

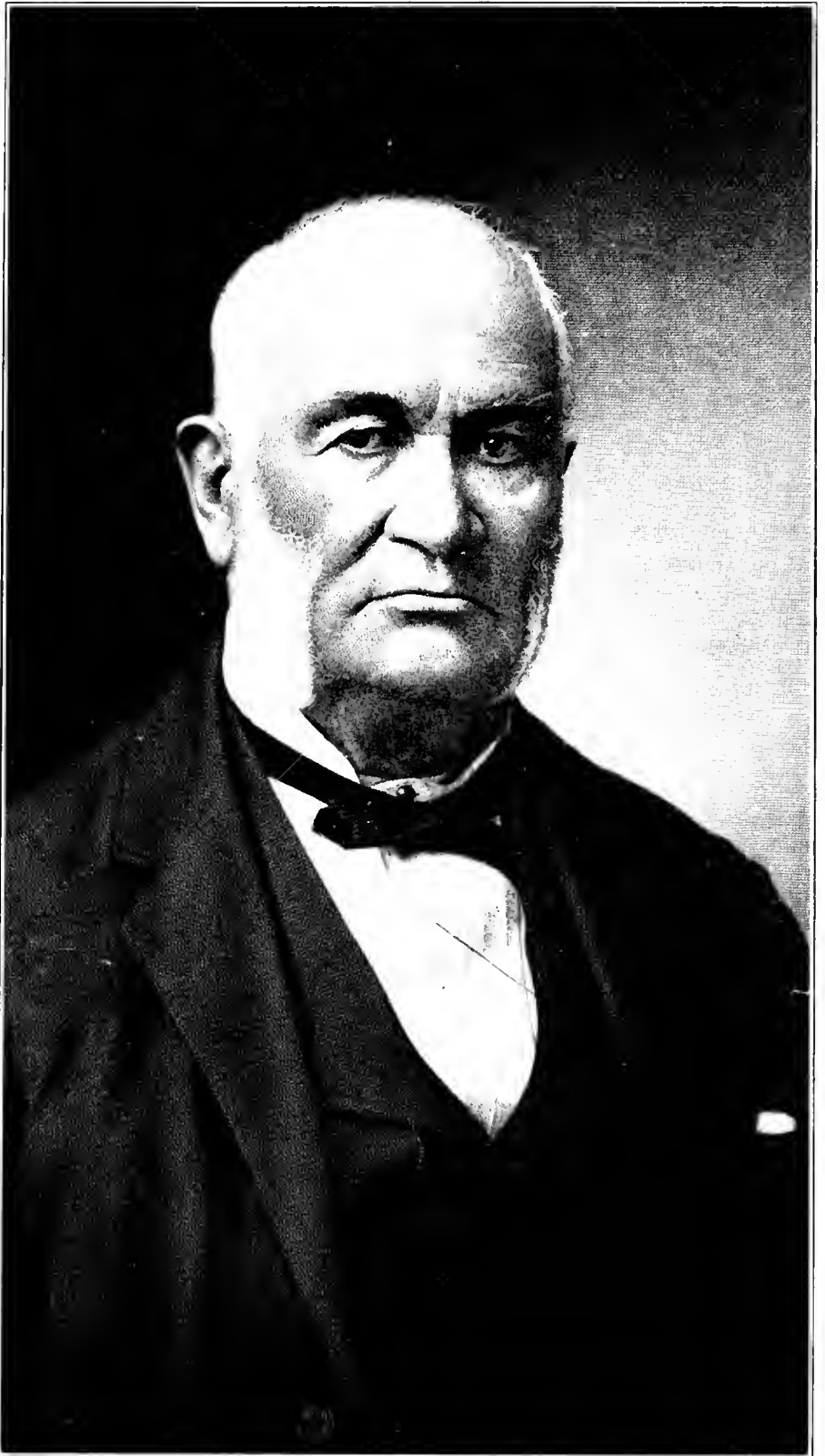
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GOV. ALEXANDER RAMSEY.
Gov. Ramsey Tendered the Regiment to the United States
for Service in the Civil War.

HISTORY

OF THE

FIRST REGIMENT MINNESOTA VOLUNTEER INFANTRY 1861-1864

WITH MAPS AND
ILLUSTRATIONS

EASTON & MASTERMAN
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FOREWORD.

TO PREPARE a history of the "First Minnesota," after the lapse of more than half a century, is, in many respects, a hopeless task.

So many of the members of the regiment have died since the war that a great mass of personal data, which would have greatly enriched this historical narrative, is no longer available, but such incidents as are recalled by the few survivors whom it has been possible to consult, have been preserved.

Such a work as this should have been prepared at least forty years ago, when a comparatively complete collection could have been made of the various data that constituted the life of the regiment as an organization, and its members as individuals.

If relatives or personal friends of members of the regiment shall close the volume with regret that some incident, specially worthy of mention in connection with their soldier dead, is not to be found in it, we beg them to remember that it has occurred from the inability of the compilers to obtain the information.

Under these circumstances, this work will be found to concern itself, chiefly, with the work of the regiment as an organization.

The reader will observe that considerable space has been given to operations of other troops, but it has been our effort to avoid extended notice of such events where not required to properly frame the

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actions or services of the regiment.

We have been especially anxious to avoid criticism of officers or movements of either army—Union or Confederate.

The true basis for a correct judgment of a commander is to place one's self in his place—consider what he actually knew of his own and his adversary's situation.

Since the war there has been published, or otherwise rendered available, so much additional information of the entire situation at any given time, that to measure a general's conduct on a given occasion by what has since come to be well known, would, in many instances, be very unjust.

Consequently, we have studiously aimed to avoid criticisms of commanding officers—preferring to observe the old maxim, "Say nothing of the dead, unless it be good."

Moreover, the regiment was made up of men of all creeds and parties, who, for the time, had laid aside all prejudices and had united in a great effort to save their country. Their partisanship was held in abeyance. They promised faithful service and obedience for three years. This record is designed to preserve a truthful account of what they did in fulfillment of that promise.

The body of this text was originally prepared by Mr. R. I. Holcombe, and he has earned the thanks of the survivors of the regiment for his industry in collecting the various data indispensable to the work—deficient as it may be.

Since the preparation of this volume was under-

FOREWORD

taken by the Colvill Commission, the membership of the commission has been reduced by the death of Maj. C. B. Heffelfinger, Capt. Richard L. Gorman and Henry T. Evans, leaving the undersigned as the only remaining members, who thus become responsible for this volume as it appears, although it should be said that Major Heffelfinger examined the manuscript, and his suggestions have been adopted in the text as it now appears.

We desire to add, that this work, concerned as it is with the one regiment, has been prepared without a thought that this particular organization comprised men of courage or other soldierly qualities superior to other organizations.

The men of this regiment claimed no superiority, and both during and after the war cheerfully acknowledged the brilliant achievements and soldierly qualities of other regiments.

The fact that this regiment was the only body of Minnesota troops in the Army of the Potomac—except the sharpshooter companies mentioned, and the First Minnesota Battalion, that was organized after the regiment was discharged—brought to it more notice than it would have received if the state had been represented, in that army, by other regiments.

That particular service which crowned the regiment and state with the deserved plaudits of the world—the "charge" on the second day of the battle of Gettysburg—was a service in which the regiment took pride, not so much for the courage and discipline displayed, for it is readily conceded that many if not most other regiments would have done the

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same, but for the simple fact that the regiment there had the OPPORTUNITY to "show what they were there for," and they seized the opportunity to show themselves fit for the task. This psychological attitude has no element of vanity or superiority over other brothers in arms.

Finally, we dedicate this work to the memory of those noble men, living and dead, who stood together in the "First Minnesota" on many of the most bitterly contested battlefields of the Civil war; and we commend it to the charitable consideration of all others who shared in the toil and turmoil of that great struggle, whether at home or in the field, or who rejoice in the inheritance bequeathed to them and their posterity by those who gloriously maintained the UNION.

JASPER N. SEARLES,
Capt. Co. C., 1st. Reg.
Minn. Vol. Inf'y.

MATTHEW F. TAYLOR,
Corporal Co. E., 1st. Reg.
Minn. Vol. Inf'y.

Commissioners.

Dated, Dec. 31, 1915.
Stillwater, Minn.

HISTORY OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA VOLUNTEER INFANTRY

CHAPTER I.

ITS ORGANIZATION.

THE record of the First Regiment of Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, commonly known as the "First Minnesota" begins with the opening scenes of the Civil War and, as to its actual military services, that record ends with the expiration of its three years enlistment in the spring of 1864, just as General Grant took command of all the Union armies.

After heroic resistance Fort Sumter was surrendered to the Confederates Saturday, April 13, 1861. The next day President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteer soldiers to serve, in conjunction with the 10,000 regulars then composing the army, for three months, "unless sooner discharged." It was hoped that such a force would manifest the determination of the Government and bring to their senses the misguided Confederates, although they already had 200,000 men ready for the field, had formed a confederated government of several millions of people, and were swearing to fight to the last ditch.

Gov. Alexander Ramsey, of Minnesota, chanced to be in Washington when Fort Sumter fell. The next morning, about 9 o'clock, after a night of restlessness and anxiety over the situation, he went to the

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War Department and sought the Secretary, then Hon. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, (Ramsey's native state) whom he well knew. He encountered the Secretary as that officer, who was dressed for a walk, and carrying bundles of papers was leaving his office, apparently wrought up to strong tension and bent on important business.

"What do you want?" asked the Secretary, impatiently; "I am in a great hurry to attend a meeting in the White House." The Governor replied: "I simply want to tender you a thousand men to help defend the country and suppress this—treason." "Good!" replied the old Secretary, almost exultantly; "sit down and put your tender in writing and leave it here." And then the rugged old War Secretary hastened away. (Ramsey's Journal). In a few minutes the tender was written and laid on Secretary Cameron's table.

These facts have been published often and conspicuously, and never disputed; and they prove that in the great war Minnesota, then the youngest State in the Union, made the first offer of men to defend and preserve it. Secretary Cameron readily accepted Governor Ramsey's tender and formally acknowledged it. The acceptance was published Monday morning; probably it was written Sunday night.

On Monday, April 15, the President made requisitions for troops upon the Governors of all the states not then in secession. The executives of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Missouri and Kentucky refused; and shortly thereafter the first four named had joined the Confederacy. Governor Ramsey, still detained in Washington, promptly telegraphed the acting Governor of Minnesota, Lieut-Gov. Ignatius Donnelly, instructing him to issue an immediate call for volunteers, an instruction to the pugnacious and

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patriotic Donnelly's liking, and straightway he obeyed it. The first Minnesota newspapers issued after the receipt of Ramsey's order appeared on Tuesday morning and contained the formal call of Lieutenant-Governor Donnelly for volunteers. (See Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, Vol. 2, pp. 1-3.)

By Chap. 77, Laws of 1858, the legislature had provided for the enrollment as militia of "all able-bodied white male citizens residing in the state, being eighteen years of age and under forty-five years, excepting persons exempt by law".

At the outbreak of the rebellion there existed, under the authority of this law, various company organizations, but they had never been consolidated into a regimental organization except on paper.

In St. Paul, Company A of the 23rd. Regiment of this militia was an efficient organization. It was armed, uniformed and well drilled, and the personnel of its members was of a high order. It had been organized in territorial days (1856) and was called the "Pioneer Guard", and in the first part of April, 1861, it was commanded by Capt. A. T. Chamblin.

On Monday night (preceding the Tuesday publication of the call issued by Lieut-Gov. Donnelly) the Pioneer Guard assembled at its armory and a number of its officers and many other patriotic citizens signed as volunteers under the call. The first man to sign was Josias R. King, a Virginian who had lived some years in Minnesota. As the signing was virtually an enlistment he has always claimed, with reason, the distinction of having been the senior volunteer in the United States service in the war of the rebellion.

He rose from an orderly sergeant to a Captaincy, then became a Lieutenant Colonel in the U. S. Volunteer forces and was appointed a second lieutenant

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in the U. S. Second Infantry, where he served five years, including three years at Lebanon, Ky., in command of a detachment of 50 mounted men engaged in the suppression of Ku Klux organizations and illicit distilleries.

He still lives in St. Paul respected and honored, not alone for his distinction as a first volunteer, but for sterling qualities as a citizen.

The war feeling in the young pioneer state had been gradually increasing for months as preparations for hostilities by the South went forward, and the firing upon Fort Sumter fanned this feeling into flame, as this assault on the integrity of the Union became known.

Another company had been organized, known as the "Stillwater Guard," at Stillwater, and reached a very efficient state of drill and discipline, which became the nucleus of Co. B. of the new regiment.

There was only one telegraph line in Minnesota. This had been put up the previous year and its single wire connected St. Paul with La Crosse. But with almost incredible swiftness the thrilling war news flew through the State. In a few days every town, hamlet and neighborhood was stirred to action. It was as if a Malise had been sent with the fiery torch into every district to rally the clans and bid them repair in instant time to Lanrie Mead.

In an eloquent and inspiring proclamation Lieutenant-Governor Donnelly had, on Tuesday morning, April 16, called for one regiment of ten companies of infantry to report to the Adjutant-General of the State, Wm. H. Acker, of St. Paul, for service of three months. He announced that this requisition was made pursuant to the call of the President for "troops to support the Government." Each of the ten companies was to be composed of a captain, two

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lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, one bugler and sixty-four privates.

The call met with enthusiastic response from every occupied portion of the State. Hon. Clement C. Clay of Alabama, which State had seceded, was in St. Paul on private business at the time. Returning to his home at Huntsville, in a public address he warned his fellow-citizens that the war they had undertaken would be a bloody one and might last five years. He assured them that the North would fight to the death and was thoroughly aroused, that in far-off primitive Minnesota, from whence he had just come, the pioneers and frontiersmen of that young, poor, and scantily-populated commonwealth were thronging forward to fight for the Union and with earnest zeal were demanding to be led to the battlefield.

Public meetings were at once held in all the larger towns—and by the census of 1860 the population of St. Paul, the largest town in the State, was but 10,279—and these meetings were attended by all classes and addressed by many prominent citizens. All political party lines were wholly ignored. “Then none was for a party; then all were for the State.” In St. Paul, Stillwater, St. Anthony, Minneapolis, Winona, Faribault, Mankato, Hastings, Red Wing, Wabasha, and many smaller towns and villages, there were enthusiastic and inspiring war meetings. Every able-bodied man that could volunteer as a soldier was willing to do so; he who could not, devoutly wished he could. The people were mostly newcomers and nearly all were poor. Many a man, though patriotic as a Spartan, could not enlist without abandoning wife and little ones to peril and privation on a lonely frontier, but others were more fortunately situated, and equally brave and eager.

The result was natural. The enrollment went on

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rapidly. On Monday, April 29, the ten companies that had been called assembled at Fort Snelling, the designated rendezvous, as directed by Adjutant-General Aeker. That day General Aeker resigned his position in the State militia to become a captain in the First Minnesota Regiment. To succeed him Governor Ramsey appointed Hon. John B. Sanborn, then a St. Paul lawyer, who had been chairman of the committee on military affairs in the Senate branch of the preceding State Legislature. He often said that when appointed to this highly-important military position he hardly knew gunpowder from black sand and had never seen a musket cartridge in his life; yet he learned fast and when the war closed he wore the twin stars of a major-general, and had won them by service in the field.

Many of the ten companies had been organizations in the State militia, but each of them had received recruits and accessions from those who had never been in the State service, and was therefore practically a new organization. The titles of the companies, the localities where they were organized, their commissioned officers, and the number of men in them were as follows:

Company A, Pioneer Guard, St. Paul. Captain, Alexander Wilkin; First Lieutenant, Henry C. Coates; Second Lieutenant, Chas. Zierenberg. Number of men, 96. In the re-organization of this company Captain Wilkin had succeeded Captain Chamblin.

Company B, Stillwater Guard, Stillwater. Captain, Carlyle A. Bromley; First Lieutenant, Mark W. Downie; Second Lieutenant, Minor T. Thomas. Number of men, 99.

Company C, St. Paul Volunteers, St. Paul. Captain, Wm. H. Aeker; First Lieutenant, Wilson B.

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Farrell; Second Lieutenant, Samuel T. Raguet. Number of men, 75.

Company D, Lincoln Guards, Minneapolis. Captain, Henry R. Putnam; First Lieutenant, Geo. H. Woods; Second Lieutenant DeWitt C. Smith. Number of men, 98.

Company E, St. Anthony Zouaves, St. Anthony. Captain, Geo. N. Morgan; First Lieutenant, John B. Gilfillan; Second Lieutenant, George Pomeroy. Number of men, 86.

Company F, Red Wing Volunteers (also called Goodhue County Volunteers), Red Wing. Captain, Wm. Colville; First Lieutenant, A. Edward Welch; Second Lieutenant, Mark A. Hoyt. Number of men, 100.

Company G, Faribault Guards, Faribault. Captain, Wm. H. Dike; First Lieutenant, Nathan S. Messiek; Second Lieutenant, Wm. E. Smith. Number of men, 101.

Company H, Dakota County Volunteers, Hastings. Captain, Chas. Powell Adams; First Lieutenant, Orrin T. Hayes; Second Lieutenant, Wm. B. Leach. Number of men, 83.

Company I, Wabasha Volunteers, Wabasha. Captain, John H. Pell; First Lieutenant, Joseph Harley; Second Lieutenant, Chas. B. Halsey. Number of men, 82.

Company K, Winona Volunteers, Winona. Captain, Henry C. Lester; First Lieutenant, Gustavus Adolphus Holtzborn; Second Lieutenant, Joseph Perriam. Number of men, 79.

Total number of men, exclusive of field and staff officers, 899.

The companies had been "accepted" but not mustered into service as follows: Company A, April 19; Company B, April 20; Company C, April 22; Com-

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pany D, April 23; Companies F and G, April 25; Companies H, I, and K, April 26.

The assembling of the companies at Fort Snelling was for the purpose of muster in and the re-organization of the regiment in the volunteer service of the United States. The companies all reached the Fort the same day. The first company on the ground was the Winona company, which arrived early in the morning on the steamer Golden Era. At 10 o'clock came the two St. Paul companies, the Red Wing, Faribault, and Hastings companies, all on the steamer Ocean Wave. The Faribault Company had been transported in wagons from Faribault to the river. At 11 o'clock came the Minneapolis and St. Anthony companies, which had made a practice march from their homes and were cheered by the other companies as they entered the Fort. The Stillwater company came over in wagons, arriving at 5 o'clock. The Wabasha company arrived at 7 o'clock in the evening on the Key City.

At 12 o'clock, high noon, the flag was raised on the old Fort flagstaff. As the colors ascended and a strong April breeze flung them out, the cannon fired the national salute of thirty-four guns and the multitude cheered. (See Winona Daily Republican, May 1, 1861.)

Then came the first dinner, served on tables of rough boards, with a service of tin cups and tin plates, but really relished by the volunteers and many visitors that were invited guests. The rough and primitive features only added a peculiar relish to the feast. (Lochren.)

At 1 o'clock the mustering began. Captain Anderson D. Nelson, of the regular army, had been detailed as the mustering officer, with Lieutenant Sanders as assistant. Dr. J. H. Stewart, of St. Paul, had been

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appointed examining surgeon. The officers did their work in the presence of many spectators, "about as many citizens as soldiers," said the St. Paul Pioneer.

The process was sufficiently thorough. Each company was ordered into line separately. Then the mustering officers and Dr. Stewart walked along in front and rear, cursorily examining the men. Afterwards each man's name was called and he was inspected closely. Nearly all were accepted. Then the oath of muster was taken by companies. The men uncovered their heads, held up their right hands, and Captain Nelson administered the oath, the same obligation which soldiers of the United States had taken for eighty years, "that you will bear true allegiance to the United States of America and that you will serve them honestly and faithfully against all their enemies and opposers whatsoever," etc. The enlistment was for but three months.

Only seven companies were mustered the first day. The Wabasha company (I) did not arrive at the Fort until late in the evening and the Hastings and Winona companies (respectively H and K) were not quite full and were allowed time to fill up to the maximum number. It is asserted that all three of these companies were mustered the following day.
(Lochren.)

Governor Ramsey, Adjutant-General Sanborn, and the acting adjutant of the regiment, Jacob J. Noah, were at their posts early and all day. In the afternoon the Adjutant-General announced the field officers of the regiment. The appointments had already been agreed on and privately made known, but they were received with apparent surprise and delight and heartily cheered. Nearly everything that happened was cheered, and so there was much hurrahing and enthusiasm. The field officers, by appointment of the

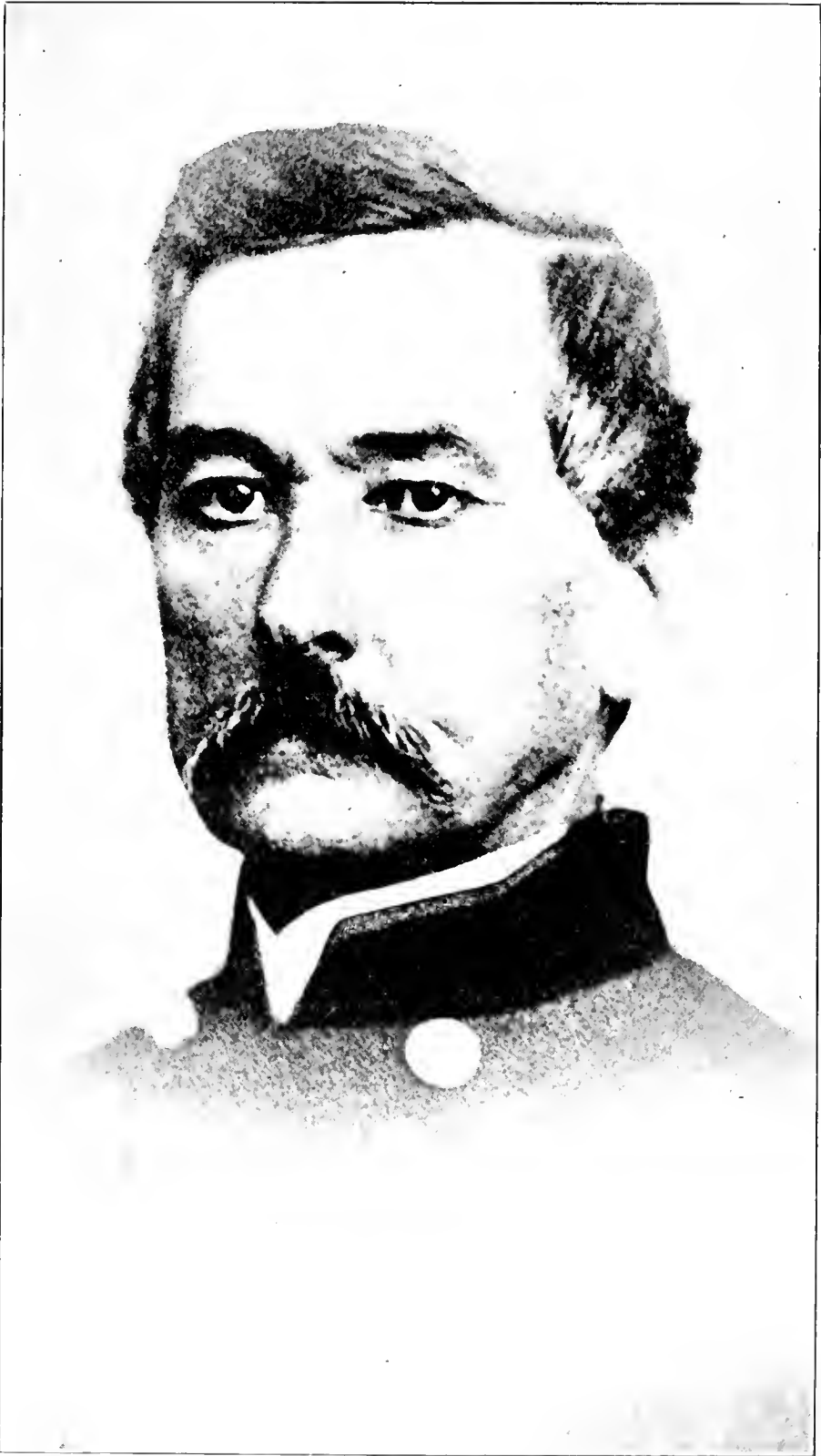
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Governor, were: Colonel, Willis Arnold Gorman; Lieutenant-Colonel, Stephen Miller; Major, Wm. H. Dike. Colonel Gorman appointed as the regiment's staff officers, Geo. H. Woods, quartermaster, and Dr. Jacob H. Stewart, surgeon. The next day Dr. Chas. W. LeBoutillier was made assistant surgeon and Lieut. Wm. B. Leach became adjutant. Rev. Edward Duffield Neill was appointed chaplain. The non-commissioned staff was subsequently appointed.

Col. Willis A. Gorman was at the time pre-eminently the man best fitted to command the regiment. He had ability, experience, and the complete confidence of his men. He was born in Kentucky in 1816, but removed to Indiana in young manhood and became a practicing lawyer. He served in two Indiana regiments during the Mexican War, first as major in the Third Indiana, and during the battle of Buena Vista was severely wounded; later was colonel of the Fourth Indiana and participated in several engagements in Mexico. He was elected to Congress from Indiana in 1848 and again in 1850, serving two terms. In 1853 he was appointed Territorial Governor of Minnesota and came to St. Paul, which city was ever afterward his home.

At the time he became colonel of the First Minnesota, Governor Gorman was forty-five years of age, in the prime of manhood, looked every inch the soldier and man, and it was felt that under his leadership the First Minnesota would make an honorable record, if not a distinguished one. He was promoted to brigadier-general October 1, 1861. General Gorman died in St. Paul in May, 1876.

Lieut.-Col. Stephen Miller was born in Pennsylvania, in 1816. He edited the Harrisburg Telegraph, a Whig journal, in 1853-55, and came to Minnesota in 1858, locating at St. Cloud. He was a prominent



BRIG. GEN. WILLIS A. GORMAN,
The First Colonel of the Regiment.

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Republican and knew little of military matters in 1861, but he learned fast. He was promoted to colonel of the Seventh Minnesota in August, 1862; became brigadier-general in October, 1863, and resigned in January, 1864, to assume the duties of Governor of Minnesota. He died at Worthington, Minn., in August, 1881.

Major Dike was a Vermonter. He was at first captain of Company G, the Faribault company. On his promotion he was succeeded in the captaincy by Hon. Lewis McKune, who had been a member of the State constitutional convention. Colonel Gorman was a staunch Democrat in politics and Lieutenant-Colonel Miller and Major Dike were Republicans, so the field organization of the First Minnesota was non-partisan.

With Colonel Gorman went his two sons, James W. Gorman, who was commissioned captain and served as assistant adjutant-general on his father's staff from September, 1862, until his death in February, 1863, and Captain Richard L. Gorman, who was with the regiment in and after the battle of Bull Run, then became a captain in the 34th New York Infantry, and was also for several months on the staff of his father when the latter became a brigadier-general.

At once the military education of the regiment was begun and squad, company, and battalion drills were had daily. Hardee's tactics constituted the drill system then in vogue. Perhaps most of the men had undergone some experience on the drill ground, for a majority of the old militia companies had received more or less instruction in the manual of arms and in the "school of the company." The inexperienced soon learned their duties, and within a few days the regiment was not in any respect a green one. The officers were all intelligent men and many

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of them good drill masters before they received their commissions.

The men were fairly well provided with arms. Many of the militia companies had been supplied with muskets "complete," and some of the new volunteers who had belonged to these companies brought their guns, cartridge boxes, etc., with them into the First Minnesota. Some of these guns were the (then) new pattern of Springfield percussion-rifled muskets, not the altered flint-locks, many of which were used by the volunteers in 1861, but new bright-barreled rifle guns, which shot minie bullets and were considered the best infantry guns in the service. Others were Mississippi rifles, caliber 54, with sword bayonets. The irregularly armed were supplied with pieces of various patterns from the State's arsenal. Those who had Springfield rifled muskets were allowed to keep them, but all others were soon supplied with the 69-caliber musket, a larger, and in fact a formidable and very effective arm, that discharged a missile as big as a man's thumb. (Loehren.)

