river with a fish net." 148

<sup>&</sup>quot;They are the people, let them go. Now is the time for soldiers." <sup>149</sup>

<sup>&</sup>quot;Dang it to hell, Wilson, didn't I tell you we could lick 'em?" 150

<sup>&</sup>quot;God and the whole world were against us." 151

<sup>&</sup>quot;Not till you routed us just now." 152

<sup>&</sup>quot;The once proud Army of Tennessee had degenerated to a mob." 153

<sup>&</sup>quot;I walked on the frozen ground, my feet left blood-stained prints." <sup>154</sup>

<sup>&</sup>quot;The citizens seemed to shrink and hide from us as we approached them." 155

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> McMurray, 349.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Stibbs, 500-501

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Henry Stone, "Repelling Hood's Invasion of Tennessee." In *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, 4 (New York: Century, 1888), 464.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Hood, Advance and Retreat, 302.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Sword, 382.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> OR 45, (1): 689.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Louis F. Garrard, "Gen. S. D. Lee's Part in Checking the Rout," (Confederate Veteran 12, No. 7 July 1904), 350.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Charles T. Clark, Opdycke's Tigers, 125th O. V. I. (Columbus, OH: Spahr & Glenn, 1895), 367

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Randall Lee Gibson, "Letter from General R. L. Gibson." *Southern Historical Society Papers* 5, (January-June, 1878), 133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Wilson, *Under the Old Flag*, 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> John Johnston, "Cavalry of Hood's Left at Nashville," *Confederate* Veteran, 13, No. 1 (January 1906), 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Wilson, Under the Old Flag, 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Wyeth, 495.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Wyeth, 496.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Watkins, 241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> James Dinkins, 1861 to 1865, by an Old Johnnie. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, 1897), 248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Wilson, "The Union Cavalry in the Hood Campaign," 470.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Watkins, 239.

<sup>152</sup> Schofield, 248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Watkins, 242.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> Cathey, 243.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> Watkins, 241.

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"thought of Bonepart's retreat from Moscow and Washington's going into..." 156
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<sup>&</sup>quot;a demoralized wreck." 157

<sup>&</sup>quot;Our campaign has been the most disastrous of the war. Hood is a complete failure." <sup>158</sup> Clayton beat a hasty retreat around 10:00 a.m.

<sup>&</sup>quot;You cowardly s— of a b—ch! why don't you charge?" 160

<sup>&</sup>quot;no peace." 161

<sup>&</sup>quot;a great skedaddle" 162

<sup>&</sup>quot;The Yankees are coming, run for you lives!" and rode past his confused would-be captors. 163

<sup>&</sup>quot;The struggle at the crest was desperate beyond description; the fighting was hand to hand." another of the many cavalry stampedes." 165

<sup>&</sup>quot;Federal troops." 166

<sup>&</sup>quot;A more persistent effort was never made to rout the rearguard of a retiring column." <sup>167</sup>

<sup>&</sup>quot;one vast avalanche of mud" which made a quick transfer impossible. 168

<sup>&</sup>quot;This is a gloomy day here-one of the gloomiest in our struggle." <sup>169</sup>

<sup>&</sup>quot;I shall never forget the passage of Duck River..." 170

<sup>&</sup>quot;Shoot! I am not afraid of any man in the Confederacy!" 171

<sup>&</sup>quot;I have never asked a hard place for glory nor a soft place for comfort, but will take." 172

<sup>&</sup>quot;Boys, the cards were fairly dealt at Nashville, and Thomas beat the game" 173

<sup>&</sup>quot;Permit me, general, to urge the vast importance of a hot pursuit." 174

<sup>&</sup>quot;We cannot control the elements" 175

<sup>&</sup>quot;lets us go out of Tennessee singing hymns of praise." 176

<sup>&</sup>quot;splitting their throats with cheer after cheer" 177

<sup>&</sup>quot;I suppose it is better late than never, but it is too late to be appreciated..." 178

