

Henry Warner Slocum

But Slocum was needed at the front again. Having been appointed to the command of the Twentieth Corps, then on the Atlanta campaign, he relinquished his duties at Vicksburg August 14, 1864, and after waiting a few days to close his business there hastened to join Sherman's army.

The Twentieth Corps was engaged at this time in the siege of Atlanta. Just before Slocum's arrival the corps had been sent to guard the line of the Chattahoochee River, while the main army, abandoning its trenches, moved against the railroad communications of the enemy on the south side of the city. Slocum arrived at the camps of the Twentieth Corps, August twenty-seventh, his appearance being greeted with enthusiastic cheers. The Gettysburg and Chancellorsville veterans were especially prominent in this demonstration, as they rejoiced greatly at the prospect of serving under their old commander again.

Sherman's movement to the south of Atlanta had the intended effect. General Hood was forced to come out and fight in order to protect his line of supplies, and encountering defeat he was compelled to order the evacuation of the city. Before abandoning Atlanta the Confederates destroyed seventy carloads of ammunition and burned a large amount of material on the night of September first. The continuous and heavy explosions aroused the camps of the Twentieth Corps, some six miles distant. As the men listened to the uproar, plainly heard in the stillness of the night, they argued that Sherman had returned and was attempting an assault. But when Slocum saw the red glare of the sky he knew that the enemy was evacuating the city, and immediately ordered forward a strong detachment from each of his three divisions. Starting before daylight these troops entered the outer works in a few hours, where they were met by the civil authorities who made a formal surrender of the city. Sherman, who was at Jonesboro, some thirty miles away, soon received a despatch from Slocum announcing the fall of Atlanta and its occupation by his corps.

The Twentieth Corps remained in the city, and the rest of the army, on its return, encamped at various points in that vicinity. Sherman's confidence in Slocum's administrative ability was such that he left him, with the Twentieth Corps, to hold Atlanta and manage its affairs while he (Sherman) moved northward in pursuit of Hood. Slocum remained in the city over two months, his time

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being occupied with provost duties and in organizing expeditions into the country for gathering food and supplies for his command.

The pursuit of the elusive Hood proved fruitless. Sherman returned to Atlanta with part of his forces, having left the rest under General Thomas, with instructions to follow the Confederate army and destroy it. On the return to Atlanta preparations were made for the movement through Georgia to Savannah. For this purpose the army was divided into two separate commands, designated respectively as the Right and Left Wing. The former, composed of the Army of the Tennessee, was placed under General Howard; the latter, made up of two corps from the army of the Cumberland — Fourteenth and Twentieth — was assigned to General Slocum.

The March to the Sea began November fifteenth. One week before, General Slocum wrote a letter to his family describing some of the scenes of preparation:

ATLANTA, GA., Nov. 7th, 1864.

The last train for the North leaves here to-morrow morning. Our soldiers are scattered along the railroad a hundred miles north, and as soon as that train passes the work of destruction will commence. The railroad will be completely destroyed and every bridge burned. Then both armies (the Armies of the Tennessee and the Cumberland) will assemble here, and after destroying this city will commence the march. I fear their track will be one of desolation.

I have been to the R. R. depot for the past three days several times, and have witnessed many sad and some ludicrous scenes. All citizens (white and black) begin to apprehend that something is about to happen. The whites are alarmed, and many are leaving the city, giving up houses, lands, furniture, negroes, and all. The blacks want to go North, and the Car House is surrounded by them. Hundreds of cars are literally *packed* with them and their dirty bundles, inside and out. Old toothless hags, little pickaninnies, fat wenches of all shades, from light brown to jet black, are piled up together with their old bags, bundles, broken chairs, etc. Some are gnawing old bones, some squatted by the cars making hoe-cakes, some crying for food. Many of the whites are as anxious to get North as the darkies, and gladly accept a place in a car reeking with the odor peculiar to "the American of African descent." It is a sad sight, but I anticipate seeing many such before spring.

I wish for humanity's sake that this sad war could be brought to a close. While laboring to make it successful, I shall do all in my power to mitigate its horrors.

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General Slocum held now the highest command in his military career, that of a separate army. The able manner in which he conducted his forces while on the March to the Sea justified his selection for this responsible position.

Though his column did not encounter the enemy in strong force, and his troops did comparatively little fighting, he demonstrated that he was a master of the art of military logistics. Despite all difficulties, the various divisions of his army never failed to reach their appointed destination within the allotted time. When the hour came, whether noon or night, every wagon of his trains was in its park, every regiment of his command at its place of bivouac. In military science there are many branches besides fighting; and Slocum's wide experience embraced them all.

When Sherman's forces reached Savannah, an investment of the city and a siege became necessary. General Hardee occupied the place with 15,000 Confederate troops, under able, experienced commanders. The strong line of works, combined with certain natural advantages, indicated a prolonged defense. But the investment was not complete. Hardee had one avenue of escape, across the Savannah river to the North. As the left of Slocum's army rested on the river, he made a demonstration against this one line by which the enemy might retreat, and had he secured the desired permission would have placed a strong body of troops across it. But Sherman had a different arrangement in mind, and went to Beaufort to secure the co-operation of some troops for this purpose. During his absence, Hardee, alarmed by the threatening movement of one of Slocum's brigades towards his rear, evacuated the city, and withdrew his forces in safety. Crossing the river, he reached a causeway through a swamp, his one and only way of escape. Had Slocum's suggestion been adopted, the entire garrison would have been compelled to surrender within a short time. Upon the evacuation a division of the Twentieth Corps was the first to enter the city, and to these troops was accorded the privilege of remaining there on provost duty while the army lay outside the town.

In January, 1865, Sherman's two armies started northward on the campaign of the Carolinas, with the ultimate intention of joining the Army of the Potomac, at Petersburg, or co-operating with it. This campaign was the most remarkable one in the history of the war for its duration, the number of miles marched, and the hardships

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encountered by the soldiers. It was undertaken at the most inclement season of the year in that climate.

The route was crossed at frequent intervals by rivers that, owing to the frequent rains, had overflowed their banks and filled the great swamps on either side. Though the pontoon trains were sufficient for bridging any stream on the line of march, they were useless in the wide areas of flooded lowlands. The soldiers were obliged to wade repeatedly through long stretches of deep and chilling water, often exposed to the fire of the enemy. The Confederates availed themselves of every opportunity to contest the passage of these streams. In addition, there was the toilsome work of destroying the railroads along the route, and the still more arduous labor of assisting the wagon trains and artillery through the swamps.

In passing through North Carolina, Slocum, still in command of the Left Wing, encountered Hardee's forces near Averagesborough. An engagement, one of the minor battles of the war, ensued, in which Slocum defeated Hardee handsomely and drove him from the field. Three days later, Gen. Jos. E. Johnston, having united his scattered forces, attacked Slocum at Bentonville. The Confederate leader, having over 20,000 veterans under his command, hoped that by a sudden dash upon the Left Wing he could defeat that army before it could receive assistance from the Right Wing, then many miles distant. But Slocum, wary and cautious, quickly divined the intention of his antagonist. Recalling his advance and bringing forward his divisions from the rear, he threw his forces into position quickly and repulsed Johnston's fierce onslaught. When night came he was still in possession of the field. The next day he was reinforced by troops sent to his support by General Howard. There was some desultory fighting, and then Johnston retreated to Raleigh. Another victory was added to Slocum's record.

The careful, methodical action which always characterized Slocum's movements when about to encounter the enemy in force was well displayed at Bentonville. When the general found that a battle was imminent he halted until he could bring up all his available forces, and in the meantime ascertain the position of the enemy. General Kilpatrick, who was in command of the cavalry, urged Slocum strongly to make a bold dash and clear the Confederates out of the way as he (Slocum) had done at Averagesborough. Had he done so he would have invited a serious disaster. But rejecting

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the advice thus offered he said, significantly, "General Kilpatrick, I don't propose to advance farther until I know just what is on my flanks." The doughty cavalryman looked thoughtful for a moment, and then hurried away to obtain this highly important information.

Hon. J. B. Foraker, United States Senator from Ohio, who was a member of Slocum's staff on this campaign, says that Major Mosely, also of the staff, suggested to Slocum that he should order the advance division to charge the enemy and clear the road; that there could not possibly be a very strong force in front; that if the general waited for his other forces to come up a whole day would be lost; and that if it should turn out that there was nothing in front to justify such caution it would injure the prestige of the Left Wing. Slocum replied, earnestly, "I can afford to be charged with being dilatory or overcautious, but I cannot afford the responsibility of another Ball's Bluff affair.*

To Slocum's credit, it should be said that he did what he could to maintain a proper state of discipline in his own command. Major William G. Tracy, of Slocum's staff, states that "During this march he (Slocum), so far as was in his power, endeavored to restrain unnecessary pillage and injury to the inhabitants of the country, but never received the credit due him for such efforts, for he had but scant sympathy in that regard from his superior officer."†

The Carolina campaign ended practically with the occupation of Goldsborough. Here the designation of the Left Wing was changed to that of the Army of Georgia, although no change was made in its composition. General Slocum, retaining his command, served with the Army of Georgia in the pursuit and at the surrender of Johnston, and rode at the head of this army in the final Grand Review in Washington at the close of the war.

The time having arrived for disbanding the army and mustering out the regiments, General Slocum issued a farewell address to his soldiers:

* Battles and Leaders of the Civil War. Vol. IV, p. 693. New York: The Century Co. 1888.

† Address at Slocum memorial service, All Souls' Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., May 4, 1894.

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HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF GEORGIA,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 6th, 1865.* }

GENERAL ORDERS, }
No. 15. }

With the separation of the troops composing this Army in compliance with recent orders, the organization known as "the Army of Georgia" will virtually cease to exist. Many of you will at once return to your homes. No one now serving as a volunteer will probably be retained in service against his will but a short time longer. All will soon be permitted to return and receive the rewards due them as the gallant defenders of their country.

While I cannot repress a feeling of sadness at parting with you, I congratulate you upon the grand results achieved by your valor, fidelity and patriotism.

No generation has ever done more for the permanent establishment of a just and liberal form of Government — more for the honor of their Nation — than has been done during the past four years by the Armies of the United States, and the patriotic people at home, who have poured out their wealth in support of these armies with a liberality never before witnessed in any country.

Do not forget the parting advice of that great Chieftain who led you through your recent brilliant campaign, "As in war you have been good soldiers, so in peace be good citizens."

Should you ever desire to resume the honorable profession you are now about to leave, do not forget that this profession is honorable only when followed in obedience to the orders of the constituted authority of your Government.

With feelings of deep gratitude to each and all of you for your uniform soldierly conduct,—for the patience and fortitude with which you have borne all the hardships it has been necessary to impose upon you,—and for the unflinching resolution with which you have sustained the holy cause in which we have been engaged, I bid you farewell.

H. W. SLOCUM,

Major-General Comd'g.

After a brief leave of absence he returned to Vicksburg where he assumed command of the military department of the Mississippi. Here he exercised his administrative ability in alleviating so far as possible the unhappy conditions incidental to a long and terrible war, the effects of which had been especially disastrous to the people in that district. Under his able guidance a peaceful condition of affairs was soon restored and business was resumed in all its various branches.

But the position and its duties were in too strong a contrast with his four years of active life in the field. The general found the routine

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at Vicksburg irksome and burdensome in the extreme. He had an intense longing for home and the attractions of civil life. He had defended his country well in its time of trial, and now that there was no further need of his services he felt at liberty to resign his commission.

At this time the politicians of his State, eagerly seeking for a candidate whose brilliant record and popularity would render him available for party success, were giving his name favorable consideration. Prior to the war, Slocum had been a Republican and had held important offices under that party. But during the war he had always refrained from any expression of opinion whatever on political matters. Although loyal to the Administration he had never by word or deed allowed any intimation of his views on the management of affairs to escape him. Hence a nomination on the State ticket was tendered him by each party. He received two letters in Vicksburg that are of particular interest in connection with this matter:

SYRACUSE, N. Y., *August 11, 1865.*

DEAR GENERAL:

We of the State of New York, of the chosen of the Lord, who are desirous of sustaining the administration of President Johnson, etc., are looking around for candidates for state offices this fall.

And now to the point. I have no doubt a *nearly*, if not entirely, unanimous nomination for the office of Secretary of State (the head of the ticket) can be secured you. I now think the nomination can be secured by acclamation; but certainly it can be secured so as to be, or appear to be, entirely unsought after by you,—if you desire it. I came from Saratoga yesterday, where together with Belden I talked with several of our friends. To-day, Watson, of Cayuga county, has been here. He is present at this writing and would be most happy to honor you. Therefore you see my judgment is not mere speculation. I believe, also, that you know enough of me to have a fair opinion of my discernment in political matters.

The question now is, What do you desire in the matter? Please write me fully, that your friends may act advisedly. I hardly know whether to advise you or not, but it must be obvious to you that for your own good, if you intend to come back to this State, the sooner you mix in State politics the better, and there can hardly be a better or more propitious way of entering than as a military "Hero," and before all the military heroes have retired to civil life, and have become your rivals for civic honors.

Most truly, your friend,

FRANK HISCOCK.

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SYRACUSE, N. Y., *August 22, 1865.*

Strictly confidential.

MY DEAR SIR:

The political campaign is about opening, and from present appearances promises many curious combinations. I have just returned from a meeting of our Democratic State Committee at Albany, which called a State Convention for the nomination of State officers to meet on September sixth.

Now to the point. I am authorized by our leading politicians to offer you the place of Secretary of State on our ticket; or if the duties of this are too active for you, to ask you to accept that of Treasurer, where the duties are less active and require but little of your time. We would, however, prefer you to head the ticket.

Mr. Robinson, the present Comptroller, elected by the Republicans two years ago, desires a renomination from us, and he will in all probability get it. Martin Grover, elected by the Republicans to the Supreme Court bench, will be one of our nominees for the Court of Appeals. I mention these facts in order that you may get some idea of the drift affairs are taking.

There is not much doubt in the minds of good politicians but that we shall carry the State this fall. We intend to endorse President Johnson's administration with regard to his treatment of the Southern States, and while we shall endorse it quite generally, we shall avoid finding fault with it upon any question — believing that in a very short time the President's policy will conform to what is desired by the Democratic party. I am also warranted in saying that if you accept our nomination for Secretary of State, the pleasantest office on the ticket, and should be elected, you can have the nomination for Governor next year. The present would be but a stepping stone to the other. Understand me, this offer is not made by any particular interest or clique in the party, but would be given to you *unanimously* in the Convention. Dean Richmond knows of my writing this, and I shall expect — with your permission — to show him your reply. You will notice that I have written you very frankly; my acquaintance with you warrants me in doing so.

Regarding you more of a soldier than politician, you will pardon me when I express my belief that everything now indicates the speedy dissolution of the Republican party and the return of the Democracy to power — a result which just laws, equal taxation, and the best interests of the country imperatively demand. You will of course consider my letter as entirely confidential, and favor me with an immediate reply.

Yours very truly,

JNO. A. GREEN, JR.

To Maj. Genl. H. W. SLOCUM.

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General Slocum had already made up his mind to retire from the army, but he delayed his resignation for various reasons, one of which appears in a letter to General Sherman:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF MISSISSIPPI,
VICKSBURG, MISS., *August 27, 1865.* }

MY DEAR GENERAL:

Your favor of the twenty-second has just come to hand. I came here without my family and with the intention of remaining only until the surplus generals were mustered out. I did not like to go out with a crowd of worthless officers who should have been mustered out long ago; but I think —— & Co. will outlive me after all, as I do not intend to spend the winter here. I shall pay you a visit on my way home.

Force has reported and been assigned to the command of the Vicksburg District, relieving Maltby. Force is a good officer and I am glad to get him. Charley Ewing has not yet come.

Woods has been very sick at Mobile but is better. I have met many of your old officers and soldiers since we parted, and all of them, without exception, are "loyal."

I enclose an order just published. I did not like to take this step; but Sharkey should have consulted me before issuing an order arming the rebs — and placing them on duty with the darkies in every county of the State. I hope the U. S. Military will soon be removed from the State, but until this is done it would certainly be bad policy to arm the militia.

Yours, truly,

Maj. Genl. W. T. SHERMAN,
St. Louis, Mo.

H. W. SLOCUM.

To this letter General Sherman replied as follows:

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
ST. LOUIS, MO., *September 7, 1865.* }

DEAR SLOCUM:

I have just received your letter of August twenty-seventh. Since I wrote you, Charley Ewing has gone down, and must now be with you. I have read all your orders and of course approve beforehand, as you, on the spot, are the competent judge. Sooner or later the people South must resume the management of their own affairs, even if they commit *felo-de-se*; for the North cannot long afford to keep armies there for local police. Still as long as you do have the force, and the State none, you must of necessity control. My own opinion

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is that self interest will soon induce the present people of Mississippi to invite and encourage a kind of emigration that will, like in Maryland and Missouri, change the whole public opinion. They certainly will not again tempt the resistance of the United States; nor will they ever reinstate the negro. The only question is when will the change occur.

I agree with you that if you see your way ahead in civil life, it is to your permanent interest to resign; it don't make much difference when. You have all the military fame you can expect in this epoch. All know your rank and appreciate you, and I would not submit to the scrambling for position next winter if I were in your place, unless you have resolved to stay in the army for life.

I shall be delighted to meet you as you come up. I am now boarding at the Lindell Hotel, but expect to go to housekeeping in a few days on Garrison Avenue, near Franklin Avenue, a fine property, presented to me, on the outskirts of the city, where I shall be delighted to receive you. My office is on Walnut Street, between five and six, near the Southern Hotel.

