

**APPENDIX A.
ORDERS OF BATTLE**

**Order of Battle: Chickasaw Bayou,
29 December 1863**

Union Forces:

EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE
Major General William T. Sherman

1ST DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Andrew J. Smith

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Stephen G. Burbridge
2d Brigade, Col. William J. Landram

2D DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Morgan L. Smith
Brig. Gen. David Stuart

1st Brigade, Col. Giles A. Smith
4th Brigade, Brig. Gen. David Stuart, Col. T. Kilby Smith

3D DIVISION

Brig. Gen. George W. Morgan

1st Brigade, Col. Lionel A. Sheldon
2d Brigade, Col. Daniel W. Lindsey
3d Brigade, Col. John F. DeCourcy

4TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Frederick Steele

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Frank P. Blair
2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Charles E. Hovey
3d Brigade, Brig. Gen. John H. Thayer

Confederate Forces:

DEPARTMENT OF MISSISSIPPI AND EAST LOUISIANA

Lt. Gen. John C. Pemberton

SECOND MILITARY DISTRICT

Maj. Gen. Martin L. Smith

Barton's Brigade, Brig. Gen. Seth M. Barton

Vaughn's Brigade, Brig. Gen. John C. Vaughn

Gregg's Brigade, Brig. Gen. John Gregg

PROVISIONAL DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Stephen D. Lee

Provisional Brigade, Col. William T. Withers

Provisional Brigade, Col. Allen Thomas

Provisional Brigade, Col. Edward Higgins

**Order of Battle: Port Gibson,
1 May 1863**

Union Forces:

ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE

Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant

XIII ARMY CORPS

Maj. Gen. John A. McClernand

9TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Peter J. Osterhaus

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Theophilus T. Garrard

2d Brigade, Col. Lionel A. Sheldon

10TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Andrew J. Smith

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Stephen G. Burbridge

2d Brigade, Col. William J. Landram

12TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Alvin P. Hovey

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. George F. McGinnis

2d Brigade, Col. James R. Slack

14TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Eugene A. Carr

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. William P. Benton

2d Brigade, Col. William N. Stone

XVII ARMY CORPS

Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson

3D DIVISION

Maj. Gen. John A. Logan

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. John E. Smith

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Elias S. Dennis

3d Brigade, Brig. Gen. John D. Stevenson

Confederate Forces:

BOWEN'S DIVISION

Brig. Gen. John S. Bowen

1st (Missouri) Brigade, Col. Francis M. Cockrell

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Martin E. Green

Baldwin's Brigade,* Brig. Gen. William E. Baldwin

2d Brigade, ** Brig. Gen. Edward D. Tracy, Col. Isham W. Garrott

* Attached from Smith's Division

** Attached from Stevenson's Division

Order of Battle: Raymond, 12 May 1863

Union Forces:

XVII ARMY CORPS

Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson

3D DIVISION

Maj. Gen. John A. Logan

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. John E. Smith

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Elias S. Dennis

3d Brigade, Brig. Gen. John D. Stevenson

7TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Marcellus M. Crocker

1st Brigade, Col. John B. Sanborn

2d Brigade, Col. Samuel A. Holmes

3d Brigade,* Col. George B. Boomer

*In reserve, not engaged.

Confederate Forces:

Gregg's Brigade, Brig. Gen. John Gregg

3d Tennessee Infantry

10th and 30th Tennessee Consolidated Infantry

41st Tennessee Infantry

50th Tennessee Infantry

1st Tennessee Infantry Battalion

7th Texas Infantry

Wirt Adams' Mississippi Cavalry Squadron*

1st Mississippi Battalion State Troops (Mounted)*

* Attached.

**Order of Battle: Jackson,
14 May 1863**

Union Forces:

ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE

Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant

XV ARMY CORPS

Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman

1ST DIVISION*

Maj. Gen. Frederick Steele

1st Brigade, Col. Francis H. Manter

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Charles E. Hovey

3d Brigade, Brig. Gen. John M. Thayer

3D DIVISION

Brig. Gen. James M. Tuttle

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Ralph P. Buckland

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Joseph A. Mower

3d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Charles L. Matthies

XVII ARMY CORPS

Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson

3D DIVISION*

Maj. Gen. John A. Logan

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. John E. Smith

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Elias S. Dennis

3d Brigade, Brig. Gen. John D. Stevenson

7TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Marcellus M. Crocker

1st Brigade, Col. John B. Sanborn

2d Brigade, Col. Samuel A. Holmes

3d Brigade, Col. George B. Boomer

*In reserve, not engaged.