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Daniel, 161.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> Earl J. Hess, *The Civil War in the West: Victory and Defeat from the Appalachians to the Mississippi.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Daniel, 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> Thomas J. Caper, "Chasing Hood," National Tribune, March 22, 1888.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> Comstock, 35-37

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> OR 45, (2): 222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> OR 45, (1): 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Sword, 398.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Caper, "Chasing Hood."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> OR 45, (1): 707.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> OR 45, (1): 700.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> OR 45, (1): 690.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> New York Times, January 9, 1865

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Gorgas, 144.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> William D. Gale, "Confederate Disaster at Nashville." Confederate Veteran 2, No. 1 (January 1894), 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> W.E. Bevens, *Reminiscences of a Private, Company "G" First Arkansas Infantry*. (Newport, AR: Bevens, 1913), 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> D.W. Sanders, "Hood's Tennessee Campaign." Confederate Veteran 15, No. 8 (August 1907), 401.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Sword, 408.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> OR 45, (2): 295.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> OR 45, (2): 295-296.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> Quintard Diary December 22, 1864

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Wilson, *Under the Old Flag*, 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> Francis F. McKinney, *Education in Violence: The Life of George H. Thomas*. (Chicago: Americana House, 1991), 432.

- "a pack of infernal idiots" <sup>179</sup>
- "the day of 'Peace on earth and good will to man' was ushered in by us." 180
- "There they are, hurry up!" 181
- "We have met a slight check" 182
- "won't you please make that d—d man there on the horse..." 183
- "The enemy were severely punished, but more frightened than hurt" 184
- "undaunted and firm, and did its work bravely to the last." 185
- "At no time in his whole career was the fortitude of General Forrest in adversity...." 186
- "At Nashville our enemy had a large force of cavalry, but instead of wasting its strength..." Boys, this is all my fault." <sup>188</sup>
- "the fate of war has culled our ranks with such a merciless greed..." 189
- "skeleton army." 190
- "a most painful march, characterized by more suffering than..." 191

#### **EPILOGUE: The Death of Two Armies**

- "a remnant of a demoralized army." <sup>192</sup>
- "whose bones lay bleaching upon the field of Middle Tennessee." <sup>193</sup>
- "I liked him for his bravery and untiring energy but he lacked caution..." <sup>194</sup>
- "the prestige of success." 195
- "I would have gone to Louisville, and on north until I came to Chicago..." While correct about
- "Tennessee today would have been in our possession." <sup>197</sup>
- "Though a failure in the end, who will say that it was not the best plan." 198
- "The passive defense is a form of deferred suicide... This was the Waterloo of the war." <sup>199</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> James H. McNeilly, "With the Rear Guard," Confederate Veteran, Volume 26, No. 8 (August 1981), 338.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Derek Smith, *In The Lion's Mouth*, (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole, 2011.), 199.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Sword, 418.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> OR 45, (2): 348.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> John W. Morton, *The Artillery of Nathan Bedford Forrest's Cavalry*. (Nashville: M. E. Church, 1909), 297.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> James Chalmers, "Forrest and His Campaigns," *Southern Historical Society Papers* 7, No. 10 (October 1879), 484.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> OR 45 (1): 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> Chalmers, 482

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> OR 45 (2): 758.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> Smith, 206.

<sup>189</sup> Gottschalk, 505.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> Donald Peter Moriarty II, *A Fine Body of Men: The Orleans Light Horse, Louisiana Cavalry, 1861-1865.* (New Orleans: Historic New Orleans Collection, 2014), 94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> OR 45, (1): 700.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> George Washington Peddy, Saddle Bag and Spinning Wheel (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1981), 296

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> Augusta Daily Constitutionalist, February 1, 1865

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> Salling, 219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> OR 45, (1): 662.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> John Russell Young, Around the World with General Grant 2. (New York: American News, 1879), 294.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> OR 45, (1): 713.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> Van Horne, 251.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> Robert Paul Jordan, *The Civil War*. (Washington DC: National Geographic Society, 1969), 178.