No uniforms had been provided, but the State soon furnished each private and non-commissioned officer with a shirt, a black felt hat, a pair of black pants, and a pair of socks. Other articles of clothing were supplied from time to time, either by the men or their friends. The shirts were woolen, but of various colors, red predominating. Generally the shirts were of the kind then affected by steamboat men and men of the frontiers, and some of them were very fancifully ornamented with crescents, stars, trefoils, etc. Company K had gray suits presented by the citizens of Winona. The State gave every man a blanket and supplied the bunks in the barracks with plenty of good clean straw. Cooking utensils

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were furnished in proper quantities.

At this time the population of Minnesota was substantially confined to the valleys of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers and their tributary streams. The public lands were open to settlement under the pre-emption laws of the national government, only, except with such scrip as could be obtained for location.

The vast prairies of the state had not yet disclosed their true value for settlement, except where they were within a reasonable distance from bodies of timber, as coal was, as yet, an unknown fuel so far west. Practically, the entire population consisted of young men, mostly unmarried, who had come west to establish homes, and the outbreak of hostilities found them more or less free to take an active part in the coming struggle. They were mostly natives of the country, or descendants of families who had long been in the country, and had been born to regard the country with all the affection of native land.

The laws in force under which they expected to build up their fortunes, such as the land laws of the United States, and the broad and comprehensive provisions of the United States constitution which secured to them the protection of the general government in all that concerned the most vital concerns of their lives, assured their steadfast loyalty to the general government.

Those who traced their origin to foreign lands represented all Western European countries—England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, France, the so-called “low countries,” the German and Austrian states, Switzerland, Russia, Spain, Italy and Scandinavia.

It was realized that if the secession germ was allowed lodgment in the body politic, and this united country was divided into two, it would lead to further

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divisions that would destroy the prosperity of the nation and the peace and happiness of the people.

Those who tendered themselves to the government in this spontaneous movement were fit, physically and intellectually to be moulded into soldiers of the first class.

The various elements, in point of nationality, that composed the regiment can be understood from the different nationalities in Co. B, which included 16 Swiss, 18 Germans, 14 Scandinavians, 5 Irish descent and the remainder Americans.

The men of the regiment always remembered gratefully their first days as soldiers at Fort Snelling. Their condition then was far superior to what it was ever afterward. They cleaned out and soon had cozy and neat the old quarters in the old Fort which had been occupied by the regular soldiers forty years before, when Colonel Snelling was in command, and thirty-two years before, when Zachary Taylor was in command. Visitors in beavies, swarms, and crowds came up every day "to see the soldiers." The ladies brought unsubstantial sweetmeats and knick-knacks of every sort, and also fair words and bright smiles, and were always welcome.

Then there were social occasions of a military sort. On May 1, Colonel Gorman was presented with a fine sword by his friend and compatriot, Maj. W. J. Cullen, of St. Paul. The ceremony of presentation was witnessed by a big crowd. That day also ex-Governor Sibley sent the regiment one hundred dollars as a contribution to its emergency fund. The next day the first regimental dress parade was held, witnessed by a great multitude of men, women and children.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST SERVICES IN MINNESOTA.

THE first services performed by any of the companies of the regiment were rendered in Minnesota at the Government's forts in the State. These military posts (or "forts," as they were officially termed) were Fort Ridgely, on the Minnesota, in Nicollet County, a hundred miles west of St. Paul; Fort Ripley, on the upper Mississippi, in Crow Wing County, a hundred miles northwest of St. Paul; and Fort Abercrombie, on the North Dakota bank of the Red River, fifteen miles above the present site of Wahpeton, and nearly two hundred and twenty-five miles northwest of Fort Snelling. Fort Ridgely, the oldest post, was built in 1853, and Ripley and Abercrombie were constructed later.

The Government forts in Minnesota, in the first part of April, 1861, were garrisoned by detachments of the Second United States Infantry. About May 1, these were ordered to Washington and on May 4, General Scott directed Governor Ramsey to send at once six companies of the First Regiment, two to each fort, to relieve the companies of the Second Regular Infantry at Ridgely, Ripley, and Abercrombie. The movement was to be made as soon as the companies were fully armed and equipped and the remaining companies were to remain at Fort Snelling and await further orders.

The men of the companies likely to be affected by this order were greatly disappointed and disconcerted upon its being made known. They had enlisted to fight for the preservation of the Union, not to dry up and shrivel away under the lonely and dispirit-

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ing conditions at the isolated frontier posts, "yet if Uncle Sam says so, we must obey orders, and it's all right." But when they realized that several days must elapse before the order could be carried out, and that in the meantime it might be countermanded and the regiment sent to the front, the men became reconciled to the situation. The companies sent to Ripley and Abercrombie had to be provided with wagons for the transportation of commissary and quartermaster's supplies. To manage the wagons there had to be a wagon-master, so the noted and noble old pioneer, Anson Northrup, was appointed to the position.

The date of the complete organization of the regiment was April 30, 1861, for on that day Colonel Gorman notified Governor Ramsey that the regiment had been mustered into service, was ready for duty, and awaited the orders of the Secretary of War, saying: "The First Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers, nine hundred and fifty men strong, is fully organized and mustered into service and awaits your orders." And yet the regiment was hardly ready for active duty. Three days later the colonel notified Governor Ramsey that immediate provision must be made for uniforming the men, who, he said, numbered eight hundred and sixty-seven; that they needed shoes, shirts, caps and socks of the regular army pattern; that they were without proper camp and garrison equipage and had no knapsacks, canteens, tents, cooking utensils, axes, spades, or picks. A regiment without these articles could hardly be considered ready for active duty. It was six days after the colonel's notice, or on May 9, when black hats and black trousers were given the men. Then, with their red shirts, or the blue ones with the pictures on them, the men were picturesquely (if not fashionably) ar-

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rayed, but that did not disturb them or impair their capacity for service. The men of the Winona company, however, continued to wear their neat gray uniforms.

But May 4 the Secretary of War suggested to Governor Ramsey that the regiment re-enlist and be mustered into service for three years, instead of serving for but three months. It seemed probable now that it would take longer to suppress the great rebellion than was at first thought! The Secretary said that no more three months' men would be accepted from any source; that the First Minnesota, not having taken the field, would, if its members consented, be mustered out and re-enlisted for three years. The re-enlistment would be voluntary, and the places of those declining to serve longer were to be filled by new recruits.

The sentiment for re-enlistment was practically unanimous, even with the possible contingency of having to serve for three years. The desires of the men were ascertained, and May 10 a communication signed by every officer in the regiment was sent to Governor Ramsey, tendering through him to the President the regiment for a service of "three years, or during the war." The tender was accepted and the next day, pursuant to the order of the Secretary of War, Captain Nelson re-mustered the men for three years from May 11, 1861, though their term of service really began—and was so accounted—April 29.

Governor Ramsey was then in Washington, and though the tender had been addressed to him, it was received by Lieutenant-Governor Donnelly and duly forwarded. The next day the Governor telegraphed that the men of the First Regiment must know that their being permitted to enlist for three years was "a favor which had been extended to no other regi-

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ment.” A year later the obligation was reversed, and it was the Government that felt itself “favored” when a regiment enlisted for three years! Not many men declined to re-enlist. The vacancies occasioned by those who did decline were very promptly filled.

More occasions (social and otherwise, but all enjoyable), were now indulged in. On the 14th of May the friends of Colonel Gorman presented him with a fine horse, saddle, bridle, etc. A week later, in response to an invitation from the ladies of Minneapolis and St. Anthony, the regiment marched up to the Falls and was banqueted in the fine grove then on Nicollet Island.

May 24, when the regiment had been filled to the maximum, it went to St. Paul and at the east front of the State capitol building received the State flag which it carried through its term of service. The flag had been made by the ladies of St. Paul and on their behalf was presented in a finished speech by Mrs. Anna E. Ramsey, wife of the Governor. Colonel Gorman received the banner in an eloquent and even grandiloquent speech and gave it to Sergt. Howard E. Stansbury of Company A, with earnest instructions to bear it aloft, and if he should “fall in defense of it,” his last words were to be, “Save the colors of the First Regiment.”* Following, there were rousing cheers, thunders of cannon, etc., until the air was filled with enthusiastic patriotism and patriotic enthusiasm. The regiment then marched to the Winslow House, on upper Third Street, and enjoyed an elaborate and sumptuous banquet. It was then taken back to Fort Snelling on the fine steamboats

*Sergeant Stansbury did not care for the flag very long, although it was given to him under such solemn and impressive circumstances. A few days later he was made a lieutenant in the regular army and left the regiment.

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Northern Belle and Hawkeye State.

These days were afterward vividly recalled when the regiment was floundering in the mire of the Chickahominy and the mud of Falmouth or marching on scanty rations and weary feet over the red clay roads of "old Virginia." Referring to them, Loehren says: "During this period, and indeed as long as the regiment remained there, Fort Snelling was daily thronged by visitors from all parts of the State—the soldiers' relatives, friends and neighbors, who were often charged with distributing articles of comfort and convenience prepared by the ladies of different localities throughout the State."

The design that detachments of the First Regiment should constitute the guards and garrisons of the three Government forts in the State for a time, was neither abandoned nor changed. May 28 Major Dike, in command of Company B, the Stillwater company, and Company G, the Faribault company, set out on the steamer Franklin Steele, via the Minnesota River, to relieve the garrison at Fort Ridgely, then composed of two companies of the Second United States Infantry under Major Patton. At that period, and for years later, the Minnesota was navigable for light draught steamboats in the boating season as far up the river as the Lower Sioux Agency, six miles below Redwood Falls, and often far beyond.

The day after Major Dike's command left, Company A. Captain Wilkin, marched for Fort Ripley to relieve the companies of the Second Infantry under Colonel Abererombie. A week later Company E, Captain Morgan, marched also for Ripley and en route met Colonel Abererombie with the former garrison, coming down. June 10 Company C, Captain Aeker, and Company D, Captain Putnam, with

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Lieutenant-Colonel Miller in command of the battalion, set out on a long march for Fort Abercrombie, two hundred and twenty-five miles to the northwest.

It now seemed altogether probable that the regiment was doomed to spend a great deal of time away from the seat of war, where glory and fame were to be had for the plucking, and the war might be over before it would be given a chance to distinguish itself.

Meanwhile, on May 28, at the close of dress parade, the ladies of Winona, through Capt. Henry K. Lester, presented the regiment with a fine national flag, the regimental colors, the Star Spangled Banner—and long may it wave. This beautiful standard did not last long. It was virtually shot to pieces at the first battle of Bull Run, was unfit for service thereafter, and was returned to the Minnesota State Capitol, where its tattered but revered fragments still are.

CHAPTER III.

THE REGIMENT ORDERED TO WASHINGTON.

MEANWHILE, "to oblige the boys," Governor Ramsey and Senators Rice and Wilkinson had been endeavoring to have the First Minnesota relieved from garrison duty in the State and taken to Washington City, where it would be handy in case of a fight. On June 12 Senator Rice telegraphed the Governor that Secretary of War Cameron refused to order the regiment on to Washington "in consequence of the departure of several companies for the forts."

As early as May 13 Adjutant-General Sanborn had telegraphed the Governor—then temporarily in Washington—that the Twenty-third Regiment of Minnesota Militia, Col. D. A. Robertson, had the full regimental complement of men, and tendered its services to the Government "for three years or during the war." So, when it seemed that the First Regiment could not be sent to the front, the alternative of calling out Colonel Robertson's regiment and having it forwarded to Washington was seriously considered. (See War Records; also Vol. 2 Minn. in Civ. and Ind. Wars; also newspapers of June, 1861.)

But on receiving Senator Rice's telegram June 12, Governor Ramsey at once telegraphed Secretary Cameron bluntly and to the point:

"Do you want Minnesota Regiment or not? If so, Colonel Gorman's is well drilled and armed and can be in Washington in ten days. A full regiment could not be got up in ten days, but I can have the forts relieved in less time. Answer."

The old War Secretary took his time about the

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“answer.” Senator Rice got after him, however, and June 14 he sent it to Governor Ramsey and it read:

“Send to Harrisburg, to await further orders, Colonel Gorman’s regiment. Replace the companies at the forts with companies of the Second Regiment. Report day the regiment will be at Harrisburg.”

He supplemented this telegram the same day with another, directing that if the regiment had been mustered for three years it should come at once to Washington by way of Harrisburg and presumably need not stop at the latter place.

Responding to the first telegram, the Governor directed Adjutant-General Sanborn to order Colonel Gorman to report himself and his command “forthwith at Harrisburg.” As soon as a swift messenger could carry it, the Colonel received the order and broke the official envelope as eagerly as a boy lover opens a letter from his sweetheart. The St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat of June 16 described what followed the reception of the order at Fort Snelling:

“The news that the First Regiment was ordered to Harrisburg was transmitted to Fort Snelling about ten o’clock Friday night. Almost everybody, save the sentinels, was asleep. The Colonel and staff had the information first, and it was received with every demonstration of delight. Our informant says the Colonel fairly howled with joy.

“The news soon spread to the quarters of the company officers and then to the men, and such rejoicing took place as had never before occurred since the regiment was mustered in. The men did not stop to put on their clothing, but rushed around hurrahing and hugging one another as wild as a

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crowd of school boys at the announcement of a vacation.

“There is no sham gratification at being ordered forward. The men enlisted for actual service in the field, and not to garrison forts. Many of them are farmers and would much prefer being at home this busy season than to spend the summer anywhere in the State.”

And Lochren says that, although the men realized that their time thus far had been well employed in the drill and discipline necessary to fit them for their duties as soldiers, and that in going to the seat of war they would lose many of their accustomed comforts and fare harder than at Fort Snelling, yet they had enlisted to fight to put down the rebellion and they did not wish to be disappointed. They did not want their experience in the war to be confined to garrison duty in local forts, for a comparatively brief time, when—the war being over(!)—they would be relieved by returning regulars who had composed the former garrisons. They did not want their military experience to be a bloodless one. Oh, if they could have foreseen their future!

Almost with the speed of a blizzard wind, couriers with return orders rode after the companies that had been sent out to the forts. Those dispatched to Ridgely and Ripley had reached their destinations and were about their duties. But Companies C and D, under Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, were toiling along under the blazing skies of a Northwest June, amid myriads of Minnesota mosquitoes, on the weary march to Abercrombie.

The dispatches of the Colonel, ordering the companies back to Fort Snelling preparatory to speedy departure for the front, were received by them with great joy and exultation. Good news is always

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greeted more heartily when received under disappointing conditions. With such alacrity were the return orders obeyed that in a week (or by the morning of Friday, June 21) all the companies were back in Fort Snelling except Company A, which had to remain at Fort Ripley, and 25 men of Company G, under Captain McKune, who had to stay at Ridgely and guard valuable Government property there until relieved by companies of the Second Regiment then being made ready. Therefore Company A and the detachment of Company G did not reach Snelling until after the Regiment proper had left the State, and caught up with it at Washington. A rumor reached Company E at Ripley that the Regiment would leave Snelling Friday morning, and so eager were the men not to be left that they cheerfully obeyed Captain Morgan's order to march all night long and were very happy when they got into the Fort at sunrise and learned that the regiment would not depart until the next day.

At 5 o'clock on the morning of Saturday, June 22, the regiment, except Company A, Captain Wilkin, and part of Company G, Captain McKune, was formed on the parade ground at Fort Snelling preparatory to setting out for the front. Colonel Gorman reported its numerical strength to be 1,023. probably 900 men or more were in line. Religious services were held and a brief address by Chaplain E. D. Neill, learned scholar and divine, accomplished historian, and earnest patriot. He cut the service short, as the men were restless, and the good steamers Northern Belle and War Eagle, lying at the Fort's wharf, just under the bluff, had steam up ready for departure.

The services over, the men by companies were marched down the bluff road to and on the boats,

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well crowding them. In a few minutes the fine palatial-like crafts east off their shore lines, turned their prows outward and were swiftly gliding over the broad, deep bosom of old Father Mississippi. On reaching the upper levee in St. Paul at the foot of Eagle Street, the boats landed and the regiment by previous arrangement, disembarked and marched through the city to say farewell and to receive God speed. It was only 7 o'clock, but the streets were thronged by a sympathetic and enthusiastic multitude. There was short time for leave-taking, though hearts were sore and fears brooding, and in half an hour the men were aboard the boats again and sweeping down the river, the Northern Belle for La Crosse and the War Eagle for Prairie du Chien. Fifty years later the event was properly celebrated.

Only brief halts were made en route. At Hastings, Red Wing, Lake City, Wabasha, and Winona the companies organized at these places were allowed to land for fifteen minutes for parting with relatives and friends. At each stop there was a quarter of an hour of sighs, tears, and sad hearts, mingled with pride, hope and fond wishes.

The women of Minnesota had full sympathy for their soldiers. The fair have always loved the brave. Our women and girls loved the soldier boys and gave their feelings practical expression. They fed them dainties and supplied them with comforts when they could. They knit socks and made shirts for them, and when the regiment left St. Paul for Washington nearly every soldier had a havelock made for and given to him by the women of the cities and towns where the companies were organized. Of course, after a little while havelocks went out of popularity and style. The boys didn't care whether or not the back of their necks were sunburned; other

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things were of more importance.

Minnesota matrons and maidens did their full duty by their soldier fathers, husbands, brothers, and sweethearts, actuated as much by love of country as by natural affection and sympathy. They were as patriotic and self-sacrificing as the Spartan women of old, who in time of war gave their girdles for sword belts, their hair for bow-strings, and while their heart-strings were breaking with love, pushed from their embraces their dearest ones and sent them forth to fight for the country.

The Northern Belle reached La Crosse about midnight and the War Eagle got to Prairie du Chien at 3 o'clock in the morning. Notwithstanding the unseasonable hour, the people of each little city turned out in great numbers to welcome the Minnesotians. At Prairie du Chien nearly the entire population of the modest but patriotic town came forth from beds and home and received them with an artillery salute and the most profuse hospitality.

It must be borne in mind that at that time, and for more than a year later, the nearest railroad depots to Minnesota were La Crosse and Prairie du Chien. The railroads they represented were in imperfect condition and had but limited facilities. Neither the La Crosse nor the Prairie du Chien depot could entertain 900 men on a single train or a single day. For this reason, both depots and their roads had to be utilized in transporting the First Regiment from the Mississippi River to Chicago. Luckily both roads made connection at Janesville, Wis., and there was good solid roadbed thence to Chicago.

From both La Crosse and Prairie du Chien, railway transportation in first-class passenger cars was furnished the Minnesotians. Many of these men had never ridden on a railway car before and the sensa-

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tion was as novel as it was pleasant. Moreover, both detachments were given bountiful and sumptuous dinners the next day as the guests of the railroad company. The junction at Janesville was made on time and the regiment arrived in Chicago at 6 o'clock on the evening of June 23. The entire trip through Wisconsin was really a great continuous ovation.

“Brave boys are they; gone at their country’s call;
And yet— ah! yet,
We cannot forget
That many brave boys must fall.”

At the depot of the Northwestern Railroad Company in Chicago a great crowd had assembled to greet the regiment with hearty and enthusiastic cheers. The mayor of the city, “Long John” Wentworth, the old friend and associate of Governor Sibley and a long-time friend of Minnesota,* made the men a short but very complimentary speech of welcome. Then he rode with Colonel Gorman at the head of the regiment, as it marched through crowded and cheering streets, to the Pittsburg & Fort Wayne depot. Although it was near sunset, thousands were on the streets to see the volunteers from Minnesota whose coming had been announced. On the morning of the 24th all the Chicago newspapers made a news feature of the passing of the regiment through the city, although it had been preceded by several other regiments. The Tribune said:

“Our city has been for some time on a qui vive to see the first installment of troops from loyal Minnesota pass through the streets en route to the seat of war. Their arrival last evening was heralded by a dispatch

*He was a member of Congress when Minnesota was organized as a territory.

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from our special reporter at Janesville and a bulletin from the Tribune office. An immense concourse of spectators greeted their arrival at the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad depot, where they debarked from the cars at 6 o'clock. Gallant Minnesota deserves high credit for her noble sons and their appearance yesterday. They have enjoyed in their makeup that rare and excellent process of selection and culling from the older states which has thrown into the van of civilization the hardy lumbermen and first settlers in the Northwestern wilds. There are few regiments we have ever seen that can compare in brawn and muscle with these Minnesotians, used to the axe, plow, rifle, oar, and setting pole. They are unquestionably the finest body of troops that has yet appeared on our streets."

The regiment arrived in Chicago at 6 p.m. and at 10 o'clock, in the first-class cars of the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railway, departed for Harrisburg. Good meals were furnished by the railroad company and everything possible done for their comfort. Pittsburg was reached at midnight. At Huntingdon, in the mountains of Pennsylvania, just as the sun was rising, the train halted for fifteen minutes; but early as it was, the ladies were waiting and as soon as the train stopped they boarded it laden with hot and delicious coffee, pastry, etc., and gave the men a bountiful luncheon.

Harrisburg was reached at 10 o'clock in the forenoon of the 25th. The regiment left the cars and went into a "camp of instruction" recently established, and where there were already several other new regiments in tents. The entire trip from Fort Snelling had been practically a grand junket. Companies A and K, which had been temporarily left

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behind in Minnesota, were commiserated because they had missed such a good time.

The men of the regiment expected to remain in the Harrisburg instruction camp for some time and be drilled and otherwise prepared for further duties, although Colonel Gorman had fairly drilled their legs off at Fort Snelling. But at the unseasonable hour of 3 o'clock on the morning following their arrival, they were called out of their sleeping quarters and rushed aboard a train of cattle cars bound for Baltimore. While these cars were less comfortable than upholstered passenger cars, yet it was realized that no other transportation was available, and everyone was satisfied to accept such as the government could furnish.

Soon the train left Pennsylvania and entered Maryland. All along the railroad the people were Unionists and by waving flags and handkerchiefs let the Regiment know their sentiments. A large majority of the people of the State were loyal to the old flag, although two months before as the work of rabid secessionists the blood of Union soldiers had "flecked the streets of Baltimore." Nearing that city the men were greeted with the first hostile demonstration, when an old woman angrily shook a broom at them.

At Baltimore—as in nearly every other city of that day and for years later—different systems of railroad did not connect their depots. There were few union depots. A depot of one road might be on the north side of a town, and the depot of another road might be on the south side. The regiment had to march through Baltimore from Pittsburg depot to that of the Baltimore & Washington.

Two months before, the Sixth Massachusetts, while passing quietly through the streets, had been fired

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upon by a mob and a few of its men were killed and others wounded. The First Minnesota did not invite such a demonstration, but the men were ready for it. They loaded their muskets and fixed their bayonets, and would have used them to effect had the frowning, scowling fellows they passed on the sidewalks even snapped a cap.

Baltimore was left late in the afternoon and Washington City reached at 10 o'clock at night. Quarters for the night were obtained in the Assembly rooms, and Hon. Cyrus Aldrich, one of Minnesota's Congressmen, furnished a supper. The first stage of the journey was over.

CHAPTER IV.

AT WASHINGTON AND ALEXANDRIA.

THE next morning, June 27, after its arrival in Washington, the regiment went into camp a short distance east of the Capitol building. The camp was a fine one, well furnished, and the surroundings were all that could be desired. But daily and tiresome drills were resumed during the stay of a week, although the men had become fairly proficient in these exercises before they left Minnesota. They were told that the object of so much training was to make them disciplined and capable, so they would stand the severest shock of battle without breaking and do their whole duty as soldiers. This theory was to be put to the test and all were anxious for it.

General Winfield Scott, the grand old hero of many wars, was now in general command of the armies of the United States. He was 75 years of age, but possessed a vigorous mind, was a true patriot, and had the confidence of the people. In April he had offered the active command to Lieut-Col. Robert E. Lee, but Virginia seceded April 17 and Lee chose to go with his State. Eventually General Scott gave the command of the forces in and about Washington to Gen. Irvin McDowell, a West Pointer, who had served with credit in the Mexican War and on General Scott's staff, and had been made a brigadier early in May.

The authorities of the Confederacy had removed its capital from Montgomery, Ala, to Richmond, Va., 100 miles from Washington. It was a popular idea that the objective of operations in the East would be the capture of Richmond, the rebel capital, both

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for its effect on the South as well as on foreign opinion. For weeks Horace Greeley in the New York Tribune, and many other wiseacres in the North had been crying out, "On to Richmond! On to Richmond! Why doesn't our army move upon the rebel forces and the rebel capital at once?"

Virginia had not fairly seceded until the forces representing the rebellious States were along the Potomac and elsewhere on Virginia borders preparing to defend her "sacred soil" from invasion by the "Northern hordes." Confederate flags were soon flying within plain sight of Washington, and Confederate troops were defending them.

The Confederate authorities had sent Gen. Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard to command their forces in front of Washington. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was the supreme commander of the Confederate forces in all Virginia; but he was over in the Shenandoah valley with a snug little army of some 10,000 men, and had left the Confederate situation in Virginia south of Washington in charge of General Beauregard. To watch General Johnston and keep him from coming to Beauregard's help (if the latter should need it) was the duty of Union Gen. Robert Patterson with a force nearly all three months' men. General Patterson was an old man almost to the point of infirmity.

Very soon after a military situation and condition was established in Washington, General McDowell began dispatching small parties of Union troops into Virginia to learn the situation and "feel of the enemy." The Confederates, too, were reconnoitering and scouting about their side of the Potomac. On the 24th of May 5,000 Union troops moved over from Washington and occupied the town of Alexandria. There was no resistance on the part of the Confed-

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erates, save that Col. Elmer E. Ellsworth, of a noted regiment, called the Fire Zouaves, was shot and killed by a hotelkeeper named Jackson, whose secession flag the Union colonel had pulled down and was carrying away. The Virginia Confederates, 500 in number, under Col. Geo. H. Terrett, according to orders, retired without resistance.

The First Minnesota crossed the Potomac and first pressed the soil of old Virginia at the ancient town of Alexandria, July 3, 1861. The regiment was brought down the river from Washington by steamers from the navy yard and landed at the Alexandria wharf at noon. The little but historic old town was silent; grass was growing in the streets and all the residence houses seemed deserted. This was George Washington's town, and not far away rest his remains. He it was who helped to create and who more than anyone else maintained the flag of the stars and stripes at most critical periods, and now in his former home town were none to do it reverence; everyone was its enemy.

As the regiment marched through the streets the men cheered, but there was no response. The only living persons in the place seemed to be negroes, who stood in flocks at the street corners looking upon the soldiers in dead silence and blank astonishment. The regiment was inspected by General McDowell, then marched a mile west of Alexandria and went into camp in a twenty-acre field. All about were the camps of comrade volunteers.

In their new camp in what was fairly a tented field, the regiment resumed drilling. There were daily details for guard duty. Posts were established on the railroad to guard that thoroughfare, and the telegraph. There were guards on all the roads and especially at every cross road. Corp. Sam E. Stebbins,

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of Company K, wrote to the Winona Republican:

“We do not let anybody pass the lines without a written pass signed by the proper army officers. Even the folks that live on one side of the road and have land on the other cannot pass without showing a written permit. There are lots of ladies going visiting, and we have to stop them and examine their passes, and if they have no pass it is our duty to arrest them and send them to headquarters. As we are only a mile from the city of Alexandria, we have plenty to do. We have a little shed right at the junction of the roads to sit under when not engaged in active duty. Before long we expect to move forward to attack the rebels, and if they don't run we shall have some fun. We are anxious for a chance to meet the scamps on an open field.”

Within a fortnight after writing, Corporal Stebbins had his wish granted. He met the “scamps” and had “some fun” with them. The meeting ended in his receiving a lump of lead in his body which put him out of the fight. He was a good soldier and bravely stuck to his post as long as possible, but was finally discharged for disability in the fall of 1862.

While at the Alexandria camp the regiment was sent out to the west and south on scouting expeditions “feeling for the enemy.” Two or three times it was called out under arms late in the night to repel an imaginary attack. These false alarms were then considered essential to correct military training.

Also while at Alexandria the regiment became part of its first brigade organization. With the Fifth and Eleventh Massachusetts regiments and Battery I, First U. S. Artillery, it constituted Gen. W. B.