*Confederate Forces:***DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST***Gen. Joseph E. Johnston***GREGG'S COMMAND****Brig. Gen. John Gregg*

Gregg's Brigade, Col. Robert Farquharson

Gist's Brigade, Col. Peyton H. Colquitt

Walker's Brigade, Brig. Gen. W. H. T. Walker

* Rear-guard task force.

**Order of Battle: Champion Hill,
16 May 1863**

Union Forces:

ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE

Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant

XIII ARMY CORPS

Maj. Gen. John A. McClernand

9TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Peter J. Osterhaus

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Theophilus T. Garrard

2d Brigade, Col. Daniel W. Lindsey

10TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Andrew J. Smith

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Stephen G. Burbridge

2d Brigade, Col. William J. Landram

12TH DIVISION*

Brig. Gen. Alvin P. Hovey

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. George F. McGinnis

2d Brigade, Col. James R. Slack

14TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Eugene A. Carr

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. William P. Benton

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Michael K. Lawler

XV ARMY CORPS

2D DIVISION**

Maj. Gen. Frank P. Blair

1st Brigade, Col. Giles A. Smith

2d Brigade, Col. T. Kilby Smith

* Operated in XVII Corps sector on 16 May.

** Operated in XIII Corps sector on 16 May.

XVII ARMY CORPS

Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson

3D DIVISION

Maj. Gen. John A. Logan

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. John E. Smith

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Mortimer D. Leggett

3d Brigade, Brig. Gen. John D. Stevenson

7TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Marcellus M. Crocker

1st Brigade, Col. John B. Sanborn

2d Brigade, Col. Samuel A. Holmes

3d Brigade, Col. George B. Boomer

Confederate Forces:

DEPARTMENT OF MISSISSIPPI AND EAST LOUISIANA

Lt. Gen. John C. Pemberton

LORING'S DIVISION

Maj. Gen. William W. Loring

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Lloyd Tilghman, Col. Arthur E. Reynolds

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Winfield S. Featherston

3d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Abraham Buford

STEVENSON'S DIVISION

Maj. Gen. Carter L. Stevenson

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Seth M. Barton

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Alfred Cumming

3d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Stephen D. Lee

4th Brigade, Col. Alexander W. Reynolds

BOWEN'S DIVISION

Brig. Gen. John S. Bowen

1st (Missouri) Brigade, Col. Francis M. Cockrell

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Martin E. Green

**Order of Battle: Big Black River,
17 May 1863**

Union Forces:

ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE

Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant

XIII ARMY CORPS

Maj. Gen. John A. McClernand

9TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Peter J. Osterhaus

Brig. Gen. Albert L. Lee

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Theophilus T. Garrard

2d Brigade, Col. Daniel W. Lindsey

10TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Andrew J. Smith

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Stephen G. Burbridge

2d Brigade, Col. William J. Landram

14TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Eugene A. Carr

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. William P. Benton

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Michael K. Lawler

Confederate Forces:

DEPARTMENT OF MISSISSIPPI AND EAST LOUISIANA

Lt. Gen. John C. Pemberton

BOWEN'S DIVISION

Brig. Gen. John S. Bowen

1st (Missouri) Brigade, Col. Francis M. Cockrell

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Martin E. Green

Vaughn's Brigade,* Brig. Gen. John C. Vaughn

* (Attached from Smith's Division)

**Order of Battle: Siege of Vicksburg,
18 May-4 July 1863**

Union Forces:

ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE

Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant

HERRON'S DIVISION*

Maj. Gen. Francis J. Herron

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. William Vandever

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. William W. Orme

*Attached from the Department of the Missouri, not assigned to a corps.