- "My loss in killed and wounded has been heavy." 200
- "Be not allured by the siren song of peace, for there can be no peace." 201
- "an achievement that entitles it to a place in the military history of the world." <sup>202</sup>
- "Thomas's success in Tennessee incurs to my advantage, as his operations there..."<sup>203</sup>
- "Thomas could have given battle the second or third day after Franklin..."204
- "slow beyond excuse." 205
- "Schofield's corps met no serious resistance and did no real fighting..."206
- "Time and history will do me justice." <sup>207</sup>
- "one of the two great armies of the Confederacy was eliminated from the final problem..." 208
- "Nashville annihilated the Confederacy in the West." <sup>209</sup>
- "Our country is gone, our cause is lost. "Actum est de Republica.""210
- "the capitalistic wealth of Wall Street" which he accused of exploiting and degrading the poor.<sup>211</sup>
- "Pure Blood Negro...should stimulate race pride among his own."<sup>212</sup>

# APPENDIX B: "I live over there and I'm crazy..." The Sad Fate of Thomas Benton Smith

When, a month later, the regiment's survivors re-organized and re-enlisted for the war....<sup>213</sup> More than 6,000 other Confederates fell alongside him.<sup>214</sup>

Instead, the Confederates embarked on a quasi-siege, occupying a line of hills...<sup>215</sup>

Smith and his small force were captured to a man.<sup>216</sup>

No one expected him to survive.<sup>217</sup>

When Smith's mother died that same year, it was obvious he could not live on his own.<sup>218</sup>

"one of the heroes of that night. . . . True to the instincts of a soldier . . . . "219

Flags flew at half-mast.<sup>220</sup>

There was no hint of untoward behavior towards any prisoner.<sup>221</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> OR 45, (1): 758.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> OR 45, (1): 760.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> Rose, 518.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> Bailey, 168.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Schofield, 236.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Rose, 711.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> Wilson, *Under the Old Flag*, 72-74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> Van Horne, v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> Van Horne, 336.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> William Swinton, *The Twelve Decisive Battles of the War*. (New York: Diek & Fitzgerald, 1871), 470.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> Watkins, 242.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Bailey, 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> Bailey, 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> Edwin C. Bearss, "Thomas Benton Smith," in William C. Davis, *The Confederate General*, 6 vols. (National Historical Society, 1991), 184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> William Lee White, *Let Us Die Like Men. The Battle of Franklin, November 30, 1864* (El Dorado Hills, CA: 2019), 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> James Lee McDonough, Nahsville: The Western Confederacy's Final Gamble (Knoxville: 2004), 240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> J. F. Bowen, "The Battle of Nashville," *National Tribune*, November 22, 1883.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> W. J. McMurray, *History of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment Volunteer Infantry, C.S.A.* (Nashville, TN: 1904). 348-349, 397.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> Clarksville Weekly Chronicle, January 29, 1876.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> "Deaths by Fire," *The Nashville American*, December 20, 1903.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> "Body of Noted Confederate Leader Lies Under State Military Guard," *The Nashville Tennessean*, May 23, 1923. <sup>221</sup> *OR* 45, pt. 1, 436.

"He was very angry and said to [Confederate] Gen. Smith, 'come here you d—d rebel..." McMillen did praise both Federal officers in his official report, lamenting their injuries. 223

# APPENDIX C: "Now, I walk with God." Benjamin Harrison in War and Peace

"hard work stripped off the bark of family conceit."<sup>224</sup>

Teaching Sunday school and becoming a church deacon and then an elder...<sup>225</sup>

"Providence hadn't a damned thing to do with it,"226

"a slim-waisted, quick-moving, dapper, affectionate little officer, ..."227

"Little Ben"<sup>228</sup>

"our army on that field would have been cut in two."229

He was there for the fall of Atlanta and sent his wife a sprig of cedar as a memento.<sup>230</sup>