Always your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

The resignation of General Slocum was dated September 28, 1865. Leaving Vicksburg, he returned to Syracuse with the intention of resuming the practice of law. To the surprise of his friends he accepted the nomination for Secretary of State on the Democratic ticket. He was in accord with President Johnson's views as to the status of the returning States, and the measures best adapted to the political pacification of the South. It was with keen regret that he broke with his old party friends to whom he had been indebted in his earlier life; but he followed the path of duty as he saw it, yet without questioning the right of others who remained loyally within the old appointed lines. He was defeated in the election that fall, together with the rest of his ticket. It was a Republican year. If the Democratic leaders thought that his nomination would make an inroad in the soldier vote they were mistaken. The Republicans nominated for the same office, Gen. Francis C. Barlow, an officer whose fine war record would fully justify any Republican veteran in adhering to his own ticket at that election. If Slocum was disappointed over his defeat he gave no evidence of it; but Sherman's sympathy for his friend and companion-in-arms appears in his next letter:

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SAINT LOUIS, MO., *December 26, 1865.*

Gen. H. W. SLOCUM,

Syracuse, New York:

DEAR SLOCUM:

I got home last Friday after a three weeks absence down in Arkansas, and found, among a budget of letters received, your valued favor of Nov. thirtieth. This is my first leisure hour since, and I hasten to assure you of my great personal attachment, and that I would do almost anything that would mark my favor to you.

I think I was more disappointed at your non-election than you could have been; for I thought that politics had not so strong a hold on New York as to defeat you for an office that should have been above the influence of mere party organization. But you are young, and can stand it; and I know that, some-time later, your State will recognize and reward, if you need it, military services such as you rendered your country.

At some future time I will come on to Syracuse and stop a day with you to assure you of my great partiality, and also to renew the short but most agreeable acquaintance formed in Washington with your wife, to whom I beg you will convey my best compliments.

As to delivering a lecture at Albany, I must decline. The truth is, on abstract subjects I know I would be as prosy as a cyclopedia, and not half as accurate; and to speak on matters of personal interest, past, present or future, I would be sure to give rise to controversies, useless or mischievous. Of the events with which we were connected, I am already committed, and must stand by the record. Were I to elaborate them it would detract from the interest of what now stands as a contemporaneous narrative. I really think we do best to let others now take up the thread of history, and treat of us as actors of the past.

Please write to Mr. Doty that I am very much complimented by his flattering invitation; that I appreciate the object he aims to accomplish, and would be glad to assist therein, but that outside considerations would make it unbecoming to appear in the nature of a lecturer. Too much importance has already been given to the few remarks I have made at times when I simply aimed to acknowledge a personal compliment, and to gratify a natural curiosity by people whose imaginations had been excited by the colored pictures drawn by the press.

I have not preserved out of the late war a single relic — not a flag, not a curious shot or shell; nothing but those simple memories which every New York soldier retains as well as I do. I do think that your regiment was so filled by young men of education and intelligence that the commissioners will find their records swelling to an extent that will more than gratify their fondest expectations.

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We are now living in great comfort here. Your excellent photograph has its place in the albums of each of my children, and Mrs. Sherman regards you with special favor. Wishing you all honor and fame among your own people, I shall ever regard you as one of my cherished friends.

With respects,

W. T. SHERMAN,

Major-General.

A position in the Regular Army suitable to his previous rank and record was tendered General Slocum by the Government, but as he had other plans in view he declined the honor, expressing his high appreciation of this further recognition of his services. After a brief stay in Syracuse he moved his residence to the city of Brooklyn, where he soon became connected with business enterprises of an extensive character.

Although he had no aspirations for a political life and made no efforts to promote his interests in this direction, political honors were conferred upon him. In 1868 his name was placed on the State ticket as a Presidential Elector; and the next year he was sent to Congress from a Brooklyn district. In 1883 he was elected Congressman-at-Large from the State of New York by a flattering majority. In the discharge of his duties at the National Capital he paid little attention to the details of party or petty legislation, but was always prominently identified with measures relating to the army, the welfare of the veterans, and the various questions arising from conditions engendered by the Civil War. He took an active part in securing the passage of the bill granting a second court of inquiry in the case of Gen. Fitz John Porter, which resulted in the reinstatement of that officer in the Regular Army with his former rank and position. In this generous action he had the concurrence of General Grant, and, also, the approval of every thoughtful student of history who had made a careful, unprejudiced examination of the facts and records bearing on this celebrated case. General Slocum served three terms at Washington, and then, finding that his private business required his entire time and attention, declined a renomination.

Despite his long, busy life, with all the requirements of politics and wide-spread business connections, the general found time to

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keep in touch with army acquaintances. Some of the letters written and received by him are interesting in connection with this period of his life:

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *March 8, 1868.*

MY DEAR GENERAL:

Your favor of February twenty-fourth has been received. The enclosure (relative to claim for services of a woman in Georgia) was endorsed and forwarded in compliance with your request.

I read with much interest your views as to the future meetings of the officers of your old armies. I have read the proceedings at Cincinnati, including the speeches of yourself and General Thomas, and I frankly confess to you what I have admitted to no other person, that I was a little disappointed that no mention whatever was made by any one of my command under you on the Great March. My command constituted nearly one-half your force on that march, and your reports show that it bore more than one-half of the losses you suffered, and I did think it entitled me to a word of recognition. According to the maps, General Thomas commanded the Army of Georgia as well as that which defended Nashville, and I cannot for the life of me tell what command I had. I begin to doubt whether or not I was with you. In order that I may get posted on these matters, I think I shall attend the next meeting; but I assure you I am too lazy or too indifferent on the subject to quarrel with my associates for "the honors."

Since the eventful days that we spent in Raleigh, I have witnessed some wonderful changes. Logan, who then feared that Frank Blair and myself would be radicals when we reached home, can now throw even old Thad Stevens in the shade. Stanton is earnestly supported by the Grand Army of the Republic, although at that time he was exceedingly unpopular in the Army of Georgia.

Ambition and self-interest have wiped out the memory of the past, buried old friendships, and brought into the same fold those who were then sworn enemies. I presume that it is better that it should be so. Still, I cannot curse a man one day and fawn on him the next. I cannot declare slavery the natural and proper condition of the negro to-day, and to-morrow advocate his right to make constitutions and laws. Hence I think I shall never make a politician. And if I am not a politician, of what value is a military record? Thomas may have the credit of commanding your left wing, and Logan the credit of Bentonville. . . . On personal as well as political matters, I still stand on the Raleigh platform.

Perhaps I owe you an apology for referring to these matters in replying to your kind letter; but as I never allude to them in conversation with friends, or

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in letters for the press, I trust you will pardon me for writing to you just what I think and feel.

I am still living a quiet and happy life at my home in Brooklyn where Mrs. Slocum as well as myself will ever be glad to welcome you.

Your friend,

Lieut. Gen. W. T. SHERMAN,
St. Louis, Mo.

H. W. SLOCUM.

To which Sherman replied as follows:

ST. LOUIS, Mo., *March 13, 1868.*

DEAR SLOCUM:

Yours of March eighth is received. I was very glad to see that you took things so philosophically. It should have been my business to have looked after the interests of the absent; but I was told that all would be toasted and noticed, and as very many officers of the Fourth and Fourteenth Corps were there I looked to them to say some kind words of you. At all events, I was not conscious that any one had been so omitted till the reports came in print, when I saw at a glance what construction you would put upon it. I will, however, make all the amends I can, and aim to bring all together for once this winter at Chicago, early in December, and afford all the armies once in my command an opportunity to have their own spokesmen.

I have a letter from Schofield highly approbating and will now write Thomas, who has never recovered exactly from the criticisms on his slow fighting at Nashville, and my taking out of his army two strong corps, a fact that I see, plain enough, he would ignore.

As to politics, it is impossible for language to convey my detestation of them. I have seen Fear, Cowardice, Treachery, Villainy in all its shapes contort and twist men's judgment and actions, but none of them like politics. It may be that politics are honest, respectable, and necessary to a republican form of government; but I will none of them. As you say, Logan is a sample. I remember his ranting and pitching about that old Pagan in Raleigh, pretty much the same style as now, but slightly different in principle.

They have tried to rope me in more than once, but I have kept out and shall do so as long as I can; and then I hope I shall die before what little fame I have is lost and swept away.

Your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN,

Lt. General.

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The limits of this brief biography will not permit the publication here of the many interesting letters found among General Slocum's papers relating to the men and affairs of his time. A few, however, contain enough of unwritten history to justify their insertion:

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *May 20th*, 1875.

DEAR GENERAL:

Please accept my thanks for the copy of your book received yesterday. I have not yet read it, but have read all the extracts published in the New York papers, together with editorial comments. While I anticipate a great row to result from it, I am glad you published it. It throws a flood of light on the story of your campaigns, and not only corrects many errors that have crept into history, but will prevent other falsehoods from appearing.

I accidentally met General Hooker a day or two ago. He was very cordial in his manner towards me. Your book of course became a topic of conversation at once. He is not pleased with it, but was less bitter than I anticipated he would be. He showed me a letter written to him by Geo. Wilkes on October 14, 1864, in which Wilkes relates an interview he had just had with Stanton, in which Stanton shows his animosity to you. He suggests to Hooker that he has placed him in command of a Department where he can not only build up himself, but can undermine you. There is not a doubt but that the letter is genuine, and it is a truthful statement of the interview.

I would like very much to see you. When are you going on the plains? You promised to inform me.

Yours truly,

H. W. SLOCUM.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Dec. 9*, 1882.

DEAR SLOCUM:

Looking over the New York papers of this morning I noticed the Club Dinner in Brooklyn in which you and Beecher spoke, and it occurred to me that may be I ought to have written you congratulating you on your recent election to the next House of Representatives. As a matter of course, my thoughts of you, if not of all persons and things, revert back to our army service together, and I do believe I feel the pleasure of a father when any of my old comrades attain anything they desire, be it wealth, influence or station; but time has not stopped, and we hardly recognize each other after seventeen eventful years.

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Politics too, seem to color objects as with a glass, and it might seem disloyal for me to rejoice at the success of a Democrat. But if you, General Slocum, want to come to Congress, I surely am glad that you have come endorsed by such a vote of your fellow citizens, which I choose to interpret as more due to your personal merits and qualities than to your partisan associates. One reason of my regret is that you come just as I leave.

Don't for a moment believe that because a few newspaper scribblers have construed me a martyr, and consequently that I am a fit subject for a Presidential candidate. The thought to me is simply repulsive. I would not be a candidate if I could, and I could not if I would. No, I have my house at St. Louis, my family are anxious to get back, and I am equally so. All our neighbors there are jubilant at the idea of our coming back, and I would be the veriest fool to undergo the torture of a canvass and four years of worry and discomfort for an honor I do not covet or appreciate.

I have seen Presidents Jackson, Harrison, Taylor, Grant, Hayes and Garfield, and there is nothing in their experience which tempts me to depart from my convictions. I am under no obligations to sacrifice myself for the Republicans. They called me to Washington against my will, and so legislated that I could not afford to live in a house given to me as a compliment. They cut my pay down below what Lt. Gen. Scott had in 1848, when a dollar was worth two of to-day. Not a year since but my personal expenses have exceeded my salary. They allowed Secretary Belknap to pile up his indignities on me, so that self respect compelled me to go away. All this you know; so that I should owe anything like gratitude to the Republicans is out of the question. But enough. I am glad you have succeeded, and sorry I must leave just as you are coming.

Yours truly,

W. T. SHERMAN.

ARMY BUILDING, }
NEW YORK, Dec. 29, 1886. }

DEAR SLOCUM:

Yours of the twenty-seventh was received yesterday. I am glad you answered the Press Interviewer as you did, and as was reported. Of course, I do not remember the exact words used at the New England dinner, but surely Logan is entitled to even exaggerated encomiums at this time. He had, as you well know, some magnificent qualities and some petty defects. For a long time he rankled over the seeming injustice of my agency in making Howard instead of Logan to succeed McPherson, killed in battle, and he visited on me the injustice of a reduction of pay when I could ill afford it, and succeeded in driving me out of Washington, etc.

Henry Warner Slocum

But with more mature years he recovered from his spasm, and became more than friendly, not only to me personally, but to the regular army officers and men. This you must have noticed. I have had many most friendly jousts with him in debate and on paper.

Meantime I must go to-morrow to Washington to act as pall bearer at his funeral on Friday. I have official notice that the funeral ceremonies will be held in the Senate Chamber at noon Friday, and that his body will be temporarily deposited in a private vault in Washington, I infer afterward to be transferred to Chicago.

"And seven cities claimed the Homer dead,
Through which the living Homer begged his bread."

So the world wags. Ever since the war Logan has been toiling for a maintenance, died poor, and now cities contest for his place of burial.

Always glad to hear from you and hoping to meet you soon,

I am, truly and sincerely, your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

It is doubtful if Slocum could have attained any special prominence in political life. At long intervals some fearless, outspoken man of high ideals is selected by a party organization to head its State or National ticket, but only when the party is in dire stress and the political leaders are obliged to tender the nomination in order to avoid defeat.

But this man, who had always measured up to the highest standard of the Regular Army and its traditions, whose consciousness of his own integrity of purpose prompted him to write General Sherman that he had no "desire to secure favors from him or any other person," would naturally receive but scant consideration from the machine bosses who must always have a candidate with whom they can make a deal, or whom they can bind by promises of patronage. Hence, when Slocum, at the urgent request of enthusiastic friends, allowed his name to come before the Syracuse Convention in 1882 as a candidate for the gubernatorial nomination, he was defeated. Had he received the nomination, the phenomenal majority accorded at the polls that fell to his competitor would have been given him as well, and, probably, a still greater one, owing to his popularity and distinguished record. For him, too, the election to the office of Governor would have proved a stepping stone to the Presidency of the Nation. But, whatever ambitions he may have entertained, he

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wanted the office only for the power for good it had in it, and so, having made no effort on his own part to secure the nomination, he abided the action of the Convention cheerfully and with unruffled temper.

General Slocum could well afford to forego the preferments of political life in view of the large fortune which accrued from his business ventures. His success in these affairs must have been very gratifying to him when he recalled to mind his efforts in early life to earn sufficient money to provide for his education.

In every enterprise entrusted to his management he displayed an administrative ability which won the confidence and respect of the entire business community within which he operated. His success as an executive officer was demonstrated in the development of the "Crosstown" surface railroad system, which, under his management, became the most profitable line in the city. He was a large stockholder in other lines, and was president of the Brooklyn and Coney Island Railroad Company. Though his holdings in the latter were small compared with his other interests, this company was a special object of his regard. In the management of that property, his quick discernment made him first among local railway presidents to appreciate the merits of electricity as a motive power, and, with characteristic self-reliance, to install that system on his road.

Among the other investments which occupied his attention, he was a director in the People's Trust Company, the Williamsburg City Fire Insurance Company, the Hecker-Jones-Jewell Milling Company, and the Coombs, Crosby & Eddy Company.

Although the exacting requirements of his business affairs would not permit his continuance in public office, his interest in the welfare of the veterans in his State constrained him to accept an appointment on the first Board of Trustees of the Soldiers' Home at Bath, N. Y. His name was sent to the Senate for this place by Gov. Lucius Robinson, and it was confirmed without reference. This Board, comprising some of the most distinguished soldiers in New York, elected General Slocum as its President, by a unanimous vote at the first meeting. It was an office without emolument or profit, but during the remainder of his life he continued in the discharge of its duties with unabated zeal. Although residing at a great distance from the Home, he seldom missed a meeting, and never failed in his faithful devotion to the institution and its varied interests.

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He served also, until his death, as a member of the New York Monuments Commission for the Battlefield of Gettysburg, an office with important and exacting duties, owing to the large sums of money expended by the State in the erection of monuments for each New York regiment and battery that participated in the battle. He was a member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, and held for one term the highest office in the Commandery of New York. With all his cares and duties he found time for the enjoyments of social life, taking a prominent interest in the affairs and management of the Brooklyn Club.

He was no longer seeking the great things in life. His only ambition was to do what good he could while pursuing the quiet tenor of his way. Gen. Stewart L. Woodford relates that at one time he asked Slocum if there was any truth in the report that he was willing to serve on the Board of Education in Brooklyn. Slocum replied that there was, and said further: "Mayor Schieren is my near neighbor, and I would not like to speak to him myself, but I wish you would tell him that if, when he is making up the list of new trustees, he has no one else, I would like to go on the Board of Education. All my ambition has passed away, but in the closing years of my life I would like to help the children of Brooklyn." And then he added: "A man can do more good in helping the children to be taught well than he can in commanding an army." This incident will be better understood when it is remembered that he taught school himself for awhile before entering West Point.

And so, amid quiet, peaceful pursuits, surrounded by all the enjoyments of an ideal home life, the years passed by.

General Slocum died April 14, 1894, at the age of sixty-seven, after a brief illness, at his home in Brooklyn.

Upon the news of his death the House of Representatives at Washington passed resolutions expressing profound regret and an acknowledgment of the loss which the Nation had sustained. Both the Senate and Assembly at Albany passed similar resolutions and adjourned as a token of respect, the lower house having appointed a committee from its members to attend the funeral. The Common Council of the City of Brooklyn took appropriate action, and ordered that business in the public buildings be suspended on the day of the funeral. The Military Order of the Loyal Legion issued an

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obituary pamphlet, and many Posts in the Grand Army of the Republic — some of them in other States — passed resolutions testifying to the loss which the veterans of the war had sustained in the death of their friend and advocate.

The funeral was held at the Church of the Messiah, where the exercises were conducted in accordance with the solemn ritual of the Episcopal service. On the conclusion of the ceremonies in the church the remains were placed on a gun-carriage, and, covered by the flag he so heroically defended, were escorted to Greenwood Cemetery by a large body of troops from the Regular Army and National Guard, under command of Col. Loomis L. Langdon, First United States Artillery. The imposing military pageant, with the funereal music of the bands, made a deep impression on the silent throngs of citizens who lined the route along which the procession moved. At the Cemetery four volleys were fired by a battery of artillery, a bugler sounded "Taps" and the hero was laid at rest.

And so, having lived the allotted years of human life, lived them in honor and to the good of his country and his fellow men, the "good gray head that all men knew" was seen no more.

Slocum and His Men.
A History of the Twelfth and Twentieth Army Corps.

By William F. Fox, Lieut. Col. 107th N. Y. V.

Slocum and His Men.

Prologue.

ON the morning of September 17, 1862, the Twelfth Corps of the Army of the Potomac held the right of the line on the battlefield of Antietam. Its commander, Gen. Joseph K. F. Mansfield, fell mortally wounded while gallantly directing the deployment of his troops as they went into action.