IX ARMY CORPS DETACHMENT

Maj. Gen. John G. Parke

1ST DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Thomas Welsh

1st Brigade, Col. Henry Bowman

3d Brigade, Col. Daniel Leasure

2D DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Robert B. Potter

1st Brigade, Col. Simon G. Griffin

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Edward Ferrero

3d Brigade, Col. Benjamin C. Christ

XIII ARMY CORPS

Maj. Gen. John C. McClenand

Maj. Gen. Edward O. C. Ord

9TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Peter J. Osterhaus

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Albert L. Lee; Col. James Keigwin

2d Brigade, Col. Daniel W. Lindsey

10TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Andrew J. Smith

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Stephen G. Burbridge

2d Brigade, Col. William J. Landram

12TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Alvin P. Hovey

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. George F. McGinnis

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. James R. Slack

14TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Eugene A. Carr

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. William P. Benton; Col. Henry D. Washburn;
Col. David Shunk

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Michael K. Lawler

XV ARMY CORPS

Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman

1ST DIVISION

Maj. Gen. Frederick Steele

1st Brigade, Col. Francis H. Manter; Col. Bernard G. Farrar

2d Brigade, Col. Charles R. Woods

3d Brigade, Brig. Gen. John M. Thayer

2D DIVISION

Maj. Gen. Frank P. Blair

1st Brigade, Col. Giles A. Smith

2d Brigade, Col. Thomas Kilby Smith; Brig. Gen. Joseph A. Lightburn

3d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Hugh Ewing

3D DIVISION

Brig. Gen. James M. Tuttle

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Ralph P. Buckland; Col. William L. McMillen

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Joseph A. Mower

3d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Charles L. Matthies

*XVI ARMY CORPS DETACHMENT**Maj. Gen. Cadwallader C. Washburn*

1ST DIVISION

Brig. Gen. William Sooy Smith

1st Brigade, Col. John M. Loomis

2d Brigade, Col. Stephen G. Hicks

3d Brigade, Col. Joseph R. Cockerill

4th Brigade, Col. William W. Sanford

4TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Jacob G. Lauman

1st Brigade, Col. Issac C. Pugh

2d Brigade, Col. Cyrus Hall

3d Brigade, Col. George E. Bryant; Col. Amory K. Johnson

PROVISIONAL DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Nathan Kimball

Engelmann's Brigade, Col. Adolph Engelmann

Richmond's Brigade, Col. Jonathan Richmond

Montgomery's Brigade, Col. Milton Montgomery

*XVII ARMY CORPS**Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson*

3D DIVISION

Maj. Gen. John A. Logan

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. John E. Smith; Brig. Gen. Mortimer D. Leggett

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Mortimer D. Leggett; Col. Manning F. Force

3d Brigade, Brig. Gen. John D. Stevenson

6TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. John McArthur

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Hugh T. Reid

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Thomas E. G. Ransom

3d Brigade, Col. William Hall; Col. Alexander Chalmers

7TH DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Issac F. Quinby

Brig. Gen. John E. Smith

1st Brigade, Col. John Sanborn

2d Brigade, Col. Samuel A. Holmes; Col. Green B. Raum

3d Brigade, Col. George B. Boomer; Col. Holden Putnam

Confederate Forces:

DEPARTMENT OF MISSISSIPPI AND EAST LOUISIANA

Lt. Gen. John C. Pemberton

STEVENSON'S DIVISION

Maj. Gen. Carter L. Stevenson

1st Brigade, Brig. Gen. Seth M. Barton

2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Alfred Cumming

3d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Stephen D. Lee

4th Brigade, Col. Alexander W. Reynolds

Waul's Texas Legion, Col. Thomas N. Waul

FORNEY'S DIVISION

Maj. Gen. John H. Forney

Hébert's Brigade, Brig. Gen. Louis Hébert

Moore's Brigade, Brig. Gen. John C. Moore

SMITH'S DIVISION*Maj. Gen. Martin L. Smith***Baldwin's Brigade, Brig. Gen. William E. Baldwin****Vaughn's Brigade, Brig. Gen. John C. Vaughn****Shoup's Brigade, Brig. Gen. Francis A. Shoup****Mississippi State Troops, Brig. Gen. Jephtha V. Harris****BOWEN'S DIVISION***Maj. Gen. John S. Bowen***1st (Missouri) Brigade, Col. Francis M. Cockrell****2d Brigade, Brig. Gen. Martin E. Green; Col. Thomas P. Dockery****RIVER BATTERIES***Col. Edward Higgins*

APPENDIX B.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Principal Union Commanders

Grant, Ulysses S. Born Hiram Ulysses Grant in Point Pleasant, Ohio, on 27 April 1822, Grant graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1843, twenty-first in a class of thirty-nine. He served under both Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott in the Mexican War. Of the two generals, Grant would later pattern himself after the unpretentious, straightforward Taylor. Grant distinguished himself in action under both generals and received two brevet promotions for his role in the conflict.