He had become Indianapolis City Attorney in 1857, secretary to the state Republican...<sup>231</sup>

The kid gloves were due to Harrison's lifelong obsession about infections and colds...<sup>232</sup>

Considered as a Cabinet pick by two presidents, Harrison went for the Senate seat instead...<sup>233</sup>

"Harrison was the biggest man sitting down and the smallest man standing up he ever knew." <sup>234</sup> In Harrison's playbook, it was simply not the way gentlemen differed. <sup>235</sup>

"with clean hands and a good name." 236

But Blaine, fatalistic about his chances and troubled by poor health...<sup>237</sup>

"so like a wilted petunia" <sup>238</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> "Brutal beating drove Confederate Gen. Thomas Benton Smith mad." <a href="https://www.historynet.com/driven-mad-a-brutal-beating-sent-confederate-gen-thomas-benton-smith-to-an-asylum.htm">https://www.historynet.com/driven-mad-a-brutal-beating-sent-confederate-gen-thomas-benton-smith-to-an-asylum.htm</a>, accessed 8/7/2019
<a href="https://www.historynet.com/driven-mad-a-brutal-beating-sent-confederate-gen-thomas-benton-smith-to-an-asylum.htm">https://www.historynet.com/driven-mad-a-brutal-beating-sent-confederate-gen-thomas-benton-smith-to-an-asylum.htm</a>, accessed 8/7/2019
<a href="https://www.historynet.com/driven-mad-a-brutal-beating-sent-confederate-gen-thomas-benton-smith-to-an-asylum.htm">https://www.historynet.com/driven-mad-a-brutal-beating-sent-confederate-gen-thomas-benton-smith-to-an-asylum.htm</a>, accessed 8/7/2019
<a href="https://www.historynet.com/driven-mad-a-brutal-beating-sent-confederate-gen-thomas-benton-smith-to-an-asylum.htm">https://www.historynet.com/driven-mad-a-brutal-beating-sent-confederate-gen-thomas-benton-smith-to-an-asylum.htm</a>, accessed 8/7/2019

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> R. Hal Williams, <u>Years of Decision: American Politics in the 1890s</u> (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 14; William Allen White, <u>Masks in a Pageant</u> (New York: Macmillan, 1928), 67 (quote).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> Homer E. Socolofsky and Allan B. Spetter, *The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> H. Wayne Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley: National Party Politics*, *1877-1896* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969), 318-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> William Allen White, *Masks in a Pageant* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> Harry J. Sievers, *Benjamin Harrison, Hoosier Warrior, 1833-1865* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1952), 247-53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> Harry J. Sievers, <u>Benjamin Harrison, Hoosier Warrior, 1833-1865</u> (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1952), 259-62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup> Harry J. Sievers, <u>Benjamin Harrison, Hoosier Warrior, 1833-1865</u> (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1952), 263-65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> Harry J. Sievers, <u>Benjamin Harrison, Hoosier Warrior, 1833-1865</u> (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1952), 127-53; on the campaign, see New York *Herald*, August 28, October 5, 1876.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Harry J. Sievers, *Benjamin Harrison, Hoosier Warrior, 1833-1865* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1952), 256.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> New York *Herald*, August 28, October 5, 1876 (quotes).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> New York <u>Sun</u>, December 18, 1888.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> New York <u>Tribune</u>, July 18, 1886; "Smiley," Lewiston <u>Evening Journal</u>, December 9, 1882; O. O. Stealey, <u>Twenty Years in the Press Gallery</u> (New York: Publishers Printing Company, 1906), 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> H. Wayne Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley: National Party Politics, 1877-1896* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969), 288; William Allen White, *Masks in a Pageant* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> H. Wayne Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley: National Party Politics, 1877-1896* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969), 281-92, 295-300.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> H. Wayne Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley: National Party Politics, 1877-1896* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969), 306-08; Julia B. Foraker, *I Would Live It Again: Memories of a Vivid Life*, 133; Harry T. Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1919), 170.