After the battle the important duty of filling the vacancy caused by Mansfield's death devolved upon the War Department at Washington, a task that demanded no small exercise of care and consideration. The Twelfth Corps at that time was composed of veterans who had seen honorable service in the Valley, on the Rappahannock, and in the Maryland campaign; who had fought well at Winchester, Cedar Mountain, Manassas, and at Antietam; it included several crack regiments famous on account of the exceptionally fine material in their ranks, while each division was noted for its high standard of efficiency, discipline and morale. To fill the vacant position a man had to be chosen whose fighting record, military ability and personal character would measure up to the high standard of the troops committed to his charge.

In the Army of the Potomac at that time there was a major-general of volunteers who had recently achieved distinction in the brilliant affair at Crampton's Gap, where the division which he commanded and led in person carried by storm a strong position of the enemy, one of the few successful assaults of the war. His previous record was an exceptionally meritorious one. A graduate of the Military Academy at West Point, he had been given at the outbreak of hostilities, the colonelcy of a fine volunteer regiment which he commanded at First Bull Run, where he attracted favorable attention by his soldierly bearing and military skill in handling his men under fire until he fell severely wounded and was borne from

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the field. As a brigade general he won further honors in the Peninsular campaign, and at Gaines's Mill the division which he then commanded helped materially to save the fortunes of the day by its timely arrival and good fighting.

This officer, so well and favorably known throughout the army, was Major-General Henry W. Slocum, a division commander in the Sixth Corps, and on him the War Department conferred the high honor of an appointment to fill the vacancy in the command of the Twelfth Corps. The admirable manner in which he discharged the trust thus confided to him, together with the history of the gallant troops assigned to his command, forms the theme and purpose of the following pages.

The Twelfth Corps.

The history of the Twelfth Corps does not begin properly with the date when it received that designation, but with the prior record of the troops that composed it at that time. Without any material difference in its organization it had previously been known officially as the Fifth Corps of the Army of the Potomac, and then as the Second Corps of the Army of Virginia, before it was designated as the Twelfth.

The regiments from which the corps was originally organized, having enlisted promptly at the first call to arms, were the ones assigned to duty at Harpers Ferry to save that strategic point, and stationed also along the Upper Potomac to guard the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. During the summer of 1861 these same troops occupied the Shenandoah Valley and participated in the operations around Winchester. Though no general engagement occurred, these troops carried on an active campaign in which they made long fatiguing marches and encountered the enemy in frequent skirmishes, an experience that furnished the necessary training for the more arduous and heroic work in which they were destined to take a prominent part.

On July 25, 1861, shortly after the battle of First Bull Run, Gen. N. P. Banks assumed command of the Department of the Shenandoah, with headquarters at Harpers Ferry, relieving General Patterson who returned to Pennsylvania with the three-months troops of his command. The remaining regiments, which had

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enlisted for three years or during the war, were organized into three brigades which constituted what was known as Banks's Division.

On March 8, 1862, President Lincoln directed that the various divisions forming the Army of the Potomac should be organized into five army corps, of which the Fifth should be composed of Williams's and Shields's divisions and placed under command of General Banks. These two divisions were composed of regiments, for a large part, that served in these same commands throughout the war — noticeably the Second Massachusetts, Third Wisconsin, Fifth Connecticut, Twenty-seventh Indiana, Twenty-eighth New York and Forty-sixth Pennsylvania of Williams's Division; and the Fifth, Seventh, Twenty-ninth, and Sixty-sixth Ohio, and the Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania of Shields's (afterwards Geary's) Division, together with Best's, Hampton's, Cothran's and Knap's batteries of the artillery. General Williams, an officer of exceptional ability, remained in command of this division throughout the war, and at times he was placed temporarily in command of the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps.*

Kernstown.

The first general engagement in which the troops of Banks's Corps participated was the battle of Kernstown, or Winchester, March 23, 1862, where Shields's Division achieved a signal victory over the Confederate forces under Gen. Thomas J. Jackson, better known perhaps as "Stonewall Jackson."

Kernstown is a little hamlet in the Shenandoah Valley, about three miles south of Winchester. Jackson hearing that Union troops were being withdrawn from the Valley to reinforce McClellan attempted a threatening demonstration for the purpose of preventing any further movement of that kind, and proceeded to occupy a strong position on a ridge at Kernstown. Shields who was holding Winchester with his division moved out promptly and attacked the

* General Alpheus S. Williams was born Sept. 20, 1810, in Saybrook, Ct. Graduated from Yale College, 1831; and from Yale Law School, 1834. After spending three years abroad in travel he returned and settled in Detroit, Mich., where he commenced the practice of law. He served in the Mexican War as lieutenant-colonel of the First Michigan Volunteers. In April, 1861, he was appointed, by the governor of Michigan, brigadier-general of the troops of that State then enlisting for the war, and was placed in command of the camp of instruction at Fort Wayne, Michigan. Commissioned brigadier-general U. S. Volunteers, August 9, 1861, with rank from May 17, 1861; and brevet major-general, Jan. 12, 1865. Mustered out in January, 1866. Minister Resident to the Republic of Salvador, 1866-69. Member of Congress, 1874-1878. Died Dec. 21, 1878.

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enemy, driving him from the field, whence the Confederates retreated up the Valley. General Shields was severely wounded in the preliminary skirmishing on the evening of the twenty-second, and was obliged to turn the command over to Col. Nathan Kimball, who directed the fighting during the entire battle of the twenty-third.

Soon after the engagement was over General Banks, with one brigade of Williams's Division, reinforced Kimball, and joining in the pursuit followed Jackson up the Valley as far as Cedar Creek where he halted for the night. The Confederates continued their retreat southward, but fell back slowly, making an occasional stand at favorable points and burning bridges wherever it was necessary to retard pursuit. Banks followed cautiously as far as New Market, where he arrived April seventeenth, and, establishing his headquarters there, pushed his advance on to Harrisonburg, while Jackson took position at Swift Run Gap, one of the nearest passes in the Blue Ridge.

In the battle of Kernstown Shields's Division had three brigades, containing, in all, thirteen regiments of infantry, five batteries of light artillery, and some detachments of cavalry. The casualties on the Union side were, 118 killed, 450 wounded, and 22 missing; total 590. Of this loss, 157 occurred in the Fifth, Seventh, and Twenty-ninth Ohio regiments.

Jackson carried into action three brigades, containing nine regiments and one battalion of infantry; also, twenty-seven pieces of artillery, of which eighteen were engaged. He reported his loss officially at 80 killed, 375 wounded, and 263 missing; total, 718. The Confederates lost two pieces of artillery, and three caissons. Jackson was largely outnumbered, as he had not so many regiments as Shields, and, furthermore, as shown by the official reports, his regiments were much smaller than those opposed to him. He states that his infantry numbered 3,087, all told, of which 2,742 were engaged.

As this was the first success that had fallen to the Union Army in the Shenandoah Valley there was great rejoicing in the North, and Shields, together with his troops, were the recipients of enthusiastic congratulations.

Winchester.

Banks's Corps had advanced southward up the Shenandoah Valley as far as Harrisonburg, where it encamped for three weeks in close proximity to the enemy. The two divisions, together with the cavalry brigade attached, numbered 12,600 effectives. At this

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time the Army of the Potomac, under General McClellan, was advancing on Richmond by the Peninsular route, while McDowell's Corps held the line of the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg, ready to co-operate with him.

Although Jackson had suffered a signal defeat at Kernstown, the Richmond authorities were highly pleased with the activity he had displayed, because they believed that it would prevent any further detachment of troops from the Union forces in the Shenandoah for the reinforcement of McClellan or McDowell ; in fact Williams's Division was already on its way to Centreville when the fighting at Kernstown necessitated its return to the Valley. To enable Jackson to continue the operations which served to neutralize the large number of Union troops in Western Virginia, Ewell's Division was transferred to his command, giving Jackson a force of over 15,000 men with which to operate against either Banks or Fremont.

On May first Shields's Division was ordered out of the Valley and transferred to McDowell's command, a serious error, as shown by subsequent events, for this division had to return soon in order to again confront the tireless, ubiquitous Jackson. General Banks found himself seriously weakened by this withdrawal of the greater part of his force, for Williams had already lost one of his brigades — Abercrombie's — which had been detached just before the battle of Kernstown and ordered to join McDowell. In view of Jackson's reinforcement Banks could no longer hold safely the advanced line at Harrisonburg, and hence he withdrew on May fourteenth to Strasburg, where he occupied a partly fortified position eighteen miles south of Winchester.

Banks's force consisted now of Williams's Division, composed of two infantry brigades; First Brigade (Donnelly's) — Fifth Connecticut, Tenth Maine, Twenty-eighth New York, Forty-sixth Pennsylvania and First Maryland; Third Brigade (Gordon's) — Second Massachusetts, Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania, Twenty-seventh Indiana, Third Wisconsin, and a company of Zouaves d'Afrique; Artillery — Cothran's, Hampton's, Best's (U. S.) and Knap's batteries, and a brigade of cavalry under Gen. John P. Hatch. The cavalry, attached and unattached, included three full regiments and three of five companies each. In all, the corps numbered about 7,576 effective strength.

Jackson, with his own division and that of Ewell, was waiting in the Upper Valley for a favorable opportunity to surprise Banks and

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drive him northward across the Potomac. The combined forces of the Confederates included twenty-seven regiments and two battalions of infantry; twelve batteries of light artillery; two regiments of cavalry and a mounted command of partisan rangers under Col. Turner Ashby. The entire force numbered about 14,000 officers and men available for active duty.

At the important outpost of Front Royal, near one of the mountain passes in the Blue Ridge through which ran the railroad to Manassas, General Banks had stationed a small force consisting of the first Maryland Infantry, two companies of the Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania Infantry, one section of Knap's Pennsylvania Battery, a detachment of the Fifth New York Cavalry, and Capt. Mapes's company of pioneers, all under command of Col. John R. Kenly of the First Maryland.

Jackson's entire force moved down the Valley through Luray, and screened from observation by the movements of Ashby's cavalry and the high wall of the Massanutten Mountains, attacked Kenly's command on May twenty-third, effecting a complete surprise. The advancing column arrived within one and a half miles of Front Royal before the alarm was given, and then, at two o'clock P. M., the Union pickets were captured or rapidly driven in, Jackson having selected for this purpose the First Maryland Confederate Infantry. The little garrison made a spirited but brief resistance in which Kenly was wounded and the greater part of his command captured, including the two guns of Knap's Battery, not, however, until they had inflicted considerable loss on the enemy.

As it was evident that Jackson's objective point was Winchester, where he could place himself in the rear of the Union forces in the Valley, Banks fell back from Strasburg to that place on the twenty-fourth, having a shorter route than that of his antagonist. Still the withdrawal of the troops, encumbered as they were with a train of over five hundred wagons, together with crowds of fugitive civilians, refugees and negroes, was a difficult task. Frequent halts were necessary in order to beat off the enemy's cavalry which endeavored to pierce the moving column at various points and get possession of the pike. But such was the discipline and efficiency in the infantry of Williams's Division, combined with frequent dashes of the Union cavalry, that, although marching parallel with and in sight of the enemy, each attack was repelled, and the eighteen miles to Winchester were covered without serious loss.

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At times the teamsters became frightened by the charges of Ashby's troopers or the shelling from Jackson's batteries, and as a result some wagons were overturned in the confusion or left by the way. It was well into the night before the last of the train reached Winchester, and then the soldiers, weary with fighting and marching, moved to the respective positions assigned them for the battle which all knew must be fought on the morrow to ensure the safety of the trains, that had thirty-five miles yet to go before they would be safe beyond the Potomac at Williamsport.

During the night the Confederate columns closed in around Winchester, and at daylight the battle opened by driving in the Union pickets, while a rapid fire of artillery was maintained by each side. General Banks had formed his troops on the south side of the town, Donnelly's Brigade on the left and Gordon's on the right, with his cavalry well thrown out on either flank, and soon the rattle of musketry told that the line was being pressed throughout its entire length. But Banks and Williams had not hoped to do more than retard the advance of the superior force opposed to them, and so, after holding the enemy in check for five hours, their troops fell back through the town and followed in the rear of the trains on the Martinsburg Pike, the infantry moving in three parallel columns with a strong rear guard for each.

Still, the harassing attacks of the enemy threw the retreating troops into serious disorder at times. One of these affairs occurred some five miles beyond Winchester, in which Banks appealed earnestly to the men to rally and make a stand. "My God, men, don't you love your country?" he pleaded. "Yes," cried a soldier, "and I am trying to get to it as fast as I can."*

The Confederate pursuit was not so persistent but that Banks's wearied troops were able to take a rest of two hours or more at Martinsburg, after which they pushed on to the shore of the Potomac, opposite Williamsport, arriving there at nightfall. They had marched and convoyed their wagon trains from Strasburg, a distance of fifty-three miles, thirty-five of which were covered in one day. There was no bridge at Williamsport, and the improvised ferries would have been wholly inadequate to the safe conduct of the troops had they been attacked; but no enemy appeared, and the corps with its trains, artillery and material, crossed safely into Maryland, where the men were enabled to take the rest so sadly needed.

* History of the Third Wisconsin. By Adjutant Edwin E. Bryant. Madison. 1891.

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In the engagement at Winchester and the fighting incidental to the retreat from Strasburg to that place, including also Kenly's losses at Front Royal, the total casualties were 62 killed, 243 wounded, and 1,714 captured or missing; total, 2,019. Of the captured, 685 were taken prisoners at Front Royal, and 344 others were reported from the various cavalry commands. Of the 500 wagons in the train 55 were captured, abandoned or burned; of other vehicles the quartermaster reported a loss of 48, including 11 ambulances. The greatest loss of any regiment in killed and wounded fell to the lot of the Second Massachusetts.

Jackson states his loss at Front Royal and Winchester as 68 killed, 329 wounded, and 3 missing; total, 400. These figures indicate that, so far as the fighting went, Banks's troops held their own remarkably well under the circumstances, and inflicted as great a loss as they received. In addition to the prisoners captured, 750 sick and wounded in the hospitals at Winchester and Strasburg fell into the hands of the victorious Confederates.

Having driven the Union forces from the Shenandoah Valley, Jackson improved the opportunity to make a threatening demonstration against Harpers Ferry, and create an impression that his army, the strength of which had been greatly exaggerated by his opponents, was about to invade Maryland and march against the National Capital. Though he failed to rout, disperse, or capture Banks's Corps, he achieved other results that were valuable to the Confederacy and far reaching in their effect. The War Department at Washington was thrown into a panic of wild apprehension; troops en route for McClellan's army were hurried to other points; Union generals stationed with their commands at various points in Virginia and West Virginia sent clamorous despatches to Washington invoking aid and reinforcements, asserting that Jackson was in their front ready to attack, whereas in some instances he was fifty miles away; McDowell's Corps was withdrawn from Fredericksburg and after much telegraphing and correspondence was hurried by rail and on foot to Front Royal; and, whether for good or bad, McDowell was prevented from joining McClellan at Hanover Court House as previously arranged.

On May thirtieth Jackson, withdrawing from the position which he then held in front of Harpers Ferry and where his command had done some fighting with the garrison at that post, commenced his return march southward and up the Valley. He encountered Fre-

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mont in a general engagement at Cross Keys, June eighth, and the next day fought Shields at Port Republic. In the latter affair the brunt of the fighting and three-fourths of the loss fell on Tyler's Brigade, composed of the Fifth, Seventh, Twenty-ninth and Sixty-sixth Ohio Infantry, the same command which afterwards won additional laurels as Candy's Brigade, of Geary's Division, Twelfth Corps. Leaving Fremont to do whatever he liked the Confederate forces marched to Weyer's Cave, whence, after a brief encampment, they moved on June seventeenth toward Richmond, and Jackson left the valley, never to fight there again. Banks's Corps was also ordered to Eastern Virginia, and they too bid a lasting good bye to the scenes of their previous campaigns.

Cedar Mountain and Manassas.

After its retreat from Strasburg Banks's Corps remained on the north side of the Potomac, in the vicinity of Williamsport, until June tenth, a delay due in part to the heavy rains and swollen condition of the river. The men enjoyed a much needed rest, and an opportunity was afforded to refit the column preparatory to resuming the campaign. While at Williamsport a nice looking old gentleman in the uniform of a brigadier came to camp and presented instructions from the War Department placing him — Gen. George S. Greene — in command of Gordon's Brigade. He retained this command for a short time only, as Gordon was soon promoted brigadier for meritorious service in the preceding campaign and, on June twenty-fifth, was restored to his position. But we shall hear a good deal more about this same General Greene before we are through with the records of the Twelfth Corps.*

The river having subsided the corps recrossed, the regimental bands playing the then popular tune of "Carry me back to Ole Virginny," and moved southward by easy marches up the Valley.

The return to Winchester revived the bitter hatred with which the soldiers regarded the citizens on account of the treatment received from the people during the recent retreat through the streets of that town. The soldiers asserted that some of their com-

* Gen. George Sears Greene was born in Rhode Island, May 6, 1801; graduated at West Point in 1823, second in his class. Resigned from the army in 1836 and became a civil engineer. Reentered the army in 1862 as colonel of the 60th New York, and was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers, April 28, 1862. Brevetted major-general, Mch. 13, 1865. Retired from the army in 1866. He was 62 years old at the time of his famous defense of Culp's Hill at Gettysburg. Died Jan. 28, 1899.

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rades had been killed by shots fired from houses along the line of march. But they resented most the scandalous action of the Winchester dames, who from the upper windows hurled upon them objectionable articles of bedroom crockery. In two regiments of Greene's Brigade the men were outspoken in their threats to burn certain houses which they specially remembered.

The wise old brigadier heard, but said nothing. Just before entering the town he issued orders that the troops should march through the streets in column of fours, and that no officer or man should leave the ranks for any reason whatever. As they entered the place the two disaffected regiments found themselves flanked by other troops closely on each side, and they were marched through Winchester without a halt, out into the fields beyond, feeling and looking more like a lot of captured prisoners than the gay, fighting fellows that they were. They cursed "Old Greene" in muttered tones, but soon forgot it, guessed he was all right, and in time cheered the general as noisily as any other regiments in the brigade.