Grant resigned from the army in 1854, unable to cope with the boredom of garrison life. He sought refuge from boredom in drink, a problem that would resurface on occasion throughout his later military career. Rumor notwithstanding, Grant was apparently not a full-blown alcoholic but rather a binge drinker who could not put down the bottle once he raised it. After his resignation from the Army, Grant failed at a number of civilian vocations. When the Civil War began, he was a clerk in his family's hardware store in Galena, Illinois.

In June 1861, Grant was appointed colonel of an Illinois volunteer infantry regiment. An appointment to the rank of brigadier general came in August. His first action occurred in November 1861, when he led a raid against a Confederate camp at Belmont, Missouri. Grant catapulted to national prominence in February 1862 when he commanded the Army component in a joint offensive that resulted in the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson in Tennessee, opening the door for the occupation of Nashville. This victory earned Grant a promotion to the rank of major general.

His reputation quickly suffered a setback when a Confederate army under Albert Sidney Johnston surprised and nearly defeated Grant's force in its camps at Shiloh, Tennessee. Grant's superior, Henry W. Halleck, essentially relieved him of command after this near disaster. Halleck moved to Washington (D.C.) in the summer of 1862 to take over the role of general in chief, and Grant resumed direct control of his troops, by now designated the Army of the Tennessee.

Operations against Vicksburg occupied Grant and his army from November 1862 to July 1863. In November, Grant transferred to Tennessee and became, in effect, an army group commander. He succeeded in breaking the Confederate siege of Chattanooga and routing the enemy forces under Braxton Bragg. This success cemented Grant's position as the Union's foremost general. He was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general (the only Union three-star general of the Civil War) and assumed command of all the Union armies.

Moving his headquarters to Virginia, Grant accompanied the Army of the Potomac for the rest of the war. The heavy casualties sustained by this army in 1864 once again tarnished Grant's image, but the surrender of Robert E. Lee's army at Appomattox in April 1865 made Grant a national hero.

Following the war, Grant was promoted to full general and, in 1868, was elected president of the United States. Unfortunately, his two terms as president are commonly regarded as a low point in American politics. After the presidency, Grant failed in business yet again. He died of throat cancer in July 1885, shortly after completing his memoirs.

Today, military historians regard Grant as an indifferent tactician, but one of the masters of operational art. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Grant thought in terms of campaigns rather than battles. To put it succinctly, even if a battle went against him, Grant always had a "Plan B" with which to continue toward his ultimate objective.

Porter, David Dixon. Born in Chester, Pennsylvania, on 8 June 1813, Porter was a member of a prominent Navy family. His father and brother were both career officers. David G. Farragut, famous commander of the Western Gulf Blockading Squadron in the Civil War, was Porter's adopted brother.

Porter received his formal education at Columbia University in Washington (D.C.). In 1829, he was appointed a midshipman, in which capacity he acquired his professional education. (The naval academy at Annapolis did not open until 1845.) As a lieutenant, he saw action at Vera Cruz in the war with Mexico. Over the next fourteen years, Porter acquired the reputation of being an ambitious, and at times, quarrelsome officer. He was plagued by ill health and frustrated by slow advancement in the peacetime Navy.

The outbreak of the Civil War found Porter on the verge of resigning his commission, but the prospect of rapid advancement kept him in the service. His first wartime command was with the USS *Powhatan* in the Gulf of Mexico. In April 1862, Commander Porter led a flotilla of mortar schooners in the bombardment and reduction of the forts guarding New Orleans. (His commanding officer was his adopted brother, David Farragut.) In October 1862, Porter took command of the Western Flotilla, which was soon renamed the Mississippi River Squadron. This assignment carried with it the lofty rank of acting rear admiral. In this capacity, Porter became U.S. Grant's partner in the campaign against Vicksburg.

Following Vicksburg, Porter participated in an ill-fated campaign up the Red River in 1864 that nearly resulted in the loss of his gunboats because of falling water levels. He then returned to blue water and command of the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron. Porter commanded the naval component of a joint attack against Fort Fisher, North Carolina, in January 1865. This action was perhaps the best-run amphibious operation of the war.

After the Civil War, Porter served as superintendent of the Naval Academy and in other positions within the Navy Department. He died in 1891.