Bolstering their majorities by the admission of North and South Dakota, Idaho, Montana...<sup>242</sup>

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act gave government a weapon against monopolists...<sup>243</sup>

There would be a Dependent Pensions Act to provide for Civil War veterans...<sup>244</sup>

Using that Tariff duties on American flour, farm machinery, and pork tumbled, matched...<sup>245</sup> Within two years, twenty two million acres had been set aside.<sup>246</sup>

"Force Bill"<sup>247</sup>

If Harrison had had his way, it would have legislated to protect railroad...<sup>248</sup>

"The Speaker and the President feel each other's pulse daily,"249

Harrison had enough sanctimony for two administrations; breakfast...<sup>250</sup>

Nobody could bully him; nothing daunted him, except, perhaps the newly-installed...<sup>251</sup> "to get warm."

"Harrison would grant a request in a way which seemed as if he were denying it." 253 as uninspiring as another man's 'no," 254

By 1892, party leaders whom he offended had grown so alienated that when, three days...<sup>255</sup>

<sup>&</sup>quot;the best part being under ground." 239

<sup>&</sup>quot;Now, I walk with God."240

<sup>&</sup>quot;Let there be light,"241

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> New York *Herald*, May 29, 1892.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> Homer E. Socolofsky and Allan B. Spetter, *The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> R. Hal Williams, *Years of Decision: American Politics in the 1890s* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978),19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> R. Hal Williams, *Years of Decision: American Politics in the 1890s* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 20-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> Homer E. Socolofsky and Allan B. Spetter, *The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 52-55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> R. Hal Williams, *Years of Decision: American Politics in the 1890s* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 33-36; Homer E. Socolofsky and Allan B. Spetter, *The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 55-59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> Homer E. Socolofsky and Allan B. Spetter, *The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 50-52; R. Hal Williams, *Years of Decision: American Politics in the 1890s* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 60-61

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Homer E. Socolofsky and Allan B. Spetter, *The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 69-73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> H. Wayne Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley: National Party Politics, 1877-1896* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969), 339-43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> Homer E. Socolofsky and Allan B. Spetter, *The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> Kate Foote, New York *Independent*, December 18, 1890.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> H. Wayne Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley: National Party Politics, 1877-1896* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969), 326-28; O. O. Stealey, *Twenty Years in the Press Gallery* (New York: Publishers Printing Company, 1906), 30; Irwin Hood Hoover, *Forty-Two Years in the White House* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934), 7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> Irwin Hood Hoover, Forty-Two Years in the White House (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934), 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> H. Wayne Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley: National Party Politics, 1877-1896* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969), 328-29; Washington *Critic*, January 29, 1890.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> Thomas Collier Platt, <u>Autobiography of Thomas Platt</u> (reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1974), 252; F. Hoar, <u>Autobiography of Seventy Years</u> (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1903), 1: 414. Others said the same. See John Sherman, <u>Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate, and Cabinet: An Autobiography</u> (Chicago: Werner, 1895), 1160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> Henry L. Stoddard, As I Knew Them (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1927), 164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> R. Hal Williams, Years of Decision: American Politics in the 1890s (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 60-63.