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Franklin's First Brigade of Gen. Samuel P. Heintzelman's Third Division of General McDowell's Army of Northeastern Virginia. All these generals were regular army officers of long service. General Heintzelman had served on the Northwest frontier, and for a long time had been stationed at Mackinaw and Fort Snelling.

CHAPTER V.

BULL RUN.

BY the middle of July the Confederate position in northern Virginia was well established, and well known. General Beauregard had selected the now famous little stream called Bull Run as the line which he proposed to defend against attack, or from which he might advance upon the enemy, according to circumstances.

Bull Run is a small watercourse, in its largest division of the dimensions of a medium creek, in extreme length about 25 miles from source to mouth. Its source is in the highlands near the village of Aldie, Loudoun county. It flows in a general direction southeastwardly around Manassas Junction and five miles below this point empties into the Occoquan, which stream in turn falls into the Potomac about fifteen miles below Alexandria. The term "run" as applied to a watercourse is a Southern and Western idiom denoting a stream larger than a brook and smaller than a creek. It is said that Bull Run takes its name from a prominent English planter who lived near the mouth of the stream in Colonial times.

Manassas Junction is four or five miles southwest of Bull Run. In 1861 it was the junction of the Manassas Gap and Orange & Alexandria railroads, which jointly used a single track from thence to Alexandria.

General Beauregard had established the Confederate position along Bull Run at a distance of four or five miles northeast of Manassas Junction, convenient for the transmission of supplies, etc. The

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Confederate forces were drawn out along a line about eight miles in length.

The banks of Bull Run were lined with scrubby timber and were high, steep, and abrupt. The stream could not readily be crossed except by the fords, and there were several of these. From Union Mills Ford northwesterly or up stream, they were McLean's, Blackburn's, Mitchell's, Island, Ball's and Lewis's. Northwest of the stone bridge and the Warrenton turnpike was Sudley's Ford, high up the stream. Wilmer McLean, owner of the farm opposite the ford of that name, was also the owner of the house at Appomattox C. H., in which Lee surrendered to Grant. At Bull Run his house was General Beauregard's headquarters.

Along the Run, on its right or southerly bank, at these fords, General Beauregard prepared good breastworks with abatis and with the Run in front as a ditch. At each ford he placed a strong force of artillery. The intervals between the fords were weakly manned. The idea was that the stream could not be passed, except at the fords, by cavalry and artillery, and with difficulty by infantry.

On the 16th of July General McDowell moved his army from the banks of the Potomac towards the enemy.

The First Division was commanded by Gen. Daniel Tyler, the Second by Col. David Hunter, the Third by Col. Samuel P. Heintzelman and the Fifth by Col. Dixon S. Miles. Colonels Hunter, Heintzelman, and Miles were colonels in the regular army. The Fourth Division, commanded by Gen. Theodore Runyon, was left in the works on the south bank of the Potomac.

The forces reached Fairfax Court House, sixteen miles south of west of Washington, at 3 o'clock on

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the afternoon of the 17th and Centerville, four miles from Fairfax, the next day. Centerville is six miles eastwardly from Bull Run. A few scattered Confederate scouts were encountered, resulting in the wounding of three Union soldiers. The men were unused to marching, the weather was hot, the roads dusty, and the movement was attended with some personal discomfort and much loud complaint. Two years later the march would have been easily and indifferently made. One of the Union spies with the army was Matthias Mitchell, who lived on a tract which became part of the battlefield of Bull Run.

As soon as Beauregard was well satisfied that McDowell was moving against him with superior force, he called earnestly for help. He telegraphed Jeff Davis and the other authorities at Richmond, and Gen. Joe Johnston, over at Winchester.

General McDowell's first plan was to attack the Confederates on the south or right of their line, notably at Blackburn's and Mitchell's Fords. Good roads from Centerville crossed Bull Run at each ford, but as Blackburn's was farthest down stream and at the more vital point of the Confederate flank, it was thought probable that the main Union attack would be made there. This was McDowell's opinion, and also Beauregard's. General Beauregard, therefore, strengthened the defenses of Blackburn's Ford to meet the emergency. Gen. James Longstreet's brigade constituted the defenders.

The real movement of General McDowell was a flanking movement by General Heintzelman around the enemy's left wing and this regiment participated in that flanking operation. The First Minnesota left its camp near Fort Ellsworth on July 16 and joined in the general advance of the army. Ten men from each company (mostly sick or ailing ones, making

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100 in all) were left behind to care for the camp. The march that day was a slow one and the regiment only reached the near vicinity of Fairfax Court House, a few miles from Fort Ellsworth. Camp was made in a jack-pine thicket on a ridge. The next day Sangster's Station, on the Orange & Alexandria Railroad, (locally called Sangster's Cross Roads) was reached early in the afternoon and the Regiment went into camp in a region abounding with ripe blackberries. The soil of the country was thin and worn out by more than a hundred years of cultivation. The farmers were not progressive and their crops were always scanty; but fruits, especially small fruits, both wild and cultivated kinds, grew bountifully.

Of the march to Sangster's Station Chaplain Neill, under date of July 17, wrote:

“I slept under the hospital ambulance. During the night another regiment, the 11th Massachusetts, joined our brigade. Before sunrise we were all on our winding way, the artillery immediately in front of our regiment. We travelled all forenoon through a wooded country, with here and there a clearing, and with a poor log farmhouse and an apology for a barn in the shape of a few pine logs loosely put together and half decayed. The inmates are what the Virginians call “poor whites.” The mother stands at the door, a tall, vacant, gaunt, care-worn woman; the children pale and buttonless; the father ill clad and looking as if he were half ashamed to hold up his head in the presence of decent people.

“Two miles after we began our march this morning, we passed an aguish-looking, badly frightened man whose horse had been shot last night by our pickets and who had received a wound himself. Two women were

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by his side, one white and coarse-featured, the other more refined, a plump matronly quadron, who seemed to show quite a conjugal interest in the man. She told me that he was hunting for a colt when our soldiers challenged him, and not understanding them, he did not stop and they fired on and wounded him and killed the horse.

“While standing at the farm gate of a Union family originally from New York, news came that the enemy was in force at Fairfax Station and his pickets near by. Axmen soon went forward to cut away the obstructions the enemy had placed in the road. The Zouaves were hurried up and went by us jumping like squirrels, to strike the railway near the supposed rebel camp, while we moved along with the Massachusetts 5th and the battery to attack the left flank. We soon came to deserted picket posts, and in a little while at an abandoned camp ground there was a great dense smoke and we learned that the rebels had left in haste this morning, burning up all the stores they could not carry with them. We hastened on until we reached a high plateau overlooking the valley through which the railways pass and also looking over toward the Blue Ridge Mountains. We again saw smoke ahead and in half an hour arrived at Sangster’s Station, six miles southwest of Fairfax Court House and only eight from Manassas Junction, headquarters of Beauregard. The rebels retreated and in passing down from Fairfax Court House today they burned all railroad bridges. Had we been here four or five hours sooner we could have caught them all. We tramped sixteen miles today under a hot sun.”

The following day, July 18, occurred the affair at Blackburn’s Ford, under General Tyler. That day Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, with Companies A and B,

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made a reconnoissance five miles to the front, nearly to the Confederate lines. On their return the men of the party said to their comrades, "The rebs are out there all right, and they'll fight, too."

July 19 the regiment and Heintzelman's Division marched to the vicinity of Centerville and united with the main army. Centerville (commonly spelled Centreville) was a little hamlet on one street with half a dozen or more houses. Its principal building was a small one-story stone church. The most abundant and cheapest building material in the country was stone, which was much used in construction work. Centerville was on the Warrenton turnpike, "a good broad highway leading down" from Washington to Warrenton a southwest course of some fifty miles almost as straight as the crow flies. It was a fine thoroughfare, for plenty of stones had been used in its construction and it was firm and strong.

July 19, the Chaplain wrote from Centerville a letter filled with interesting items:

"A three days' march brought us to this place, where we found the rear of General McDowell's Division. The first day we advanced from Alexandria to Pohiek Creek; the second day sixteen miles to Sangster's Station, on the Orange railway, twenty miles from Alexandria.

"Yesterday morning Captain Wilkin was sent up the railway with twenty men to scout. He returned in about two hours with the intelligence that three miles distant he perceived about 500 of the enemy on a hill commanding the road. In the afternoon, Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, with Companies A and B was ordered to proceed on the railway and discover if the bridge over Bull Run at Union Mills was burned. They pro-

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ceeded about the same distance, and with the aid of a field glass Colonel Miller and Lieutenants Downie and Thomas distinctly saw a battery of five or six guns where Captain Wilkin saw the enemy in the morning.

“While they were absent the long roll was sounded and the brigades of Colonel Heintzelman’s Division were quickly on the march again. Just at dark, not far from Centerville, we heard that there had been a bloody engagement at Bull Run where a detachment under General Tyler had been mowed down by a masked battery. Shortly after the rumor came, it began to rain and we were drenched. Without provisions, surrounded by twenty hungry and wet regiments and with nothing but bad news of the afternoon fight* to digest, we went supperless to bed, if sleeping in the open air can be called going to bed.

* * * * *

“This morning, amidst anathemas fierce and loud from long lines of Zouaves and others, a band of eight rebel soldiers was marched through the camp up to General McDowell’s tent. They were a picket stationed near Fairfax Court House, which the rebels in their hasty departure had forgotten to call in. Their uniform was rather Falstaffian. Their heads were covered with apologies for hats and caps. Two wore dark brown blouses and the rest were dressed in iron grey satinet with green trimmings. They belong, I believe, to an Alabama regiment.”

The next day, Saturday, July 20, was a gala day in McDowell’s camps. The mustering officer came to the regiment and mustered in several recruits, who had been on duty several days, without having been

*Reference is made to the affair at Blackburn’s Ford, already referred to.

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sworn in. Visitors, officials, and private citizens came out from Washington in carriages, bringing their own supplies (including plenty of liquors) and bound for a good time. They were under no military restraint and were so numerous that as they thronged the streets and passed to and fro among the troops, the camp fairly resembled a monster military picnic ground. (Fry, Batts, and Leads, p. 183.) Many of these visitors (to their subsequent humiliation and sorrow) remained over in camp until and including the greater part of Sunday. The troops were encamped at various distances from Centerville.

General Tyler's big division next morning, Sunday, July 21, made another demonstration, this time against the Stone bridge, only a few miles away on the Warrenton Pike.

While Tyler's Division was cannonading and otherwise demonstrating against the Stone bridge, two miles below, Hunter and Heintzelman crossed the Run, moved down the little valley, and fell upon the rear of the Confederate forces at the bridge. It was expected that Tyler's operations would so distract their attention that Hunter and Heintzelman would have no difficulty in taking the defenders by surprise and defeating them. Then when the Second and Third Divisions had attacked, Tyler's would cross the Run and co-operate and the three Divisions would make summary disposition of Beauregard's army. Johnston's "Army of the Shenandoah" was supposed to be a hundred miles away.

After a march of ten or twelve miles, Heintzelman's Division came up to the ford at 11 a. m., having been enlivened and inspired for an hour or so by the sound of battle in front. Franklin's Brigade (to which the First Minnesota belonged) crossed the ford at about 11:30 and Colonel Franklin, by

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direction of General McDowell, sent the regiment forward a few hundred yards to re-inforce the flanking force.

It was brought on the field first under the guidance of Captain Wright, of Colonel Heintzelman's staff, as a flanking force. It moved at quick time until it arrived at an open field which overlooked the battlefield. Here the regiment remained for several minutes. Some of the men wandered about and amused and refreshed themselves by gathering blackberries, which were somewhat plentiful, others picked flowers that abounded. In a little while, however, it was ordered through the woods to a position near the front and center of the Confederate line. This was the first position, and it was in an open field and under the direct fire of the enemy's batteries. (Gorman's report).

After ten minutes in the field, it was ordered by both Colonels Franklin and Heintzelman to the support of Ricketts' Battery. To obey this order the regiment had to pass in front of the enemy's line, a mile or more to the extreme right of the Union line. The movement was executed in quick and double-quick time. It was a July day under a Virginia midsummer sun and the march was very trying. Many of the men threw away blankets, haversacks, and even their indispensable canteens in order to run with swiftness the race set before them. (Gorman.)

This was to be the regiment's first fight. It had not yet been in a skirmish fight—never under fire. There were no braver spirits, physically and morally than the men of the First Minnesota. They were also finely drilled and well disciplined. But to march into a fierce battle, "into the jaws of death", for the first time without perturbation, misgivings, and ner-

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vousness, is a march that has never yet been made. Of course the men knew their danger, but bravely they faced it. As they marched into position on the brink of the Henry Hill, they passed a small stream flowing in a shallow valley and as they ascended saw the dead bodies of a few Zouaves that had been killed a few minutes before, their gaudy uniforms now dabbled with blood, their forms and faces distorted by an agonizing death, and their glassy eyes staring up into the sky. The spectacle was not encouraging or inspiring.

The regiment came up and Colonel Gorman quickly put it into battle line. It was in advance of all the other Union troops. Colonel Gorman says the position was "within 50 or 60 yards of the enemy's line of infantry." When General Heintzelman rode between the lines "within pistol shot of each," Colonel Gorman says the circumstance "staggered my judgment whether those in front were friends or enemies. But in a few minutes they displayed the rebel and we the Union flag."

The Confederates soon destroyed the battery and had time to reload and drive away the Zouaves (who had been sent in at this point) and were crouching in the jungles of scrub oaks and pines waiting for the Union attack. Companies A and F, the right companies of the regiment, were two rods from the Henry wood when Colonel Heintzelman rode along and gave the order to "feel in the woods for the enemy." Captain Colvill of Company F says the order was promptly responded to by the two companies, "first by volleys and then by a continuous fire."

By giving way to the right and left to allow Ricketts' battery to pass through, the regiment had become divided into two wings. Lieutenant-Colonel Mil-

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ler was present with and commanded the detached portion of the right wing. Colonel Gorman says the division was caused by "the configuration of the ground and the intervening woods." Lochren says the left companies were separated from the right companies when Ricketts' guns "were taken back through the center of the regiment." Others say the division occurred when Ricketts went forward from his first stand with his battery to his new position. But Lochren further says that in moving the regiment "by companies into line" in the brush, as it neared the top of the hill the left companies were the last to get into line at the edge of a narrow clearing into which the batteries had "just" passed. Lieutenant-Colonel Miller wrote to the New York Tribune, referring to Colonel Gorman at Bull Run, as follows:

"Our wings were necessarily separated by the battery of Captain Ricketts, so that Gorman and I and our respective wings could not see each other until the conclusion of the conflict." (Bloomer's Scrap Book, p. 20.)

This would indicate that the wings of the regiment were placed on either flank of the battery. At no time was any part of the regiment on the left of the battery.

First Lieut. Myron Shepard states as his recollection:

"It is my opinion that Ricketts' battery operated entirely to the left of the regiment. The wrecked battery, dead horses, etc., lay 30 or 40 yards to the left of Co. B. during the latter part of the action. Of this I am positive. Ricketts' battery was wrecked and mostly abandoned before the regiment was half through fighting. I explain as follows: While we were forming line of battle,

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we had to give way, right and left, for Ricketts' battery to pass through and to its position on our left. Fighting followed instantly. The interval (in our line) could not be closed at once, and so the regiment fought in two battalions, and Ricketts' battery was destroyed almost instantly."

Captain Searles, in Loyal Legion "Glimpses", second series, on this point writes: "One wing having been partly separated from the other by Ricketts' Battery as it went into action, the regiment gradually became separated into two portions, one body under Colonel Gorman and the other under Lieutenant-Colonel Miller." The weight of testimony is that the division was caused by the passage through it of Ricketts' Battery on its way to its last position.

Lochren says that soon after the regiment was in line, "there was already firing at the right of the regiment, but the occasion was not understood." This would seem to have been the firing of Companies A and F mentioned by Colvill and which was ordered by Heintzelman. As if in response to this firing, Lieutenant-Colonel Boone* of Colonel Falkner's regiment, the Second Mississippi, rode from the Confederate position to that of the two right companies of the First Minnesota. He had seen the red shirts of the regiment and thought it was the Fourth Alabama, many of whose men were similarly garbed. He came to caution the Minnesotians not to fire on their "friends!" Mr. Javan B. Irvine, who was serving with Company A, promptly made a prisoner of Colonel Boone (to the latter's great astonishment) and he was sent to Washington. He was the officer of highest rank captured and retained by the Union troops that day. The incident made Mr. Irvine an

*Colvill calls him "Col. Coon of a Georgia regiment."

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officer in the regular army for the rest of his life.*

The Confederates were near enough to witness the capture of Colonel Boone. They now knew that the forces in front of them were Union troops, and not the Fourth Alabama. Suddenly from the entire Confederate line came another terrible explosion of artillery and musketry and another volley of iron and lead swept the Henry house plateau. The deadly storm, with its fierce red lightning and crashing thunder, struck the Minnesotians squarely in their faces, and the shock was as if there had been a great explosion of dynamite before their eyes.

Only for a second were the Minnesotians staggered or stunned. Then Colonel Gorman gave the order to fire, which was obeyed on the instant. For a few minutes it was give and take between the forces. Owing to the very short distance between the contending lines, the fighting was very hot and deadly. Volley after volley followed. The Confederates had by far the greater volume of fire, and after again sweeping the ground occupied by the batteries, they seemed to concentrate it upon the First Minnesota. They had another decided advantage in that they outnumbered the Minnesotians very largely. While not behind artificial breastworks, they were really intrenched in the thickets of jackpine and scrub oaks and the natural ditches and gullies of that hilly site. The Minnesotians were fairly in the open with the Confederate artillery "en enfilade" and hurling death into them from a position only 350 yards away,

*A few weeks after his capture, Colonel Boone took the oath of allegiance to the United States, renounced the Confederacy, and was released from the Old Capitol prison at Washington. During the reconstruction period he was made a District Judge in the Booneville district of Mississippi. He resided at Booneville, where he died in 1880.

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and the infantry volleying at them from the front.

Colonel Gorman saw that under the forbidding circumstances his men could not accomplish any good purpose in their perilous position and if they remained longer they would be involved either in terrible destruction or hopeless confusion. Seeing also that the greatest part of the Union forces present were apparently falling back, he gave the order to retire. The regiment moved back in the best order in which any command left that part of the field during the battle.

While falling back, however, the ground passed over was contested by desultory firing for four hundred yards, until the small stream formerly mentioned, called Young's Branch, was reached and the men supplied themselves with water, of which they were in great need. Reforming, the regiment marched northward on the Sudley road, the route over which they had come to the battle field. The men who were in the ranks recrossed Bull Run at the Sudley Ford and then followed the road they traversed in the morning down to the Warrenton Pike and thence east. Those who had broken ranks crossed the Run wherever they came to it and took what route seemed safest.

The division in the Regiment continued until after Bull Run was crossed. Lochren says that after it retired from the battle line it remained for some time at the foot of the hill on whose crest it had fought and then went back to Buck Hill, where the knapsacks had been left. From thence it went to the Sudley Ford and re-crossed the Run and "here we were joined by a considerable part of the right companies of our regiment." From Buck Hill to Sudley Ford is fully two miles, a long distance to march before the two divisions could be united. This in-

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dicates the general state of disorder at the time.

Half a mile below or south of the Sudley Ford, very near the Sudley spring and in the Sudley church, a Union field hospital was established, and here the severely wounded of the regiment were left with Surgeon J. H. Stewart and Assistant-Surgeon C. W. LeBoutillier in charge. The name Sudley was of much geographic prominence in this immediate section and became noted. The Sudley road, the Sudley Ford, the Sudley spring, the Sudley house, the Sudley mill, the Sudley church and the Sudley hospital all became historic.

The regiment moved from Sudley Ford toward Centerville next to the rearmost regiment, the First Rhode Island of Burnside's Brigade, temporarily commanded by Governor Sprague, the plucky governor of the plucky little state. The First Minnesota marched first by platoons, but some demoralized cavalry came rushing to the rear and threw them into confusion and the men "did not afterward try to keep in order."

Nearing Centerville, the route over which they passed was under fire of Kemper's Virginia Battery, from Alexandria, which had crossed Bull Run below the Stone bridge and was shelling the retreating, straggling Unionists. (Kemper's report.) The First Minnesota passed through Centerville and at the close of that long, hot, terrible, but eventful day, stumbled into its camp of the night before and what men were present dropped to the ground and went instantly to sleep without eating. They expected that the fighting would be renewed the next morning at Centerville, when they would be on the defense and the Confederates on the aggressive and they wanted to be rested and refreshed for the encounter. Half an hour later they were called up by the cooks

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for hot coffee and to receive an order.

General McDowell found himself at sundown with a defeated and badly broken army. Many of his best officers and men were killed or wounded, hundreds of others were either prisoners or fugitives in the wastes of the country, more than half of his cannon had been lost, and the morale of his army was gone. Then came word that the Confederates, flushed and glowing with victory and with a very strong force, much of which was quite fresh, were advancing to attack him at Centerville. The dark hour was on Saul. He at once issued orders to the men left him, though they were in sad plight, to continue the retreat to Alexandria, back under the shelter of the guns and forts defending Washington. This was the order the Minnesotians received with their coffee.

The order meant to men already exhausted the march of a distressed army for 25 miles amid the gloom of a black darkness and a crushing defeat. Lochren says:

“How it was accomplished cannot be told. The writer, carrying knapsack, haversack, musket and complete soldier’s outfit, was on this march several times awakened from deep sleep by stumbling against some obstruction. In the forenoon of the next day we were back in our tents at Alexandria, thoroughly exhausted and soon asleep; but in the afternoon we were called up and marched to Washington, six miles or more, in a heavy rain, by way of the Long bridge.”

After the First Minnesota retired from the battle-field at perhaps 2:30 p. m., the fight was practically over at that part of the field.

WHAT THE COMMANDERS SAID.

The First Minnesota’s Division commander, Heint-

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zelman, and its Brigade commander, Franklin, were both officers in the regular army. They were strict disciplinarians, without fear or favor, and praised good conduct sparingly but denounced bad conduct unmercifully. Of the work of the regiment at the Henry house plateau, Colonel Heintzelman in his official report, describing his attempts to capture the plateau, said:

“Franklin’s Brigade was posted on the right of a woods near the center of our line and on ground rising toward the enemy’s position. In the meantime I sent orders for the Zouaves to move forward to support Ricketts’ Battery on its right. As soon as they came up I led them up against an Alabama regiment partly concealed in a clump of small pines in an old field. At the first fire they broke and the greater portion fled to the rear, keeping up a desultory firing over the heads of their comrades in front. * * * The regiment as a regiment did not appear again on the field. I then led up the Minnesota regiment, which was also repulsed, but retired in tolerably good order. It did good service in the woods on our right flank and was among the last to retire, coming off the field with the Third U. S. Infantry. Next was led forward the First Michigan, which was also repulsed and retired in considerable confusion. * * * The Brooklyn Fourteenth then appeared on the ground, coming forward in gallant style. * * * Soon after the firing commenced this regiment broke and ran; I considered it useless to attempt to rally them. During this time Ricketts’ Battery had been taken and retaken three times by us, but was finally lost, most of the horses having been killed. Captain Ricketts was wounded and taken prisoner and Lieutenant Ramsey killed. Lieutenant Kirby behaved with great gallantry

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and succeeded in carrying off one caisson.”

It will be noted that of all the four regiments that Colonel Heintzelman names as having been sent forward to support or retake the battery, the First Minnesota is the only one that retired in good order. Colonel Franklin, the Brigade commander, reported:

“The First Minnesota Regiment moved from its position on the left of the field to the support of Ricketts’ Battery and gallantly engaged the enemy at that point. It was so near the enemy’s lines that friends and foes were for a time confounded. The regiment behaved exceedingly well and finally retired from the field in good order. The other two regiments of the brigade (the Fifth and Eleventh Massachusetts) retired in confusion, and no effort of myself or staff was successful in rallying them.”

The First Minnesota had one commissioned officer killed and five officers wounded. Capt. Lewis McKune of Company G, the Faribault company, was the officer killed. He was a prominent citizen of Faribault, had been a member of the Republican wing of the State Constitutional Convention in 1857 and was highly esteemed. He was 39 years of age.

The officers wounded were: Capt. Wm. H. Acker and 2nd. Lieut. Samuel T. Raguet of Company C, one of the St. Paul companies; Capt. H. R. Putnam of Company D, the Minneapolis company; First Lieut. A. E. Welch of Company F, the Red Wing company, and First Lieut. Joseph Harley of Company I, the Wabasha company. A fortnight later Captain Acker was transferred to the Sixteenth U. S. Regular Infantry and April 6th, following, he was killed at the battle of Shiloh. Captain Putnam was afterwards made a captain in the Twelfth U. S. and was

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duly transferred. Lieutenant Welch became major of the Fourth Minnesota and died at Nashville, February 1, 1864, at the early age of twenty-four. Lieutenant Harley resigned ten days after he was wounded.

The two commissioned officers reported missing in the official records were Surgeon J. H. Stewart and Assistant Surgeon C. W. LeBoutillier. They were in attendance upon the wounded when the Confederates came upon them, made no resistance, and it cannot be well said that they were captured; they simply fell into the hands of the enemy and became prisoners. Lochren well says of them:

“They remained in attendance upon the wounded on the field when they might have escaped with the retreating troops, and were detained as prisoners. Their skillful care of our wounded doubtless saved many lives and alleviated in many ways the condition of their wounded comrades.”

They never returned to the regiment. Their positions had to be filled before their release, and for the time they were nominally transferred to other organizations. After being exchanged Dr. Stewart remained in St. Paul, connected with the mustering of troops. After the war he was elected to congress. He died in St. Paul in 1884. Dr. LeBoutillier became surgeon of the Ninth Minnesota and died in the service in 1863.

According to the official reports of the commanders made soon after the battle and published in Volume 2 of the War Records, in the Union army the regiment suffering the greatest loss in killed was the Eleventh New York, the Fire Zouaves, with 48. Then came the First Minnesota with 42, the Sixty-

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ninth New York with 38; and the Seventy-ninth New York with 32.

The regiment losing the greatest number of killed and wounded was the First Minnesota, with one officer and 41 men killed and eight officers and 100 men wounded, a total of killed and wounded of 150. It seems probable, however, that the number of wounded given is too small and was only estimated in the first reports. Loehren, however, adopts the above figures.

The nominal list of killed and wounded, as published in Volume 2 of "Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars," does not agree with the official reports. That list gives one officer and 31 men killed and 4 died of wounds, a total of 36. The list, however, gives the name of John O. Milne, Company I, as killed, when he was wounded and made a prisoner. The number of wounded by the list was 5 officers and 119 men, 124 in all, making a grand total of 160 killed and wounded. The War Records (Heintzelman's report) gives 28 as the number of the regiment missing.

Two days after the battle of Bull Run, the regiment was again encamped on its former ground, the first occupied when it came to Washington, and was fairly comfortable in its new quarters a little east of the capitol. About July 24 drilling was resumed. Before going to Bull Run, when the regiment was camped back of Alexandria, Colonel Gorman had written to Governor Ramsey: "I say to you sincerely, we are the best drilled and best disciplined regiment in the service, and such is the judgment of the regular officers that have seen us." (Minn. in Civil and Indian War, Vol. 2, p. 29). But perhaps the battle convinced the Colonel that there still remained something to be taught the men.

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Lochren says that while in this camp the regiment—for the only time in its history—manifested some discontent and lack of morale. The men did not soon recover from the depression that followed Bull Run, and they alleged many other causes of dissatisfaction which they would have afterward considered too trivial to notice. They said the mess beef and the hardtack were not tender and toothsome. They had received no pay, and many things were to be had in Washington for money. They had received no new uniforms and were still wearing the red woolen shirts and black pants. The men wrote back to Minnesota about their hardships. Ten letters from the St. Anthony company were received in one week. The ten recipients and others appealed to Governor Ramsey and he took the matter up with Adjutant-General Sanborn and Colonel Gorman.