McClermand, John Alexander. Born in Hardinsburg, Kentucky, on 30 May 1812, McClermand grew up in Illinois. He became a lawyer and a politician, serving in both the Illinois assembly and the United States Congress. In 1860, he lost a bid to become speaker of the house. Although opposed to the abolition of slavery and a staunch Democrat, McClermand supported the Lincoln administration's war aims and helped secure the loyalty of southern Illinois, a region known for its strong pro-Southern sympathies. As a reward, he was appointed brigadier general of volunteers in May 1861. His only prior military service had been as a militia private in the Black Hawk War of 1832.

McClermand commanded a division in the Henry-Donelson campaign of February 1862 and won a promotion to the rank of major general. He also performed capably in the near disaster at Shiloh in April.

In August 1862, McClermand returned to Illinois to aid in recruitment efforts. He also obtained authorization from Lincoln to conduct an independent campaign aimed at opening the Mississippi River to Northern shipping, an objective much favored by

McClelland's Illinois constituency. Sherman used some of McClelland's newly recruited troops in the Chickasaw Bayou campaign—without the latter's knowledge. McClelland had no sooner regained control of his supposedly independent command than he was again subordinated to Grant, this time as the commander of XIII Corps within the Army of the Tennessee. McClelland eventually got to Vicksburg, but not as an independent commander.

Grant relieved McClelland of his command during the siege of Vicksburg. The two had clashed on many occasions during their association, and with Vicksburg within his grasp, Grant felt secure enough to dispose of him. McClelland later commanded XIII Corps again in Louisiana and Texas but found himself on the outer fringes of the war. He resigned from the army in November 1864 and returned to politics. He died in September 1890.

The historical record has not been kind to McClelland. He was by no means an incompetent general, but he was a quarrelsome glory seeker. He also complained loudly about a West Point conspiracy against political generals such as himself. This proved to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. When Regulars such as Grant wrote their memoirs, they were not inclined to give McClelland much credit. Most subsequent historians have followed their example.

Sherman, William Tecumseh. Sherman was born in Lancaster, Ohio, on 8 February 1820, into a prominent family. After the death of his father, Sherman grew up in the family of a U.S. senator, whose daughter he eventually married. He graduated sixth in the West Point class of 1840 but did not see combat in the Mexican War. He resigned from the Army in 1853 and tried his hand at banking and the legal profession, without much success. The outbreak of the Civil War found him serving as superintendent of a college in Louisiana.

In May 1861, Sherman became colonel of the 13th U.S. Infantry (which later fought in the Vicksburg campaign under his corps). He commanded a brigade at the First Battle of Bull Run and was subsequently promoted to brigadier general. In 1862, Sherman commanded a division at Shiloh, and soon after gained promotion to major general. During the 1863 Vicksburg campaign, he commanded XV Corps under Grant's Army of the Tennessee.

Immediately after the surrender of Vicksburg, Sherman conducted a raid into the heart of Mississippi and then accompanied Grant on the campaign to relieve Chattanooga. When Grant assumed command of

all Union armies, Sherman took over Grant's role as western theater commander. The forces under his command proceeded to capture Atlanta in 1864 and conducted the famous "March to the Sea." Then, he drove his armies north through the Carolinas in the winter of 1865. Sherman closed out the war in the east by accepting the surrender of the Confederate Army of Tennessee two weeks after Appomattox.

Sherman remained in the Army after the war, advancing to the grade of full general and the post of commander in chief of the Army in 1869. He retired in 1884 and died in February 1891.

Although accused by his opponents of exhibiting barbaric behavior during the war, Sherman was actually one of the most intelligent and articulate generals who ever served in the U.S. Army. Some historians credit him with inventing "total war," while others point out that Sherman was merely applying the "scorched earth" techniques against the Confederacy that the Army had already used with great effect against some of its Indian adversaries. Never a gifted tactician, Sherman understood better than most the nature of the war in which he was engaged and the measures that must be undertaken to win it.

McPherson, James Birdseye. Born 14 November 1828 near Clyde, Ohio, McPherson's family was poor, compelling him to work at an early age. He was educated at an academy in Ohio and graduated first in the West Point class of 1853. Commissioned into the Engineers (which was the branch of choice for top Academy graduates), McPherson began the Civil War as a first lieutenant. He served as an aide to the commander of the western theater, Henry W. Halleck, then became Grant's chief engineer during the 1862 campaigns in Tennessee. In August 1862, McPherson became a brigadier general, then was promoted to major general in October, all without commanding in battle. He commanded XVII Corps in the Vicksburg campaign. McPherson was thirty-five years old at the time.