The corps arrived at Front Royal on the eighteenth, where it relieved McDowell's troops, which had been hurried to this point during the Jackson scare. The corps rested quietly here for three weeks, during which it was strengthened by the accession of Sigel's Division, these troops having been assigned to Banks's command to make good the loss occasioned by the transfer of Shields to the Department of the Rappahannock. This reinforcement, destined to remain permanently as the Second Division — and known subsequently as Geary's Division — was composed of regiments that had been sent from Washington to the defense of Harpers Ferry during the recent campaign. It included the Sixtieth, Seventy-eighth and One Hundred and Second New York, the Third Maryland, and the One Hundred and Ninth and One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania Infantry — six well-drilled regiments and good fighters, that, with one exception,* served in the corps until the end of the war. An official report, dated June 23, 1862, shows the following force as "present for duty" at that time:

Williams's Division: Infantry, 4,814 men; artillery, sixteen guns and 284 men; cavalry, 484 men. Aggregate, 5,582 men.

Sigel's Division: Infantry, 5,220 men; artillery, nine guns and 197 men; cavalry, 353 men. Aggregate, 6,050 men.

* The 3d Maryland was transferred to the Ninth Corps in May, 1864. Tyler's Brigade — 5th, 7th, 29th, and 66th Ohio — and 28th Pennsylvania were not in this division at this time.

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Hatch's Cavalry Brigade, 1,979 men.

Aggregate: Infantry, 10,034 men; artillery, twenty-five guns and 481 men; cavalry, 3,116 men. Grand total, 13,631.

On June 26, 1862, the War Department ordered that the forces under Major-Generals Fremont, Banks and McDowell should be consolidated and form one army, to be called the Army of Virginia, and placed under command of Major-General John Pope; that the troops under General Fremont should constitute the First Army Corps; that the designation of Banks's Corps should be changed from the Fifth to that of the Second Corps, Army of Virginia; and that the troops under McDowell should form the Third Corps of this newly constituted army. Fremont, who had hitherto been provided with an independent command, known as the Mountain Department, refused to serve in what he deemed a subordinate position, and asked to be relieved, assigning as a reason that he outranked General Pope. His request was granted, and General Sigel was assigned to the command of his corps. The vacancy caused by this promotion was filled by the assignment of Brig. Gen. C. C. Augur to the command of the Second Division.

On Sunday, July sixth, Banks's troops — now the Second Corps, Army of Virginia — broke camp at Front Royal and started on their march through the Blue Ridge to Eastern Virginia and the theatre of Pope's campaign. Moving by easy stages the troops reached Little Washington on the seventeenth, and encamped along the turnpike between Sperryville and Warrenton, with one brigade — Crawford's — stationed well to the front at Culpeper. Here daily drills were resumed, and there was a review by General Pope. Orders were received cutting down the amount of baggage and transportation, and shelter tents were issued, the latter constituting a well-remembered epoch in the life of each soldier. This article of equipment — "pup tent," as called by the men — had already been in use in the Peninsular campaign. Pope's army lay along a line extending from Warrenton through Sperryville to Luray, with Gordonsville as his objective, where he hoped to break the railroad communications with Richmond.

Banks's cavalry force, which was brigaded under the command of Gen. John P. Hatch, had already commenced operations against the railroad line when events occurred that placed Pope on the defensive. General McClellan having transferred his forces to the

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James River, General Lee, on July thirteenth, ordered Jackson's and Ewell's divisions to Gordonsville, and on the twenty-seventh reinforced them with the division of Gen. A. P. Hill. While Lee, with the main body of the Confederate army in the defences of Richmond, awaited some evidence of McClellan's intention, Jackson assumed the offensive against Pope, whose forces, superior in numbers, occupied the country to the north of the Rapidan.

The Confederates crossed the Rapidan August eighth, and advancing on the Culpeper road went into position along Cedar Run, a small stream that skirts the base of Slaughter's Mountain. This mountain was erroneously called Cedar Mountain in the war correspondence and official reports on the Union side, and the battle which ensued has gone into history under that name. In the Confederate reports the battle is named Cedar Run. Banks's cavalry fell back slowly before Jackson's advance. Crawford's Brigade of infantry was sent out from Culpeper to observe the enemy's movements, and assist in checking him, so far as possible, while the forces of Banks and Sigel, and one division of McDowell's, were rapidly concentrating at Culpeper.

On the morning of August ninth Banks's entire corps was ordered forward to support Crawford and meet the enemy — whether merely to retard his hostile advance, or give battle, was a matter which afterwards gave rise to serious dispute. The two divisions — Williams's and Augur's — left Culpeper about nine o'clock and moved forward at a rapid pace to Cedar Run. It was not a long march — only eight miles or so. But the day was still and cloudless, with the mercury in the nineties, and as the troops pushed along in the intense heat through clouds of dust, many fell from exhaustion and sunstroke. One man in the Second Massachusetts staggered out of the ranks, died, and was buried at the roadside. But there was a distant sound of firing ahead, and the regiments marched with well-closed fours and with no straggling other than that caused by exhausted nature.

The head of the column arrived on the field at noon. Within the enemy's line rose the high, steep slopes of Slaughter's Mountain; but the battlefield was situated on the bottom ground to the north, and along the little stream — Cedar Run — which flows through it. Some of the Confederate artillery was posted on the mountain side, the elevation affording an advantageous position that commanded a

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portion of the field, although at long range. There was the usual preliminary firing from batteries here and there, and exchange of shots along the picket line, but it was five o'clock before the engagement became general.

Banks formed his lines with Williams's Division on the right, and Augur's on the left. The brigades, running from right to left were in the following order: Gordon, Crawford, Geary, Prince, and Greene. They numbered, all told, 8,030 officers and men.

Jackson went into position with Ewell's Division on his right, Winder's on the left, and A. P. Hill's, which had not arrived when the battle opened, as a reserve. These troops were not all engaged; but the Confederate forces on the field and in the fight numbered 16,868 effectives.*

At five o'clock, the artillery and skirmish firing having become severe, Banks ordered Crawford's Brigade forward to the attack, where it encountered Campbell's Brigade of Winder's Division, and the engagement soon became general throughout the length of the Union line.† A description in detail of the movements of the contesting forces does not belong properly within the limited province of this history; nor would it be of interest to the general reader. A noted writer once said that there was nothing so tiresome as the accounts of the tactical movements of brigades and divisions on a battlefield. Let it suffice here to state that in the opening attack by Crawford's Brigade and regiments of other commands, the Confederate line was driven back in disorder at several points; that Jackson, ordering forward fresh brigades, regained the ground over which Banks's troops had so gallantly fought; that the battle raged with varying success on either side until, outflanked and overpowered, the Union line was driven back, leaving its dead and wounded behind and the enemy in possession of the field.

Nightfall prevented any further fighting, and Banks, availing himself of the welcome darkness, restored his shattered lines and

* Numbers and Losses in the Civil War. Col. Thomas L. Livermore. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1901.

† "Musketty scarcely ever sounded to us as intense and wicked as it did at Cedar Mountain. During Hooker's fierce onslaught at Antietam, or Sickles's desperate resistance at Gettysburg, both of which we were near enough to hear very distinctly, the volume of musketty was greater. It was evident that more men were engaged. But this evening at Cedar Mountain the firing seemed unusually energetic and terrifying." [History of the Twenty-seventh Indiana. By Edmund R. Brown.]

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made ready to resume the contest if necessary. But the sound of the battle had reached the ears of General Pope, and Ricketts's Division, of McDowell's Corps, had been hurried from Culpeper to the front. Arriving on the field at the close of the engagement, some of Ricketts's batteries went into position and opened an effective fire on the Confederate lines, while his infantry threw out a strong skirmish line that warned the enemy of this reinforcement.

Jackson held the field for two days, during which he buried his dead and granted a flag of truce to enable the Union general to discharge the same sad duties and to care for his wounded. Then, without making any effort to advance its line, the Confederate army retreated to Gordonsville. Banks's Corps had defeated Jackson's avowed plan to be at Culpeper on August ninth.

The roster of regiments, with the casualties in each, was:

Battle of Cedar Mountain, Va., August 9, 1862.

SECOND CORPS, ARMY OF VIRGINIA.

MAJ.-GEN. N. P. BANKS.

First Division.

BRIG.-GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

	Killed.	Wounded.*	Missing.	Aggregate.
<i>First Brigade.</i>				
Brig. Gen. S. W. Crawford.				
5th Connecticut, - - - -	21	71	145	237
10th Maine, - - - -	24	145	4	173
28th New York, - - - -	21	79	113	213
46th Pennsylvania, - - - -	31	102	111	244
<i>Third Brigade.</i>				
Brig. Gen. George H. Gordon.				
27th Indiana, - - - -	15	29	6	50
2nd Massachusetts, - - - -	40	93	40	173
29th Pennsylvania,† - - - -	-	-	-	-
3rd Wisconsin, - - - -	17	66	25	108
Co. Zouaves d'Afrique, - - - -	2	3	8	13

* Including the mortally wounded. From returns made the day after the battle.

† Absent on detached service.

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Second Division.

BRIG.-GEN. CHRISTOPHER C. AUGUR.

	Killed.	Wounded.*	Missing.	Aggregate.
<i>First Brigade.</i>				
Brig. Gen. John W. Geary.				
5th Ohio, - - - - -	14	104	4	122
7th Ohio, - - - - -	31	149	2	182
29th Ohio, - - - - -	6	50	10	66
66th Ohio, - - - - -	10	81	3	94
28th Pennsylvania,† - - - -	-	-	-	-
<i>Second Brigade.</i>				
Brig. Gen. Henry Prince.				
3rd Maryland, - - - - -	12	42	16	70
102nd New York, - - - - -	15	85	15	115
109th Pennsylvania, - - - -	14	72	28	114
111th Pennsylvania, - - - -	7	74	9	90
8th U. S. Infantry, }	8	37	15	60
12th U. S. Infantry, }				
<i>Third Brigade.</i>				
Brig. Gen. George S. Greene.				
1st District Columbia, - - -	-	3	1	4
78th New York, - - - - -	-	-	22	22
Staff, - - - - -	2	2	3	7
Artillery, - - - - -	7	27	6	40
Cavalry Escort, - - - - -	5	5	8	18
Total, Banks's Corps, - - -	302	1,319	594	2,215
Cavalry Brigade, - - - - -	10	45	9	64
Ricketts's Division, - - - -	2	80	20	102
Grand total, - - - - -	314	1,444	623	2,381

The loss in Union officers was severe. Among the killed were Colonel Donnelly of the Twenty-eighth New York, Lieut. Col. Crane of the Third Wisconsin, and Major Savage of the Second Massachusetts. Generals Augur and Geary were severely wounded. In the Second Massachusetts six officers were killed and five wounded; the Fifth Connecticut and Forty-sixth Pennsylvania lost eleven

* Including the mortally wounded. From returns made the day after the battle.

† Absent on detached service.

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officers each, killed or wounded. Of the brigade staff of General Prince, two officers were killed and one severely wounded, and the general was taken prisoner. Crawford's Brigade reported 88 officers and 1,679 men as "present in engagement;" it sustained a loss of 867, killed, wounded, and missing, nearly fifty per cent. The Seventh Ohio carried 14 officers and 293 enlisted men into action; it lost 180 in killed and wounded and two missing,* over fifty-nine per cent. General Augur's wound necessitating his absence, General Greene succeeded temporarily to the command of the Second Division.

The casualties in the Confederate army at Cedar Mountain as officially reported, by regiments, amounted to 223 killed, 1,060 wounded, and 31 missing; total, 1,314. General Winder, who commanded Jackson's old division, was killed by a shell, and 133 officers, field and line, were killed or wounded.

Jackson had forty-five regiments and three battalions of infantry engaged — each of which reported losses — besides his artillery and cavalry. Banks had eighteen regiments of infantry only.

Cedar Mountain came very near being a Union victory. The gallant, impetuous attack of Crawford's troops compelled Campbell's Brigade to "fall back in disorder," as Jackson expresses it; and Gen. A. P. Hill states that Winder's Brigade, "being hard pressed, broke, and many fugitives came back," and that "quite a large portion of both Early's and Taliaferro's brigades had been thrown into confusion." But the great disparity in numbers made Union success impossible, and Banks's men were forced to yield possession of the field.

And yet, something substantial was accomplished. Jackson's advance had been checked completely; he failed to occupy Culpeper as he intended, and he was obliged to recross the Rapidan and retreat to Gordonsville. The result of Banks's attack and his stubborn resistance furnished the only semblance of success that at any time attended Pope's ill-starred campaign. Halleck congratulated the general commanding on his "hard earned but brilliant success," and Pope announced in orders that "Cedar Mountain is only the first of a series of victories which shall make the Army of Virginia famous in the land." But the soldiers, whose thoughts reverted

* These two men, as subsequently ascertained, were killed.

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to their dead and wounded comrades left in the enemy's hands, sneered at the order, and expressed surprise that their commander should hold such loose ideas as to what constituted a victory.

If Pope had supported Banks with Ricketts's Division and Sigel's Corps he might have secured the victory which he claimed. Ricketts's command lay between Culpeper and Cedar Mountain all day August ninth, and within five miles, or less, of the field. But Pope says that "the fight was precipitated by Banks" contrary to orders, and that he should have waited until Sigel's arrival. Whether Jackson also would have courteously awaited Sigel's pleasure was a question that did not trouble the general commanding.

General Banks interpreted his orders as meaning that he must fight. As delivered by an officer on General Pope's staff and reduced to writing they read that Banks should "deploy his skirmishers if the enemy approaches, and attack him immediately as soon as he approaches, and be reinforced from here." Dated at Culpeper, August 9, 1862. When Banks asked if there were any further orders Pope referred him to General Roberts of his staff, who was directed to go to the front and assist in selecting the line to be occupied.

Although the corps commander was in no way responsible for the reverses which the Union Army had suffered in the Valley, he felt keenly the severe criticisms that had been made upon his operations there. He had in mind also Pope's boastful pronouncement of July fourteenth, that was construed everywhere as an unfavorable reflection on the generals of the eastern army. So, when General Roberts, riding at his side, remarked significantly that "There must be no backing out this day," Banks determined to fight whenever and wherever the enemy appeared, and to fight hard.* Whatever General Pope may have thought of the matter, he was kind enough to state in his despatches four days later: "The behavior of Banks's Corps during the action was very fine. No greater gallantry and daring could be exhibited by any troops. I cannot speak too highly of the intrepidity and coolness of General Banks himself during the whole of the engagement. He was in the front and exposed as much as any man in his command." These words of commendation were certainly well merited.

* Report of Committee on Conduct of the War. Testimony of Maj. Gen. N. P. Banks. Vol. III, p. 46. Washington: 1865.

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During the operations that followed Cedar Mountain — the Manassas or Second Bull Run campaign — the corps did not participate in the actual fighting to any great extent. Its artillery was engaged at times with creditable success in some of the contests at the fords of the upper Rappahannock, and in the battle of Chantilly it moved up in close support of the firing line. Its principal duties were confined to guarding the lines of communication and the protection of the supply trains, an important but inglorious task. In the course of this duty there were long, fatiguing marches, over dusty roads and under an August sun. There was much of hurrying to and fro under orders from army headquarters, some of which were useless and ill-advised; and, at times, the men suffered from lack of food and water.

The main army was driven back within the defenses of Washington, and on September second the corps arrived at Alexandria, where it halted and enjoyed a brief period of rest in safety. Here a general order was promulgated announcing that General McClellan was again at the head of the army. The news was received throughout the camps with loud cheers, and the feeling of despondency gave way to an enthusiastic hope of better things to come.

General Pope was relieved of his command, and his three corps were transferred to the Army of the Potomac. The Army of Virginia was no more.

Antietam.

On September fourth the corps moved to Georgetown, and, crossing the Potomac on the aqueduct bridge, marched thence to Tenallytown, a village in the District of Columbia, near Washington. The wagon train, with the camp equipage and other supplies necessary to the comfort of the troops, was found here, where it was awaiting their arrival. The brief stay at this place enabled the men to sleep in their tents, enjoy good food, get clean, and refit to some extent.

Gen. Alpheus S. Williams, of the First Division, was in temporary command of the corps. General Banks, whose ill-health at this time unfitted him for active service in the field, had been placed in charge of the defenses of Washington, and he took a final leave of the war-worn troops that had served so faithfully under him dur-



THE DUNKER CHURCH AT ANTIETAM.

From easterly side of Hagerstown and Sharpsburg Pike, showing side of the building facing the road, and end towards Sharpsburg. Monument to 34th New York on the left.

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ing the arduous campaigns of the past year. Though it does not appear that the men were ever enthusiastic in his favor, he had gained their respect, and when he left he carried with him their best wishes for his future welfare. Entering the service without any military training or experience, he had displayed a courageous bearing in action and shown an ability of no mean order in the management of affairs. Sadly hampered at times by interference with his plans, he was patient and uncomplaining, and in this respect the records of his official correspondence with the authorities at Washington contrast favorably with that of the other generals at the time.

On the fifth Williams moved his command to Rockville, in Maryland, sixteen miles from Washington. Here five new regiments joined the corps,—the Thirteenth New Jersey and One Hundred and Seventh New York, three-years men, assigned to Gordon's Brigade; and three regiments of the nine-months levy—the One Hundred and Twenty-fourth, One Hundred and Twenty-fifth, and One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania, which were placed in Crawford's Brigade, all in the First Division. These men, with their full ranks, clean uniforms and bright, new flags, were viewed with wonder and curiosity by the old campaigners. Each one of these regiments at dress parade showed a longer line than that of some veteran brigade. They still had some of the characteristics pertaining to raw recruits, having been in service but a month or so. They had attained, however, a commendable proficiency in drill, and in the great battle which soon followed it was noticed that they deployed under fire with steadiness, and faced the enemy with a cool courage that elicited praise in the official reports. Though the sound of their good-byes was still lingering in their northern homes, they were destined to fill scores of bloody graves before many days had passed.

Lee's victorious army had crossed into Maryland. An invasion of the North was threatened. Washington and Baltimore were in danger. McClellan was busily engaged in reorganizing and strengthening the shattered and defeated armies which had been turned over to his command in order to save the Capital and drive the exultant, confident enemy back into Virginia.