The difference between the two major party candidates, Henry Adams quipped...<sup>256</sup> "Money Power"<sup>257</sup>

Having come in to find his predecessor left behind a well-stocked larder...<sup>258</sup> To his dismay, a Republican president, the last Civil War veteran in the White House...<sup>259</sup>

#### APPENDIX D: John Bell Hood's Postbellum Years

"In taking leave of you accept my thanks for the patience..."260

Hood reported to Federal forces under the command of Brigadier General John W. Davidson...<sup>261</sup> Hood sought employment with a land management firm, but the work did not suit...<sup>262</sup> It is clear by this incident alone, Hood continued to carry the burden of the disastrous...<sup>263</sup> "Old Pete."<sup>264</sup>

Over a ten-year period, Hood travelled to St. Louis, the headquarters for the company...<sup>265</sup> I meet those who are called friends. . .but I still require my wife and children."<sup>266</sup> "encourage the education of the black man"<sup>267</sup>

He intended to focus primarily on the Atlanta and Tennessee Campaigns, however...<sup>268</sup> Over the next seven months, he collected personal reports of brigade...<sup>269</sup>

The 1878 Yellow Fever outbreak ravaged the Mississippi River valley...<sup>270</sup>

"to and from all our reunions during his life." 271

Hood was buried in Lafayette Cemetery No. 1, just blocks from the Hood...<sup>272</sup>

"That, having in four years of constant warfare, borne himself with a courage, a devotion..." 273

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> H. Wayne Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley: National Party Politics, 1877-1896* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969), 425.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> Wayne Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley: National Party Politics, 1877-1896* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969), 436-38; R. Hal Williams, *Years of Decision: American Politics in the 1890s* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 63-67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup> George F. Parker, *Recollections of Grover Cleveland* (New York: The Century Company, 1909), 248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> Homer E. Socolofsky and Allan B. Spetter, *The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> Official Record of the War of the Rebellion, Volume XLV, Series 1, Part 2. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894. 805. (Hereafter referred to as *O.R.*)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup> Hood, John Bell, *Advance and Retreat: Personal Experiences in the United States and Confederate States Armies.*, 311.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> McMurry, Richard, *John Bell Hood and the War for Southern Independence*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 1982. 192-193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> Miller, Brian C., *John Bell Hood and the Fight for Civil War Memory*, Knoxville, TN.: University of Tennessee Press, 2010., 189, 191-192, 194, 196-197. Hood, Stephen M., *The Lost Papers of Confederate General John Bell Hood*. El Dorado Hills, CA: Savas Beatie, 2015. 244.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> Hood, S., 203.; Dyer, John P., *The Gallant Hood*. New York City, NY: Konecky and Konecky, 1950. 314-315. <sup>265</sup> Dyer, 313-314.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> Hood, S., 153, 248-259; Dyer, 315.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> "John Bell Hood speech to Confederate Survivors Association, South Carolina Chapter, in Charleston SC, Dec. 13, 1875" John Bell Hood Papers housed at Memorial Hall in New Orleans.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> Hood, S., 180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>269</sup> Hood, S., 170-172, 178-180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>270</sup> The fever was transmitted by way of an infected mosquito and quickly caused damage to vital organs. <sup>271</sup> Hood, S., 241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>272</sup> Hood, S., 243; McMurry, 203; Dyer, 317-319.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> Brian Craig Miller, John Bell Hood and the Fight for Civil War Memory, 224-5.

"So great was he, indeed, so chivalrous, that should he have erred deeply..."<sup>274</sup> "Refined by sorrow, purified by aspirations, strengthened through self-reliance..."<sup>275</sup>

# APPENDIX E: George H. Thomas and the Verdict of History

"General Grant underrated, or misunderstood, General Thomas's character..."<sup>276</sup>
"an air of dignified quiet and deliberation...his intellect was strong and broad..."<sup>277</sup>
"seemed roused, and was at his best, thinking and acting quickly and intelligently."<sup>278</sup>
"a man of the greatest dignity of character. He had more the character of George..."<sup>279</sup>
The tactics Grant used on other men would have aroused a raging public anger...<sup>280</sup>
"I do not believe that he could ever have conducted Sherman's army from Chattanooga..."<sup>281</sup>
Grant lost control of the battle, but still claimed it had all gone according to plan.<sup>282</sup>
"determined me to order the advance at once."<sup>283</sup>
In fact, Sherman's attack failed while the attempted diversion in the center became.<sup>284</sup>
When Sherman started his march to Savannah he left Thomas in command in Tennessee.<sup>285</sup>
"Foremost in both Grant's and Sherman's minds was that their reputations were on the line..."<sup>286</sup>
It should be noted that Thomas, in delaying until his attack was ensured of success, did...<sup>287</sup>
"I thought, after what I had done in the war, that I ought to be trusted to decide..." <sup>288</sup>