General Sanborn rushed to Washington and reached the regiment's camp July 29, finding that a full supply of coats, blouses and pants had been distributed among the men two days before, and that previously they had been provided with shoes and caps, so that he "found the regiment fully provided with all needed clothing." (Minn. in Civil and Indian Wars, Vol. 2, p. 32.) Quartermaster Geo. H. Woods wrote to General Sanborn: "Our regiment has always had, since we came to Washington, the full amount of rations." Chaplain Neill wrote: "I have no idea that there has been any suffering among the regiment for lack of proper clothing. With a few exceptions the men have appeared tidy and not 'all tattered and torn' in their dress of blue pants and red shirts. This week they have received the blue uniform of the United States. From the first, in tidiness and general appearance, they have appeared well in the clothing which they obtained in Minnesota." Colonel

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Gorman wrote:

“No man has suffered for want of clothing. Complaints may be (and very likely have been) made by soldiers that wished to run around the city and their pride prevented their doing so, owing to the looks of their clothes. Our army is better fed, better clothed, and better cared for than the army of any other government in the world.*** If their friends at home listen to the idle tales that are told, insubordination and ultimate dishonor must come to us. We have been in service three months and our men have been supplied with three shirts, two pairs of pants, one dress coat, one blouse, one cap, one hat, three pairs of socks, two pairs of shoes, two pairs of drawers, two blankets and full army rations.”

Very soon the kickers were silenced and their friends at home satisfied. The great majority of the men never murmured at conditions, no matter how severe. They expected toil, hardships, and even suffering, and were ready to bear them at all times. A superb body of men physically, the First Minnesota always looked well. Even when it wore red shirts and black pants, it seemed more fit for service than the fancifully dressed regiments—the Zouaves, garbed to resemble Turcos, Arabs or French troops.

CHAPTER VI.

THE UPPER POTOMAC AND CAMP STONE.

SOON after the battle of Bull Run the Confederates advanced their outposts from Centerville and Fairfax Court House to Munson's Hill, in the Virginia environs of Washington and almost to the banks of the Potomac. This movement was of no real military value to their cause, but it gave them the prestige (of which they were very vain) of flaunting their new flag of the stars and bars within view of President Lincoln, the U. S. Congress, and the people living in the national capital.

In a little time, however, General Johnston set his men at work more practical than flaunting a flag before the capital. He caused them to erect several batteries on the Virginia side of the Potomac, with a view of obstructing the navigation of that river. This work was quite successful. Early in October the great water highway by which a large part of the supplies for the Union army around Washington was brought forward from the North, was effectually closed. This actual "blockade of the nation's capital" by the Confederates produced a deep feeling of humiliation throughout the North and bitter complaints against the military authorities and their policy.

The day after the battle of Bull Run, Gen. Geo. B. McClellan was telegraphed to come immediately from West Virginia and take command of the discomfited and disorganized army at Washington, and instantly he obeyed. General McDowell vacated the command very willingly and gracefully and without

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any sort of ill feeling. He seemed heartily glad to get rid of his job.

General McClellan at once began to organize his army and plan his future movements. He was determined not to fight another battle until he was good and ready. When there was a clamor that the Confederate blockade of the Potomac be removed by an assault on the rebel batteries from the Maryland side, or by a movement by the right bank of the Potomac, he refused to allow the movement for the reason that it would bring on a general engagement, for which he was not ready.

After Bull Run the Confederates sent detachments to occupy positions on the Virginia side of the upper Potomac, so that they might facilitate the crossing of their own forces into Maryland and get in the rear of Washington City, or prevent the Union troops from crossing the Potomac to the Virginia side and turning the Confederate flank. To meet this movement General McClellan sent forces up the Potomac on the Maryland side. Gen. N. G. Evans, the alert and plucky Confederate commander at the Stone bridge and who opened the ball at Bull Run, had been sent to Leesburg, county seat of Loudoun County, Va., 35 miles northwest of Washington and five miles back from the Potomac, to keep watch and ward over that part of the river. To confront him and counteract his operations, General McClellan sent up a force on the Maryland side opposite Leesburg.

The First Minnesota was one of the regiments sent up the river. August 2 the regiment broke camp and marched for the upper Potomac. Four or five miles out they halted at Brightwood, a suburb practically of Washington. Here the following day came a paymaster and gave the men three months'

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pay in gold and treasury notes. The privates received pay then at \$11.00 a month, which rate was soon after raised to \$13.00 a month. When the men received their pay and heard the gold and silver jingling in their pockets, Lochren says "discontent vanished at once."

The march was then resumed, and on the evening of August 5, Rockville, the county seat of Montgomery County, was reached. At this time Rockville was a "pleasant village, but with rather a disloyal population." The truth was, Bull Run made many Marylanders and other border state men disloyal. On the evening of the 7th, Seneca Mills, on Seneca Creek, was reached and here the regiment began its picket duty on the upper Potomac and remained nine days.

August 16 Seneca Mills was abandoned and a permanent camp established in a slightly sloping field about midway between Poolsville and Edwards Ferry over the Potomac, and about a mile and a half from each of these points. Poolsville was a little village five miles back or east of the Potomac. Edwards Ferry was at or near the mouth of Goose Creek, thirty miles northwest of Washington. The camp became the permanent locale for the regiment for more than six months, or until the latter part of February, 1862. In honor of the brigade commander, Gen. Charles P. Stone, the camp was called Camp Stone.

General Stone had long been an officer in the regular army. He was very prominent, active and useful in the operations to prevent Washington City from falling into the hands of the secessionists in the winter and early spring of 1861, and commanded a brigade in Patterson's army. August 4 he was given a brigade in the "Division" of the Potomac, as it was then called. This brigade was composed of the First Minnesota, the Fifteenth Massachusetts, the Second

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Regiment N. Y. State Militia (Eighty-second Volunteers) and the Thirty-fourth Regiment of New York Volunteers. Upon the organization of the army of the Potomac (Oct. 15, 1861) General Stone was given a division composed of three brigades, viz: His old brigade, now under General Gorman, and to which had been added Kirby's Battery; Lander's Brigade of Michigan and Massachusetts regiments, and Vaughn's Battery B, First Rhode Island Artillery, and Baker's Brigade of Pennsylvania Volunteers, (chiefly) including the Seventy-first Pennsylvania command, called the California Regiment, and Bunting's Sixth New York Battery.

Kirby's Battery was the old Ricketts' Battery (I, First U. S.)* reorganized and now under Lieut. Edmund Kirby, who at Bull Run brought away three limber chests and 56 horses, and all the battery that was saved, doing this while his face was covered and streaming with blood from wounds. (See Howard's report Vol. 2, War Recs., p. 418). A number of the men from the infantry regiments of this brigade were transferred at their request to this battery. August 8, while at Seneca Mills, John Thorp of Company K, Winona company, wrote his father at Rollingstone as follows:

“I wish we could stay here for two or three weeks, as this is a beautiful country and there is plenty of good spring water, which we prize more than anything else. The health of the camp is a great deal better than it was when we were in Virginia. Some of our men are pretty well used up by exposure and fatigue, but I have stood it first-

*Somehow many of the Minnesotians came to believe that Kirby's Battery of the First Artillery was identical with the old Sherman Battery of the Third Artillery, and even with the old Fort Ridgely Battery of the Second U. S.

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rate so far, and so have all the Rollingstone boys." (Bloomer's Scrap-book.)

August 18, a member of a St. Paul company wrote to the Pioneer:

"Scarcely had we become familiar with the scenery and associations around Seneca Falls before we were again ordered to move. On the 13th the Red Wing, Hastings and Wabasha companies proceeded to Edwards Ferry and two days later the remaining companies followed them. Our march this time led by Seneca Mills up a steep hill and thence through a fine wooded country bordered on both sides with waving fields of corn and rich orchards, while elegant dwellings dot the landscape. In some places, where orchards lined the sides of the narrow road, the branches (drooping under the heavy load of apples and peaches) formed natural arches of foliage and fruit. About noon we passed through Poolesville, a little village of about 150 inhabitants. Here Ricketts' Battery was re-organized after the late battle. Dr. Murphy, from St. Anthony, is now our surgeon and with zealous devotion attends to the suffering of our sick and disabled. Dr. Hand acts as assistant surgeon."

Camp Stone was the one particular bright spot of all the many camps sojourned in by the First Minnesota. The site was fine and healthy, and the country as beautiful as any in all bonnie Maryland. Loyal people abounded, the young ladies were attractive, and everybody was friendly—even the "secesh" of the country. More clothing was issued, pay day came again, a sutler arrived with a big stock of notions and other supplies, the men built good cookhouses and bake ovens, and by drawing rations of flour instead of hardtack, and buying corn meal at a neigh-

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boring mill, greatly improved their fare, so that (as they expressed it) they lived like “princes and fighting cocks.” Being well fed, well cared for and well exercised, the regiment became more efficient and contented than ever before. (Lochren).

Only the proper amount and the right kind of exercise were practiced. There were daily drills, of course—would they never have done with them?—and picket duty down along the Potomac. The latter was performed readily. There was just enough danger about it to give it sufficient spice and relish. The Confederates from Leesburg were performing similar duty along the opposite shore (the Virginia side) and there was danger of great bodily harm to a Union picket if he wasn't careful. The Minnesotians composed the Union pickets for some distance up and down the river on either side of Edward's Ferry. Sam Stebbins, although still suffering a little from his Bull Run wound, was back on duty and August 24 wrote about life at Camp Stone to the Winona Daily Republican:

“We are stationed about two miles from the Potomac river, 30 miles from Washington, and form a line of guards from Harper's Ferry to Washington. I like this guard duty first-rate. There is something exciting about it. It takes three companies for picket guard at a time. The companies whose turn it is to go on duty put their knapsacks in a wagon, take two days' rations in their haversacks and march down to the Ferry, which is headquarters for the guards. Then we are distributed to the posts, six or seven in a place except at the Ferry, where besides the guard there are twenty or thirty men left as a reserve. The posts are half a mile apart. In the daytime we can all sleep except one at a time, but

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at night we all have to keep awake, with our eyes and ears wide open. The river here is about 80 rods wide and the enemy has pickets on the other side; but there are trees and brush on the banks of both sides, so we can keep out of sight of one another, save when we go down to the water. We have a little skirmish almost every day, but as yet there have been none of our regiment killed or wounded, although there have been several narrow escapes.

“We can see our enemies every day and sometimes we can talk with them. The other day some of our boys were working in the river when two of the rebels came along on the other side and asked them where their guns were. Our boys replied that they had them close by, and inquired what kind of gun the others had. The rebels responded that they had the Minie rifles, and one of our boys told them it was ‘a d—d lie.’ The rebels thought that was an insult, so they instantly fired at our boys, and then ran into the bushes out of sight. At the Ferry our boys have a swing put up among the trees and I have often seen them sit and swing for a long time right in sight of the enemy. In fact, none of us would take any pains to keep out of sight of them if it were not for the strict orders of General Stone. We are told by the men on the other side of the river that they have the same orders over there, so all of our little battles must commence in disobedience to orders.”

Thus it will be seen that the mode of warfare practiced by the contending forces in the neighborhood of Edwards Ferry was a most comfortable and exemplary one, and entirely appropriate to the conduct of a war between fellow-citizens of the United States. But, however commendable it was in that respect, it was not practical in results, and did not

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hasten the close of hostilities. Rougher work had to be done, and it was done.

The duties of a day in permanent camp were regulated by a prescribed program. If they were such as required the co-operation of more than one company, or called for similar action of all the companies at the same time, although acting independently, the command was given by the bugler stepping to the center of the parade ground and sounding the appropriate "call." Thus there was the "reveille," which waked the soldier in the morning. The men readily came to set appropriate words to the music of the first and last call of the day as well as some others.

The words which seemed to flow from the bugle at "reveille" were:

"I CAN'T wake 'em up, I CAN'T wake 'em up,
I CAN'T wake 'em up in the morning.

(Repeated.)

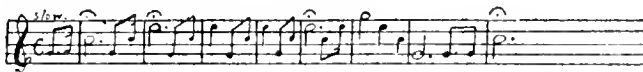
"The corporal's worse than the private, the
sergeant's worse than the corporal,
"The lieutenant's worse than the sergeant, and
the captain's worst of all!

"I CAN'T wake 'em up, I CAN'T wake 'em up,
I CAN'T wake 'em up in the morning."

By the time this call ended, anyone who still slumbered was rudely awakened by some comrade, for it meant to turn out to first roll call.

The last call of the day—"Taps"—seemed to say:

"Put out the lights. Go to sleep. Go to sleep.
Go to sleep.
"Go to sleep. Put out the lights. Go to sleep.
Go to sleep."*



*See brochure, "Two Bugle Calls," by O. W. Norton, The Neal Pub. Co., New York City.

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The hunting horn quality of the bugle made its tones reverberate throughout the camp. There were calls for breakfast, dinner and supper; sick calls; calls for sergeants, reports to the adjutant, officers report to the colonel, companies to form (or "fall in") for roll call, for mounting guard, for companies to form in line for dress parade and various calls for use in company and battalion drill. But the use of the bugle in the various evolutions of the company and battalion in drill maneuvers as well as in battle was mostly confined to the cavalry and artillery.

On the 24th of August there was a skirmish at Conrad's Ferry, five or six miles above Edward's Ferry, and thereafter the situation was no longer "all quiet along the Potomac." The Tammany regiment was stationed on the Maryland side, at Conrad's and a detachment from Leesburg was stationed back from the river on the Virginia side. The Confederates were not much in evidence at Conrad's as were their brothers down at Edward's, and on the 23d, to ascertain if they were there at all, two Taumany officers crossed the river and reconnoitered. It seemed that the Confederates kept close watch on the river only at night. Their headquarters were in an abandoned house, half a mile from the river. Back at Leesburg was a fortified position which they called Fort Evans, for their commander. In Fort Evans was a battery, Captain McCarthy's Richmond Howitzers, six 12-pounder Napoleons. The captain of the battery frequently resorted to the headquarters called the Daly house, and the Tammany officers visited it and found evidences that the artillery officers frequented it, and left their cards, on which were written invitations to return the call. (Stebbins.)

The next morning the Richmond Howitzers moved down to the river and cannonaded the position of the

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Tammany regiment for an hour or more. (Stebbins.) The regiment at the time was armed with what were known as Harper's Ferry muskets, old smooth-bore guns, altered from flint-locks to percussion at the Harper's Ferry arsenal, and which had doubtless seen service in the Mexican War and elsewhere. The Tammanyites had them in the battle of Bull Run. Now they had them at Conrad's Ferry, but they were not effective against artillery at a distance of half a mile, since they could not be depended upon to carry a ball more than 400 or 500 yards. After a time, finding that they were only wasting ammunition, the Confederates went back to Leesburg. One Tammany man had been slightly wounded. (Ibid.)

Alarmed at the cannonading, Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, then temporarily in command of the Regiment at Edward's Ferry, sent out a detachment of 42 men, six from each of the seven companies not on active duty—under Lieut. Gus. Holzborn, of the Winona company—to see what the trouble was. The lieutenant marched his men up to Conrad's and encamped there for the night. The next morning the Richmond Howitzers came down and resumed the cannonading, this time coming closer to the river. The 42 Minnesotians returned the fire with their Springfields, which carried well into the Confederate line and perhaps did some damage. At all events, the battery retired after an hour or so, and Lieutenant Holzborn marched his detachment back to Edward's Ferry and reported. The men had been sheltered in a ditch and were unseathed. (Ibid.)

Firing now began at all the other stations up and down the river from Edward's Ferry. At the latter post, however, the Minnesotians soon arranged a truce with the Nineteenth Virginia, on the opposite side of the river. The conditions were, "I'll let you

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alone if you'll let me alone," and they were religiously observed for many days. Frequent conversations, friendly enough, were held between the opposing factions, even with the consent of the officers.

General Stone, who was in command, did not forbid these courtesies. In fact, he was all courtesy, kindness, and chivalry himself toward the Virginia people. He gave numerous passes and permission for men and women (chiefly women) to cross the river each way. It was claimed that his good nature was imposed upon and that many a pretty woman who was allowed to pass upon some plausible excuse, sweetly and irresistibly alleged, was really a Confederate emissary or spy.

The Confederates were stricter. Stebbins says that on one occasion, about the first of September, a woman with a little girl came to the Ferry with a pass from General Stone and wanted to cross over into Virginia. A man was with her, and the Confederates made them wait until they sent back five miles to General Evans and obtained permission for them to enter the lines and go to Leesburg.

The first Minnesota had a fine time at Camp Stone during the month of September. That month is generally ideal weather in Maryland. The skies are clear, the temperature agreeable, apples and peaches abound and sweet potatoes are ready for the digging. At one time Stebbins wrote, "The condition of the regiment seems to be in many respects better than it ever was before. Many peddlers come into camp every day, bringing in for sale vegetables, butter, pies, cakes, family bread, etc. I have gained eight pounds since pay-day." These good halcyon days continued until late in October, when they were rudely disturbed.



BAT. MAJ. GEN. NAPOLEON J. T. DANA.
The Second Colonel of the Regiment.

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CHANGES IN THE OFFICIAL ROSTER.

While at Camp Stone there were many shiftings and changes among the officers and men of the regiment. A squad was transferred to the Western gun-boat service and a few sent to the U. S. Signal Corps. Of the latter, Asa T. Abbott, of the St. Anthony company, became a lieutenant in the regular army. October 1, Colonel Gorman was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers and duly assigned to the command of a brigade in General Stone's Division. The brigade had been commanded by General Stone who was now promoted to Division Commander.

To succeed General Gorman as colonel of the First Minnesota, it had been arranged to appoint Napoleon Jackson Tecumseh Dana. His commission was dated October 2 and he joined the regiment ten days later. Colonel Dana was then practically a Minnesotian. He was born in Maine, in 1822, graduated from West Point in 1842, served in the regular army nearly fifteen years, was in the Mexican War and wounded at Cerro Gordo, came to Fort Snelling as quartermaster in 1852, and subsequently selected the sites of Forts Ridgely and Ripley, building the latter post. He left the army in 1855, and for some time engaged in banking in St. Paul. He had been of much service in raising the First Regiment, and it was contemplated that Gorman would soon be made a general and that Dana would succeed him as colonel.

Colonel Dana was with the regiment but four months when he too became a brigadier, Feb. 2, 1862, and took Lieut. Wm. B. Leach, adjutant of the regiment, with him as aide. General Dana was wounded at Antietam and a month later was made a full major-general of volunteers. Lochren says that he was a model officer. Always calm, temperate and

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gentlemanly in demeanor, he enforced the strictest discipline without causing any friction or complaint or giving rise to any dissatisfaction. His long daily drills, with packed knapsacks (still drilling) made the regiment perfect in the execution of all battalion evolutions and Lochren says "developed the muscle." He adds, "The men became devoted to him.*" General Dana died in 1905.**

Other changes in the official roster of the regiment were made while at Camp Stone. Maj. Wm. H. Dike resigned, Capt. Geo. N. Morgan, of the St. Anthony company, succeeded him and Lieut. George Pomeroy became captain of Company E. Capt. Alex. Wilkin, of Company A, of St. Paul, was commissioned major of the Second Minnesota (then being organized) and was succeeded in the captaincy by Lieut. Harry C. Coates. Major Wilkin afterward became colonel of the Ninth Minnesota and was shot dead

*Lochren wrote so admiringly of Dana in 1889. When Dana was colonel Lochren was a sergeant in the St. Anthony company. In 1893 Lochren was U. S. Commissioner of Pensions, and General Dana was a subordinate under him.

**On Feb. 3, 1861, Colonel Dana received a telegram from Senator Rice that he had been confirmed by the Senate as Brigadier General. Of course the regiment felt it necessary to ratify. And it did. A band serenade with most of the officers and men present gathered in front of headquarters, and finally Colonel Dana appeared and made a soldierly little speech, in which he promised never to be separated from the Minnesotians if he could help it. Officers and men were happy. Later the officers made him a present—I think—of sword, belt, epaulettes and sash. The men, not to be outdone, raised \$210.00 for a saddle, saddle blanket, bridle, holsters, spurs, etc., and Sergeant Shepard was selected to make the presentation. But orders came from Washington to General Gorman to send two select sergeants to Washington to assist at the Capitol in a formal presentation to Congress of captured rebel flags, on Feb 22d. So Sergeant Price of Company I, and Sergeant Shepard of Company B, (right general guide, and left general guide, respectively) of the First Minnesota were ordered away, and the eloquent presentation speech had to be made by another.

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from his saddle at the battle of Tupelo, Miss., in July, 1864. Lieut. Minor T. Thomas, of the Stillwater company, was promoted to major of the Fourth Minnesota and finally became colonel of the Eighth Minnesota. Capt. William H. Acker, of Company C. of St. Paul, had been transferred to the regular army and was succeeded by Lieut. Wilson B. Farrell. Capt. H. N. Putnam, of the Minneapolis company, was transferred to the Twelfth Regulars, and Lieut. DeWitt C. Smith became captain of Company D. Lieut. Geo. H. Woods of the Minneapolis company, regimental quartermaster, was made a commissary captain and became a lieutenant-colonel, and Lieut. J. N. Searles of Company H was made regimental quartermaster. Private Wesley F. Miller, of the Minneapolis company, and a son of Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, was made a lieutenant in the regular army and was subsequently killed at Gettysburg.

Capt. Henry C. Lester, of the Winona company, was promoted to the colonelcy of the Third Minnesota, and Lieut. Gustavus A. Holzborn succeeded to the captaincy of Company K. While in the First Regiment. Colonel Lester made a good record. Lochren says he "was efficient and very highly regarded." His conduct as captain of Company K in the battle of Bull Run was extolled and he was heartily recommended for promotion to the colonelcy of the Third. But while in command of that regiment at Murfreesboro, Tenn., in July, 1862, he had the misfortune to encounter the redoubtable Confederate leader, Nathan B. Forrest, pronounced by many the greatest genius of the war, and the result was that Colonel Lester surrendered himself and his men as prisoners. There were extenuating circumstances. The Confederates greatly outnumbered Colonel Lester; Forrest had captured the Third's comrade regi-

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ment, the Ninth Michigan; the colonel and other officers of that regiment and General Crittenden, commander of the post, and a majority of his regimental line officers all counseled Colonel Lester to surrender; yet when he did so he was dismissed from the service, went into obscurity, and Minnesota never forgave him.

Lochren notes,* and many will remember, that up to this time (and even later) vacancies in company commissioned officers in volunteer regiments were filled by elections held by the enlisted men of the companies interested. The result was often not for the good of the service and the practice was discontinued. The colonel of the Regiment named the enlisted men for promotion to the Governor and after the first year promotions were made strictly by seniority. The officers of the First Minnesota, with scarcely an exception, justified their selection.

Shortly after the battle of Bull Run, when Surgeon Stewart and Assistant Surgeon LeBoutillier remained with our wounded and became prisoners, a report came that Dr. LeBoutillier had died from wounds received. To fill his place Dr. D. W. Hand of St. Paul was commissioned assistant surgeon and immediately came on and assumed his duties. Not long afterward this eminent medical man was made a brigade surgeon, and Dr. John H. Murphy, one of the very earliest physicians in Minnesota, came on and performed the duties of surgeon for some months without being commissioned. Lochren says his great humor and love of fun worked many cures, especially among malingerers and pretenders. He pretended to

*Generally the commissioned officers met and designated the person who should be made second lieutenant. After Antietam that choice was, most always, the Senior Sergeant.

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believe the doleful tales of misery and suffering endured by these characters, and then blistered, starved, or physicked them unmercifully. His favorite remedy for a simulated case of sickness was, castor oil taken on the spot! He always effected a cure in such cases. In December he left the First to become surgeon of the Fourth Regiment and was subsequently surgeon of the Eighth. He died in St. Paul in 1894.

The pleasant sojourn at Camp Stone lasted well through the golden days of October with their many delightful features to be seen only in the mountain districts of the Border States. The camp was located near the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains and spurs of that elevated range penetrated all the region round about. The foliage of the trees in the Indian summer time was red, yellow, and green in all shades. The lowlands and dales were spread with autumn blooms. Gazing over them and the beautiful varicolored woodlands, one could see the line of the Blue Ridge lying like a low storm-cloud on the horizon, and imagine that just beyond that line was the Land of Beulah. But about the 20th of October a storm-cloud spoiled that picture!

CHAPTER VII.

THE BATTLE OF BALL'S BLUFF.

GENERAL McCLELLAN finally decided to clear the west shore of the Potomac of the Confederate forces that were giving so much annoyance. Gen. Geo. A. McCall's Division of Pennsylvanians was sent up the river on the Virginia side. October 19 it advanced nearly to Drainesville, a small village on the northwest border of Fairfax County, twenty miles northwest of Washington, and ten miles southeast of Leesburg, county seat of Loudoun County.

General McCall's movement was ordered for the purpose of covering reconnaissances in all directions to be made the next day (the 20th) preparatory to driving away the Confederates from the Potomac. (McClellan's Own Story.) The reconnaissances were successfully accomplished. General McClellan believed that these demonstrations would cause the enemy to evacuate Leesburg and directed General Stone, whose headquarters were then at Poolesville, to "keep a good lookout upon Leesburg" and suggested a "slight demonstration" as likely to help force the evacuation. (Ibid.) General Stone admitted that McClellan did not positively order him to cross the river.

On the 20th General Stone ordered General Gorman to take his brigade, with the exception of the Forty-second New York and the Fifteenth Massachusetts, to Edwards Ferry and make a "display of force." The Fifteenth Massachusetts, under Col. Chas. Devens, was sent to Harrison's Island, in the Potomac, near Conrad's Ferry, four miles above Edwards and about the same distance due east from the Confederates at Leesburg.

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General Gorman marched the First Minnesota and the Eighty-second New York down to the Ferry on the afternoon of the 20th and "displayed" these regiments in all their imposing strength. Kirby's Battery shelled the Virginia woods for a time without response. Then the St. Anthony and Winona companies were sent across the river, and drove back the enemy's pickets and reserves, a company of Mississippians and a detachment of Jenifer's Cavalry. After scouting about on the Virginia side for some time, they recrossed to the Maryland side and then both regiments returned to their camps.

Colonel Devens went to Harrison's Island, sent to the Virginia side a rather small scouting party at dark and directed it to push out to Leesburg and discover the position of the enemy. The party went out, and Captain Philbrick said the position was a small camp of tents easy to approach and as easy to surround, and this camp he said was only a mile from Leesburg.

The next morning, October 21, at the "unholy hour" of 1:30, raw and chilly and dark as pitch, the First Minnesota was routed out of their tents, took a hasty and illy-relished breakfast, and then, accompanied by the Eighty-second New York, with knapsacks and other equipment, marched down to Edwards Ferry again. The two regiments reached the Ferry at daybreak, and immediately began to cross the Potomac in flat-boats previously provided, two companies at a time. In a little while the regiment was in line. Two companies were sent out as skirmishers, covering the advance on the Leesburg road of Major Mix's detachment of thirty-five men of the Third New York Cavalry, that went up the road two miles but were finally driven summarily back by detachments of the Thirteenth Mississippi and Jenifer's

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Cavalry. At 11 o'clock the Thirty-fourth New York came over from Seneca Mills. The Seventh Michigan, of Lander's Brigade, also came. The muskets of this regiment were worthless and it was made to dig rifle pits, and Gorman's command, 2,250 strong, remained here all day and the ensuing night. The Fifteenth Massachusetts and the Forty-second New York did the fighting for the brigade elsewhere.

While this movement at Edward's Ferry was being prosecuted, the main action was being waged at a point higher up known as Ball's Bluff. At this point Colonel Devens had crossed from Harrison's Island over to the Virginia bank and had there engaged the Confederate force under Gen. N. G. Evans. The account of this disastrous contest forms one of the saddest and most unfortunate conflicts of the war, but the limits of this work preclude a detailed statement. It was in this contest that Col. Baker, commanding the Seventy-first Pennsylvania—commonly known as the "California" regiment—was killed.

Gorman's Brigade, at Edwards Ferry, would gladly have gone to the assistance of their comrade regiments at Ball's Bluff, the Tammany, the Fifteenth Massachusetts, and the "Californians." General Gorman was ready and eager to be ordered in, but no order came. Yet the First Minnesota was destined to exchange shots with the enemy and smell his powder before the affair at Ball's Bluff was entirely over.