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While at Rockville the corps moved a short distance and formed line of battle. The preparations indicated that an attack was expected. But not a shot was heard; in fact, there was no enemy within many miles. The cause of this alarm was unknown at the time, and has remained so ever since; at least it does not appear in any record. It may have been ordered merely for the purposes of drill — perhaps to give the new regiments an opportunity to acquaint themselves with an important part of their tactical duties.

In his advance through Maryland in pursuit of the enemy General McClellan moved his army in three parallel columns, the two corps of Sumner and Williams having the central line of march. Leaving Rockville on the ninth, Williams advanced his troops to Middlebrook; the next day to Damascus, where they halted for two days; and thence on the twelfth to Ijamsville, a station on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

The Twelfth Corps received its official designation as such on September 12, 1862, an important date in the history of this organization. In General Orders, No. 129, of that date, the President directed that the Second Corps of the Army of Virginia should become the Twelfth Corps, Army of the Potomac.

On the thirteenth the Twelfth Corps, as now designated in orders, moved from Ijamsville to Frederick, fording the Monocacy River on the way. It arrived there at noon and halted near the town. The men stacked arms in the same fields that were occupied the previous day by the Confederate division of Gen. D. H. Hill. Within a few minutes a soldier of the Twenty-seventh Indiana — Private B. W. Mitchell — picked up a piece of paper containing an order written at Confederate headquarters, which he promptly handed to Col. Silas Colgrove of that regiment. This lost despatch, so opportunely found, was immediately transmitted through the ordinary medium of communication to McClellan's headquarters, where it was found to be a general order signed by Lee's adjutant-general, giving directions for the movements of the entire Confederate army and thus revealing the plans of the enemy. Colgrove says that this paper when picked up was wrapped around three cigars.*

Fully informed now as to the location and movement of each column in the Confederate army, McClellan gave immediate orders

* Battles and Leaders of the Civil War. Vol. II, p. 603. Century Company, New York.

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for an advance, and overtaking them attacked their rear in the passes of the South Mountain. Here the enemy had made a determined stand, but he was defeated and driven out with serious loss.

On the same day — the fourteenth — the Twelfth Corps moved forward also, and marching through Frederick the troops pushed on towards the front, where the fighting had already commenced. Behind them the Sabbath bells were ringing in the Frederick steeples, their peaceful sound mingling with the sullen boom of the artillery at South Mountain and Harpers Ferry. The march this day, though not a long one, was wearisome in the extreme. The roads were occupied by cavalry, artillery and ammunition trains. The infantry moved across fields and through tall standing corn, where the still, close air intensified the suffocating heat. Up and over the Catoctin Range they climbed and then marched down into the beautiful valley of the Catoctin Creek, wading this stream long after dark. It was past midnight when the head of the column reached the field, and went into position ready to begin the fighting at daylight if necessary. But the enemy retreated during the night, leaving his dead unburied on the field.

Maj. Gen. Joseph K. F. Mansfield, an old officer of the Regular Army, had been assigned to the command of the Twelfth Corps, and he joined it on the morning of the fifteenth, the day after the battle of South Mountain, General Williams resuming charge of the First Division. Mansfield was a white bearded veteran of advanced years, who had served in the Mexican war with many honors, and wounds as well. Prior to joining the Twelfth Corps he had held important commands at Fort Monroe, Norfolk and Suffolk. His dignified, soldierly demeanor created a favorable impression, and withal he had a kindly manner that appealed strongly to the men in the ranks. But fate had decreed that his term of command was to be all too brief, that it was soon to end in a soldier's death.

Resuming its march on the fifteenth the corps moved over the battlefield, thickly strewn with the ghastly evidences of the fighting on the previous day, and on into the valley of the Antietam Creek. While on the road there was a sound of cheering in the distance which swelled into a tumultuous roar as McClellan and his staff rode by. The men greeted him with enthusiastic shouts and tossed their hats wildly in the air. But when he passed the Third Wisconsin

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and Second Massachusetts, these regiments, with the strict ideas of discipline inculcated by their West Point colonels, made no noisy demonstration, but, preferring to give the general a marching salute, fell into step and went by at carry arms with eyes to the front.*

The march this day led through the little hamlet of Boonsborough, where the church and several houses had been converted into hospitals for the Confederate wounded, while along the roadside lay many of their dead. General Mansfield was sitting on his horse near a dead Confederate who was covered with a blanket, when a sergeant in one of the new regiments stepped out of the ranks and pulled aside the covering to look at the dead man's face. Mansfield spoke up quickly — "There, there, Sergeant! No idle curiosity! Don't uncover the face of the dead. You will soon have a chance to see all you want of them." And the first man shot that the sergeant saw was Mansfield himself.

That night the corps bivouacked in the fields near Keedysville, not far from the Antietam Creek. The next morning — the sixteenth — brought orders to move, and line of battle was formed. Just over the low ridge of hills that skirted the stream a lively cannonade was in progress, that sounded as if it were close by. Hooker was shelling the enemy's lines on the farther side of the creek; at times a brisk skirmish fire was heard. The gray haired corps commander as he rode along his line announced that they were going into battle immediately; but his troops did no fighting that day. Everywhere the brigades and divisions of the other corps were going into position. As far as the view extended were regiments on regiments, many of them closed en masse on close column by division that looked like solid squares, with their colors in the center. It was a grand, a memorable sight. The hours passed quickly, and, in the fading light of a gorgeous sunset the men prepared their evening meal. Then, while the bugles were sounding sweet and clear from distant camps, they made their simple bivouac under the starlight and lay down to sleep.

But their rest was short. At eleven o'clock the men were awakened and ordered to fall in quietly; they were instructed to make no noise. Silently and half asleep the column moved off in the darkness, and crossing the Antietam on one of the upper bridges

* History of the Third Wisconsin. By Edwin E. Bryant. Madison: 1891.



PORTION OF ANTIETAM BATTLEFIELD.

Monument in center to General Mansfield, commander of 12th Corps, marking spot where he fell. The 10th Maine and 10th New York, of Williams' Division, charged across the field in which the monument stands and drove the Confederates out of the East Woods, which at that time covered the higher ground at the left. Outline of South Mountain in the distance.

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arrived at their designated position after a three hours' march. The corps was now on the farm of J. Poffenberger, at the right of the Union army, and in rear and partly to the left of Hooker's Corps. A heavy dew was falling, but the men threw themselves down in the wet grass for a few hours of sleep. They were soon startled from their heavy slumbers by a volley of musketry that rang out noisily on the night air from a piece of woods close by. It was an accidental collision between the Confederate pickets of Hood's Division and a regiment of the Pennsylvania Reserves. Nothing came of it, and soon all was quiet again.

Wednesday, September 17, 1862—the day of the battle of Antietam. No bugle in the Twelfth Corps sounded reveille that morning; the call had already been sounded by the rifles of the skirmishers as they rang out sharp and clear on the morning air. This firing commenced at daylight—so early that the musketry showed a red flash in the dim mist that overhung the fields and woods. The dropping fire of the skirmish line was soon followed by heavy volleys intermingled with a rapid, continuous discharge of light artillery. Hooker, with his First Corps, had opened the battle by making a vigorous attack on the enemy's left.

Aroused by this heavy firing in its immediate front the Twelfth Corps fell into line. By Mansfield's orders the regiments were formed in column by division, closed en masse, with the exception of some of the new ones, which, on account of their full ranks, were formed in close column by companies. In this formation the troops moved forward up onto the plateau, where the First Corps was battling hard to retain possession of the ground which it had gained in its opening attack, and halted in close support of Hooker's line. It was now about six o'clock in the morning.

General Lee had selected for his position, in which to make a stand against the Union advance, the high ground situated on the tongue of land that lies between the Potomac and Antietam Creek, just north of the confluence of these streams. The ground sloped in front to the Antietam, and on the rear to the Potomac, on which the left of his line rested. His right ended at the creek, a short distance below the stone bridge—subsequently known as Burnside's bridge—and not far from where this stream empties into the Potomac. The general direction of the line was north and south. Parallel with it and a short distance within ran the stone pike

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known as the Hagerstown Road. Near the south end of the Confederate position and protected by it was the village of Sharpsburg. At the centre, by the road, was a small brick building, known as the Dunker Church. Standing in the edge of the woods, without a spire or belfry, it resembled a country schoolhouse. Around and in front of this church the battle raged fiercely all day; it was the Hougoumont of that field. Jackson was in command of the Confederate left wing, with the divisions of Ewell, J. R. Jones, A. P. Hill and D. H. Hill; the right wing, under Longstreet, comprised the divisions of McLaws, D. R. Jones, Walker and Hood. Some of these troops did not arrive on the field until after the battle was in progress.

On the Union side the First Corps (Hooker's), supported by the Twelfth, was on the right; the Second Corps (Sumner's) supported by the Sixth (Franklin's), occupied the centre; and the Ninth (Burnside's), on the east side of the Antietam, held the left. The Fifth Corps (Porter's), on the east side also, was held in reserve. Franklin's troops—the leading division—arrived on the field at ten o'clock.

It was between six and seven o'clock in the morning that Hooker, in his contest with Ewell, found himself unable to make farther progress, owing to the reinforcements sent against him. He called on the Twelfth Corps for help. Mansfield, who had been personally superintending the deployment of the new regiments, ordered Williams's Division to the assistance of the First Corps, and then, deploying Greene's Division, put these veteran troops into action on Hooker's left.

Williams advanced in fine style, with Gordon's Brigade on his left and Crawford's extending on the right to the Hagerstown Road. One of Crawford's regiments—the Tenth Maine—passing to the left of the division, advanced to the woods on the east side of the turnpike, opposite the Dunker Church, and made a brisk fight for the possession of this vantage ground. General Mansfield, while directing the fire of these men, was mortally wounded and borne to the rear,* while his riderless horse galloped wildly back and forth over the ploughed field where this occurred. General Williams was now in command of the corps; and right well he discharged his

* History of the Tenth Maine. By Major John M. Gould. Portland: Stephen Berry. 1871.



PORTION OF ANTIETAM BATTLEFIELD.

View of position held by Greene's Division, 12th Corps, on east side of Sharpsburg Pike. The line of the Pike is indicated by the buildings in the background. The end of the Smoketown Road, where it joins the pike at the Dunker Church, is seen at extreme right. The Maryland State monument is in front of the church on the opposite side of the pike.

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duties during all the intricate movements and desperate fighting of the day.

Three regiments of Gordon's Brigade — Twenty-seventh Indiana, Third Wisconsin, and Second Massachusetts — encountered, in the famous cornfield, Wofford's Brigade of Hood's Division, inflicting on these opponents one of the bloodiest losses in the war. The Second was placed where it could deliver an effective cross fire. Colonel Work, of the First Texas, one of Wofford's regiments, states in his official report that he lost his colors, while his casualty return shows a loss in killed and wounded of eighty-two per cent of the number in action.*

But Gordon's brave fellows suffered terribly also. Colonel Colgrove, of the Twenty-seventh, reports that of the 443 in line with his colors, 209 were hit, or 47 per cent; and Colonel Ruger, of the Third Wisconsin states that of the 340 officers and men carried into the fight he lost 198, or 58 per cent. The Second Massachusetts captured the colors of the Eleventh Mississippi, of Hood's Division, taken by Sergeant Wheat, of Company E. And this was the kind of men that fought under the flags of the Twelfth Corps.

While this contest was being waged, in which the troops of Hooker and Mansfield had steadily forced the Confederates back and across the pike into the woods around the Dunker Church, Greene's Division was doing equally good work farther to the left and south. These troops, under their veteran leader — a hero of two wars — had advanced rapidly and driven the enemy out of the large grove situated on the east side of the pike. A lane — Smoke-town Road — fenced on each side, runs from the church to this grove, a distance of fifty rods or more. Some historians of the battle designate this locality as the East Woods.

Passing through these woods Greene halted a short time in the fields beyond, while his men replenished their cartridge boxes. He then wheeled his line to the right to meet an advancing body of the enemy's troops, and, attacking them fiercely, drove them across the pike into the West Woods, around the church. His division secured a lodgment and held it for a long time; but, with the failure of the attack made by Sedgwick's Division of the Second Corps, Greene

* In a recent letter received by the author from Gen. E. A. Carman, of the National Commission for the Battlefield of Antietam, he states that the loss of the 1st Texas was sustained in an encounter with the 9th, 11th and 12th Regiments, Pennsylvania Reserves.

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found himself in a dangerous position. His line was too far advanced; it was unsupported on either flank. Greene then fell back across the pike. But before doing so his little regiments — some of them numbering less than two hundred men — did effective work and added their full share to the laurels won by the Twelfth Corps on this field. In the Fifth Ohio, Private John P. Murphy captured the flag of the Thirteenth Alabama; and Corporal Jacob G. Orth, of the Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania, captured the colors of the Seventh South Carolina. Each of these gallant soldiers received a medal of honor from the War Department in recognition of his heroic action. The official reports made by the regiments in Greene's Division indicate that the fighting at times was unusually desperate, the men engaging at one place in "a hand-to-hand combat," in which some of his soldiers used "clubbed guns, a portion of the men having no bayonets."*

The artillery of the Twelfth Corps, under Capt. Clermont L. Best, United States Army, maintained its previous reputation for efficiency, the batteries of Knap, Hampton, and Cothran rendering conspicuous and valuable service. At a critical period of the battle, when Sedgwick's Division was driven out of the woods at the church after its gallant but unsuccessful assault, the enemy attempted to follow up its advantage by an advance across the pike into the open fields. But Cothran's Battery — M, First New York Light Artillery — supported by the One Hundred and Seventh New York Infantry, opened on them with such a rapid and destructive fire of canister that the Confederates were forced to fall back into the woods, leaving the ground thickly strewn with their dead and wounded.

The Twelfth Corps after seven hours of continuous fighting or exposure to the fire of the enemy was relieved by Franklin's troops. The two divisions then moved slowly to the rear, stacked arms, and the men, having been without food since the night before, were given an opportunity to build coffee fires and break their fast. The battle was over. McClellan had gained considerable ground; but Lee still held a strong position in the woods around the church and presented an unbroken front to his antagonist.

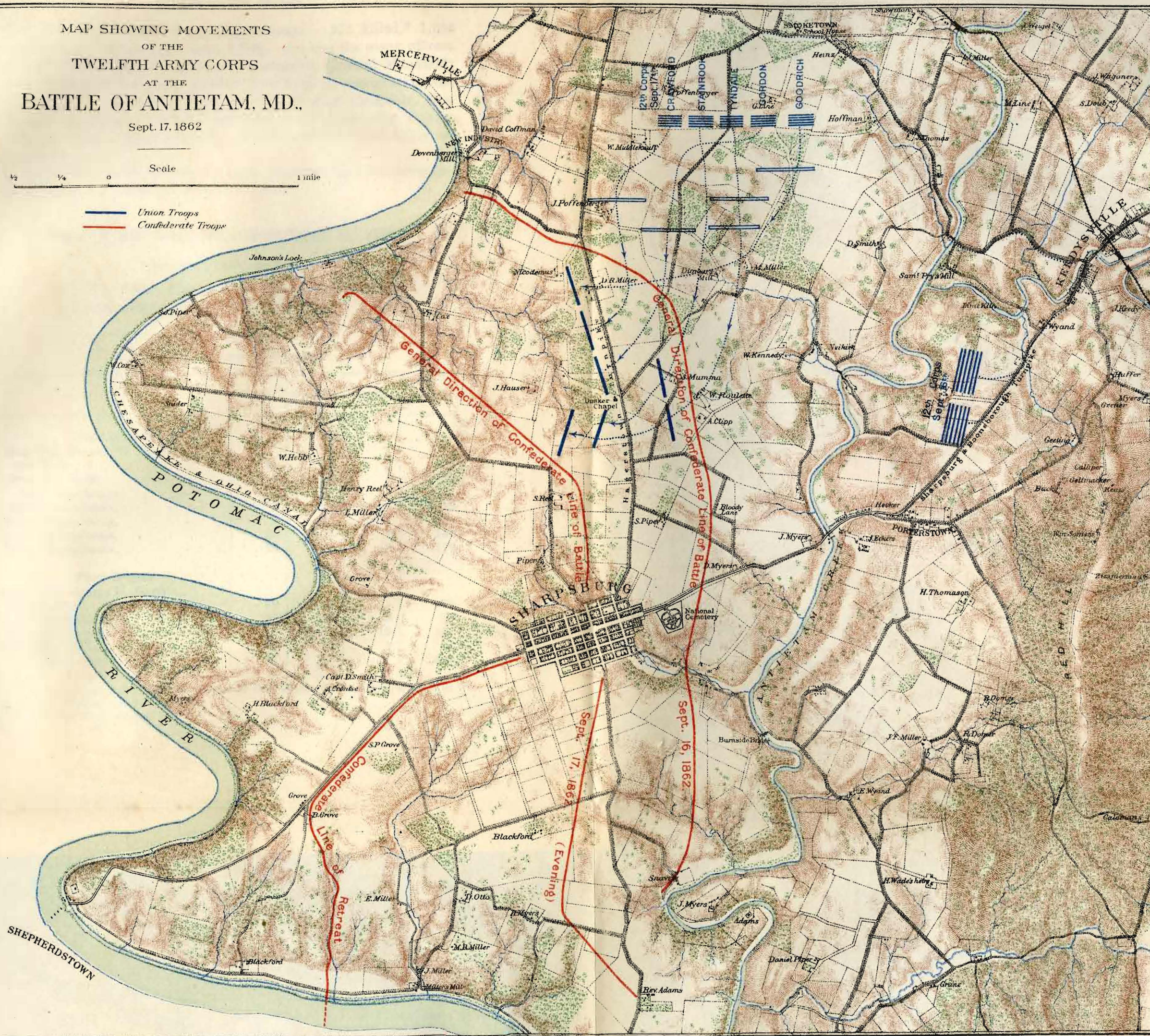
As the Twelfth was the smallest corps in the army — two divisions only — its aggregate of casualties was less than that of some of

* Official Records. Vol. XIX, Part 1, p. 507.