It was not a very congratulatory note for an army commander who had just won...<sup>289</sup>

"I never heard anybody who was in Hood's army justify the complaint..."<sup>290</sup>

"it was obvious to those who knew him well that he felt humiliated and heart sore..." <sup>291</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> Ida Richardson Hood, "In Memory of General J.B. Hood," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Richmond, VA, Vol. 32, 1904, 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup> Ida Richardson Hood, "In Memory of General J.B. Hood." 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> McFeely, p. 193. Stone,"Battle of Nashville," p. 496.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> General Jacob Dolson Cox; *Military Reminiscences of the Civil War, Volume II: November 1861 – June 1865*; Charles Scribner's Sons, NY, 1900; p. 205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup> General Oliver Otis Howard, "Grant at Chattanooga," in Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, volume 6; Peter Cozzens, editor; University of Illinois press; Urbana; 2004; p. 378.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> Dana, Recollections of the Civil War; p. 124.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> Perret, *Grant*, p. 355. Thomas, p. 599. Dom Piatt, cited in Joseph A. Rose, *Grant Under Fire*; p. 573.
 Ulysses S. Grant, *The Personal Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant*, Konecky & Konecky, Old Saybrook, Conn. 1886, pp. 565-570, 649 - 650

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> Gerald Weland; *O. O. Howard, Union General;* McFarland and Co., London; 1995; p. 87. Bonekemper, p.137. Sword, caption to photo of George H. Thomas, between pp. 272-273. R. Steven Jones, *The Right Hand of Command: Use and Disuse of Personal Staffs in the American Civil War;* Stackpole Books; Mechanicsburg, PA; 2000; P. 181. <sup>283</sup> OR, Series I, volume 31, number 55, part 2, pp. 34-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> Wilson, cited in Flood, *Grant and Sherman*, p. 215. Sherman, p. 404. Sherman, cited in Flood, p. 220.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>285</sup> Samuel Carter III; *The Siege of Atlanta*; St. Martin's Press, NY, 1971; p. 204. Wilbur Thomas, p. 529

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> Wilbur Thomas, p. 518

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> Wilbur Thomas, pp 530-531.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> Bobrick, p. 286.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> Schofield, p. 237. Thomas, pp. 564-565.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> Wilbur Thomas; *General George H. Thomas: The Indomitable Warrior*; Exposition Press; NY; 1964; pp. 382. For Grant's tweaking of the numbers during the Corinth campaign, see Volume I of this study. Sherman, Volume II, p. 257. Adam Badeau, *Military History of U. S. Grant, Volume III*; NY, 1881; p. 251. General Dabney Maury, CSA; *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Richmond, VA, June 1876.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>291</sup> Sherman cited in Wills, p. 428.

He passed away that evening. 292 "slowness" 293

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>292</sup> According to Thomas biographer Wilbur Thomas, General David Stanley identified General Jacob Cox as the author of the letter which infuriated Thomas to the point of death, and Schofield as the motivating force behind it. pp. 617-618.

pp. 617-618.

<sup>293</sup> Fletcher Pratt, *Eleven Generals*, NY, 1956, p. 212. Cited in Thomas, p. 581. Wilbur Thomas; *General George H. Thomas: The Indomitable Warrior*; Exposition Press; NY; 1964; pp. 382-383, 539. 588. It is of interest that during his tenure as the highest-ranking officer in the army, Schofield would award himself the Congressional Medal of Honor for unspecified incidents of valor during the Battle of Wilson's Creek.