General Banks had come up in the night and assumed command over General Stone, who had conducted both operations at Edwards Ferry and Ball's Bluff. Just across the river he had his division of 10,000 men, but only General Abercrombie's Brigade crossed to the Virginia side. General Banks put General Gorman in command of the position at Ed-

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wards Ferry and in charge of the ferriage over to the Virginia side. By 10 o'clock on Tuesday, the 22d, General Gorman had crossed 4,500 men, 110 of Van Alen's cavalry, and two 12-pound howitzers of Kirby's Battery, formerly Ricketts.'

Watching Edwards Ferry, Colonel Barksdale discovered that the big force had been crossed and General Evans ordered him to move down with his Thirteenth Mississippi and reconnoiter. Barksdale promptly moved about 3:30 that afternoon and sent forward Randell's and Eckford's companies as skirmishers. These soon ran against the Union picket lines and began skirmishing. Colonel Barksdale soon moved up the remainder of his regiment and the engagement became general. It did not last very long. The Union forces were largely in the majority and had artillery. The Confederates had only muskets, and but one regiment. They went forward a considerable distance, notwithstanding the heavy fire poured upon them, but Colonel Barksdale finally withdrew them from the field.

The First Minnesota bore the brunt of the fight at Edwards Ferry. It was on the firing line and the men behaved splendidly. The regiment had the only private soldiers hit by Confederate bullets in the engagement. Lewis F. Mitchell, of Company I, the Wabasha company, was killed and another man of the same company severely wounded. General Lander, of the Second Brigade, was wounded while on the skirmish line. Total Union loss, 1 killed, 2 wounded.

On the evening of the 22d, General McClellan came to Edwards Ferry and looked over the situation. He did not consider the Union position on the Virginia side of the Ferry "tenable." It was occupied now by 6,500 Union troops, with two good

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pieces of cannon in line and four full batteries across the river with a range of at least a mile into Virginia, and supporting these batteries were practically 5,000 more infantry. Loehren's account of the re-crossing of Gorman's command is as follows:

“As soon as it was dark General Gorman launched several canal boats into the river and manned them with lumbermen (mainly from the Stillwater, Minneapolis and St. Anthony companies) who with poles handled the boats expertly.* General Stone attended personally to the withdrawal of the troops and the writer (Loehren) was detailed to act as his messenger or orderly and carried verbal messages from him and made reports to him personally during the entire night, and can vouch for his constant, watchful personal supervision of every movement, and his solicitude and care that no munitions, provisions, or materials of any kind should be destroyed or abandoned; and the writer can also testify to the great skill exhibited in conducting the withdrawal as rapidly as the boats could carry the men, but without chance of disorder or panic.

“The First Minnesota, reduced by the detail handling the boats, was selected and placed in position to become the rear guard. All the other troops were new and such withdrawal in the night (after knowledge of Baker's disaster) might easily have been so mismanaged as to cause trepidation and disorder. But the movement was effected in perfect quiet and order. The troops nearest the river were first crossed, then others apprised of the retreat only as they received orders to move to the boats at once and in

*In his report General Gorman says that there were added to the Minnesota detail 100 men from Colonel Kenly's First Maryland, 100 from the Thirty-fourth New York, and 150 from the Seventh Michigan.

THE BATTLE OF BALL'S BLUFF

silence. There was no crowding and no delays. When nearly all had crossed, the picket was withdrawn, the writer traversing its length in the darkness and timber and communicating the order to each reserve. As the picket fell back, the First Minnesota alone was left and it was also called in and crossed as light began to dawn in the east, General Stone being the last man to embark. Not a man or a pound of material was left behind."

Corp. M. F. Taylor of Company E (one of the Commission preparing this publication) had a personal experience which shows that General Stone was not the last man to cross. He says:

"I was on detail and worked on the canal boats during the night when the troops crossed. As the last canal boat was loaded I was ordered to go back among the different fires that were burning to see if I could find anyone who had not been called. I found none. On returning to the river bank, there were two members of the First just recrossing who took me in their boat, but hearing a call, I recognized Thos. Galvin of Company H, running down the bank of Goose Creek, followed by two or three rebel cavalrymen, but they abandoned the pursuit and Galvin was brought back safely. The detail from our regiment that had been left removed the rations that had been left and remained until the work was completed, and I am positive General Stone was not there."

CHAPTER VIII.

BACK TO CAMP STONE.

AFTER recrossing Edwards Ferry to the Maryland side, the troops generally went to their former camps. The First Minnesota returned to Camp Stone and resumed its picket service and constant or daily drilling. It was said that the drill was more necessary for exercise than anything else. Every man in the regiment now could execute the manual of arms, the facings, etc., as well as an expert drill master, and the officers were proficient in the "school of the company" and the "school of the battalion," and there was really no need of further practice in this direction.

The men were idle a part of the time, notwithstanding the drills and picket duty and the Enemy of Souls found "some mischief still for idle hands to do." Lochren records that there was a great deal of illicit and illegal liquor selling, or "boot-legging," at Camp Stone. General Gorman took stringent measures to suppress this evil. Colonel Dana seized and destroyed some bottles of "schnapps," stomach bitters, and brandied cherries which the sutler of the First Minnesota was vending. General Gorman had the sutler of the Thirty-fourth New York drummed out of camp for liquor selling.

Lochren relates that, in endeavoring to put down boot-legging in his brigade, General Gorman had trouble with some of the negro slaves of the region. Two slaves of a planter living not far from Camp Stone were noted boot-leggers. Patronized liberally by certain soldiers, they plied their reprehensible traffic most industriously. At last they were "caught

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in the act'' and arrested. General Gorman sent for their master and asked his advice as to what ought to be done with the culprits. The master said he didn't like to meddle with military matters (even though his own slaves were concerned) but he thought the best thing to do with the "black rascals" was to have them soundly whipped by the soldiers who had been their last customers. General Gorman adopted the suggestion and the soldiers gave the negroes a moderate "switching." The soldiers probably suffered as much from the mortification at having to inflict the punishment as the negroes did from having to suffer it.

The months of November and December, 1861, and January and the greater part of February, 1862, were spent very pleasantly by the First Minnesota at Camp Stone. The men had constructed comfortable quarters; they were given plenty to eat and wear; they were paid off; the mail of over 1,800 letters weekly, was regular and sanitary conditions were excellent. February 6 Medical Director Triplett reported that of 960 men on its rolls the First Minnesota had but 32 sick, and only a few of this number seriously so. These conditions were maintained throughout, and to the men of the First Minnesota, soldiering went very well then.

January 16, 1862, General Stone having been removed, General John Sedgwick assumed command of the division to which the First Minnesota belonged. February 3, Colonel Dana was appointed a brigadier-general and assigned to a brigade in Sedgwick's Division. Adjutant Wm. B. Leach was promoted to the rank of captain and assigned to duty as assistant adjutant-general of General Dana's brigade. February 1, Dr. Wm. H. Morton, of St. Paul, was commissioned surgeon of the First Minnesota.

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As has been noted, many enemies of General Stone waged a vindictive and personal warfare against him when he was in command on the Potomac. At last they succeeded in having him arrested and imprisoned, practically under charges of treason to his country. One of the charges was that he had permitted communication between the Confederates of Maryland and those of Virginia.

Near Edwards Ferry, on the Maryland side, lived a planter named White. He had a number of slaves, and with their aid kept up his farming operations in the midst of the military movements about him. The spies upon General Stone reported that the Confederates were using White's house as a sort of signal station for communication with one another back and forth across the Potomac. It was alleged that every morning before daylight mysterious lights were observed flitting to and fro across the windows of the upper rooms of the White home. It was believed that these flittings and flashings constituted signals which were being observed by Confederate scouts in hiding on the opposite bank of the river and who conveyed their meaning to the Confederate military authorities as soon as possible. It was further alleged that General Stone knew about these treasonable doings and permitted them—for big Confederate pay, of course.

Sergt. Chris B. Heffelfinger, of Company D, of the First Minnesota, was promoted to second lieutenant about the 1st of December. A few days after his promotion he was officer of the guard at Edwards Ferry, including White's house. He was ordered to ferret out the real meaning of the alleged rebel signal lights in the house. In a corn-crib and in a barn within good view of the house, he stationed a squad of men one night, with instructions to watch the

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house carefully for the lights until daylight. The next morning the sentinels reported that they saw nothing of a suspicious character, until a little while before daybreak, when the mysterious lights appeared, passing in front of the windows, etc., as seemed to be their reported custom. But when they investigated more particularly, it was revealed that the lights were burning candles in the hands of the negroes of the household, who had to rise before daybreak and prepare their breakfasts and perform other household tasks, in order to be engaged in the farm work by sunrise.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY CAMPAIGN.

BY THE middle of December, 1861, the Union troops had the Potomac River reasonably safe for navigation from its mouth to Washington, and this was of great advantage. They now sought to re-open the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, a great commercial artery, connecting Washington and Pittsburg, making it possible for supplies to be sent to the national capital directly from the West and Middle West without going the round-about route by way of Baltimore. The Confederates had broken this great iron thoroughfare in many places, at Harper's Ferry and elsewhere, and were determined that it should be kept broken. The divisions of Gen. Stonewall Jackson and Gen. W. W. Loring had been sent up into what was called the Valley of Virginia, meaning the district of country through which flowed the Shenandoah and the Potomac and especially the territory between these two streams, which unite at Harper's Ferry.

After the battle of Bull Run the suddenly famous Stonewall Jackson was made a major-general. He remained with his brigade in the vicinity of Centerville until October 4, when he was detached from it and sent to command the Confederate forces in the Valley of Virginia, and with them to keep out the Union troops and make war on the Baltimore & Ohio. He made his headquarters at Winchester. In the early part of December he was joined by his old brigade and by General Loring and his division.

About the 20th of February General McClellan deemed it necessary to take additional measures to

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secure the re-opening of the Baltimore & Ohio, which was not yet in complete operation, Stonewall Jackson having burned some important bridges in the Harper's Ferry region. The general thought it might be necessary to fight a battle to secure the reconstruction of the road. (McClellan's Report, Vol. 5, War Recs., p. 48.)

General Jackson and General Loring, with their divisions, were now at Winchester and they had made all the trouble. They must be driven out of the Valley of Virginia or destroyed. Then Winchester and Strasburg must be held by the Union forces to protect the Baltimore & Ohio on the South. General Banks' and General Sedgwick's Divisions were ordered to Harper's Ferry and from thence to go up the Valley and drive away the Confederates.

The First Minnesota belonged to Sedgwick's Division.

On the morning of February 25, 1862, the regiment left Camp Stone for what was called the Shenandoah Valley Campaign. With the whole division it marched up the Potomac and went into a cold, snowy, frozen camp or bivouac near the Monocacy River. What a change from the comfortable quarters at Camp Stone the previous evening! The next day the regiment crossed the Monocacy at Winfield Mills and marched to Adamstown, a station on the Baltimore & Ohio. Here the division entrained and was taken by rail to Sandy Hook, a suburb of Harper's Ferry. The First Minnesota crossed the Potomac on a pontoon bridge. Its quarters that night were in some of the partially-destroyed Government buildings formerly connected with the Harper's Ferry Arsenal.* These were examined with interest,

*Lochren says the men were quartered in the buildings in which John Brown and his partisans "had attempted defense" at the time of their famous raid. But

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especially those said to have been connected with John Brown's raid, in October 1859.**

At the beginning of 1861, Harper's Ferry had a population of about 5,000. A great many of the people were connected with the historic United States' arsenal there. In June, 1861, this important factory was nearly destroyed by General Joe Johnston and his Confederates. They sent most of the arsenal property further south, set fire to the buildings and the great railroad bridge over the Potomac, and then set out for Winchester. When the First Minnesota came, solid piers of blackened masonry showed where the magnificent bridge had stood. The calcined and crumbling walls of the armory and arsenal buildings and the fire-stained ruins of other structures destroyed in the great Confederate conflagration gave an air of utter desolation to the deserted town.

Harper's Ferry was a strikingly picturesque place. Its site was a sort of triangle of which the Potomac and Shenandoah (which here united their waters) formed two sides, and an elevated plateau in the rear made the third. Its weakness as a military post was that it was exposed to enfilade and reverse fire from the lofty ridge across the Potomac called Maryland Heights, and could easily be turned by an army crossing the river above or below.

only Brown and six or seven of his raiders "attempted defense," from the inside of a small brick house used to shelter a fire engine, which perhaps would not have furnished quarters for a single company of Minnesotians. The greater part of John Brown's "nineteen men so true" did their fighting behind walls outside of any building. Five were not in the town.

**One devoted adherent of "Old John Brown" loaded his knapsack with bricks, as souvenirs for his home friends of the "very building where that martyr fought his last battle." But, alas! These sacred relics soon had to give way to grub and clothing!

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When General Sedgwick's Division reached Harper's Ferry, it had 9,400 men, 18 field guns, and 3 batteries. Two brigades of Sedgwick's and the whole of Banks' Division were thrown to the south or Virginia side of the Potomac, one brigade of Sedgwick's was left on the Maryland side to guard the Potomac and the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad from Great Falls to the mouth of the Monocacy. A day or two after its arrival at the arsenal the regiment was moved to higher ground and more comfortable buildings.

About the 1st of March General McClellan divided his forces into army corps. General Banks was made commander of the Fifth Army Corps and given charge of affairs in the Shenandoah Valley. Sedgwick's Division was in Banks' command.

Very soon, with a force of perhaps 18,000 men of all arms, General Banks moved up the Shenandoah Valley towards Winchester, where Stonewall Jackson was stationed with about 4,000 men, including 300 cavalry and Chew's horse artillery, under Turner Ashby, and the Rockbridge and Waters' batteries. Winchester is the county seat of Frederick County, is thirty miles southwest of Harper's Ferry, and a few miles west of Opequan Creek. As has been said, the place was the key to the Valley of Virginia. During the war the town was fought for again and again. It was the initial point of one of the military routes to Richmond, 135 miles away. A railroad connected it with Harper's Ferry, and 75 miles south another railroad, in almost constant operation, ran to Richmond, with Gordonsville, in Orange County, the nearest and most important station to Winchester.

Friday, March 7, the First Minnesota, as part of Banks' army, marched from Harper's Ferry nine miles to Charlestown, the county seat of Jefferson County, where John Brown was tried and hung.

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Harper's Ferry is in Jefferson County, now in West Virginia. At Charlestown the regiment remained two days. On Sunday, the 9th, many of the men attended religious services, which were held in the Presbyterian Church and conducted by Chaplain Neill.

Monday, March 10, the regiment had the advance of the Division in the march to Berryville, the county seat of Clarke County, and 12 miles southwest of Charlestown. The march was over a fine macadamized road known as the valley "stone pike," but it rained that day and conditions were not altogether pleasant. If the turnpike had been a dirt road, the mud would have been knee deep. As it was, the walking was good, though the stones were a little rough on the men's army shoes.

On nearing Berryville the Stillwater and Winona companies, B and K, were advanced as skirmishers. A section of artillery was also sent forward and fired a few shot, and then the Minnesotians, preceded by a detachment of cavalry, dashed into the town. A company of Ashby's cavalry, in the place as a corps of observation, galloped away to carry the news to Jackson at Winchester that the Yankees were at Berryville, twelve miles southwest.

Entering Berryville, the first thing the Union troops did was to pull down from a liberty pole a small white flag marked "C. S." and then hoist the Stars and Stripes over the Clarke County Court House, thus bringing the county back into the United States, as it were! The flag hoisted was the Old Glory of the First Minnesota, given by the ladies of the State. The entire Regiment was very proud of the distinction given its colors.*

*Lieut. Myron Shepard says: "Although my place was as Left General Guide of the regiment, I left it, and joined the Co. B skirmishers, and with my guide flag,

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The Regiment had representatives of every vocation in life, from statesmen and professional military men down to common laborers, trappers, and a man milliner. Of course there were printers, and good ones, too. Some of these ascertained that there was a printing office in Berryville, from which was issued a weekly newspaper called the Berryville Conservator. The editor and proprietor, H. K. Gregg, had run away. The Minnesota printers visited the office, found that one side of the paper for the week had been printed, went to work to get up the other side, and issued the paper the following morning. It was a four-page sheet of five columns to the page.

Two of the pages, the "secesh" side, constituted the Berryville Conservator; the other two, the Union side, made up "The First Minnesota." A large edition was issued and quickly sold. The printers publishing the Union side were Ed A. Stevens, Thos. H. Pressnell, O. Nelson, Chas. S. Drake, Frank J. Mead, Julian J. Kendall, and Henry W. Lindergreen, who styled themselves the "Typographic Fraternity of the First Minnesota Regiment." As shown by the copy preserved by Mrs. Sam Bloomer in her scrapbook, now in the Stillwater Public Library, the Union side of the paper was filled with humorous melange of patriotism, satire, jibes, jokes, and censure.

The "secesh" side was and still is interesting. Berryville was a small town and there were but few local advertisements. The bulk of the advertising

claimed to be the first man to enter Berryville, and my flag to be the first Union flag. But my glory was short-lived, for General Gorman rode up and took my flag from me, flourished it, and placed it as stated here. I thought it robbery after my great effort to be distinguished, and the comments in my diary would have raised a blister at brigade headquarters if known. I also wrote two or three short articles for the 'Berryville Conservator,' having had some experience as an editor."

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came from Winchester, ten miles away. The people in both towns had come to be violent, vindictive, and even venomous Confederates. E. B. Rouss, of Winchester, appended to his advertisement the following offer, then peculiar to the degenerate and unscrupulous element of the Confederates:

“We take this occasion to renew the offer of \$20,000 for the head of Lincoln, or \$1,000 for either of his pet kangaroos and satellites, Scott, Seward, Greeley, Butler & Company. Also to say that we are selling goods very cheap, and expect a little lot this week from the Abolition devils.”

The greater part of this advertisement was made up of the vilest abuse of President Lincoln. “He has done more harm than any other man since the Creation. He has, with a fiendish malignity unsurpassed by savage or barbarian, brought a calamity upon a happy country and a mighty people, amounting to universal destruction. Talk of Arnold or Judas; why, they were white men compared to this scoundrel.”

There were advertisements of runaway slaves. “A girl who calls herself Mary Randolph” and who was “a bright mulatto, about 18 years old, tall and slender, hair quite straight, teeth a little decayed in front, no mark save a mole near the right eye,” had run away, taking with her a boy of 15 years, “her brother, Frederick Randolph, also a bright mulatto, with a low forehead, hair growing closely around it; is not very intelligent and stammers slightly.” A reward of \$50 each was offered for their return, if taken in Clarke County, “or what the law allows” if taken outside.

Another slave, James Johnson, 20 years old, 5 feet 4 inches high, “of copper color,” had also run



BRIG. GEN. ALFRED SULLY,
The Third Colonel of the Regiment.

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away and the same reward as for the Randolphs was offered for his return. John G. Morris, of Winchester, wanted to purchase "any number of negroes," for which he "will pay the highest market price in cash that the market will justify." These ads were strange and suggestive literature to the Minnesota boys.

March 13, the regiment set out, with the Division, for Winchester, 10 miles west of Berryville. Stonewall Jackson was reported to be still at Winchester ready for a fight, and the First Regiment wanted to balance the account it had against him for Bull Run. But, when within two miles of Winchester, it was learned that Jackson had retreated on the night of the 11th and was now miles away to the southward, in Page County, and in almost inaccessible positions in the spurs and ranges of the Blue Ridge Mountains. The forenoon of the 11th he had fought with Banks' advance, on the Martinsburg road, six miles out from Winchester, and been compelled to fall back.

The Regiment turned back when within two miles of Winchester and returned to Berryville. This was pursuant to an order issued that day by General Banks, directing General Sedgwick to return at once with his division to Harper's Ferry. On the 14th the regiment returned to Charlestown and on the 15th encamped on Bolivar Heights, in the rear of and commanding Harper's Ferry.

On the 13th, when leaving camp at Berryville for Winchester, the new colonel of the regiment, appointed to succeed Colonel Dana, took command. This was Col. Alfred Sully, who had been appointed February 22, while engaged in the defense of Washington, and had been unable to join his new command earlier. There was some disappointment that

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Lieutenant-Colonel Miller had not been promoted to the colonelcy, but no ill-feeling. It seemed best that an officer of long experience should command the regiment, a West Pointer preferred, one that could fill Dana's shoes.

— Colonel Sully was a son of Thomas Sully, the noted English-American painter, and was born in Philadelphia. He graduated from West Point in 1841, served as a lieutenant in the Second U. S. Infantry against the Seminole Indians, in the Mexican War, and as captain in the Second U. S. Infantry was stationed at Fort Ridgely, Minn., in 1854-56 and again in 1857-59. In 1861, still with the rank of captain in the regular army, he served in North Missouri, at Fort Leavenworth, and in the defenses of Washington. While stationed in Minnesota, he had become acquainted with many prominent men and was a frank and open aspirant for the colonelcy of the First Minnesota after Colonel Dana was promoted. He had accompanied Sedgwick's Division from Harper's Ferry, expecting his commission every day.

Lochren says of Colonel Sully: "He manifested from the first perfect reliance on the honor and good conduct of the Regiment and never placed a regimental guard about camp or bivouac. The men appreciated his confidence and no instance occurred of any abuse of the privileges accorded, nor did any of them leave camp without permission."

The regiment remained in camp on Bolivar Heights for a week. And this was a week of typical stormy, wet, equinoctial weather. A beating rain or a driving snow fell every day. On the 22d the regiment crossed the Potomac to Sandy Hook and took the B. & O. cars for Washington. It reached the capital at midnight and was given hot coffee and

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shelter from a most disagreeable storm at a place of refuge called the Soldiers' Retreat, which had been established for such and other emergencies.

Going to the old camp ground near the capital, the regiment—to give Col. Sully's friends an opportunity to see his new command—was arrayed in dress parade and there remained three days, or until the night of the 26th. Then, crossing the famous long bridge into Virginia, it was conveyed by railroad to Alexandria, which was reached after midnight. A cold drenching rain was again falling, but because "someone had blundered" the men had to stand in the street under the pitiless pouring until daylight. Then they were marched out to the old grounds near "Camp Ellsworth," occupied before the march to Bull Run. Lochren says: "The men, wet and shivering, quickly resurrected a barrel of sutler's whisky, which they had purchased and buried the year before and its contents, fairly distributed, were probably beneficial in counteracting the effects of the exposure."

CHAPTER X.

PREPARING FOR THE PENINSULA.

THE First Minnesota was ordered from the Valley of Virginia to Washington for a purpose. For many weary and trying months after August, 1861, General McClellan had been preparing the Union Army for offensive operations against the Confederates. He had now a stronger military force than ever before assembled in the country and it was completely equipped. At this period of the war the capture of Richmond, the Confederate capital, was considered the most important objective, principally for the effect it would have abroad in preventing recognition of the Southern Confederacy, as well as the disaster such a blow would inflict on the hopes and confidence of the South.

Two plans for accomplishing the result were open for choice. The army might move overland directly toward Richmond, driving the Confederate army before it; or it might take transport to Chesapeake Bay and move up to Richmond along the peninsula between the Rappahannock and York rivers. There was much to recommend the latter course. The flanks of the army would be protected by navigable streams and these would enable transports to support the movements of the land force by transporting troops and supplies and, to a greater or less extent, enable the navy to support the entire operation. The latter plan was adopted by General McClellan.

The Rappahannock was to be ascended to Urbana, and then an army was to march from that town across to West Point at the head of York river, which is formed by the union of the Mattapony and

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Pamunkey rivers. That army was to unite with another, which should come up the big York River to West Point, after demolishing the Confederate fortifications at Yorktown, near the mouth of the river, where Washington had forced Cornwallis to surrender eighty years before. The armies united, they would set out for Richmond, following the Richmond & York Railroad. West Point is twelve miles west of Urbana and the latter place is about the same distance from the proper mouth of the Rappahannock. Both rivers empty into Chesapeake Bay.

Lincoln's plan was to move the army directly against the enemy in front of Washington, and strike his line first at a point on the Orange & Manassas Railroad, southwest of Manassas Junction, not far from the Bull Run battlefield.

McClellan's plan was conceived by him as early at least as January 1, 1862. On the 10th of that month General Shields wrote him regarding it. Shields approved it, suggesting some modifications and changes. (War Recs. Vol. 5, p. 700). Among other things Shields wrote the following, which read like axioms: "Richmond, in the East, and Memphis, at the West, are the two dominating objective points of the Southern Confederacy in this war. The possession of these points will break the power of that Confederacy." If only Richmond had been captured as soon as Memphis was (and might it not have been?), how glorious the result!

Eight of McClellan's twelve generals approved his plan. The other four and the President stoutly contended against it. Meanwhile the Confederates knew practically all that was going on and governed themselves accordingly.

The controversy over the plans was protracted from the 3d of February until March 9. On the lat-

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ter date the Union authorities learned that General Johnston had evacuated Manassas and gone southward with all his army and material, except some of the latter which he had to destroy, and leaving behind, as previously stated, some big logs with round black spots painted on the ends, to resemble holes to an observer at a distance, and these logs were laid across breastworks with the black spots or "muzzles" facing Washington. This ruse was well known in the Union army.

Of course, the Confederate abandonment of Manassas necessitated a change in McClellan's program. His favorite point for his new base of operations, as has been said, had been Urbana on the lower Rappahannock. Now the Confederates were south of the Rappahannock—even south of the Rapidan, near Culpeper and Gordonville—and Urbana and the Rappahannock River route had to be eliminated from the plan, and only the York River route considered.

General Johnston divined the plans and almost the details of General McClellan's scheme for capturing Richmond by way of the Peninsula. It was natural that his spy work and secret service should be much superior to those of General McClellan, inasmuch as the city of Washington and surrounding country abounded with Southern sympathizers who were constantly alert to any political or military movement. Johnston was as well prepared as he could be to thwart the plans of McClellan before that general began to execute them. He withdrew his army from Manassas to Gordonville and the Orange County country, because here were supplies and a good railroad running sixty miles to Richmond and here he could better organize and prepare his army to meet McClellan's and any other Union force sent out to divert his attention.

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After Johnston's withdrawal from in front of Washington, General McClellan made new plans for his advance against Richmond. The Rappahannock River route was entirely discarded, and the route by the York River and Virginia Peninsula definitely substituted. Fortress Monroe was to be the base of operations instead of Urbana. The Union forces were to be transported by water, and 127 transports were collected to convey them.

On the 8th of March President Lincoln divided the organization of the Army of the Potomac into four army corps. The First Corps was to be commanded by General McDowell; the Second by General Sumner; the Third by General Heintzelman, and the Fourth by Gen. Erasmus D. Keyes.

Of General Sumner, the commander of the corps to which the First Minnesota was assigned, Swinton says: "He was the ideal of a soldier, but had few of the qualities that make a general." At the time he was made commander of the Second Corps he was past 65 years of age, but vigorous in mind and body and capable of good work, as he demonstrated. He was not a West Pointer, but had served in the regular army for forty-three years, or since 1819.

On the 11th of March General McClellan was removed from the general command of all the armies of the United States and his authority confined to the Army of the Potomac.

After McClellan had obtained the assent of the administration to his plans, he was eager for their fulfillment. The order to furnish water transportation for his army to the Peninsula was issued February 27 and on the 17th of March it was ready—four hundred steamers and sailing craft.

On the evening of March 29 the First Minnesota embarked at Washington for the Peninsula. The

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regiment went on board two small steamers, the Golden Gate and the Jenny Lind, with transports in tow and early next morning the boats moved. The Regiment was still in Gorman's Brigade, with the 15th Massachusetts, the 34th and 82d (2d State Militia) New York and Kirby's Battery I, First U. S. Sedgwick's Division was composed of Gorman's Burns' and Dana's Brigades, with four batteries. Sumner's Corps was composed of I. B. Richardson's and John Sedgwick's Divisions.

Down the Potomac, past river forts, Mount Vernon, abandoned Confederate fortifications, and a great many scenes strange but of interest to the Minnesota boys, went the vessels. That evening they cast anchor off Smith's Point, where the waters of the Potomac are lost with those of Chesapeake Bay. Many of the Minnesota men now saw the "salt water" for the first time.