MAP SHOWING MOVEMENTS
OF THE
TWELFTH ARMY CORPS
AT THE
BATTLE OF ANTIETAM, MD.,
Sept. 17, 1862

Scale
1/2 1/4 0 1 mile

Union Troops
Confederate Troops



The Twelfth Corps

the other corps. Still, it was large enough — 275 killed,* 1,386 wounded, and 85 missing; total, 1,746. Among the many officers killed were, the gallant old corps commander, General Mansfield; Col. William B. Goodrich, Sixtieth New York, in command of the Third Brigade, Greene's Division; Col. Samuel Croasdale, One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania; and Lieut. Col. Wilder Dwight, Second Massachusetts. Eighty officers were killed or wounded.

The roster of the Twelfth Corps at this time, together with the casualties in each regiment, was as follows:

Battle of Antietam, Md., September 17, 1862.

TWELFTH ARMY CORPS.

(1) MAJ. GEN. JOSEPH K. F. MANSFIELD (killed).

(2) BRIG. GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

First Division.

BRIG. GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
<i>First Brigade.</i>				
Brig. Gen. Samuel W. Crawford.				
10th Maine, - - - - -	21	50	1	72
28th New York, - - - - -	2	9	1	12
5th Connecticut,† - - - - -	-	-	-	-
46th Pennsylvania, - - - - -	6	13	-	19
124th Pennsylvania, - - - - -	5	42	17	64
125th Pennsylvania, - - - - -	28	115	2	145
128th Pennsylvania, - - - - -	26	86	6	118
<i>Third Brigade.</i>				
Brig. Gen. George H. Gordon.				
27th Indiana, - - - - -	18	191	-	209
2nd Massachusetts, - - - - -	12	58	3	73
13th New Jersey, - - - - -	7	75	19	101
107th New York, - - - - -	7	51	5	63
3rd Wisconsin, - - - - -	27	173	-	200

* This report does not include those who died of their wounds, the latter being reported at the close of the battle with the wounded.

† Absent on detached duty.

The Twelfth Corps

Second Division.

BRIG. GEN. GEORGE S. GREENE.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
<i>First Brigade.</i>				
Lieut. Col. Hector Tyndale.				
5th Ohio, - - - - -	11	35	2	48
7th Ohio, - - - - -	5	33	-	38
29th Ohio,* - - - - -	-	-	-	-
66th Ohio, - - - - -	1	23	-	24
28th Pennsylvania, - - -	44	217	5	266
<i>Second Brigade.</i>				
Col. Henry J. Stainrook.				
3rd Maryland, - - - - -	1	25	3	29
102nd New York, - - - - -	5	27	5	37
109th Pennsylvania,* - - -	-	-	-	-
111th Pennsylvania, - - - -	26	76	8	110
<i>Third Brigade.</i>				
Col. William B. Goodrich.				
3rd Delaware, - - - - -	6	11	-	17
60th New York, - - - - -	4	18	-	22
78th New York, - - - - -	8	19	7	34
Purnell (Md.) Legion, - - -	3	23	-	26
Artillery Brigade, - - - - -	1	15	1	17
Staff, - - - - -	1	1	-	2
Total Twelfth Corps, - - -	275	1,386	85	1,746

The comparatively small loss in some of Greene's regiments is due to their reduced numbers at this time. The actual number carried into action by some of them was reported as follows:

3rd Maryland, - - - - -	148
111th Pennsylvania, - - - - -	243
3rd Delaware, - - - - -	126
60th New York, - - - - -	226
78th New York, - - - - -	221

* Absent on detached duty.

The Twelfth Corps

The entire loss of the Army of the Potomac at Antietam, by corps, was:

	Killed.	Wounded.*	Missing.	Aggregate.
First Army Corps, - - - -	417	2,051	122	2,590
Second Army Corps, - - - -	883	3,859	396	5,138
Fourth Army Corps,† - - - -	-	9	-	9
Fifth Army Corps, - - - -	17	90	2	109
Sixth Army Corps, - - - -	71	335	33	439
Ninth Army Corps, - - - -	438	1,796	115	2,349
Twelfth Army Corps, - - - -	275	1,386	85	1,746
Cavalry Division, - - - -	7	23	-	30
Total, - - - -	2,108	9,549	753	12,410

The casualties in the Confederate army, as reported by Jackson, Longstreet, and D. H. Hill, amount to 1,679 killed, 9,116 wounded, and 2,292 missing; total, 13,187. But these figures include the losses at South Mountain and Crampton's Gap, and no separate statement was made for Antietam. McClellan states that he captured "more than 6,000 prisoners" in the Maryland campaign; but the reports of his subordinates fail to show where all these men were taken.

The statements as to the relative strength of the contesting armies are unsatisfactory. General Lee says in his report that he fought this battle with "less than 40,000 men on his side." The returns of the various divisions under his command indicate an effective strength of 51,844.† He complains that his army was greatly reduced by straggling; that "a great many men never entered Maryland at all;" that "many returned after getting there, while others who crossed the river held aloof;" that the "arduous service, great privations of rest and food, and long marches without shoes had greatly reduced the ranks before the action began;" and that "these causes compelled thousands of brave men to absent themselves," while "many more had done so from unworthy motives." Despite these complaints General Lee's field return

* Includes the mortally wounded.

† Couch's Division only; arrived on the field September eighteenth.

‡ Colonel Livermore.

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for September twenty-second, three days after recrossing the river, shows 36,418 present for duty, not including his cavalry and reserve artillery, which are not reported. If to this number are added also his losses at Antietam — 11,000 at least — it would indicate that there were several thousand Confederate stragglers or absentees, and that they rejoined their commands with amazing promptitude. In stating his strength at Antietam at less than 40,000 General Lee must have been misled by the estimates of his subordinates.

But the Army of the Potomac suffered from straggling also. The forces given General McClellan for the purpose of driving Lee out of Maryland had been reduced by hard fighting and exhaustive campaigning, and were badly demoralized by successive defeats. He reported that his forces at Antietam numbered 87,164; but he does himself injustice in this statement. It is based on the morning reports, in which the "Present for duty" includes noncombatants and stragglers. For instance: He places the strength of the Twelfth Corps at 10,126; but there were three regiments of this corps absent on detached duty; and the official reports of the various regimental commandants at Antietam, stating the number carried into action by each, indicate that there were not over 8,000 in line with their colors on the field. This difference between the number returned as "Present for duty" on the morning reports and the number carried into action is a matter that is fully understood by every adjutant and orderly sergeant. Under that caption were included musicians, company cooks, and men on commissary, quartermaster and medical duty; soldiers detailed illegally as officers' servants, and stragglers who were expected to turn up in a day or so — "All present for duty," such as it was, provided they didn't have to go on the firing line. It is doubtful if McClellan had 60,000 men in line at Antietam, including his reserves.

General Hancock had evidently noticed the extraordinary discrepancy between morning reports and actual strength, and so, at the next battle — Fredericksburg — he ordered each colonel in his division to make a count of the men in line just before going into action. As a result, his famous division received credit for its gallant fighting there, because there were definite figures available on which to base its percentage of loss. If McClellan had exercised the same forethought at Antietam the historians would have less to say about his overwhelming numbers.

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The Confederates managed these things better. In their monthly reports the men returned as "Present for duty," or "Present effective" were not only present but effective also. Hence the Confederate returns were a better indication of actual strength than the morning reports of the Union armies.

During the eighteenth, the day after the battle, McClellan did not resume the offensive, and the Confederates lay quietly behind their picket line. The hostile ranks were very close, and all that day the two armies watched each other attentively. McClellan, after consulting with his corps commanders, decided to await the arrival of reinforcements that were near at hand, and then renew the attack on the nineteenth. Couch's Division of the Fourth Corps, and Humphrey's Division of the Fifth, arrived on the eighteenth, after a rapid, fatiguing march; the expected reinforcements from Pennsylvania failed to appear. But Lee's forces recrossed the river in the night at one of the fords in their rear. The water was low and his men had no difficulty in wading the broad stream. When McClellan's skirmishers advanced on the morning of the nineteenth they met with no resistance. The enemy had gone; the invasion was ended.

General McClellan, in his official report, states that in the Maryland campaign his army captured thirteen pieces of artillery, thirty-nine colors, over 15,000 stand of small arms, and more than 6,000 prisoners, without losing a color or gun. Some writers through an evident desire to belittle McClellan's success in driving Lee back into Virginia, have called Antietam a drawn battle. But they never speak of Gettysburg as such, although the results were the same. At the close of each battle the Confederates were in line all the next day, awaiting and inviting an attack. Then they retreated in good order and recrossed the Potomac. Lee's facilities for withdrawal were much greater at Antietam, for the river was close by and at a fordable stage. At Gettysburg his army had thirty-five miles to march before it could reach the Potomac, and when it arrived there the crossing was delayed by a flood that rendered the stream impassable for several days. Yet no one ever speaks of that battle as a draw. Both Antietam and Gettysburg were Union victories, and for the same reasons.

Finding that the enemy had gone, the Army of the Potomac moved on towards Harpers Ferry. The Twelfth Corps in its

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march passed over the battlefield, on which hundreds of the Confederate dead were still lying unburied. The faces of these fallen men had turned black, while their bodies were so swollen and distended that their clothing was burst open. On no scene of fighting during the war were there such horrible sights exposed to view as on this ground. Crossing Burnside's Bridge and passing through Sharpsburg the corps marched to Maryland Heights. Across the Potomac, through the purple autumn haze, the tents of Lee's army in Virginia could be seen. The First Division encamped here, or in this immediate vicinity, several weeks, while the Second Division occupied Loudoun Heights, on the Virginia side of the river. The five other corps of the army occupied Bolivar Heights, Pleasant Valley, Sandy Hook, and other places near Harpers Ferry.

While here, on September twenty-ninth, five new regiments were assigned to the Twelfth Corps—the Twentieth Connecticut, the One Hundred and Twenty-third, One Hundred and Forty-fifth, One Hundred and Thirty-seventh, and One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York Infantry. The three first named were placed in the First Division—the others in the Second Division. They were composed of exceptionally fine material, and made a welcome addition to its depleted ranks. A few days later the One Hundred and Forty-seventh Pennsylvania was also assigned to Geary's (Second) Division. This regiment had just been organized by taking five companies from the Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania—a fifteen-company command—and adding to this veteran battalion five companies of newly enlisted men. Since its first organization under General Banks, the corps had contained but two divisions only, and so a third division—Whipple's—was added at this time, October twenty-second; but the arrangement was of short duration. When McClellan's army moved southward shortly after, leaving the Twelfth Corps at Harpers Ferry, Whipple's Division was transferred to Sickles's Corps. But few, if any, of the men in the Twelfth Corps knew that it ever had a third division.

Another event, the most important in the history of the corps, occurred during the stay at Harpers Ferry—the assignment of Maj. Gen. Henry W. Slocum to its command. The order of the War Department announcing this appointment was dated October 15, 1862. The news was received by the men with hearty, outspoken satisfaction, for there was scarcely a soldier in the ranks who

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had not heard of his brilliant record in the war. The story of the gallant manner in which he personally led his division in its successful assault at Crampton's Gap was still told around the camp fires. He was received with a kindly enthusiasm, that was not to lessen but rather increase during the campaigns in which they served under him throughout the remainder of the war.

The Army of the Potomac moved into Virginia in the last week of October, and following Lee's forces southward occupied the passes of the Blue Ridge, where it held a position in front of the enemy from which it could operate to advantage. On November fifth McClellan was relieved from command for alleged inactivity. During the forty-nine days that had elapsed since the battle of Antietam he had remained most of the time at Harpers Ferry, awaiting supplies which he deemed necessary before ordering another advance. Whether so long a delay was justifiable is a question that has been much discussed. But it will be noticed that when, after the great victory at Gettysburg, ten months elapsed without a general engagement, the pet phrase of "masterly inactivity" was no longer heard.

When McClellan ordered the Army of the Potomac into Virginia — in October, 1862 — he left Slocum's Corps at Harpers Ferry to guard this important point until operations should render its further occupation unnecessary. While here the Second Division — Geary's — made at different times a reconnoissance in force up the Shenandoah Valley, in which it did some skirmishing and made large captures of men, arms, horses and supplies. In each division some regiments were busily employed in felling timber and in the construction of fortifications for improving the defensive advantages of their position. The Third Brigade (Ruger's) of Williams's Division left Maryland Heights on October twenty-ninth, and moved up the Potomac to the Antietam Iron Works, where it relieved some troops of the Fifth Corps that were picketing the river front.

The position of the Twelfth Corps, December 4, 1862, as officially reported by General Slocum, was as follows: Geary's Division, with eighteen pieces of artillery, was encamped on Bolivar Heights. Of Williams's Division, one brigade (Kane's) was in Loudoun Valley; Knipe's Brigade occupied Maryland Heights; and Gordon's Brigade was guarding the fords of the Potomac near Sharpsburg. One regiment — Tenth Maine — was stationed on the river at Berlin

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to watch the ford at that place, and two regiments were at Frederick on guard duty.

By November the troops had built comfortable quarters, expecting to pass the winter in these camps; but on December tenth marching orders were received, and on the following day the corps assembled at Harpers Ferry. Crossing the Potomac and then the Shenandoah, the column moved up and around Loudoun Heights, and marching through Hillsborough and Leesburg arrived at Fairfax Station on the sixteenth. The weather was cold, and the men bivouacked the first night on frozen ground or in the snow. At Fairfax the dismal news of the defeat at Fredericksburg was received, whereupon the peripatetic debating clubs relieved the tedium of the march by reopening the discussion of McClellan's removal.

The march was continued to the Occoquan, which was forded at Wolf Run Shoals. Here a halt was made, some of the regiments stacking arms behind a line of earthworks that had recently been constructed by the Confederates on the hills overlooking the ford. A cold rain was falling, in which the men lay down to sleep as best they could without tents. The next day the corps returned to Fairfax Station, with the exception of a brigade in Geary's Division, which pushed on to Dumfries. The activity of the Confederate cavalry necessitated two more trips to Wolf Run Shoals, one of which was memorable for the rapid marching done.

Candy's Brigade, of Geary's Division, did not return to Fairfax Station with the rest of the corps, but remained at Dumfries, having been assigned to duty there. The three regiments then present with the brigade — Fifth, Seventh and Sixty-sixth Ohio — were attacked on December twenty-seventh by Stuart's cavalry, a force of about 1,800 men, composed of select detachments. A brisk fight ensued, in which the Confederate cavalry dismounted and fought as infantry. There was some artillery firing also, a section of McGilvery's Battery, attached to Candy's command, replying to the enemy's guns with good effect. Lee's troopers were repulsed, after which they continued on their raid to the Occoquan. Candy lost in this affair thirteen killed and wounded. Lieut. Charles A. Walker, Fifth Ohio, was among the killed. General Lee reported a loss of ten, including a captain killed and a lieutenant-colonel wounded.

New Year's day, 1863, found the corps still at Fairfax Station. The First Division was reviewed by General Slocum on Sunday,

The Twelfth Corps

January fourth, affording a military display that drew throngs of spectators from the neighboring camps. The "old" regiments in Ruger's Brigade attracted admiring attention as they went by, not so much on account of their good marching as their peculiar drill. They adhered to the old Scott manual of arms, and so came down the field to the reviewing officer at "Shoulder Arms" instead of the "Carry." Their guns were held with the butt of the piece in the left hand and the polished barrel to the front. As they came in sight, with companies perfectly aligned, the rows of shining rifles glittered brightly in the sunlight, giving these troops a distinctive appearance that elicited favorable comments from all who saw them. On the following day Slocum reviewed the two brigades of Geary's Division that were stationed at Fairfax.

Many of the regiments built comfortable quarters at Fairfax, some of them erecting neat log cabins of uniform size and appearance, all in perfect alignment on the company streets. The camp of the Second Massachusetts, which was especially neat, handsome, and serviceable, attracted scores of admiring visitors from the troops in its vicinity. The occupants did not enjoy them long, however.

On January 17, 1863, Burnside telegraphs Halleck: "If I order General Slocum's corps to join me, can his place be supplied by some of General Heintzelman's command?" In an hour or so he sends another message saying, "I am very anxious for an answer to my dispatch in reference to General Slocum." Whereupon Halleck replies that "Slocum's forces are at your disposal, as heretofore; but Heintzelman cannot occupy his position in considerable force without drawing troops from the fortifications, which cannot be permitted." The same old story. Washington must not be left unprotected! But the matter is arranged somehow, and Burnside telegraphs Halleck the next day that "Slocum is under orders to move at daylight to-morrow morning, with the understanding that Heintzelman holds the line of Bull Run and the Occoquan." And so the Twelfth Corps is off to the front again.

January 19, 1863, the corps starts on its march to join the main army at Falmouth, where Burnside is busy with his preparations for another advance, the famous "Mud March," as it resulted. Slocum's orders were to move his forces to the front as expeditiously as possible. At the start the roads were in good condition, making the first day a comfortable and uneventful one. But a heavy rain set in

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on the night of the twentieth, and continued for two days. Roads and streams became impassable. Burnside abandoned his campaign, and ordered his army into winter quarters. The Twelfth Corps on reaching Stafford Court House received orders to halt there. Geary's Division encamped at Aquia Creek, where the men assisted in unloading the vessels that arrived there freighted with supplies for the army at the front. The regiments commenced immediately the erection of substantial, comfortable quarters, which they were permitted to occupy during the remainder of the winter, from January twenty-third to April twenty-seventh. General Burnside was relieved from command on his own request, and General Hooker succeeded him in the precarious post as commander of the Army of the Potomac.

The position of the corps at Stafford Court House and Aquia Creek required but little picket duty or arduous service. The time was utilized in battalion drills, officers' recitations, camp instruction, and in securing the return of absentees who were tarrying in hospitals or elsewhere without sufficient reason. General Hooker employed active measures to increase the strength and efficiency of his army, special attention being paid to the health of the camps. The daily ration was improved by the issue of soft bread, vegetables and fresh beef, while the close proximity of the Potomac enabled the men to further increase the variety of their fare with oysters and fresh fish. The entire equipment was so thoroughly renewed and completed that, when the troops started on the ensuing campaign, there was not even a shoestring lacking. It was the "finest army on the planet."