Although his performance as a corps commander was less than spectacular, McPherson continued to rise. He became an army commander when Grant went east in 1864 and Sherman became a theater commander. He was killed in action near Atlanta in July 1864.

McPherson's phenomenal ascent to the top ranks of the Army seems strange today. He was a bright, energetic protégé to both Grant and Sherman, but he never demonstrated any particular genius for command.

Principal Confederate Commanders

Pemberton, John Clifford. Born in Philadelphia on 10 August 1814, Pemberton traced his lineage to one of the original Quaker founders of Pennsylvania. He completed two years of study at the University of Pennsylvania before entering the U.S. Military Academy. He graduated from West Point in 1837, twenty-seventh in a class of fifty. Pemberton saw action in the Seminole War and performed with distinction in the war with Mexico. Although he led troops in combat, his strongest skills were in staff work. In 1848, Pemberton married a well-to-do woman from Norfolk, Virginia, and thereafter felt strong ties to Virginia and to the Southern aristocracy. With the outbreak of the Civil War, Pemberton resigned from the U.S. Army, over the protests of his family in Philadelphia, and accepted a commission in the Confederate service. It does not appear that Pemberton's political beliefs played much of a role in his decision one way or the other. Torn between his wife and his family, he ultimately sided with his wife.

Pemberton's rise to high rank in the Confederate Army was not a result of demonstrated proficiency on the battlefield. He began service as a lieutenant colonel in May 1861, but by mid-June, he was a brigadier general. Pemberton was assigned to South Carolina under Robert E. Lee and won another promotion in January 1862. He replaced Lee in command of the Department of South Carolina and Georgia in March. His tenure as department commander was not a success. He managed to alienate the leaders of South Carolina with his heavy-handed bureaucratic methods. Worst of all, Pemberton made it clear that he would not sacrifice his army to defend Charleston, the "Cradle of Secession." The governor of the state consequently mounted a successful campaign to have Pemberton relieved. The popular P. G. T. Beauregard replaced him in August 1862.

This setback in Pemberton's career was temporary. For reasons that are not completely understood, Pemberton was, by this time, a favorite of President Jefferson Davis. In October, Pemberton received command of the Department of Mississippi and East Louisiana. Since there were already two major generals within the department who had seniority over Pemberton, the new assignment brought with it a promotion to three-star rank. Pemberton's instructions from the War Department contained two clauses that were to have profound implications for the future. First, Pemberton's top priority was to

defend the *territory* of his department. Second, he was to report directly to Richmond. Neither provision was ever rescinded.

Pemberton's considerable skills as an organizer helped bring order out of the chaos of this new department. He was, first and foremost, an administrator operating out of his headquarters in Jackson, Mississippi. The troops rarely saw him. Even after Grant commenced operations against Vicksburg, Pemberton stayed in the role of a behind-the-scenes department commander. He did not take to the field until shortly before the Battle of Champion Hill.

The loss of Vicksburg ended Pemberton's career as a Confederate general. Davis attempted to find another command for him, apparently considering him as a replacement for Braxton Bragg as head of the Army of Tennessee. In April 1864, Pemberton voluntarily gave up the rank of lieutenant general and accepted an appointment as lieutenant colonel and command of an artillery battalion. He ended the war as General Inspector of Artillery and Ordnance for the Confederate Army. Vilified by Northerners and Southerners alike after the war, Pemberton took up farming in Virginia, but later moved back to Pennsylvania, where he died in 1881.

History has dealt harshly with John C. Pemberton. The literature on the Vicksburg campaign has generally reflected the views of two men—Ulysses S. Grant and Joseph E. Johnston. Johnston's self-serving account of the campaign pinned all of the blame on Pemberton, and most subsequent historians have followed Johnston's lead. Pemberton never succeeded in publishing a defense. In reality, Pemberton did no worse than many Civil War generals in their first battles. Pemberton's misfortune was that his first battle came in 1863 and that his opponent was U. S. Grant.