The next day and night the vessels voyaged southward sixty miles down Chesapeake Bay, then thronged with army transports of all kinds. On the morning of April 1 the regiment halted for some hours at Fortress Monroe, the base of operations. Here among the other objects of interest they saw the Monitor, which three weeks before in its fight with the Merrimac, had distinguished itself and revolutionized the construction of war vessels and naval warfare. Upon it now rested General McClellan's hopes for the safe landing of his army on the peninsula. If there was nothing to prevent her, the big, solid iron-clad Merrimac was at liberty to come down and play havoc with his transports, as it had with the Cumberland and Congress. Of the Monitor, Lochren writes: "It lay quietly among a crowd of vessels, so small and unlike anything ever before imagined as a water craft and yet so powerful and impregnable, we could

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not study it enough.”

Moving out from Fort Monroe, the Regiment finally disembarked at the ruins of the town of Hampton, which had been destroyed the previous spring. Here now is the site of a national soldiers' home. The men were glad to be on shore again, for some of them had been seasick and the quarters on the ship had been cramped and uncomfortable. But conditions on shore were not much improved, for that night the Regiment went into camp in a low field without wood and good water. The water was brackish from the salt and iodine of the sea. Lochren remembers that at this camp the Minnesota boys had a new experience in hunting for grub oysters. These oysters bury themselves in the mud and are not found in sea beds. They are obtained generally by digging or “grubbing,” as the natives call it, hence the local name. The Minnesota boys, who had been “put wise” by some old sailors, hunted this luscious sea food in their bare legs, wading through the cold mud and finding the oysters with their toes. They were very fine oysters, too, and much relished.

Lobsters were a novel addition to the menu, being caught by dangling a piece of salt pork on a cord. Dropped a few minutes in a kettle of boiling water, they proved most delicious morsels.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN.

THE region of Virginia known as the Peninsula (on which McClellan's army landed) is in the southeastern part of the State. It is from seven to fifteen miles wide and fifty miles in length. The country is low, flat, and generally wooded, but with many marshes. Looking toward the sea, the Peninsula has the big York river on the northeast or left side and the James River on the right or southwest side. As has been stated, the York river is formed by union of the Mattapony and the Pamunkey at the town of West Point, and the James River has its source in the mountains of Virginia, near Lynchburg.

Fortress Monroe, at the lower extremity of the Peninsula, is about 75 miles southeast of Richmond. General McClellan designed to approach Richmond up the Peninsula, keeping open the James River on his left flank for the transportation of supplies. The York River could also be used for that purpose, and the railroad from West Point westward utilized when a certain obstacle was removed.

That obstacle was a rather strongly-fortified position at Yorktown, on the York River, nearly ten miles from its mouth. The Confederates had begun to fortify this position the previous fall and had made it strong against infantry and cavalry. The artillery with which its defenses were supplied was generally old and obsolete, big smooth-bore guns taken from the Norfolk navy yard and intended for service on shipboard. The position was not defensible against the Union artillery, with its large calibered and skillfully rifled long range guns.

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The chief constructor of the Yorktown defenses and their commander afterward, was Gen. John Bankhead Magruder, a West Pointer and a soldier with a dashing record, and then 52 years of age. He had many military qualities, was a fine civil engineer, a good tactician, a safe commander for a division of infantry or cavalry, a dashing and very brave fighter and an expert at planning and executing ruses to deceive his enemy. In front of Richmond, by dragging brush up and down a dusty road and raising great clouds of pulverized Virginia dirt, he made the Union generals believe a large rebel force was present.

General Magruder's fortifications that girdled Yorktown about were practically on the site of those built and occupied by Lord Cornwallis' army during the War of the Revolution, eighty-one years before. On the northeast side of the town was the big wide York River, virtually an arm of Chesapeake Bay. Across the river from Yorktown was Gloucester Point, also fortified. On the west was the Warwick River, a small stream, heading a mile from Yorktown and running nearly across the Peninsula, fourteen miles from the York to the James and emptying into the latter river.

The line of the Warwick was well defended. Its source was commanded by the guns of the Yorktown forts and its fords had been replaced by dams which were defended by artillery and which raised the water in the stream till it could not easily be waded or forded anywhere. Moreover, the approaches to the stream on either side were through dense forests and swamps. McClellan's scouts had given him a very imperfect idea of the country of the Peninsula through which he would pass and very scanty knowledge of the enemy opposing him.

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McClellan had now admittedly 85,000 men, but the Confederates thought he had 110,000 and they wanted to be prepared to meet a force of that size behind their breastworks or in the field in front of their capital. They would be compelled to bring up troops from as far away as Charleston, S. C., and the mountains of Kentucky and West Virginia, and the Federal approach must be delayed, and Magruder was instructed to cause that delay as long as was safe and practicable.

Magruder appreciated the importance of the delay. He was a great bluffer, and showed fight from the first as if he had plenty of men. This boldness deceived McClellan and made him stop to besiege, instead of merely halting to assault, the Confederate position at Yorktown.

April 5 at 1 o'clock in the morning the Regiment broke camp and marched that day about ten miles to the northeast, to Big Bethel. The march was trying on the men. The country was generally flat without hills, and the weather had changed to sweltering heat. Before they had walked many miles, many of them had thrown away their overcoats, dress coats and even their blankets to lighten the loads they were compelled to carry. Previously when marching through the Valley of Virginia or about Camp Stone, the weather had been cool and the loads carried were not uncomfortable.

The roads were very poor and muddy from recent rains. Now they were crowded with the material of the great army which was slowly creeping through the mud over the flat wooded country. The grass was quite green, the buds of the trees were unfolding into leaves as large as swallow's wings, and in the branches the birds were nesting and singing.

At first the march was orderly, the men in four

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ranks with files well aligned, and the route step observed. But under the hot sun and the unaccustomed burden of the heavy equipments, the men disregarded the knowledge they had obtained by so much drilling and "disciplining" and straggled along the roads almost at will.

Lochren relates that on this route General McClellan and his formidable staff and escort rode by the First Minnesota in a hurry to get to the front. The general and Colonel Sully had served together in the regular army before the war. Now, as the commanders passed, came first the formal military salute and then the informal cheery greetings: "How are you, Alf?" and "How are you, George?" At that time General McClellan appeared strong, athletic, a splendid horseman, a beau sabreur, and in perfect health. He was a month or two past 35 years of age, just as old as Napoleon when, after well-nigh conquering the world, he was crowned emperor of the French. His uniform was neat and well-fitting, but plainer than that worn by any member of his staff. He was already popular with his soldiers, who called him "Little Mae", and thought him a gallant spirit and a great general. And this opinion the Army of the Potomac, as an army, always held. As he swept by the straggling ranks of the First Minnesota on this occasion, the men got into some semblance of order and gave their general three loud and hearty cheers.

The regiment resumed its march toward Yorktown at 5 o'clock on the morning of April 6. It was raining and the mud worse than ever. Two miles out from Big Bethel the sound of cannonading was heard in front. The Union advance had come up with Stuart's cavalry and there was skirmishing. Desultory fighting was kept up at intervals during

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the day whenever Stoneman's cavalry came in contact with Stuart's. Sometimes the infantry on both sides become slightly engaged. Often the regiment halted for several minutes. Then it hurried forward, as if it were about to rush the Confederates with a bayonet charge. Really at times it seemed that the Minnesotians would soon become actively engaged. But the Confederates retired steadily, yet slowly, and at nightfall had gone into shelter behind the strong walls of Yorktown or the good breastworks strung along Warwick Creek. And all the time it rained.

The First Minnesota, as part of Gorman's Brigade, Sedgwick's Second Division of Sumner's Second Army Corps, marched to Yorktown with Heintzelman's Third Corps and went into camp with that corps. The other Division, General Richardson's, had not yet arrived on the Peninsula and General Sumner had been appointed by General McClellan his second in command and was seeing to things generally in front of Yorktown. After the 6th of April he commanded the Union left wing, composed of his own and Keyes' Corps.

Gorman's Brigade was encamped about two miles south of Yorktown in what was known as Headquarters Camp No. 1 for some days. The First Minnesota was set at work cutting out and building corduroy roads over which supplies could be hauled from Hampton or Fortress Monroe. The camp was in a low muddy flat, and it rained all the time. The men called it "Camp Misery."* April 11, Sedgwick's en-

*Lieutenant Shepard says: "My diary is quite full of accounts while we were before Yorktown. Being a civil engineer, I was ordered by Downie, and then by Sully, and later by General Sedgwick, to visit and sketch roads, positions of headquarters, batteries, etc., along our front, and between our lines and those of the enemy. This exposed me to much picket firing from the enemy—once, a rebel battery near Yorktown opened on me—and I was

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tire Division was moved a mile away to Camp Winfield Scott. The division's camp was on the left of Gen. C. S. Hamilton's of Heintzelman's Corps, and extended down to the Warwick Creek bottom, in front of Wynn's Mill, three miles south of Yorktown.

Lochren notes that on the morning of this removal a Union balloon was sent up from York River to take a bird's-eye view of the Confederate situation. It went up in plain sight of all the camps and was an object of interest. It had lines attached to it and was to be drawn back to earth when a good view of the enemy's position had been obtained. On this occasion the lines broke and the balloon went where it pleased, for it was not of the dirigible kind. It drifted over the Confederate lines and there was some anxiety lest it should go to earth there, but it finally floated back and descended at the camp of the "First." Among the occupants of the balloon was Gen. Fitz John Porter, then commanding a division in Heintzelman's Corps. The balloon was part of the equipment of the army serving against Yorktown and was often used to observe the enemy.

Camp Winfield Scott was a great improvement over Camp Misery. It was on higher and dryer ground and in a good piece of woodland which furnished abundant shade and fuel. Shelter tents, big enough for only two on a campaign were issued to arrested as a spy several times and so, much delayed in my work. Finally, I was taken by a strong guard to Brig. Gen. W. S. Hancock of "Baldy" Smith's Division, who read my pass from Colonel Sully and promptly released me, giving me another pass, and saying I would have no further trouble. I thought Hancock the finest and best looking officer I had ever seen, and felt that he would make his mark in the war. Colonel Sully thanked me and showed me how well one portion of my work agreed with a sketch he had made. I was told that General Sedgwick made use of my work."

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the men and found to be just suited to their purpose. Here the Regiment spent the remainder of the month of April, from the 11th to and through the 30th.

It was a twenty days' season of hard work. Every second day the men were on picket duty along the Warwick, with the Confederate pickets just across the stream, hidden in the woods 300 yards away. When they were not on picket they were building fortifications or corduroy roads or being routed out of their beds by musketry firing on the picket lines and made to double-quick out to some point supposed to be threatened by an assault from the enemy. And all the while it rained. The men went about commonly wet to the skin, for even when not on duty, they had no water-proof shelter. The little "dog tents" leaked like sieves, there was a scarcity of rubber blankets and ponchos, and the only relief was when the rainclouds drifted away and the sun shone out—and then it was insufferably hot.

All through the siege of Yorktown, night and day, there was cannon firing both by the besiegers and the besieged. It was quite ineffective; nobody was hurt. The Confederates did not dare use the big old cast-iron guns within the fortifications lest they burst. They had a few rifled pieces and these were so overworked that some of them burst. (Magruder's report) General McClellan brought down and mounted some very heavy modern guns, including 100-pound and even 200-pound rifled pieces.

Saturday evening, May 3, the Confederate batteries in Yorktown kept up a fire of shot and shell on the Union lines until after midnight. Nobody hurt. It was all a bluff. At daybreak the next morning, General Heintzelman, at his headquarters, heard what he thought was skirmishing in Yorktown and saw a bright light there. Professor Lowe, the noted aero-

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naut, immediately went up in his balloon and reported that the light was a burning vessel at Yorktown wharf, and it was subsequently learned that the noise like a skirmish was caused by the explosion of several thousand musket cartridges and shells of small caliber which the Confederates were destroying in one of their magazines.

Then General Heintzelman got a telegram from Fitz John Porter that the enemy was abandoning Yorktown. Heintzelman immediately went up in the balloon with Professor Lowe and saw enough to convince him that the telegram was true. Descending he ordered Generals Hooker and Kearney to prepare their divisions, and Colonel Averell to prepare his Third Pennsylvania Cavalry, to march immediately. (Heintzelman's Report, War. Recs., Vol. 11, p. 456).

On that Sunday morning (May 4) the Regiment, as usual when its turn came, went on picket before daylight. But after daylight word came that the Confederates had "skedaddled", and then the men went back to camp for their tents and knapsacks preparatory to marching. But they did not march far, only to the Confederate entrenchments at Wynn's Mill and along the Warwick thereabouts. Lochren says that Dana's Third Brigade of Sedgwick's Division was first in the enemy's abandoned works and Gorman's was next. Seemingly the Confederates had leisurely made up their minds about evacuating, but when they did decide they stood not on the order of their going, but went at once.

About the 1st of May General Magruder's spies and field glasses told him that the Union troops were ready to begin the long-threatened bombardment and at once he began to retreat. (Magruder's Report; also Johnston's Narrative, p. 111). The line of retreat

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was already fixed, there was nothing to do but follow it.

At Wynn's Mill, where the First Minnesota was, the Confederates left in a hurry. Their breakfasts, such as they were (and they were not very luxurious) were still in the frying pans, skillets, pots and bake kettles. They abandoned quite a stock of provisions and camp equipage. In a plantation store house near by was a good supply of delicious smoked hams and bacon. The men secured a large supply of frying pans and bake kettles. The brigade remained in the enemy's abandoned works at Wynn's Mill until on the morning of the 6th, when it marched three miles to the northeast—in deep mud and pouring rain.

The fortifications at Yorktown were of much interest to the Minnesota boys. They were scientifically constructed of dirt walls and sand bags, with timber re-inforcements, etc., and their armament was a miscellaneous collection of old United States naval guns which had been taken from the Gosport Navy Yard the previous spring. More than seventy pieces of these archaic, inefficient pieces of ordnance were left in the works. It was believed that a majority of them would burst, though they could throw a ball or shell weighing 64 to 100 pounds. McClellan's and Commodore Goldsborough's 125-pounder steel rifled Parrotts would have knocked them all to pieces in ten minutes or less. The works at Yorktown were for the most part built by negro slaves, impressed from their masters by the Confederate authorities.

To re-inforce the front walls or glacis of the works, in case of an assault, and to make an approach to them in any part dangerous, the Confederates had planted a great many loaded shells, generally 8-inch and 10-inch mortar shells, so arranged as to explode when trod on or otherwise disturbed. This was

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against the laws of war and the Union commanders and some of the Confederate leaders protested against it. It was an ugly thing for men to do that prided themselves on their "chivalry."

CHAPTER XII.

THE BATTLE OF WILLIAMSBURG.

WHEN the Confederates evacuated Yorktown and the line of the Warwick they struck straight up the Peninsula for Richmond and the James river valley. Their route lay through the historic old town of Williamsburg, once the capital of Virginia and now the county seat of James City County.

Williamsburg is twelve miles west of Yorktown, but the Confederate fortifications were two or three miles nearer. Stoneman and his cavalry followed hard after Jeb Stuart's cavalry and Longstreet's infantry, constituting the Confederate rear, and nine miles out, at a fortification called by the Confederates Fort Magruder, brought the latter to a stand. They were too strong for his cavalry alone and Stoneman waited for the Union infantry, Hooker's and Kearney's Divisions, which he knew were coming on through the mud.

On the morning of the 5th the battle of Williamsburg began and it lasted all day. There was some very bloody fighting. On the Union side Hooker's Division bore the brunt.

Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock won great renown at the battle of Williamsburg. He was then in command of the First Brigade of W. F. Smith's Division of Keyes' Fourth Corps. Hancock had the key to complete victory. Next morning, if the fight should be renewed, the Confederates would be disastrously defeated. Their commanders realized this, and that night Longstreet left the field and set out for the Chickahominy. The Confederates did not want to fight at Williamsburg; they did not want to fight anywhere until they got in front of Richmond.

CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE CHICKAHOMINY.

THE First Minnesota was within the fortifications at Yorktown that 5th day of May when the battle of Williamsburg was being fought. It was twelve miles away, but the heavy atmosphere carried the sound well, and the noise of the battle was plainly heard. Troops were moving out in the direction of the firing as rapidly as the terrible conditions of the roads would permit, and the men thought a terrible conflict was raging.

About dark General Gorman's Brigade set out towards Williamsburg. Though short, it was a terrible march. It was raining, of course, and the roads had been almost impassable for a long time, and so the mud, slush, ruts and quagmires were now something frightful. A black, impenetrable darkness added to the discomforts. Other troops were marching ahead, toiling along with frequent halts. The Regiment ran into their wagons, artillery and troops, and there was great confusion and disorder.

Though it had left Yorktown three hours before, the regiment had compassed only about one mile when it was ordered to countermarch and return to the starting point. Welcome news! The return march was made in far less time than the outward and at midnight the men were safely sheltered within Magruder's fortifications back of Yorktown. McClellan had ordered up the naval vessels of Flag Officer Goldsborough and some transports to convey Franklin's Division and other troops up the big broad York River to its head, at West Point.

The First Minnesota had been ordered back from

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the route to Williamsburg to follow with its Division that of General Franklin by water to West Point. General McClellan sent not only Franklin's of McDowell's Corps but Sedgwick's and Richardson's Divisions of Sumner's and Fitz John Porter's of Keyes' Corps up the York River in transports to West Point and the right bank of the Pamunkey. The other Divisions, the wagon trains, and the reserve artillery moved subsequently by land. The First Minnesota left Yorktown in the afternoon of May 7, on the steamer Long Branch.

While an enemy that could be met and contended with was getting ready to meet McClellan's army at Richmond, there was a more dangerous enemy awaiting the Northern forces, and this enemy could not be met and fought outright. This was the deadly malaria of the low, swampy, miasmatic marshes and flats of the James and Chickahominy Rivers. Upon these flats and through these marshes and swamps the Union troops would have to go and if they waited until near the first of June, the regular annual fever season would be on in all its terror and deadliness.

McClellan started the movement of his troops from Williamsburg on the 8th, Keyes' Fourth Corps in advance, following Stoneman's cavalry, which soon opened communication with General Franklin at Eltham, a little town two miles from West Point, but on the south side of the Pamunkey.

On the retreat of the Confederates from Williamsburg, Heintzelman's and Keyes' Corps pushed forward as fast as they could, not especially after the fleeing enemy (who could not be overtaken) but to make haste and form a junction with Franklin's, Sedgwick's and Porter's Divisions, then near West Point or Eltham. This was soon accomplished.

But the very next day White House Landing, on

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the south bank of the Pamunkey, fifteen miles up the river on a straight line from West Point, and twenty-two miles almost due east of Richmond, was selected as the permanent base.

White House Landing took its name from White House, a very fine plantation running along the south bank of the Pamunkey and owned by inheritance from her mother's family by the wife of Gen. Robert E. Lee. It was a very historic site, formerly owned by Widow Martha Custis, and was her residence when she married George Washington. The ceremony took place near the White House in St. Peter's Episcopal Church, an unpretentious building, isolated and still standing in 1862. General Lee's wife was a granddaughter of Martha Custis.

The First Minnesota remained in camp near West Point until May 9, when it moved up the Pamunkey two miles or so to Eltham Landing. It was on ship-board en route to West Point when the so-called battle of West Point was being fought between Whiting and Franklin, or rather between Hood and Newton. When it arrived at Eltham and went into camp, pickets were constantly kept out as if there were the greatest danger. The most advanced regiments were thrown back and kept near the river and so the Confederates continued their march toward Richmond without being further troubled.

The Regiment remained in camp at Eltham for about a week, or until May 15. Then, when a rain the day before had softened the roads, and another soaking one was falling, it set out on the march again, going directly westward towards New Kent Court House. It rained all day and a march of only about eight miles was made, the command going into camp in a yellow pine grove, two miles east of New Kent, where a stop of three days was made.

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May 18 the regiment moved again, encamping on the farm of Dr. May, then a surgeon on the staff of General Lee. After a rest of three days it again moved and made a march of eight miles. This day, according to Lochren, it passed White House "and the church where Washington was married." At night it encamped on the York and Richmond Railroad three miles from the Chickahominy, connecting the right wing of the army with the left. On the 23d it went forward four miles and camped on the left bank of the Chickahominy.

Eltham Landing was so named from a large fine old estate near by. Here was a large though somewhat dilapidated old brick mansion, with large wings and other appointments. In connection was a high-walled family cemetery with numerous monuments. Many of the Minnesota boys visited the historic old mansion and one or two wrote to the home papers about it.

For several days the regiment was encamped on the plantation of Dr. Wm. Mayo, whose sister was the wife of General Scott. Unlike his loyal brother-in-law, Dr. Mayo was a "secesh" and in May, 1862, was with the Confederate army. His plantation was about two miles from Cumberland Landing.

General McClellan now had the James River to rely upon as a highway for the conveyance of his supplies, if the York River and the York & Richmond Railroad should fail him. On the 10th the Confederates evacuated Norfolk. The next day Tatnall blew up the Merrimac. On the 12th a Union fleet composed of the Monitor, Galena, Aroostook, Port Royal, and Naugatuck, under Commodore Rodgers, ascended the James to within twelve miles of Richmond, when they were checked by the guns

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of Fort Darling, on Drewry's Bluff, and compelled to return to Fort Monroe.

The march of the Minnesota boys from Eltham to the Chickahominy was a memorable one—memorable because so miserable. First, the roads were almost untraversable and the weather extremely disagreeable. It is a military adage that in time of war all roads are bad and all weather disagreeable, and the rule certainly applied to the Peninsula of Virginia in the spring of 1862. That is an old country and the roads are worn down well into the tough clay subsoil. The soil back from the streams was unproductive and its occupants were poor. Along the rivers there were some good plantations but not many. Live stock of any kind was scarce. From this it will be understood that it was quite a poor country for foraging and adding fresh provisions to the soldiers' stale rations.

But even if the country had been as fair as a garden of the Lord's and as rich withal, that fact would not have helped the soldiers much. General McClellan sternly forbade all unauthorized foraging, and enforced his orders, too. The excess of precaution and the severity of his measures to preserve from trespass and injury every species of property belonging to the people were felt by the soldiers as a grievance. Every farmhouse and cottage was furnished with a guard by the army provost guard of Gen. Andrew Porter, of Bull Run fame, who was Provost Marshal; and this provost guard went ahead of the main army, so that the column, when it came up, found the sentinels on duty, with strict orders to protect not only the persons and household goods, but to watch over the farm-yards, stables, forage, wells, and even the rail fences of the people.

By the 24th of May, General McClellan had his

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army in front of Richmond. The First Minnesota was encamped near the north bank of the Chickahominy, about three miles up the stream from where it was crossed by the Richmond & York River railroad and ten miles due east of Richmond.

The Chickahominy like the Warwiek and other so-called rivers, is only a creek. It drains a long, swampy and marshy district. It rises fifteen miles north of Richmond, flows southeastwardly and finally empties into the James River, 40 miles below that city. Opposite where the First Minnesota was camped the river, in its ordinary stage, was only about 40 feet wide. But this was the bed of the river. It was fringed with a growth of rather heavy forest trees, and bordered on either side by low, marshy bottom lands varying from half a mile to a mile in width.

There was then no place where the high ground came near the stream on both banks. But above the First Minnesota's position, five miles up stream, where the Gaines mill road crossed, at the New Bridge, and four miles further up, where the Virginia Central Railroad crossed at the Mechanicsville Bridge, and two miles still further up, at the Meadow Bridge, the west bank of the river (the Confederate side) opposite each bridge was bordered by high bluffs; but the east side was flat. The bluffs afforded General Johnston fine positions on which to build his breastworks and place his batteries. McClellan, therefore, was obliged to select other and less dangerous crossings of the Chickahominy in order to come in contact with his enemy. (Own Story, p. 362.)

From West Point, by way of Tunstall's Station—the latter the most beautiful camp of the campaign—the army had followed along or near the Rich-

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mond & York River Railroad, which was repaired and put in running order as progress was made. Locomotives and cars were brought from New York to equip the road and it was put in good condition. This road crossed the Chickahominy two miles above Bottom's Bridge and from thence the distance to Richmond was 12 miles due west.

Three miles west of the Chickahominy, on the railroad, was Savage's station, so called because a farmer of that name lived near. The next station towards Richmond, four miles, was called Fair Oaks. Near the station was a farm that was so called. Many Virginia farmers, being of English descent, followed the customs of the landed gentry of England and named their residences and farms for certain characteristics or some fancy. Thus there were Westover, Brandon, Malvern, Fair Oaks, Briarwood, Seven Pines, etc.

On retiring to the west bank of the Chickahominy the Confederates destroyed all the bridges except Bottom's. This bridge was where the Williamsburg stage road crossed the Chickahominy. As early as May 20, General Naglee's brigade, of Keyes' Corps, crossed the river here and pushed forward to near the James River, some miles below Richmond, without finding the enemy in force. The rest of the Fourth Corps, under Keyes, crossed on the 23d. By the 25th McClellan had his army astraddle of the Chickahominy, Keyes' and Heintzelman's Corps on the west or right bank and Sumner's, Porter's and Franklin's on the east side.

On the 24th, 25th and 26th Naglee's Brigade made another reconnoissance, going this time out along the Williamsburg stage road eight miles to the Seven Pines—seven tall, slender yellow pine trees, on the

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Williamsburg road, a mile southeast of Fair Oaks station. Near by was the house of a Mr. Allen. On the 25th the entire Fourth Corps was ordered to take up and fortify a position near the Seven Pines. Here was a cross roads; the Williamsburg road ran east and west and what was called the Nine Mile road crossed it here, running southeast and northwest. Keyes at once dug a strong line of rifle pits, and built good breastworks, with abatis in front, in the rear of the point where the Nine Mile road crosses the Williamsburg.

On the 24th, also, a detachment of Porter's Corps, with three batteries, drove out a rather light force that had been holding Mechanicsville, which was a small hamlet (now extinct) but was where three roads met. It was a mile north of the Chickahominy and ten miles or so north of Richmond. The Confederates retreated across the river over what was known as the Mechanicsville Bridge and burned the bridge after them. It was three days later when Porter defeated Branch's Brigade at Hanover Court House.

The Confederates knew every move that McClellan made. General Johnston was simply waiting to make one battle complete his work. He knew that McClellan had straddled the Chickahominy and he tells us (*Battle & Leads*. Vol. 2. p. 211) that he wanted the distance between the two Corps on the west side of the river and the three on the east side to be increased as far as possible.

Gen. J. R. Anderson, in front of Fredericksburg with his Division, sent word on the 24th to Johnston that the advance of McDowell's Corps had left Fredericksburg for Richmond. At once General Johnston summoned his generals in council preparatory for

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battle the next day, before McDowell could come within 20 miles of McClellan. The council was almost ready to adjourn, when a messenger came from "Jeb" Stuart saying that it was certain that McDowell's advance had returned to Fredericksburg and that the whole Corps was to be sent to the Shenandoah Valley. Then the battle was postponed. (Ibid p. 212.)

As previously stated the Confederates had destroyed the bridges over the Chickahominy except Bottom's bridge, opposite the lower extremity of the Union line. It was incumbent on General McClellan to replace these structures as soon as the work could be done, working night and day. It is a military proposition that if a stream divide an army, it should be spanned as soon as possible by as many new bridges as practicable so that troops and guns may be readily passed from one side of the stream to the other.

On the 27th of May the First Minnesota was ordered to the Chickahominy to build a bridge for the crossing of Sumner's Second Corps. The Corps was to have two bridges, called Sumner's Upper and Sumner's Lower; the First Minnesota built the Upper bridge, the one farthest up stream. This bridge was built of logs cut near the banks by the men and it was completed before sunset, except a part of the corduroy approach. The work was superintended by the army engineers and executed in good style by the experienced woodsmen of the regiment detailed from Co. B under command of Captain Mark W. Downie, and from Co. D. under command of Lieut. C. B. Heffelfinger.

To bind the cross logs of the bridge in their places, grapevines were cut and used. These vines

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were abundant on the shores of the stream and easily procured. They answered their intended purpose only fairly well. Grapevines were also used in the construction of the Sumner's Lower bridge, built by Richardson's Division, and since the war there have been frequent controversies over which was the real Grapevine bridge and who built it. The bridges were serviceable only part of the time; they failed when badly needed. A heavy rain fell, the Chickahominy went out of its banks, the Lower bridge was washed away, and the Upper was in a very precarious condition at a very critical time.