General efficiency was further promoted by a series of rigid inspections. Regiments that were found to be deficient in drill, discipline, and camp conditions were deprived of furloughs and leaves of absence, both officers and men, until the necessary improvement in these respects was made. Each camp was visited, without any preliminary notice, by an inspecting officer of high rank detailed for that special purpose. A regiment was ordered into line, arms inspected, tents and company streets examined, all without any opportunity for preparation. It was a severe test, but a proper one.

Of the 324 infantry commands in the Army of the Potomac, 11 regiments received honorable mention in General Orders, No. 18, March 30, 1863, as having "earned high commendation from inspecting officers," for which they were granted additional privileges, furloughs, and leaves of absence. The eleven regiments so conspicuously

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honored were the First, Second,* and Twentieth Massachusetts, the Tenth* and Nineteenth Maine, Fifth and Tenth New York, Fifth New Jersey, One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania,* Third Wisconsin,* and First Minnesota. Of the eleven, four belonged to the Twelfth Corps. As there were seven infantry corps in the Army of the Potomac it will be seen that Slocum's men won a large share of the honors thus distributed, and showed a high degree of efficiency that reflected credit on their able commander as well as themselves. At the same time it was freely claimed around the camp fires of the corps that there were other regiments in the Twelfth that were equally entitled to this coveted distinction; but as the board of officers at general headquarters had done so well by the corps in making its selections the feeling subsided into one of general satisfaction.

But history requires mention of another phase in the matter that was not alluded to so often. This same General Order contained another and a longer list of regiments that had been reported unfavorably by the inspectors; and, unfortunately, the Twelfth Corps was represented there also. In justice to these regiments it should be said that there were extenuating facts that did not appear in the General Order, or, as for that matter, in the inspectors' reports. Two or more of these commands had been detailed on fatigue duty of an exhaustive kind. One of them, in particular, had been ordered to Hope Landing, where it was employed in the construction of a corduroy road through a swampy forest. It was an unusually inclement season, with frequent rains and snow. The men worked long hours with no compensatory conditions aside from the whiskey ration doled out at nightfall each day when, tired, cold and wet, they returned to camp and crawled under their little shelter tents. On the sudden appearance of the inspecting officer, the men were called out of the swamp and formed in companies on a bleak side hill, where their "pup tents" had been aligned as well as could be among the stumps and rocks. When the inspector commented unfavorably on the dull appearance of the guns in one company, its gray-haired captain touched his hat respectfully and, pointing to a pile of spades and picks near by, suggested that the officer kindly note those also—that those were the only weapons his men had been permitted to handle, and that he would find them very bright indeed. When this regiment was relieved from its work on the roads it moved to a suitable location, built admirable quarters,

* Twelfth Corps.

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resumed its daily drills, and at the next inspection displayed ranks of polished rifles that shone brighter even than their well-worn picks and shovels. But in the meantime General Order, No. 18, had been issued; they were under the ban.

For several months the men in Kearny's Division, Third Corps, had worn on their caps a diamond-shaped patch of flannel, which served to distinguish them from other troops in battle, on the march, in camp, or wherever they were seen. General Butterfield, Hooker's chief of staff, recognizing its practical uses and advantages, conceived the idea of marking each division and corps in a similar manner. So, on March 21, 1863, a circular was issued from General Headquarters assigning a distinctive badge to each corps, to be worn on the caps of men and officers—red for the first division, white for the second, and blue for the third. The design allotted to Slocum's Corps was a five-pointed star. The form of their badge pleased the soldiers of the Twelfth; they would have selected it had they been given the privilege of a choice. They were now the "Star Corps" as they expressed it—never lost sight of the fact, and felt it incumbent on them to do all they could in battle or elsewhere to maintain the ideal which they had thus assumed. They wore this badge with honor through all the rest of that long war, and displayed it proudly in the final Grand Review in Washington in 1865.

The stay at Stafford and Aquia Creek furnished an opportunity also for brigade and division reviews, and a spectacular one, April tenth, in which the entire corps was reviewed by President Lincoln. As these manœuvres completed the preparations for the spring campaign, they were soon followed by orders to provide the men with eight days' rations and sixty rounds of ammunition, forty rounds to be carried in the cartridge boxes and twenty in the knapsacks. Marching orders were delayed, however, for a few days on account of unfavorable weather, and the troops did not break camp until Monday, April twenty-seventh.

The Twelfth Corps was now in fine condition for an active campaign—well-drilled, thoroughly equipped, and in the highest state of efficiency. The Medical Director of the Army reported its ratio of sickness at less than six per cent, the lowest of any corps except the Sixth. The return for April thirtieth showed a strength of 765 officers and 13,450 enlisted men "present for duty equipped"—infantry and artillery. It contained thirty regiments of infantry and five batteries of light artillery, twenty-eight guns in all.

The Twelfth Corps

Early on the morning of the twenty-seventh the Twelfth Corps took the road, and marching as far as Hartwood Church that day, bivouacked there. The next morning the men were awakened without any sound of drum or bugle, for the movement of the column was intended to be a surprise. The march was conducted quietly, the soldiers having been instructed to refrain from cheering, shouting, or any unnecessary noise. The entire corps encamped that afternoon at four p. m. near Kelly's Ford, on the Rappahannock. Here General Slocum, pursuant to his orders, took command of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps. He was instructed to proceed with them to Chancellorsville, where he would be joined by the Fifth Corps, which he was to assume command of also by virtue of seniority.* This order placed General Slocum in temporary command of the right wing of the army, composed at that time of the three corps mentioned and Pleasanton's cavalry.

The march was made in fine weather, on roads free from mud or dust. The air was pleasant with the mildness of southern spring and fragrant with the perfume of early flowers. The peach trees were everywhere in bloom, adding beauty to a country diversified with farms and woodlands. At times the view from some elevation on the route presented all the interesting sights incidental to a marching army — the long, dark column winding its tortuous course across the landscape, while as far as one could see it could be traced by the shimmering light reflected from the polished rifles.

The march was resumed on Wednesday morning, April twenty-ninth, at four o'clock. The Twelfth Corps, followed by the Eleventh, crossed the pontoon bridge at Kelly's Ford, and pushed rapidly forward to Germanna Ford on the Rapidan. Here Ruger's Brigade, having the advance, surprised a detachment of Confederates who were engaged in building a bridge across the river. Nearly all of the latter, 125 in number, were on the opposite side of the stream; but a well-directed fire from the skirmishers of the Third Wisconsin and Second Massachusetts prevented their escape. The "Johnnies" lost a few men killed or wounded, after which they came out from behind the old mill and piles of bridge timber where they had sought shelter, threw up their hands, waded the stream and surrendered. On their way to the rear they gave frequent vent to expressions of astonishment when they saw the thousands of troops

* Official Records. Vol. XXV, p. 274.

The Twelfth Corps

that were massed in the woods and fields along the road. Slocum's movement thus far had evidently been conducted without the knowledge of the enemy.

The sound of the firing brought General Slocum quickly to the front. When the affair was over he gave orders for the immediate crossing of the river. There was some hesitation, some talk of waiting for the completion of the bridge on which the pioneers of the corps had already commenced work; for the current was deep, swift and dangerous. It was noticed that in the detachment of cavalrymen that attempted the crossing some of the horses were swept off their feet and carried down the stream. Slocum returned shortly and, seeing the delay, used some sharp words of disapprobation over the seeming neglect to obey his orders promptly. The men fixed bayonets immediately, hung their cartridge boxes and haversacks on their bayonets, and plunged into the chilling water, the One Hundred and Seventh New York taking the lead. The water came up to the armpits of the soldiers, and as the bottom was rough and stony some of the men stumbled and lost their footing. A party of cavalrymen mounted on the largest, heaviest horses formed a cordon, with short intervals, in the stream just below the wading, struggling line of infantry, and when a man was swept down the stream he was rescued by one of the troopers, who grabbed the unfortunate "doughboy" by the hair. Despite these precautions there was a rumor at the time that three men of the First Division were drowned, although the official reports make no mention of this occurrence. Ruger's and Knipe's Brigades, with Battery M, First New York Light Artillery, forded the river. It was noticed that as the guns of the battery were hauled out on the farther shore the water poured in streams from the muzzles. By the time these troops had passed over, the bridge was completed far enough to permit the passage of the rest of the column dry shod.

In directing the action of the troops while fording the river no detail escaped the eye of the corps commander. Some trifling delay was caused by men who waited while they transferred the contents of their pockets to their haversacks. Noticing this Slocum shouted, "Never mind your pocketbooks, boys, but keep your powder dry!" This order was greeted with a hearty laugh and cries of "All right, General;" but, nevertheless, the wily veterans succeeded in keeping their pocketbooks dry as well as their cartridges.



MAP SHOWING POSITIONS
AT THE
BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE, VA.
May 2, 1863. 5 p.m.

Scale

The Twelfth Corps

While Slocum was sitting on his horse, intently watching his men who were struggling so manfully in the river, an officer rode up and, presenting the compliments of General Meade, announced that the Fifth Corps had just arrived at Ely Ford the next ford below. He informed Slocum that the water there was very deep, up to a man's hips; said something about pontoons, and seemed to be asking for instructions. Slocum replied somewhat curtly that his men were fording through swift water breast deep, and that the Fifth Corps must cross without further delay.

The troops of the Twelfth Corps were all across the Rapidan before night. They then moved on a mile or so and bivouacked, the men sleeping in their wet clothes, with the further discomfort of a cold rain that commenced falling soon after dark. The Eleventh Corps and the wagon trains came over the bridge during the night, aided by the light of numerous fires that flared brightly in the darkness until daylight came.

Early the next morning the march was resumed, with Geary's Division in the lead. He encountered some opposition from the Confederate cavalry which had been observing Slocum's movements closely all the way from Kelly's Ford. There was an exchange of shots at times, in which the Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania sustained some losses. But there was no halting of the main column, and the thirteen miles between Germanna Ford and Chancellorsville were rapidly traversed. By two o'clock both corps were at the latter place, together with the Fifth Corps, which having a shorter route had arrived there first, and had already pushed one division well out on the road to Banks's Ford. The orders received by Slocum to seize and occupy Chancellorsville had been carried out, and he now held this point on the enemy's flank and rear with 42,000 men. The strategical movement planned by General Hooker had been successfully executed. The latter, however, had contemplated the occupation of a point beyond the Chancellor House, so as to seize and hold the road upon which the enemy subsequently moved its forces. Why or how it happened that this was not done belongs to the disputes of history. General Hooker never submitted his official report of the details of the Chancellorsville campaign; and if he had, it is probable that the differences which that campaign engendered between himself and some of his subordinate generals might have been more clearly explained.

The Twelfth Corps

Opposed to Slocum at this time were three brigades of Anderson's Division, which had fallen back from the river fords and were now busily intrenching themselves in a position which they had selected about five miles distant on the road to Fredericksburg. The two remaining brigades of this division were in supporting distance. At evening General Hooker arrived at Chancellorsville, whereupon Slocum resumed command of his own corps.

On the following morning the Second and Third Corps arrived, having crossed the Rappahannock at the United States Mine Ford, which had been uncovered by Slocum's movement. The large clearing around the Chancellor house — the only building in sight — was now filled with the troops massed there, and as the Second and Third Corps came up Slocum's men looked curiously at the corps badges which most of them were now seeing for the first time. Hooker had now five corps on the ground, the two remaining ones — First and Sixth, with one division of the Second — being still at Fredericksburg, where a part of these troops had crossed the river below the town to make a threatening demonstration that was expected to hold a portion of Lee's army there.

Thursday, May first, found Hooker with his army well in hand, on ground of his own selection, and ready for an offensive movement. He planned an advance towards Fredericksburg that would take his army out of the wilderness and, by uncovering Banks's Ford, enable him to effect a junction with his left wing, or bring it within supporting distance. He ordered the Fifth Corps to move down the river road to Banks's Ford, while the Twelfth and Eleventh advanced on other roads parallel with it. But the order was not issued on the previous evening as it might have been, and hence the movement lacked the promptness necessary to success. It was eleven o'clock before a start was made. As Griffin's Division of the Fifth Corps moved out on the river road it soon encountered opposition. The Twelfth was still at the Chancellor house, and as a shell was seen bursting over the woods a captain in the One Hundred and Seventh New York looked at his watch and remarked, "Twenty minutes past eleven; the first gun of the battle of Chancellorsville."

During the morning, before this movement commenced, the following order, dated the evening before, was promulgated and read to the soldiers of each regiment:



THE CHANCELLOR HOUSE.

The original house was destroyed by fire while the battle was in progress. View shows southeast corner, the broad side facing southerly. The old turnpike or "Plank Road" is in front of the house.

The Twelfth Corps

It is with heartfelt satisfaction that the Commanding General announces to the army that the operations of the last three days have determined that our enemy must ingloriously fly, or come out from behind his defenses and give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him. The operations of the Fifth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Corps have been a succession of splendid achievements.

By command of Major General Hooker.

This announcement was greeted with enthusiastic cheers. But it was noticed that some of the veterans received it with silence, smoking their pipes in a thoughtful mood. When reproached for his seeming apathy one of them replied that Lee had never been known to ingloriously fly, and that he would probably come out and fight, in which case it would be better to wait until after the battle before doing any cheering.

The advance of the three Union corps towards Fredericksburg was somewhat slow, owing to the dense woods that made it difficult to maintain alignment and connection. In the meanwhile, General Lee, who had been informed by his cavalry as to the movement on Chancellorsville,* took vigorous measures to check this further advance. As the Union forces in his "front near Fredericksburg continued inactive," he sent Jackson with the main army to intercept Hooker, retaining only Early's Division and Barksdale's Brigade to hold the town. Jackson ordered Anderson to cease intrenching, and then gave directions for an offensive movement with the intention of driving the Union forces back to their position at Chancellorsville.

Hooker soon received word that Sykes's Division of the Fifth Corps, which had taken the old turnpike or middle road, had met with opposition that prevented its advance. He sent Hancock's Division of the Second Corps to Sykes's support, but shortly after — at one p. m. — issued orders withdrawing all these troops to Chancellorsville. These instructions were reluctantly obeyed; and not without unfavorable expressions of opinion on the part of some of the generals at the front.† Slocum and Howard had met with no serious resistance; and Meade states that two of his divisions on the river road had reached a point "within view of Banks's Ford with-

* Official Records. Vol. XXV, Part I, p. 796.

† The Chancellorsville Campaign. By Maj. Gen. D. N. Couch. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War. Vol. III, p. 159. Century Co.: New York. 1888.

The Twelfth Corps

out any opposition from the enemy when the order of recall was received." On the other hand General Hooker was "satisfied" that "as the passage-way through the forest was narrow" he "could not throw troops through it fast enough to resist the advance of General Lee, and was apprehensive of being whipped in detail."* Whether Hooker could have whipped Jackson on May first, and fought his way out of the woods, must remain always a matter of conjecture.

The Army of the Potomac, although it largely outnumbered its opponents, was now placed on the defensive. Its line was formed with the Eleventh Corps on the extreme right, along the Orange Plank Road, facing south; the Twelfth came next, extending to the intersection of the roads at the Chancellor house, with Williams's Division on the right and Geary's on the left of the corps line, then the Second, bending sharply to the rear and facing east; and then the Fifth, which held the left of the army, with its flank resting on the Rappahannock River. The Third Corps was in reserve, except Birney's Division, which went into position during the night on the front line, between the Twelfth and Eleventh Corps. Telegraphic communication with Washington and connection with the base of supplies was maintained by the United States Ford, where three pontoon bridges had been laid by the Engineer Brigade.

During the afternoon, as Hooker's forces retired to the position at Chancellorsville, the Confederate columns followed closely, and, circling the line established by Hooker, made tentative attacks at various points to develop the outline of his position. Most of this pressure was directed against Slocum's front. It continued until after dark, with a brisk interchange of artillery fire at times, involving considerable loss in the Twelfth Corps. Two field officers, one line officer and a large number of enlisted men lost their lives in this desultory fighting. The firing having ceased, Slocum ordered his men to strengthen their position by felling trees to form an abatis, and all night long the woods echoed with the sound of axes and crashing timber.

The forenoon of Saturday, May second, passed without any active fighting on the part of either army. The picket firing became quite noisy at times, followed by intervals of comparative quiet.

* Testimony of General Hooker before the Committee on the Conduct of the War.

The Twelfth Corps

Slocum improved the opportunity by having his men erect defensive breastworks along their entire front, constructed of logs, earth or whatever material was convenient. It was the first time that the soldiers of the Twelfth Corps had provided themselves with any protection of this kind upon a battlefield.

The Army of Northern Virginia at this time was composed of two corps — Longstreet's and Jackson's — each 30,000 strong, exclusive of cavalry. Longstreet with two of his divisions — Hood's and Pickett's — was engaged in the siege of Suffolk. The two other divisions — Anderson's and McLaws's — were at Chancellorsville, and on the morning of May second were in position opposite the Chancellor house, confronting, respectively, Geary's Division of the Twelfth and Hancock's of the Second Corps. But Jackson, with his corps, had withdrawn that morning, and, concealed by the forest, was moving along the Furnace Road with the intention of placing his forces across Hooker's right flank.

In making this wide detour Jackson's troops were obliged to cross an opening in the woods, south of the Chancellor house, where they could be plainly seen by a large portion of the Union army. At this point, near the old Welford Furnace, the road turns to the south and follows that direction for some considerable distance. The direction of the Confederate column along this portion of its route was interpreted in the Union lines as a retreat towards Richmond. General Sickles, with two divisions of the Third Corps and Williams's Division of the Twelfth, moved out of their works and attacked Jackson's rear guard, shelling his trains and capturing several hundred prisoners. Williams's Division took no part in this affair, being in support of the movement, but in a position where it threatened the left flank of McLaws.

The position of each army was now a remarkable one. Lee had only two divisions in Hooker's front, while more than half his forces were miles away on a circuitous march through the forest. On the Union side was a line of vacant breastworks that had been occupied by Williams's and Birney's Divisions, leaving the Eleventh Corps disconnected and isolated.