Johnston, Joseph Eggleston. Born in Farmville, Virginia, on 3 February 1807, Johnston graduated from West Point in 1829, thirteenth in a class of 46. (Robert E. Lee graduated second in this class.) Johnston served in the Seminole War, resigned from the Army, and then returned to service after a brief interlude as a civilian. Johnston served with distinction in the Mexican War, receiving five wounds in the process. In 1860, he was appointed quartermaster general, a post that carried with it the rank of brigadier general.

Johnston resigned his commission and joined the Confederacy when Virginia seceded in 1861. He received the rank of brigadier general but was junior to several officers who he had outranked in the

U.S. Army. By a curious convolution of logic, Johnston insisted that seniority in U.S. service should carry over in the Confederate Army. This was but the first dispute that alienated Johnston from the Davis administration.

Johnston became one of the Confederacy's first heroes at the First Battle of Bull Run in 1861. Commanding a corps-size force in the Shenandoah Valley, Johnston moved forces to Mannassas in time to reinforce Beauregard's army there, thus providing the Confederacy with its first major victory. Part of the troop movement took place by rail, marking a turning point in military logistics.

Promoted to full general, Johnston commanded the Army of Northern Virginia in the Peninsula campaign of 1862. Outnumbered heavily by the Union army under George McClellan, Johnston gave ground steadily until the Federals were within sight of Richmond. Only then did Johnston attempt to seize the initiative with an attack (the Battle of Fair Oaks or Seven Pines) in which he was severely wounded. Robert E. Lee replaced him as commander of the Army of Northern Virginia and went on to great fame in that capacity.

In November 1862, Johnston was assigned to a new departmental command that encompassed all of the military departments between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River. Johnston apparently resented this assignment, believing that he had been "kicked upstairs" to make way for Davis' favorites. The subordinate departments within Johnston's command (including Pemberton's Department of Mississippi and East Louisiana) continued to report directly to Richmond. When Grant moved against Vicksburg in force, Johnston did not come to Pemberton's assistance until ordered by Richmond to do so.

After the fall of Vicksburg, Johnston embarked upon a bizarre "war of letters" with Jefferson Davis in which he denied responsibility for the events in Pemberton's department prior to mid-May and was, by implication, blameless in the calamity. Clearly, Davis would have liked to fire Johnston for good, but the Confederacy was running short of general officers. Moreover, Johnston had powerful friends in the Confederate Congress.

In December 1863, Davis reluctantly assigned Johnston to command of the Army of Tennessee. When Sherman commenced his 1864 campaign into Georgia, Johnston refused to take offensive action and instead gave ground until the Federals had nearly reached Atlanta.

Davis relieved Johnston in favor of John Bell Hood, who proceeded to wreck the Army of Tennessee in a series of impetuous attacks. Johnston returned to command of the army in February 1865, fought the last major battle of the war at Bentonville, North Carolina, and surrendered to Sherman on 18 April.

Joseph Johnston is a historical paradox. Some historians call him one of the most brilliant generals of the war, citing his skill in delaying actions against greatly superior forces. This favorable interpretation might be a result of the fact that Johnston published his own views of the war early and often. Other historians assert that his greatest military talents involved conducting retreats and quarreling with his superiors.

Bowen, John Stevens. Born 30 October 1829, near Savannah, Georgia, Bowen graduated thirteenth out of fifty-two in the West Point class of 1853. (The top graduate was James McPherson. The academy's new superintendent that year was Robert E. Lee.) Bowen married a woman from Missouri in 1854 and resigned his commission two years later. The Bowens took up residence near St. Louis, where John became a successful architect. He trained a regiment of prosecession militia troops in 1859-60, reportedly imposing Regular Army standards upon his command. Shortly after the outbreak of war, Bowen and his troops were captured in their camps. Paroled and exchanged, Bowen received a Confederate colonelcy and command of a regiment. Promotion to brigadier general and command of a brigade soon followed, based in large part on Bowen's demonstrated talents as a trainer. In 1862, he fought with distinction at Shiloh, where he was wounded, and he participated in the Battle of Corinth.

Later that year, Bowen and his brigade came under the command of John C. Pemberton. In March 1863, Pemberton sent Bowen to Grand Gulf with orders to fortify the place against the passage of Union vessels on the Mississippi. This was an independent command, in which Bowen answered directly to Pemberton. Bowen's force and command responsibilities expanded in the course of Vicksburg operations, elevating him to the status of division commander.

Bowen contracted dysentery during the siege of Vicksburg and was too ill to ride a horse by the time paroles had been signed. He left Vicksburg in an ambulance and died at a farmhouse on the Raymond Road on 13 July.