While the Regiment was at work on the Grapevine bridge, the men heard the sound of the fighting at Hanover, C. H., twelve miles to the northwest. The First Minnesota with other troops were sent to reinforce the Union troops at Hanover Court House where General Porter was engaged with the enemy. It marched from the Chickahominy to Hanover on the 28th, and returned the next day. Among the Union troops engaged at Hanover was Captain Russell's Second Company of Minnesota Sharpshooters, although they were not sent on the field in time to do conspicuous service. They had one man wounded.

CHAPTER XIV.

SEVEN PINES AND FAIR OAKS.

ON the 30th of May the positions of McClellan's troops on the southwest, or Richmond side of the Chickahominy were as follows: Casey's Division was on the right of the Williamsburg stage road extending from that road north to the York River Railroad at Fair Oaks Station. Couch's Division was at the Seven Pines, a mile southeast of Fair Oaks. These two Divisions belonged to Keyes' Fourth Corps. The two Divisions of Heintzelman's Third Corps were placed in the rear or east of Keyes'. Kearney's Division was on the York Railroad, strung along from Savage's Station to Bottom's Bridge over the Chickahominy, and Hooker's was from two to four miles south of Kearney's, along what was known as the White Oak Swamp. This swamp extended from Casey's Division several miles in a southeast direction to the Chickahominy.

The two Divisions of Casey and Couch were within seven miles of Richmond and the two Divisions supporting them, Kearney's and Hooker's, were disconnected and strung out. It almost seemed as if Casey and Couch were in a condition inviting capture or destruction; and General Keyes had frequently called General McClellan's attention to the danger. If the condition was meant as an invitation, General Johnston promptly responded to it.

The night of the 30th of May another heavy rain fell. All the Chickahominy bottoms were afloat. The grapevine bridges were in peril. About 8:30 the next morning, the 31st, General Johnston moved

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eastward from his fortifications at Richmond to assault and destroy Keyes' isolated divisions. He had in all about 38,000 men and his force was divided into two wings. Longstreet commanded the right wing, which would operate mainly on the southern half of the Union line, and Gen. Gustavus W. Smith commanded the left wing, which was to assault the northern half of the Union position.

Johnston's advance struck the Union skirmish line about 11 a. m., but the fighting did not get good and hot until 12:30. Casey's Division was the first struck and was crushed and thrown back easily, as far as Couch's position at Seven Pines. This was afterward called the "Second line of defense."

Couch's Division fought with bravery and tenacity, for Darius N. Couch was brave and tenacious, and like master like man. Rather early in the action General Keyes had sent back to General Heintzelman—who was really in command of both the Third and Fourth Corps, the left wing of the army—for reinforcements from Kearney's and Hooker's Divisions. But the message did not reach Heintzelman until 2 o'clock and it was after 4 o'clock before Phil Kearney, with his foremost brigade arrived at "the second position" where Couch's men and the wreck of Casey's Division were fighting for their lives—and more than their lives.

Meanwhile Longstreet's and Hill's Divisions, constituting the Confederate right wing, had been pushing forward on the Williamsburg road and doing all the fighting on their side. Gen. Gustavus Smith's left wing, which was to perform an important flanking operation, had not been heard from. General Johnston was with this column, waiting to hear the fighting of Longstreet and Hill and to watch for

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the approach of McClellan's three corps from the east bank of the Chickahominy. "Owing to some peculiar condition of the atmosphere the sound of the musketry did not reach us until late," he says, and it was after 4 o'clock before Smith's Division came upon the field.

Couch was back on "the second line," struggling to relieve the pressure on him, and Kearney was helping all he could, when suddenly Smith's advance brigades came on Couch's right by the rear of the Nine-Mile road and also by the road toward Fair Oaks Station. Couch had two fresh regiments of Kearney and some of his own men, but Smith sent a force between him and his little command and cut him off from the main part of his Division. (Couch's report, War Recs.)

It was now between 5 and 6 o'clock, and it seemed that all of McClellan's army across the Chickahominy was doomed. Casey's Division had gone to pieces; Couch's was bisected; Berry's and Jameson's brigades of Kearney, which had gone up on the left, had been thrown back on the White Oak Swamp, and they only got back to the army late that night under cover of darkness; the Union center was struggling to escape. Just at this crisis, when the fate of the day and of McClellan's army was trembling in the balance, relief appeared, and the action was determined by the sudden and inspiring advent of a stray Union column from the north bank of the Chickahominy.

General Sumner had come!

At about 1 o'clock that day, when the Corps was in camp on Tyler's farm, back from the upper Grapevine Bridge, the men of Sumner's Corps first heard the fighting across the river between Long-

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street and Keyes. It had been going on since 11 o'clock, but had not been heard. Simultaneously with the sound of battle came an order from McClellan to Sumner saying in effect: "Hold your command in readiness to move at a moment's warning."

General Sumner prepared to move by moving at once! In 15 minutes his two Divisions, Sedgwick's and Richardson's, were under arms and marching down to the Grapevine bridges, getting ready to move! While waiting for the order, the Grapevine bridge which the First Minnesota had built four days before was examined. The heavy rain of the previous night had set it afloat! At least the corduroy approaches were under water and the bridge itself was, "precarious." Swinton says:

"The rough logs forming the corduroy approaches over the swamp were mostly afloat and only kept from drifting off by the stumps of trees to which they were fastened. The portion over the body of the stream was suspended from the trunks of trees by ropes, on the strength of which depended the possibility of passage."
(Swinton, p. 137.)

In 1864 Colonel Alexander, of the Engineer Corps, wrote an article describing the battle of Fair Oaks, and this article was published in the Atlantic Monthly for March of that year. Describing the crossing of Sumner's Corps on this occasion, the article says:

"The possibility of crossing was doubted by all present, including General Sumner himself. As the solid column of infantry entered upon the bridge, it swayed to and fro to the angry flood below or the living freight above, settling down and grasping the solid stumps by which it was made se-

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cure as the line advanced. Once filled with men, however, it was safe until the Corps crossed; it then soon became impassable."

It was the only bridge left intact. The rains descended and the floods came, and beat upon that bridge, but it fell not, because it was built by Minnesotians who knew their business. Sedgwick's three brigades crossed over it and two of Richardson's brigades followed them. The bridge which Richardson's men had built was partially washed away. In his report General Richardson says his men "had to wade to their middles in water" before they could reach the part that was left. French's brigade crossed this bridge, after great difficulty, but Meagher's and Howard's went up and crossed at the Minnesota-built bridge. Richardson had to leave all his artillery in the mud, and then he did not get to the firing line till after 6 o'clock, "it then being dark." (Richardson's report, War Recs. Vol. 11, p. 764.)

Sedgwick's Division got the order to cross at 2:30 and almost at once obeyed it, although all conditions were forbidding. Striking the west bank of the river, the Division set out at quick time, the men walking as fast as they could pull their feet out of the mud.

The First Minnesota had the post of honor. It was the regiment in the lead. Gorman's was the leading brigade, and right behind it came Kirby's battery, I, First U. S., which its commander, Lieut. Edmund Kirby had much trouble in getting to the front, by reason of the mud, etc. "I was obliged at times to unlimber and use the prolonge, the cannoneers being up to their waists in water." (Kirby's report.) After Kirby, came in order Burns' and

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Dana's brigades, followed by Tompkins,' Bartlett's, and Owen's batteries.

The Regiment, heading its Brigade, Division, and Corps, pressed well along the road to Fair Oaks.

Reaching a point near Fair Oaks Station after 5 o'clock Sedgwick found Couch with a small force still battling, but bleeding at every vein. Upon debouching into the open wheatfield near the house of a Mr. Adams about a mile northeast of Fair Oaks, General Abercrombie's Brigade, of Couch, was undergoing an attack which had been protracted for hours and had been hot and heavy from the first; the Brigade was about all in. How they cheered when the Minnesotians came on the field!

The First Minnesota was promptly formed in battle line, under a sharp fire, and sent into a wheat field to the right of Abercrombie's Brigade to protect that flank. The wheat field belonged to a Mr. Courtney and his house was a point where there was danger that the enemy would place a strong flanking force. Colonel Sully placed the Regiment near the Courtney house, behind a rail fence. There was some danger that he would be set upon before his supports could be placed, and General Sedgwick commended him for his "admirable coolness and judgment." (Sedgwick's report, War Rec., Part 1, Vol. 11, p. 791.)

The remainder of Gorman's brigade, the Fifteenth Massachusetts and the Thirty-Fourth and Eighty-Second New York, led by General Gorman in person, was hurried to the left of Abererombie's position. At 5:30 three of the mud-covered 12-pound Napoleons of Kirby's Battery came up. The other three were in the rear, buried in the mud, but were being extricated. General Sumner immediately ordered them

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into position, the right piece resting on a strip of woods and the left gun about 70 yards from the Adams house, and facing south towards Fair Oaks Station. The Fifteenth Massachusetts was supporting the battery.

Just in time! General Gorman had not placed his men ten minutes, when Gen. Gustavus Smith's big Confederate Division burst forth upon them. General Johnston had been holding back this wing of his army, and the men were all fresh and in fine condition. The Division was temporarily commanded by Gen. W. H. C. Whiting and it had five brigades, Law's, Hood's, Hampton's, Hatton's, and Pettigrew's. Law's Brigade was the old Barnard E. Bee's brigade that fought the First Minnesota at Bull Run, and here were the Fourth Alabama, Second Mississippi, Eleventh Mississippi, and Sixth North Carolina, all waiting to be paid for what they gave the Minnesotians at the Henry house.

The Confederates under the immediate eyes and direction of General Johnston and Gen. Gustavus Smith, soon charged the Union troops. General Couch, out of all his Division, had left but four regiments, two companies, and Brady's Battery. These had the center, and Sedgwick's Division was on both flanks; Richardson's had not yet arrived.

Here came the enemy on the old rebel charge and with the old "rebel yell." Law's and Pettigrew's brigades were to the left front of the First Minnesota and directly opposite Couch's regiments. The Minnesotians had an oblique fire on the Fourth Alabama, Second Mississippi, and their comrade regiments of Law's Brigade and briskly they kept it up. The entire Union line delivered concerted and frightfully destructive volleys upon their assailants

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as they advanced. Kirby's Battery added to the destruction with spherical case shot and shell from its three 12-pound Napoleons, and soon the gray masses fell back and took shelter in the woods on the right. Kirby now had to turn his battery toward the west.

Just then Lieutenant Woodruff came up with two of Kirby's guns that had been swamped, and Kirby put that section on the left of his other three guns and began firing away with all five into the woods where the enemy was forming for another charge. A few rounds had been fired when Lieutenant French came up with the remaining gun. Unluckily just then a trail to another piece had broken, so that it was useless, and the supply of spherical case and shell had given out. Kirby cast the damaged piece to one side and sent two limber chests to the rear, where his caissons were buried in the mud, for more case shot and shell. The Confederates were now moving, but were beyond canister range, and Kirby had to throw solid shot among them, just to "occupy them," he says.

The First Minnesota was on the right of General Couch's little force, and the other three regiments of Gorman's Brigade were to the left of Couch. Burns' Brigade was on the right of the First Minnesota, its left regiment, Colonel Baxter's Seventy-Second Pennsylvania (Zouaves) overlapping a part of the Minnesota right. The brigade was under fire and lost 5 killed and 30 wounded. At midnight General Burns took the Seventy-First Pennsylvania—the "California Regiment," of Ball's Bluff fame—and two regiments of Dana's Brigade back to the Chickahominy to protect the line of communication; his three other regiments remained at Fair Oaks. His brigade was composed of four Pennsylvania regiments.

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During the fighting a section, two pieces, of Battery A, First Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery, Capt. James Brady commanding, which belonged to and had been serving with Abererombie's Brigade, was sent to the right and support of the First Minnesota. Captain Brady, who was in charge of the guns, at once opened on the enemy with shell and case shot, and kept up the firing till the victory was gained.

When the Confederates were for the second time showing themselves, General Gorman was ordered to throw first the Eighty-Second, then the Thirty-Fourth New York, and then the Fifteenth Massachusetts upon the enemy's flank and front. The Eighty-Second, Lieutenant-Colonel Hudson commanding, went quickly forward, through garden fences and other obstacles, until it reached a line 100 yards from the Confederates, when it opened a galling fire upon them. Then, by Sumner's and Sedgwick's orders, General Gorman sent up the Thirty-Fourth, Colonel Sniter commanding, to strengthen the Eighty-Second. Then he sent up Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball with the Fifteenth Massachusetts, from Kirby's Battery, to support the two New York regiments.

The Confederates and the Unionists were each side pressing forward to meet the other, firing as they advanced. When the lines were about 50 yards apart, General Sumner shouted to General Gorman: "Charge 'em with the bayonet, General Gorman!" Then he gave the same command to the Thirty-Fourth New York.

The New Yorkers threw themselves headlong into the woods directly against the enemy. The Fifteenth Massachusetts came in support in the center. Two regiments of Dana's Brigade, the Nineteenth Massachusetts and the Tammany Regiment (42d New York) had been left back on duty at the Chickahominy;

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the other two, the Seventh Michigan and the Twentieth Massachusetts, were up and Sedgwick ordered them to assist Gorman's regiments in the charge, and they did so, acting on Gorman's left.

The charging promised at one time to be a very fierce and bloody affair. But the Confederates were receiving such crushing volleys from the five infantry regiments, and Kirby with his five good Napoleons was fairly blowing them to pieces with his fresh supply of spherical case and shell, that they were in no mood to receive the cold steel in their anatomies. From say 6 o'clock to 7:30 there was some of Phil Kearney's "beautiful fighting" on that Allen farm in the environs of Fair Oaks. And to this fighting the First Minnesota contributed. It was well protected, had a good enfilading range, and fought the Fourth Alabama and Second Mississippi under about the same conditions as those regiments fought it at Bull Run,—giving plenty without taking any.

The Confederates began to shrink away from the bayonet fighting. All but Hampton's South Carolina Legion. It stood before the Thirty-Fourth New York and lowered its bayonets to receive the charge. But when the New Yorkers had reached ten paces from the South Carolinians the latter excused themselves and hurriedly left the field.

And now the Confederates were driven from the field in the greatest confusion and wildest consternation. They left the ground well covered with their dead and wounded, and among them was some of the best blood of the South. They had no cannon with them as they could not be handled in the woods. They lost over 100 unwounded prisoners. Their shattered battalions were driven clear away from the field and Sedgwick's Division occupied it that night and until after daylight next morning.

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About 7 o'clock in the evening, or near sundown, General Johnston was wounded. General Hatton had just been killed by his side, and General Johnston was encouraging the men of the Tennessee brigade. The five regiments under General Gorman were coming, firing as they came, and Kirby's Battery was pouring in case shot and shell. Suddenly General Johnston got a musket ball in his right shoulder. Before the shock had passed, a shell from Kirby's Battery burst in front of him and a considerable fragment struck him in the breast, crushing it in and knocking him from his horse. He was borne on a litter to the rear and placed in an ambulance. Jeff Davis and General Lee, who were in the rear, came up and saw the wounded general before he was taken to Richmond. There he remained, often near death, until the 12th of November, nearly six months, before he was able for light service. (Johnston's Narrative.)

The First Minnesota, in its sheltered position, had but 2 men killed and 4 wounded. Henry Arnsdorf, of Company C, was killed early on the morning of June 1, while on picket, and Nicholas Hammer, of Company F, of Red Wing, was killed on Saturday. The wounded were Sergt. Chas. M. Tucker, of Company H, and Privates Geo. W. Patten, of Company D, James Cannon of Company I, Alexander Shaw and Andrew J. Truesdale of Company K.

Sunday morning, June 1, the fighting was resumed at Fair Oaks, running down to the Seven Pines. The Confederate right wing, Longstreet's and Dan Hill's Divisions, had suffered terribly on Saturday in defeating and driving Casey and Couch, but they were re-enforced that night by Huger's Division composed of 16 regiments of infantry and six batteries which were distributed among the three brigades of Gen-

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erals Mahone, Wright, and Armistead. To these were added Pickett's, Pryor's, and Wilcox's Brigades of Longstreet's Division. General Smith's Division was not engaged that day.

This force under Gen. Dan Hill, attacked Richardson's Division, in position near Fair Oaks Station and below the railroad, but parallel with it, at 6:30 in the morning.

In the severe fighting that ensued, General Howard, while leading his brigade and pressing back the enemy. (Pickett's Brigade), lost his right arm. The Confederates were driven from the field at last and retired towards Richmond. They were not pursued. That Sunday night, by order of their new commander, General Lee, they began to retire to their fortifications in front of Richmond. Monday morning they were all gone from the battlefield.

General Gorman's Brigade took a creditable part in this day's engagement. Hardly had it begun when the General was ordered to leave the First Minnesota in its position on the right flank, the Fifteenth Massachusetts on the right front, and then to take the two New York regiments to the assistance of Richardson's Division.

The troops that became engaged did splendid work and General Gorman praised them highly. Before noon the fighting was all over and the Confederates had retreated, leaving their dead and the greater part of their wounded in the hands of the Union troops. Just at the close of the battle Capt. W. F. Russell's Second Company of Minnesota Sharpshooters came upon the field and reported to General Gorman. The General sent them at once to the firing line, where they did good work during the half hour they were engaged. The Company had one man wounded, Chris. J. Lind, whose trigger finger was

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shot off, necessitating his discharge.

The Union victory at Fair Oaks was won by General Sumner and the two divisions of his Second Corps, with Heintzelman's Corps contributing. All military writers of authority agree upon this point. The great expert, Wm. Swinton, whose opinion was a composite of the judgments of the leading generals of the Army of the Potomac, says:

“Thus, when all was lost, Sumner's promptitude saved the day. * * * The brave old Sumner now sleeps in a soldier's grave, but that one act of heroic duty must embalm his memory in the hearts of his countrymen— Camps. Ar. of Pot., p. 133.”

CHAPTER XV.

CAMP AT FAIR OAKS.

AFTER the battle of Fair Oaks—or Seven Pines, as the Confederates called it, perhaps because they won the fight at the latter locality and lost it at the first named—the general attitude of McClellan's army was not imposing or promising. The Corps on the west side of the Chickahominy remained there and the army was still astride the stream, dangerously divided.

The First Minnesota and the other regiments of Sedgwick's Division went into camps on or near Sumner's and Smith's battlefields in the vicinity of Fair Oaks, with Richmond only seven miles away—so near and yet so far! Great earthworks were built and supplied with cannon. Long lines of strong intrenchments were constructed and the position made so strong that it was practically impregnable to a direct attack from the enemy. But a fortified position does not always have to be directly attacked to be carried.

During the remainder of the month of June, excepting the last two days, the First Minnesota was kept almost constantly on picket or fatigue duty. It helped cut and build numerous corduroy roads,—for every road after it was cut out had to be corduroyed—and it felled acres of woodland in front of the fortifications. The Regiment was encamped in an angle which had a strong breastwork with traverses to protect the men from enfilading artillery. For some time after the battle the officers of the Regiment had their quarters in a good two-story farm

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house near Fair Oaks. But this house had a strong breastwork about it, with four pieces of cannon to defend it, and the ground was well cleared in front.

Day and night the Minnesotians had to be ready for battle. The picket lines were fired on every day by cavalry, infantry, and artillery. There were frequent alarms that "the Rebs are coming." Scarcely a night passed that the Regiment was not called into line to repel a supposed attack. Sleeping or waking the men had to keep their cartridge boxes belted about them and have their guns where they could instantly reach them.

The weather was generally hot; heavy rains were frequent. The land was low-lying. Water could be obtained by digging a shallow well, but to the unacclimated it was very unhealthy—practically poisonous. Nobody knew enough then to boil it to kill the disease germs. Disinfectants and antiseptics were practically unknown. The surface water, which, from the rains, was always abundant, was more healthful than the well water. But the surface water came through swamps and marshes wherein dead men and dead horses lay, putrid and horrible; and where there were always miasma and malaria.

But the First Minnesota was remarkably healthy during this period. The Regiment lost less than thirty men by disease during its entire term; other regiments, especially some in the Western army, lost 200 men and even 300. The Third Minnesota lost 119 of its men by death from malarial fever in the two months of May and June, 1864, while in camp at Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

Nearly every day there was cannonading and affairs between the outposts. Confederate scouting parties approached the Union picket lines and banged away with cannon for an hour or so. The next day

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Union parties would return the visit and repeat the performance of the previous day. The object was to "develop the enemy's position" and see what he was doing.

While the weather was hot and sultry, there were exceptional and remarkable days. The latter part of the month of June was very warm; the 26th was the hottest day, 96 in the shade. The next day was hot and the battle of Gaines' Mill was fought under a broiling sun. There was a light rain on the 29th, the day of the engagements at Allen's Farm, the Peach Orchard, and Savage's Station. The night of the battle of Malvern Hill, July 1st, the rain poured in torrents and so continued through the next day. Thereafter until the army left the Peninsula for Washington, from August 10th to August 20th, the days were almost alternately hot, rainy and pleasant; the nights invariably cool.

The defeat of the Confederates at Fair Oaks greatly demoralized them. Their military men were disconcerted and Davis and his cabinet were greatly alarmed. It was believed that naturally McClellan would follow up the victory. All the church bells of Richmond rang wild alarms calling out the able-bodied citizens to be organized as militia and home guards for the defense of the city against the supposed attack. The citizens of Richmond were recommended to leave the city and go to safer places in the state, and the Legislature of Virginia, then in session, appropriated \$200,000 to aid them in fleeing to cities of refuge. Fitz John Porter, McClellan's closest confidante, urged the commander to attack Lee's outer line of works, held by shaken troops, while he would come down on their flank from Mechanicsville way. But the proposition was at once rejected. Meanwhile many citizens had fled from

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Richmond and many of the public records were sent away. Mrs. Jefferson Davis had been sent under escort of Senator Wigfall to North Carolina.

And all this had been accomplished by the Second Corps, under command of General Sumner, whose prompt forward march to Fair Oaks had resulted in the Union success. And he was past 65 years of age.

CHAPTER XVI.

DOWN THE PENINSULA TO HARRISON'S LANDING.

GENERAL Lee at first expected McClellan to attack him. After some days Lee, having received re-inforcements from Charleston and elsewhere, determined to himself take the offensive and renew the attack on the Union army, notwithstanding the ill success of Johnston at Fair Oaks.

He wanted to learn the exact situation in McClellan's rear, to the east of the Chickahominy, and he sent Gen. Jeb. Stuart to inspect and report. With some 1,200 cavalry and two light cannon, Stuart started on the 13th of June to ride around McClellan's army. He rode north from Richmond, crossed the upper Chickahominy, skirted McClellan's line in the rear, rendezvoused at Hanover C. H., and with detachments of three regiments of Virginia cavalry—the 1st, 4th and 9th—swept southeast to Tunstall's Station and Garlick's Landing on the Pamunkey. At Tunstall's he burned the railroad station and some supplies; at Carlick's he killed some soldiers and teamsters and burned two schooners laden with forage. Then he turned westward, crossed the Chickahominy below McClellan's army, and came up the James river road to Richmond. He reported that General McClellan's right and rear were unprotected by works of any strength. If General Lee desired to attack in that quarter, there was nothing in the natural situation to prevent.

Stuart's raid decided Lee to attack McClellan's divisions on the east side of the Chickahominy.

Lee had called all his available forces to him,

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including Stonewall Jackson, who had been doing splendid work for the Confederacy up in the Valley of Virginia.

Lee's plan contemplated that as soon as Jackson, by his maneuvers on the north bank of the Chickahominy, should have uncovered the passage of the stream north of Richmond, at the Mechanicsville and Meadow Bridges, his divisions on the south side should cross and join Jackson's column. Then the united army would sweep down the north side of the Chickahominy towards the York river and eventually lay hold of McClellan's line of communications at the White House. (Lee's report, War Recs., Vol. 11, part 2.)

On the afternoon of Thursday, June 26, Gen. A. P. Hill and his division crossed the Chickahominy at Meadow Bridge, high up the Chickahominy, west of Mechanicsville, swept down and captured the Mechanicsville Bridge—driving away the regiment and battery guarding it—and then the Divisions of Longstreet and Dan Hill crossed and joined with A. P. Hill. At once the three divisions marched down the north bank of the Chickahominy for two miles, when they encountered part of Fitz John Porter's Corps in position on Beaver Dam creek, a small stream flowing southward into the Chickahominy, but big enough for Porter's purpose.

The fight was a glorious victory for General Porter. The Confederates charged his position again and again, and each time were repulsed. Their losses were heavy. In some instances the killing was fearfully sickening. The Confederates retired a little after dark.

At 4 o'clock on the morning of the 27th McClellan ordered Porter to retire to Gaines' Mill and take up another position, and Porter did so. Here at

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12:30 he was attacked and the battle of Gaines' Mill (or Chickahominy or Cold Harbor as the Confederates called it) was fought. It was a bloody victory for the Confederates.

Porter had a good position and fought desperately. But the heavy and repeated charges on the weakest part of his lines defeated him. The Union troops retired fighting (except at one point) turning from time to time to beat back the enemy. General Porter rode among his men in the thickest of the fight. When they were retreating he said to those of Morrell's Division: "Retreat like men; don't run like sheep." He fought from half past 12 until half past 8, or eight good long hours.

Porter's loss at Gaines' Mill was large in prisoners taken when the Confederates swept over the lines and when the wounded were abandoned on the field. He had 894 killed, 3,107 wounded, 2,836 missing; total, 6,837.

On the Confederate side the total estimated loss was 7,784.

The total Confederate missing did not amount to more than 300, so that the aggregate of killed and wounded was about 7,800 Confederates to 4,000 on the Union side.

Yet Porter lost 14 pieces of artillery and was driven from the field and so Gaines' Mill was a Confederate victory. That night Porter was called to McClellan's headquarters, which had been removed to the west side of the Chickahominy, near the upper Grapevine Bridge, at the two-story house of Dr. Trent. Here all the Corps' commanders had been summoned. McClellan announced to them that he had determined to retire southward with the whole army to Harrison's Landing, on the James River, where he could receive supplies and have the protec-

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tion of the gunboats. He said it was dangerous for Porter to remain longer on the north bank of the Chickahominy, and he was ordered to withdraw to the south bank and destroy the bridges after him. The plans to retreat to the James River were then explained and orders given for their execution.

With the transfer of the right wing, now only Porter's Corps, to the south side of the Chickahominy, the Army of the Potomac turned its back on the Confederate capital and the army defending it, and all the high hopes that they would be captured, which the loyal people of the country had so fondly held, were blasted. Porter withdrew his corps the night of the battle of Gaines' Mill, by the assistance of French's and Meagher's brigades, which Sumner had sent, and crossed the Chickahominy by New Bridge safely. Some of Sykes' regulars were the extreme rear guard and burned the bridge next morning at daylight.

The Confederates strongly believed that McClellan would renew the battle at Gaines' Mill the next morning and they feared the result, so severely had they suffered. A council of officers was held the night of the battle and Dr. Dabney in his life of Stonewall Jackson, p. 473, says: "After many painful details of losses and disasters, they all concurred in declaring that McClellan would probably take the aggressive in the morning and that the Confederate army could not resist him."

But the next morning McClellan was retreating.

McClellan's line of retreat toward his proposed new base on the lower James passed between that river and the Chickahominy. South from the Williamsburg road and the West Point railroad it crossed the big White Oak Swamp, heretofore mentioned. This swamp headed just south of the Seven

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Pines, ran southeast for about nine miles to White Oak Bridge, then turned to the northeast for four miles and emptied into the Chickahominy two miles below Bottom's Bridge. It was a deep marsh in the woods, and was from half a mile to a mile wide. Through the center ran a considerable stream which was its drain or outlet. This stream had no banks. Numerous roads crossed the swamp in various directions, but it was seldom passable by them. McClellan's main line of retreat was over a good road and bridge and the Confederates could not flank it.