When Jackson arrived at his destination he formed his three divisions in three parallel lines across Howard's flank, completing his preparations for an attack without alarming his antagonist. He had seventy regiments of infantry, numbering, with his artillery, over

The Twelfth Corps

27,000 men. His two front lines were each two miles long, running north and south, and extending a mile on either side of the plank road.* In front of him and perpendicular to his line lay the Eleventh Corps in its breastworks, holding the right flank of Hooker's army, but faced to the south instead of towards Jackson. It was a small corps — twenty-seven regiments — its returns for April thirtieth showing 12,977 "present for duty equipped," including artillery. It had been weakened that afternoon by the detachment of a brigade — Barlow's — which had been sent out to the support of General Sickles.

Jackson attacked fiercely at six p. m., effecting a complete surprise. The Eleventh Corps, out of position and outnumbered more than two to one, was swept away. No body of troops, no corps in the Army of the Potomac, could have held its ground under such circumstances. Some of the brigades on the left of the corps line, having more warning and a better opportunity, made a creditable resistance, the casualty returns of the Eleventh showing that before it abandoned its ground it sustained a loss of 1,429 in killed and wounded, and 974 missing or captured.

When Slocum heard the attack on the Eleventh Corps he promptly recalled Williams's Division and placed it on a line at a right angle to its former one, its right resting on the plank road, where it connected with Berry's Division of the Third Corps. With this change of front Slocum was ready to meet Jackson's victorious troops. Geary's Division, which had also made an advance during the afternoon was ordered back into its works. Slocum's two divisions now formed two sides of a square.

Williams and Berry, aided by a well-directed fire from the Twelfth Corps artillery under Captain Best, checked Jackson's advance, and night soon stopped the fighting for awhile. There were occasional fierce outbreaks where troops, moving into position, collided in the darkness, and at midnight the gloomy woods were lighted up again by the flaming cannon and fitful glare of musketry as Sickles fought his way back to the Union lines. Then all was still once more, and the men listened ruefully to the weird, plaintive notes of the whip-poorwills, which were never known to sing so long and loud as they did that Saturday night at Chancellorsville.

At daybreak — Sunday, May third — the Confederates renewed

* The Battle of Chancellorsville. By Colonel Augustus C. Hamlin. Bangor. 1896.

The Twelfth Corps

their attack, directing it mainly for three hours against Williams and Berry. Each attack was repulsed, the fire from Williams's line having been remarkably effective as shown by the casualty returns of the Confederate brigades in its front. Geary's Division was also attacked within half an hour after the battle opened. The men with the white star on their caps held their ground stoutly, taking the offensive at times. Some of the fighting was at close quarters, in which the One Hundred and Second New York captured the flag of the Twelfth Georgia. The Seventh Ohio and One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania forwarded each a Confederate flag to headquarters,* the division repeating in this respect its brilliant achievement at Antietam. But the enemy succeeded in placing batteries on the high ground at Hazel Grove, some distance to the right of Geary, which exposed his line to an enfilading fire of artillery, in addition to the musketry directed against his front. Were it not for the protection afforded by its breastworks the division could not have maintained its position, although the works availed but little against the shelling from the right.

At eight a. m., after three hours of steady fighting, Slocum sent word to Hooker that his men were nearly out of ammunition, that he must have a fresh supply, or else his troops should be relieved. Williams's Division was then relieved by troops from Sickles's Corps, after which Slocum retired to a position near the Chancellor house, where his infantry refilled their cartridge boxes. His artillery remained in action, however, and did not withdraw until the Union line was driven in, losing in the meanwhile two battery commanders killed — Hampton and Crosby — sixty-three cannoneers dead or wounded, and sixty-three horses killed in harness. The batteries then went into position on the second line without the loss of a gun.

The efficient service rendered by the Twelfth Corps on this field is fully recognized in the official reports and historical narratives written by its opponents. On Sunday morning a portion of Williams's Division was confronted with McGowan's South Carolina Brigade, and in Caldwell's History of that famous organization the author, an officer in the First S. C. Infantry, gives an interesting picture of the Red Star men as they appeared in action. He says:

We could not see much for the morning was foggy, and the smoke of both lines soon became so dense that I could not even distinguish the colors of the

* Official Records. Vol. XXV, Part II, p. 594.

The Twelfth Corps

enemy. The firing waxed furious. Our advance was checked, the cheering hushed; all on both sides addressed themselves to loading and firing as rapidly as possible. The two right regiments were hotly engaged. Indeed the 13th and 14th South Carolina had to fire at right oblique. The slaughter of Orr's Rifles, and the 1st South Carolina was immense. General McGowan, just behind the colors of the First huzzahed lustily, seeming to be at the highest enthusiasm. The Federals fired with unusual accuracy. It was to be expected, for we stood in full relief upon the crest of the hill. The few men they had scattered along the ravine behaved with provoking composure.

They deliberately loaded their pieces behind the trees, stepped out, picked their men, fired, and returned to the trees to reload.* In the course of time, however, they were discovered, and forced to lie close. Archer's brigade, as I understand it, was to move clear to our right, and at some inclination to us, so as to strike the enemy in flank. The latter must have apprehended something of the sort, for they hugged the fortified hill with singular pertinacity. But now we were at a standstill. The enemy became emboldened, and advanced upon the unprotected right flank of our brigade. At last he swung forward so as almost to enfilade our line. The Rifles gave way. The First followed slowly, and the movement extended gradually to the left of the brigade. But we halted at the line of works about 70 or 80 yards from the last position; and the enemy continuing to advance, we resumed battle. General McGowan was wounded upon the works. Brig. Gen. Colston brought in a fresh line, saying they would show us how to clear a Federal line. But their reckoning was not accurate; they were forced back with us into the works. The firing continued unintermitted, deadly.

By noon the Confederates had seized the ground around the Chancellor house, and were in full possession of the field. The brunt of the battle had fallen on the Twelfth and Third Corps. The First Corps, one of the most efficient in the army, had arrived the evening before; but it was held in reserve, and was not permitted to fire a shot aside from its picket line. If it had been thrown into action its weight would have turned the scale.

Hooker fell back to a new line, a semi-circular one with either flank resting on the river and covering the United States Ford, his only remaining means of communication with his base of supplies. The Twelfth Corps was placed on the extreme left, going into position there at ten p. m., Sunday evening, the last day of the battle. Lee made no further attack on Sunday afternoon, but availing him-

* Among the Union troops referred to here the men of the 27th Indiana were conspicuous for their coolness and the careful, deliberate aim with which they discharged their pieces.



THE PLANK ROAD.

Looking eastward toward the Chancellor House. Monument to Gen. "Stonewall" Jackson, enclosed with an iron railing, is on the left of the road in the foreground. The small stone to the right of the fence was erected earlier to mark the place where he fell.

The Twelfth Corps

self of Hooker's inactivity he detached a portion of his army to meet Sedgwick's advance from Fredericksburg, where the Sixth Corps had made a brilliant and successful assault on Marye's Heights. Sedgwick's effort to join Hooker was defeated, and his corps was forced to retreat across the river the next day at Banks's Ford.

The Army of the Potomac lay idle within its intrenchments at the Rappahannock for two days more. A heavy rain set in that soon raised the water in the river to a height which threatened the destruction of the pontoon bridges, and the troops had already consumed the eight days' rations with which they started on the campaign. Influenced by these conditions General Hooker ordered his army to recross the river and return to their camps. The Twelfth Corps crossed on Wednesday morning, the sixth, and, continuing its march through rain and mud, traveled twenty-three miles back to Stafford Court House and Aquia Creek, where, late in the night, they reoccupied their abandoned, roofless huts.

Hooker's forces in the Chancellorsville campaign numbered 122,306, exclusive of his cavalry, but including the First Corps and Gibbon's Division of the Second, which were not engaged. His losses, not including Stoneman's raid, were 1,597 killed, 9,721 wounded, and 5,720 captured or missing; total, 17,038.

Lee's army numbered 57,352,* including all three arms of the service. His losses were 1,665 killed, 9,081 wounded,† and 2,018 captured or missing; total, 12,764. In many of the Confederate returns the "slightly wounded were not included."

* Colonel Livermore.

† In all the casualty returns given in these pages — regimental, corps, or otherwise — the mortally wounded are included with the wounded, these reports having been made at the close of the action and before the fate of the former could be ascertained. In the general aggregate the wounded who die of their injuries increase the number of "killed" sixty per cent. This may not hold true in the case of a regiment, or a larger command, in any one battle; but in studying casualty returns it should be borne in mind that the actual loss of life is always much greater than that indicated by the figures showing the number killed on the field.

The Twelfth Corps

The casualties in the Twelfth and other corps were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Aggregate.
First Corps, - - - -	27	218	54	299*
Second Corps, - - - -	149	1,044	732	1,925†
Third Corps, - - - -	378	2,645	1,096	4,119
Fifth Corps, - - - -	69	472	159	700
Sixth Corps, - - - -	487	2,638	1,485	4,610
Eleventh Corps, - - - -	217	1,221	974	2,412
Twelfth Corps, - - - -	261	1,442	1,121	2,824‡
Cavalry, - - - -	8	35	98	141
Engineers, - - - -	1	6	1	8
Total, - - - -	1,597	9,721	5,720	17,038

* Includes losses at Fitzhugh's Crossing, below Fredericksburg, April 29 - May 2, 1863.

† Includes losses in Gibbon's Division at Fredericksburg.

‡ In connection with these figures it should be remembered that the Twelfth was the smallest corps in the army at this time, having two divisions only; each of the other corps had three divisions.

The roster of the corps at this time, and the casualties in each regiment, were as follows:

Battle of Chancellorsville, May 1-3, 1863.

TWELFTH ARMY CORPS.

MAJ. GEN. HENRY W. SLOCUM.

First Division.

BRIG. GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Aggregate.
<i>First Brigade.</i>				
Brig. Gen. Joseph F. Knipe.				
5th Connecticut, - - -	1	19	43	63
28th New York, - - -	1	6	71	78
10th Maine, - - - -	-	2	1	3
46th Pennsylvania, - - -	3	15	81	99
128th Pennsylvania, - - -	-	13	199	212
<i>Second Brigade.</i>				
Col. Samuel Ross.				
20th Connecticut, - - -	11	60	98	169
3rd Maryland, - - - -	11	45	29	85
123rd New York, - - -	16	114	18	148
145th New York, - - -	4	33	58	95

The Twelfth Corps

	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Aggregate.
<i>Third Brigade.</i>				
Brig. Gen. Thomas H. Ruger.				
27th Indiana, - - -	20	126	4	150
2nd Massachusetts, - - -	21	110	7	138
13th New Jersey, - - -	17	100	24	141
107th New York, - - -	5	54	24	83
3rd Wisconsin, - - -	18	74	9	101
<i>Artillery Brigade.</i>				
Fitzhugh's (N. Y.) Battery — K,	- -	7	- -	7
Winegar's (N. Y.) Battery — M,	5	13	4	22
Crosby's (U. S.) Battery — F, -	2	9	5	16
<i>Second Division.</i>				
BRIG. GEN. JOHN W. GEARY.				
<i>First Brigade.</i>				
Col. Charles Candy.				
5th Ohio, - - - -	6	52	24	82
7th Ohio, - - - -	16	62	21	99
29th Ohio, - - - -	2	42	28	72
66th Ohio, - - - -	3	40	30	73
28th Pennsylvania, - - -	18	61	24	103
147th Pennsylvania, - - -	13	57	24	94
<i>Second Brigade.</i>				
Brig. Gen. Thomas L. Kane.				
29th Pennsylvania, - - -	6	13	2	21
109th Pennsylvania, - - -	3	17	2	22
111th Pennsylvania, - - -	5	14	7	26
124th Pennsylvania, - - -	1	16	3	20
125th Pennsylvania, - - -	1	29	19	49
<i>Third Brigade.</i>				
Brig. Gen. George S. Greene.				
60th New York, - - -	9	44	13	66
78th New York, - - -	12	51	68	131
102nd New York, - - -	10	41	39	90
137th New York, - - -	3	15	36	54
149th New York, - - -	15	68	103	186
<i>Artillery Brigade.</i>				
Knap's (Pa.) Battery — E, -	1	8	- -	9
Hampton's (Pa.) Battery — F, -	2	7	- -	9
Staff officers, - - -	-	5	3	8
Total, - - - -	261	1,442	1,121	2,824

The Twelfth Corps

The loss in officers was severe — thirty killed and ninety-seven wounded. Of the latter five died of their wounds. Among the killed were Col. Henry J. Stainrook, One Hundred and Ninth Pennsylvania; Lieut. Col. John W. Scott, Third Wisconsin; Lieut.-Col. Franklin Norton, One Hundred and Twenty-third New York; Major Lansford F. Chapman, Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania; and Major Cyrus Strous, Forty-sixth Pennsylvania.

The loss in prisoners — the greatest sustained by the corps in any of its battles — was occasioned by the effort made on Saturday night to reoccupy its works after the Eleventh Corps had been driven in. The enemy were already in possession of a part of these works, and owing to the darkness and confusion some regiments found themselves within the Confederate lines, where many of their men were captured before they could extricate themselves and reach a safe position.

The Confederate returns show a large loss, also, in prisoners (2,018), although Lee was the attacking party and gained possession of the field. But the frequent intermingling of the hostile lines in the forests, charges and counter charges in which the troops could not see each other, resulted in errors that enabled each side — Union as well as Confederate — to capture the bewildered groups that had become separated from their commands.

The return to Stafford was one of the saddest experiences in the history of the corps. In nearly every mess there was a comrade missing, in every camp there were tenantless huts. The empty cabins on the company streets — the log sides still standing, but with no canvas spread upon the rafters — were pathetic reminders of the men who had not returned. In one regiment a glee club, whose songs had enlivened the long winter evenings and had rang out cheerily on the march, was heard no more. And with it all there was the bitterness of defeat and a feeling that the sacrifice counted for naught.

But the temperament of the American soldier is an elastic one, and the morale of the corps was soon restored. Battalion drills, dress parades, picket duty, and the many duties incidental to the routine of camp life were resumed. General Slocum reviewed Williams's Division on the ninth and Geary's on the tenth, and as the regiments moved by in splendid style, their diminished ranks were the only evidence of the severe ordeal through which they had so



HAZEL GROVE—FIELD OF CHANCELLORSVILLE.

From rise of ground occupied by Pleasanton's artillery, and looking toward Dowdall's Tavern. At right center are the woods from which Jackson's troops emerged when sweeping through the grove. The swinging gate at edge of woods on right is at the end of a lane which leads directly through the woods to the old Plank Road a few rods west of Jackson's monument.

The Twelfth Corps

recently passed. Five regiments were missing, however — the Twenty-eighth New York, Tenth Maine, One Hundred and Twenty-fourth, One Hundred and Twenty-fifth, and One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania — their term of service having expired. The three Pennsylvania regiments had enlisted for nine months only; but within that time they had fought in two of the great historic battles of the war, and made a creditable record. The Tenth Maine — a two years' regiment — contained 246 men who had enlisted for three years, and who were held in service after the regiment went home. They were organized into a battalion of three companies, and assigned to duty as a provost guard at Slocum's headquarters.

A month had elapsed since the battle, and still the hostile armies lay idly confronting each other from either side of the river at Fredericksburg. Hooker was in no haste to move, as he needed further time in which to make good his losses and fill the vacancies caused by the departing regiments. But the Confederacy, with its limited resources, could not afford long periods of inactivity, and Lee gave orders for an offensive movement. His cavalry at this time occupied the lower end of the triangle formed by the confluence of the Rapidan and Rappahannock, where they formed an effectual screen for any advance Lee might make into the Shenandoah Valley or around his opponent's flank towards Manassas.

Hooker, suspecting that some movement of the enemy was on foot, ordered the entire cavalry corps of the Army of the Potomac on a reconnoissance in the direction of Brandy Station and Culpeper. This resulted in a general engagement June ninth with Stuart's cavalry at Beverly Ford, Va., a notable event, as it was the first time in the war that this arm of the service had been engaged to any considerable extent upon a battlefield.

Before the Union cavalry started on this march to the Rappahannock General Hooker ordered that an infantry force of eight picked regiments should accompany them. In making this selection two were taken from the Twelfth Corps, the Second Massachusetts and Third Wisconsin. In the fighting that occurred, in the capture of prisoners, and other services rendered, these regiments carried off a full share of the honors, and displayed an efficiency that justified their selection.

An important result of the battle of Beverly Ford — or Fleet-

The Twelfth Corps

wood, as the Confederates call it — was the information gained and forwarded promptly to General Hooker: Longstreet's Corps was at Culpeper, while from the despatches captured in Stuart's camp effects it was learned that Lee's entire army had started or was under orders to move. Further than this Hooker could not learn anything definite as to the intention of his antagonist. Lee's movements, so far as disclosed, might mean an attack on Washington by way of Manassas as before; the reoccupation of the Shenandoah Valley and passes of the Blue Ridge; or an invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania. While Lee's instructions gave him the utmost freedom of command and movement, Hooker was restricted by explicit orders that he must not uncover Washington. The Army of the Potomac had to act on the defensive, move parallel with the enemy, and keep itself continually between Lee and the Capital.

Gettysburg.

The orders were issued, the Army of the Potomac was in motion again. The Twelfth Corps broke camp on June thirteenth, and, marching by Dumfries, Fairfax Court House, and Dranesville, arrived at Leesburg on the eighteenth. The long march from Dumfries to Fairfax on the fifteenth was a memorable one on account of the intense heat, several of the men falling in the road from exhaustion or smitten with sunstroke. On the eighteenth a heavy rain with a hail storm at evening added to the fatigue and discomfort of the day. The corps remained at Leesburg eight days, during which large details were made for the construction of fortifications and repairs of old breastworks already on the ground.

On the first day of its stay at this place Williams's Division was paraded at noon to witness the execution of three deserters. Two of these men belonged to the Forty-sixth Pennsylvania and one to the Thirteenth New Jersey. It was a trying scene, one in which many a veteran who had never paled in battle grew white in the face as he watched the terrible details of preparation. A regimental historian says: * "The condemned men were busy writing to friends during the whole forenoon, and with one exception seemed penitent for their crime. At twelve o'clock the corps was formed into a

* Reminiscences of the One Hundred and Twenty-third Regiment, New York Volunteers.
By Sergeant Henry C. Morhous. Greenwich: Journal office. 1879.