Historians generally consider Bowen to be the best Confederate battle commander in the Vicksburg campaign. He was a superb trainer

of troops and an imaginative tactician. If nothing else, Bowen began the Vicksburg campaign with more Civil War battle experience than either of Pemberton's other division commanders, not to mention Pemberton himself.

Stevenson, Carter Littlepage. Born 21 September 1817 near Fredericksburg, Virginia, Stevenson graduated from West Point in 1838. He served in the Mexican War and became the colonel of a Virginia regiment at the onset of the Civil War. In February 1862, Stevenson was promoted to brigadier general and was transferred to the western theater, where he participated in the Kentucky campaign of that year, receiving a promotion to major general in October. Stevenson commanded the largest of Pemberton's divisions during the Vicksburg campaign. He may well have been Pemberton's most trusted subordinate.

After the surrender of Vicksburg, Stevenson commanded a division in the Army of Tennessee. Although he had little battle experience at the time of the Vicksburg operations, he made up for it with an extensive campaign record thereafter. After the war, Stevenson worked as a civil engineer. He died in August 1888.

Loring, William Wing. Born 4 December 1818 in Wilmington, North Carolina, Loring grew up in Florida. He became a lawyer and Florida state legislator. Loring acquired a direct commission into the regular Army in 1846 as a captain and served with distinction in the Mexican War, receiving two brevets and losing an arm. He was a colonel in the U.S. Army when he resigned in 1861 to join the Confederacy.

Loring entered Confederate service as a brigadier general. He served under "Stonewall" Jackson in the Romney campaign and had the poor judgment to quarrel with one of the Confederacy's most popular generals. Loring was transferred away from Virginia, eventually being assigned to Pemberton's department (December 1862). He also received a promotion to the rank of major general.

To a man who could argue with "Stonewall" Jackson, bickering with John Pemberton must have come naturally, and Loring contributed materially to the deterioration of the command climate under Pemberton. After Vicksburg, he commanded a division in the Army of Tennessee. With the collapse of the Confederacy in 1865, Loring left the United States and eventually became a division commander in the Egyptian Army. He returned to the U.S. in 1879 and died in December 1886.

APPENDIX C.

MEDAL OF HONOR CONFERRALS IN THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

The Vicksburg campaign resulted in 121 known conferrals of the Medal of Honor. The Chickasaw Bayou campaign produced one recipient—the colonel of the 4th Iowa. Twelve Medals of Honor went to Army volunteers who manned unarmed riverboats on various attempts to run the Vicksburg batteries. Three other medals went to soldiers who performed a similar mission during the passage of the Grand Gulf batteries. The battle of Champion Hill produced two recipients, both from McClelland's corps (one each from Hovey's and Carr's divisions). Another of McClelland's soldiers earned the medal at the Big Black River battle.

Most of the Medals of Honor stemming from the Vicksburg campaign involved action against the fortifications of Vicksburg. The assault of Sherman's corps against Stockade Redan on 19 May led to three conferrals, all to soldiers in Blair's division. One of these was Orion P. Howe, a fourteen-year-old drummer. The general assault of 22 May produced no fewer than ninety-eight conferrals of the Medal of Honor. (By contrast, the entire battle of Gettysburg produced sixty-one.) Eighty-two medals went to members of the "volunteer storming party" that led Sherman's assault upon Stockade Redan. Five other soldiers in Sherman's corps also won the medal that day. In McClelland's corps, seven soldiers received the medal for pushing a six-pounder cannon up to the parapet of the 2d Texas Lunette and firing into the interior of the work through an embrasure. Three additional soldiers from McClelland's corps and one from McPherson's corps also received the medal for their actions on 22 May. Another of McPherson's soldiers, a sergeant from Logan's division, won the award on 25 June for planting the national colors on the 3d Louisiana Redan following the explosion of the mine. Finally, a musician in Sherman's "Army of Observation" received the medal for bravery under fire near Mechanicsburg, Mississippi, on 4 June.

As the numbers cited above suggest, the criteria for conferring the Medal of Honor were less well defined in 1863 than they are today. (Some Civil War soldiers received the medal merely for reenlisting when their terms of service expired. These awards were later withdrawn.) Moreover, the great majority of medals conferred for service in the Vicksburg campaign were actually issued in the 1890s.