Keyes' Fourth Corps, which had been stationed on the northern margin of White Oak Swamp, was naturally given the advance of the retrograde march. By noon of the 28th, it had seized strong positions on the south side of the swamp to cover the passage of its comrade Corps and their impedimenta. Then followed McClellan's long train of 5,000 wagons and a herd of 2,500 beef cattle, all of which had to traverse that great morass by a single narrow road. The passage was successfully accomplished, however, in 24 hours. The night of the 28th Fitz John Porter's Fifth Corps was heading for the swamp en route to the new base.

Meanwhile, in order to allow the trains and the cattle to get well on their way, Sumner's Second, Heintzelman's Third and "Baldy" Smith's Division of Franklin's Sixth Corps had been ordered to remain on the Richmond side of the White Oak Swamp during the whole day and until after dark of the 29th. Their positions were arranged to cover the roads from Richmond and also Savage's Station on the Railroad.

General Lee soon discovered that McClellan was retreating, but he was not certain by what route. McClellan could throw all his force across the north

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side of the Chickahominy and fall back by way of the York River railroad and the White House, or he might retreat down the Peninsula over the same route by which General Johnston, in May, had retreated up the Peninsula. But he had chosen neither of these lines. And so when on the 28th Lee threw out Ewell's Division and Stuart's Cavalry to seize the York River Railroad, he had his trouble for his pains. For McClellan had abandoned his line of supplies by the York River railroad two days before. A great part of the stores at West Point had been sent to Savage Station, and the rest burned; the water transportation had been sent from the White House around and up the James River. General Casey conducted proceedings at the White House, and it was during the conflagration which consumed the Union stores there that the White House itself, owned by Mrs. General Lee, was burned. General Casey said he did not know who set the house on fire and that it was "against my express orders." (War Recs., Vol. 11, part 2, p. 483.)

Upon learning definitely the route McClellan was taking, Sunday morning, May 29, General Lee put all his columns in pursuit on parallel roads. Magruder and Huger were ordered out from Richmond to follow up on the Williamsburg and Charles City roads, the latter leading southeast below White Oak Swamp: Longstreet and the Hills were to hurry across the Chickahominy at New Bridge and move by flank routes near the James and try to intercept the retreat; Stonewall Jackson, crossing the Chickahominy at the Grapevine Bridge, was to sweep down the left bank of the river, crossing White Oak Swamp near its mouth and get on McClellan's left flank. (War Recs.; Swinton, p. 155; Cooke, Life of Lee, p. 89.)

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Early on the morning of Saturday, June 28, the wagons of the Union army, laden with supplies, began moving south.

In the afternoon the Minnesota men were ordered to pack up and get ready to move. At night even the shelter tents were packed and the boys bivouacked in the open air; there was no telling what moment the order to march would be given. At about 4 o'clock next morning, (Sunday, June 29), the order came.

There were some unpleasant features connected with the movement. The breastworks and fortifications which had cost much time and labor to build, and which were well nigh impregnable, were abandoned. The sick and disabled were sent to the general hospital at Savage Station, and surgeons and ample medical stores were left with them.

Scarcely had McClellan's movement to the rear begun when the Confederates on the Chickahominy side were upon him. At Golding's farm two miles north of Fair Oaks, W. F. Smith's brigades, of Franklin's Sixth Corps, were stationed. The Confederates could cannonade them from Gaines' Mill battle ground. Gen. D. R. Jones' Confederate Division crossed the river and the Seventh and Eighth Georgia regiments charged on the Thirty-third New York of Davidson's and the Forty-ninth Pennsylvania of Hancock's Brigade, which were on picket line, and the Georgians got badly licked. They lost over 100 killed and wounded and Colonel Lamar, Lieutenant-Colonel Tower, and 50 officers and men were taken prisoners. The Minnesotians heard the sound of this fight and knew the Confederates would give them trouble shortly.

CHAPTER XVII.

ALLEN'S FARM, OR THE PEACH ORCHARD.

VERY early on that Sunday morning, General Sumner began the lead of his Corps eastward from and near Fair Oaks, on a parallel road with the York River road, in the direction of Savage's Station. At Allen's Farm, some two miles east of Fair Oaks, the Corps halted and made a temporary bivouac. There was trouble in the rear. The Confederates were following closely.

General Magruder had run out of his works in front of Richmond the moment he heard the Federal troops were retreating. He had five brigades under Generals Robert Toombs, Howell Cobb, J. B. Kershaw, Paul Semmes and Richard Griffith, and several batteries. He also had what was called a "railroad battery," which was a 32-pound rifled cannon with a sloping iron shield in front and mounted on a flat car which was moved by a locomotive over the York River road out from Richmond. This gun was in charge of a Lieutenant Barry, and made to do good service.

Coming up with Burns' Brigade, which was the rear guard, at Allen's Farm, Magruder at once attacked, with Griffith's and Kershaw's Brigades in front and the railroad battery well advanced. The little fighting done was in a peach orchard on the Allen farm, which comprised a part of the Fair Oaks battlefield. General Griffith was killed and perhaps 20 more Confederates.

Tompkins' (Battery A, First Rhode Island) marched with the brigade from Fair Oaks to Allen's Farm, or the Peach Orchard, and went into position

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to the right of the Nineteenth Massachusetts, of Dana's Brigade. The First Minnesota supported this Battery during the principal part of the action until the battery itself was divided.

On the Union side, the fighting at the Peach Orchard was done principally by the batteries and Burns' Brigade, of Sedgwick's Division. The Seventy-First Pennsylvania (the "California Regiment") did the greater part of the infantry fighting. General Sumner was on the field and had charge of the Union side of it. He delayed Magruder's advance for about three hours.

At this time General Gorman had been stricken with malarial fever and Colonel Sully was commanding his brigade. Lieut-Col. Stephen Miller had command of the First Minnesota. The Fifteenth Massachusetts had been sent forward to Savage's Station, with Meagher's Brigade of Richardson's Division, to destroy the immense stocks of stores which had to be abandoned. The remainder of the Corps soon followed.

The amount of stores which McClellan was forced to destroy at Savage's Station was something enormous. They were largely ordnance stores, but there were all kinds. Some trains were loaded with ordnance and then exploded; others were loaded, set on fire, and run eastward to Bottom Bridge, where they plunged, locomotive, cars and all into the Chickahominy.

The fighting at the Peach Orchard (or Allen's Farm) was not very serious on the Union side. In two hours General Sumner was on his way to Savage's Station and Magruder was closing up his ranks to follow.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE BATTLE OF SAVAGE'S STATION.

IT will be understood that at noon on that Sunday, June 29, all the Union Corps were retreating southward toward McClellan's new base. Porter's and Keyes' were across White Oak Swamp and well on their way. Sumner's, Franklin's and Heintzelman's were marching toward the Swamp.

Sumner's Second Corps, with the First Minnesota, arrived at Savage's Station at about 2 P. M. The situation topographically cannot well be described without a map. On the north side of the railroad there was a cleared field full of hospital tents, laid out in rows, each tent containing 15 to 20 men on comfortable, clean cots, with the necessary surgeons and attendants.

South of the railroad and between it and the Williamsburg stage road was another clearing. East of this clearing was a ravine running obliquely across the railroad, its edges skirted by trees, and the ravine itself filled with undergrowth. This latter clearing was nearly square and nearly half mile in length and breadth. In front of the brushy ravine were some small hills which made fine shelter for the troops. West of the clearing was more timber, and here Sumner and Franklin thought (for some time) that Heintzelman was lying with his corps. On the left or south of the Williamsburg road was timber also, and here was Gen. "Baldy" Smith' of Franklin's Corps in position; General Franklin's other Division, General Slocum's, was across White Oak Swamp.

Sumner's Corps took position in the clearing between the Williamsburg road and the railroad. Burns'

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Brigade, of Sedgwick's was in front, Sully's and Dana's behind it. Richardson's three brigades were farther to the rear but more to the right. Pettit's, Hazzard's and Osborn's batteries were posted towards the left, near the front of the brushy ravine. (War Recs.)

It rained a little at intervals, but generally the day was hot and sultry and wore away slowly but excitedly as the men waited either to be attacked by Magruder's forces during the day, or when night came to start for the White Oak Bridge.

About 4:30 Magruder's advance appeared in front of the Union pickets at Savage's Station. It pushed Kemper's Alexandria (Va.) Battery well forward and opened on the Union position suddenly and savagely. The artillery car halted in a cut of the railroad a little distance from the station and began to shell Sumner's Corps in the clearing. General Franklin relates (Batts. and Leads. p. 373.) that he and General Sedgwick were looking for General Heintzelman when the Confederate guns opened on them so startlingly that they had great difficulty in riding away with the dignity and deliberation due to brigadiers! The infantry soon were in support of the artillery.

The Confederate force was commanded by General Magruder and Gen. Lafayette McLaws in person. It consisted of five brigades. Those that did the fighting were Kershaw's, Semmes' and the Seventeenth and Twenty-first Mississippi of Barksdale's (formerly Griffith's); the artillery consisted of Capt. Del. Kemper's, Alexandria Battery, of Kershaw's Brigade; Moody's Louisiana of Toombs' Brigade, and Brown's Wise (Va.) Artillery, and Hart's Washington (S. C.) Artillery of Colonel Anderson's Brigade. Toombs' Cobb's, and Anderson's infantry were in line north of

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the railroad but took no part in the battle.

The Union troops engaged were Sedgwick's three brigades—Sully's, Burns', a part of Dana's—and Brooks' Vermont brigade of W. F. Smith's Division of the Sixth Corps. Yet nearly all the fighting was done by Sully's and Burns' Brigades and the three batteries, so that it was a fair fight, with the actual contending forces about equal.

General Sumner had been up nearly all the night before and had been very busy during that Sunday morning. About 3:30 P. M. he lay down for a little rest at the Station and was soon sound asleep. He was "dead to the world" when the firing began and General Franklin so found him and awakened him. The old warrior, accustomed to all sorts of surprises and always ready for any emergency, sprang to his feet, called for his horse, and in less than five minutes was galloping to the firing line.

Kershaw's South Carolinians were advancing and peppering away at the Union skirmishers. General Sumner rode into Burns' Brigade and quickly sent two of its regiments forward nearly half a mile to hold the woods between the Williamsburg road and the railroad. Kershaw's men were advancing through these woods. General Burns saw that his two regiments were in danger of being flanked and he called for his other two regiments to protect his left.

The First Minnesota was in front of them. "Take the Minnesota men up first and let the Pennsylvania regiments follow," ordered Sumner.* Colonel Miller took the regiment into the fight. It arrived in good time, before the enemy attacked him formidably,

*"The First Minnesota, of Gorman's Brigade, being most handy, was first sent, my two reserve regiments following."—General Burns in *Battles and Leaders*, Vol 2, p. 374.

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says General Burns. It was thrown into the woods across the Williamsburg road, with the left companies retired a little to protect the flank.

General Burns saw that even with the Minnesotians his line was not long enough to confront the enemy. So he hurried up his two reserve regiments.

Before these regiments could get up, the firing began, Kershaw's infantry opening in good style. The Confederate batteries had been at work playing with shot and shell on the field as the troops crossed it. The First Minnesota men kept well in line, loaded and fired rapidly, and did good execution. No thought of giving way now. Semmes' Brigade had been at work on the extreme left of the Union line, where Brooks' Vermonter's were, but it was now moved up to help Kershaw's.

During the Seven Days' Battles fully one-third of the Confederates were armed with smooth-bore muskets which fired a cartridge composed of a round ball and three buckshot, a most effective weapon at short range. Nearly all the rifled muskets they had were Enfields, imported from England, and Union Springfields, picked up on battlefields.

There were two weak points in General Burns' position, the center and the Williamsburg road. Two more regiments were needed to fill these gaps and they were sent for. Before they could come Kershaw charged the center with the Second, Third and Seventh South Carolina. They shot General Burns' in the face with a minie ball, killed Captain McGonigle, of Baxter's Seventy-second Pennsylvania, forced through to the fence surrounding the cleared fields, and waved their flags across the rail panels. But neither Burns' regiments nor the First Minnesota offered to run, though their line was cut in two, but kept on fighting. The "First" was under heavy fire

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and lost many men in killed and wounded.

General Sumner: Here he comes to the rescue: He is a second Blucher, the old "Marshall Forwards," who at 71, in 1813, led the charge of the Prussian cavalry that defeated Macdonald with the French chasseurs at the Katzbach. When Burns sent the third time for help, the old hero seized the first two regiments he saw, and they happened to be Colonel Baker's Eighty-eighth New York, of Meagher's Brigade, and the Fifth New Hampshire, of Caldwell's. These he led forward in person, waving his hat as a flag, his good gray head held proudly, his eyes full of battle light, his gray hair and beard blowing backward in the wind.* How those Irish in the Eighty-eighth New York did yell! Arriving at the firing line, the two fresh regiments, by General Sumner's shouted order, charged into the woods and speedily drove back the picked troops of the Palmetto State, the chivalry of Charleston, the very first troops of the state to volunteer. At the same time Kemper's battery went back with a rush.

Then here came the remaining regiments of Sully's Brigade. The Fifteenth Massachusetts relieved the One Hundred and Sixth Pennsylvania and the Twentieth Massachusetts replaced Baxter's Seventy-second. Colonel Hudson's Eighty-second New York was the first to arrive, and it was sent to fill the gap in the line. But it wouldn't stay behind, and rushed on with its comrade regiments as long as it could see a "Johnny" with a gun in his hand.

The Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania was sent to the left of the First Minnesota, though it was all over now but the shouting and a great deal of that was being done. Semmes' Brigade seemed to want a share of

*See Franklin's article, Battles and Leaders, Vol 2, p. 373.

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what Kershaw's was receiving so it came up in front of the First Minnesota and the Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania and got it. Then it went off after Kershaw's Brigade.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE RETREAT ACROSS WHITE OAK SWAMP.

HALF an hour after the fight was over at Savage's Station, and darkness had settled down thick and black over the scene, General Sumner having received no order to the contrary, wished to remain and further test the strength of the enemy without—or before—crossing White Oak Swamp in further retreat, but General Franklin, under General McClellan's order, moved on to close up on the retiring Union Army and this compelled General Sumner to do likewise.

The *Compte de Paris*, in his *History* says: "It required a positive order from General McClellan to determine Sumner to cross the White Oak Swamp." General Walker, in his "History of the Second Army Corps," p. 70, says: "The approach of night on the 29th found Sumner victorious and happy, Magruder having been completely repulsed and driven off the ground. The old general was well content with his position and would have been willing to stay there a week. His blood was up, and of his own motion he was little likely to take a backward step."

The First Minnesota never forgot that night march across White Oak Swamp.

After crossing the swamp at White Oak Bridge, the regiment marched about two miles and halted. The night march was attended with casualties. Stragglers! For some unaccountable reason many of the Union soldiers fell out of ranks in the darkness and cast themselves down by the roadsides, where they were picked up the next morning by the pursuing Confederates. Gen. Dan Hill says his divi-

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sion picked up 1,000 of these stragglers and they had to spend long terms in Confederate prisons. On the muster rolls these fellows were reported as "missing in action at Savage's Station," along with their faithful comrades who were really captured against their will.

Stonewall Jackson came up to White Oak Bridge about 11 o'clock and essayed to cross it to the south side, where the divisions of "Baldy" Smith and Sedgwick with General Franklin in command barred the way.

The situation now was this: Jackson, Ewell and Dan Hill were following directly after McClellan's retreating army. Longstreet and A. P. Hill—and with them General Lee—were coming down the Union right flank over the Charles City road; they had come to the west of the White Oak Swamp, and had not been troubled by crossing that great morass, having kept it to their left flank all the way down. They were straining every nerve to cut in two McClellan's retreating line—which was now the Quaker road—and capture the rear half, Sumner's and Franklin's Corps and part of Heintzelman's. To this end they strove to throw themselves across the Quaker road at a locality called Glendale and intercept the three Corps named, while Jackson and Hill should come up in the rear and help effect their capture and destruction. The First Minnesota did its full share in preventing this casualty.

Jackson came up to the north end of White Oak Bridge and sent Munford with the cavalry to see if the swamp could be crossed elsewhere. The jaded Union troops had been massed on the ground beyond the Swamp without any attempt at concealment or to form them in order. All, fairly numb with fatigue,

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had thrown themselves on the ground and had fallen soundly asleep.

Suddenly 31 pieces of cannon opened on them from the Confederate side of the Swamp. For awhile there was a scene of dire confusion, enlivened, however by some ridiculous and laughable incidents, resulting from the big scare. The fighting at White Oak Swamp was almost altogether by the artillery. It was hot and heavy for half an hour, and was resumed at intervals during the day.

Up the stream, perhaps two miles, from White Oak Bridge was Brackett's ford, where the Swamp was crossable sometimes, but was not in very good condition now. Munford's Virginia cavalry, hunting for other crossings than the White Oak Bridge, came upon Brackett's Ford, which some of them crossed, though General Franklin says they "retired much faster than they advanced." General Franklin at once saw the perilous condition at Brackett's Ford. Jackson might cross a part of his force there, join Longstreet and Hill, and turn the Union right flank.

So Franklin sent to General Sumner for re-inforcements and Sumner sent him Sully's and Dana's Brigades. General Sully was sick and stayed behind, but his brigade including the First Minnesota, was temporarily in charge of General Dana. When the two brigades got up to command Brackett's Ford, the Confederates made no further attempt to cross. Southern critics have scored Stonewall Jackson because he didn't push across at all hazards.

There was nothing for the First Minnesota to do at Brackett's but to keep in line and ready to spring to action in a moment. But this was enough. The Confederates with their field glasses could see the situation, and knew that if they attempted to cross the attempt would be a bloody failure.

CHAPTER XX.

THE BATTLE OF GLENDALE.

WHILE General Jackson was trying to cross White Oak Swamp and General Franklin (the First Minnesota helping) was preventing him, there was "something doing" about two miles to the southeast. Longstreet and A. P. Hill had come up over the Charles City road, running southeast from Richmond to Charles City, where that road was crossed by the Quaker road running southward from Glendale, southwest of White Oak Bridge. The road from New Market northeast to Glendale also crossed here. The cross roads was on the farm of a Mr. Frayser, but just south of his farm, on the Quaker road, and near the Willis Southern Methodist church, was the farm of a Mr. Nelson. The battle fought here this day appears in history by at least five names—Glendale, Frayser's Farm, Nelson's Farm, Charles City Cross Roads, and the Quaker Road; rarely it is called the "action near Willis's Church."

The position at the cross roads was defended by the Union Divisions of McCall, of Porter's Corps, and Kearney's of Heintzelman's. McCall was in the center and Kearney was at his right. Sumner's Corps at some distance to McCall's left and rear. Hooker's Division of Heintzelman was on Sumner's left. McCall's Division (Pennsylvania Reserves) was formed at right angles, facing west, across the New Market road and parallel, or north and south, with the Quaker road. This Division had to sustain the brunt of the attack, which was a very formidable and determined one.

Longstreet and Hill opened the attack at about

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3. P. M., while Jackson was booming away trying to cross White Oak Swamp. Longstreet was on the right and Hill in reserve on the left. General Lee directed the battle, and Jeff Davis was also on the field during the fight. Each Division had six strong bridges with plenty of artillery. The fight lasted until after dark. The Union forces managed to hold the position, but it was a hard job. MeCall's Division suffered severely. Its loss in killed and wounded, and even prisoners, was heavy. Cooper's Pennsylvania and Randol's First U. S. Batteries were captured; Gen. Geo. G. Meade was severely wounded. Just after dark General MeCall ran into some Confederates in a road in a fine wood. "What troops are these?" asked the general. "General Field's," was the answer. "General Field? I don't know him," returned the general. "Quite likely, mister; he don't belong to your side." In another moment General MeCall was a prisoner. His staff tried to ride away, but were fired on and Captain Biddle, who was MeCall's adjutant general, was killed.

The result of the battle of Glendale, was favorable to the Union army. Longstreet and Hill failed to cut it in two. Its rear guard was safe and could keep on retreating to the James River. True, it had lost two good batteries and hundreds of good men; but its regiments had fought bravely, even desperately and gloriously, and much honor was theirs.

The First Minnesota in the battle of Glendale was under fire and held a prominent position. The Regiment was always ready. Its year of service had seasoned and experienced it and it was most effective. Its two fights at Fair Oaks and Savage's Station had tried it in the fire and it had come forth tempered for work.

About 5 o'clock in the afternoon, when the Regi-

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ment, with Sully's and Dana's Brigades, was lying at Brackett's, keeping back Jackson and Dan Hill, things were going badly with the Union forces that were contending with Longstreet and A. P. Hill. General Sumner sent for Sully's and Dana's Brigades and directed that they march at quick time to the rescue. The march of a mile and a half was made in good time, a part of the way at the "double quick."

Arriving on the field, Sully's Brigade was put on the extreme right of Sedgwick's Division, in the rear of the center of McCall and Kearney's line, and almost directly behind Taylor's Brigade, of Franklin. The Confederate commands directly confronting were the brigades of Wilcox and Featherston. Heavy firing was in progress and the First Minnesota, exhausted by its long, hot running, lay down to recover breath and to avoid the swarms of bullets passing over the heads of the men. They could not return the fire, for their comrades of Taylor's Brigade were between them and the enemy.

Finally the men were given a chance. A portion of McCall's line had been receiving the concentrated fire of Wilcox's Alabamians and Featherston's Mississippians and being nearly out of ammunition, was retiring. The men of Seymour's Pennsylvania Brigade were retreating in disorder and fast going to pieces. Colonel Sully, who had remained on the field all day, tried hard to rally them. Colonel Sully asked General Sumner: "What can I do, General?" Instantly the old general answered: "Do? There'll be plenty for you to do in a minute, Colonel. I've sent for your Brigade and it's coming on the double quick, and it is near here now. I want you to put it into that gap and drive back the rebels. Leave your First Minnesota in reserve in case it is needed."

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Then came the Minnesotians, the last in the line, and as soon as they had "recovered their wind," General Dana took charge of them and led them forward to fill up the gap, saying to General Sumner: "I will place my old regiment, General." As the men passed the old general he called out: "Boys, I may not see all of you again, but I know you will hold that line." (Lochren.)

And they did hold it. Luckily it was not a very hard job. Wileox's and Featherston's men were about "all in," and Kearney and Hooker made a flank attack upon Longstreet and made him pause and order A. P. Hill, with a reserve, to the rescue. Very soon the firing slackened on their part, and then the Minnesotians ceased, and darkness closed the conflict. General Longstreet, in "Battles and Leaders," p. 401: "The battle was continued until we encountered succor from the corps of Generals Sumner and Heintzelman. * * * Finally McCall's Division was driven off, but fresh troops came in to their relief. * * * We did not occupy all the field until we advanced in pursuit the next day."

Only a few men of the First Minnesota were wounded at Glendale. Among them was Capt. Wm. Colville, of the Red Wing Company. He was shot in the left breast, and the wound was severe; but he was such a Spartan that according to Lochren he gave no sign of being hurt. He quietly turned over the command of his company to his senior lieutenant, saying, "I am wounded," and left for the rear. Next morning he was heard from in the field hospital at Malvern Hill, whither he had walked, unaided, the evening before.

In an important respect the battle of Glendale was a Union victory. Longstreet and Hill failed to cut the line of the retreating forces, to destroy their

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trains, or to bring general confusion upon them. They captured two Union batteries, but their loss in killed and wounded was the equal of the Union loss. That night and early the next morning Sumner's and Heintzelman's Corps and Franklin's single Division (Smith's) of his Corps, and all the trains passed on unmolested and in due time reached Malvern Hill, but on the way the regiment was pounded by an enemy battery, wounding and rendering unmanageable Major Morgan's horse.

At Glendale, as the regiment was about to move forward in support of the Union line it was ordered to throw their knapsacks in a pile to relieve them on their double quick forward movement, and assured that a guard would protect them, but on returning no knapsacks were found. This was a most grievous loss. It was stated that they had been burned, but were probably looted by other troops or stragglers.

CHAPTER XXI.

MALVERN HILL.

WHEN General McClellan began his retreat from in front of Richmond, he directed General Couch, of Keyes' Corps, and Gen. Fitz John Porter, then just across the Chickahominy from Gaines' Mill, to repair to the lower James and select a defensive point behind which the army could retire in safety to Harrison's Landing. The point selected was Malvern Hill. At nearly the same time General Lee concluded that McClellan needed Malvern Hill and had designs upon it, and the Confederate commander at once dispatched General Holmes with 6,000 men to seize and occupy the Hill in advance of the Union forces.

The advance of General Porter's command did not reach Turkey Creek just below Malvern Hill, until 9 o'clock on the morning of the 30th. Porter was up in good time, but had not much to spare.

At 11 o'clock General Holmes came up. He might have taken the Hill then, for only 1,500 Union troops were upon it; but he hung around until 3 o'clock, when he attacked Warren's Brigade and the 11th U. S., in all 1,500 men, with 30 pieces of artillery. The latter were under Colonel Hunt, chief of artillery, who had not attempted to mask them but had placed them where General Holmes did not see them.

General Porter was an accomplished engineer, and his selection of Malvern Hill as a defensive position has always been approved by both Union and Confederate commanders. Porter now put upon and around the hill, at points where they would do the most good, the three Divisions of his own Corps.

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McCall's (now commanded by General Seymour), Morell's, and Sykes,' Hunt's 100 pieces of reserve artillery, including Tyler's Connecticut siege guns; and also Couch's Division, which was sent two miles below to Haxall's, on the James. At dark, however, Couch was sent back to Glendale, seven miles, to reinforce the retiring troops under Sumner and Franklin. At 2 o'clock on the morning of July 1 Couch returned to Malvern Hill and later was given charge of the Union firing line. McCall's Division was in reserve in front of the Malvern House.

Malvern Hill was named for the estate to which it belonged. The Malvern House (or simply Malvern) was a story-and-a-half dwelling erected in Colonial times. It was built of imported English brick of a dark but vivid red. A frame addition on the west end of the building was placed in about 1820. The house is upon the crest of a hill facing south. North of the house for half a mile is the plateau called Malvern Hill. At the north end of this tableland the hill dips down into a meadow or flat land. On the crest of this latter hill and part way down its north side the Union batteries were placed. The infantry was partly behind them and partly between them. Back, just north of the Malvern House, were the ten big Connecticut siege guns. The Confederates assaulted the Union position at the north end, coming over the meadow, the wheat fields and the flat lands and trying to climb the hills where the batteries were.

At the extreme left of the Union battery line, just west of the Quaker road, was the Crew House; directly west from Crew's, just across the Quaker road, on the east side, was the West House. On the extreme right of the Union battery line was the house of J.

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W. Binford; half a mile south was the house of his brother, G. Binford.

On the morning of July 1 came Sumner's two and Heintzelman's two Divisions and went into position in the rear of Porter's battle line. The line was being formed as the First Minnesota came up to Turkey Creek. The position of Sully's Brigade and that of the Regiment was changed several times. At first it was well up to the front and near the center of the Union line, when the enemy was shelling the position—"feeling it," is the expression. This was about 10 o'clock. The shells burst well over the Brigade and the fragments wounded a few of the men. At noon Sully's Brigade was moved to the rear and marched some distance to the right of the Malvern plateau, to the right-rear of the battle line and of Smith's Division. The Minnesota station was in G. Binford's oatfield and northeast of his house.

The advance of the Confederate army came up on the Quaker or Willis Church Road and also on the Richmond branch of the Long Bridge road at about 9:30 o'clock. After reconnoitering the field, General Lee determined at once to attack. He had but little doubt of success. He felt that McClellan was badly demoralized and he thought his army was as badly off as its commander. So confident was he of success that he kept the greater part of Longstreet's and A. P. Hill's commands back on the Richmond road and they took little part in the fight.*

The Confederates cannonaded the Union position for a time and late in the afternoon assaulted. The assault was bravely made by Stonewall Jackson's command, and by D. H. Hill's, Magruder's, and

*"It was his belief in the demoralization of the Federal army that made our leader risk the attack."—D. H. Hill, in *Battles and Leaders*.

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Huger's Divisions. It was a horribly bloody failure. The Union artillery blew the assaulting lines to pieces at a distance and when they came closer the Union infantry shot the pieces to fragments. The Confederates estimated their loss at fully 6,000. General Longstreet writes: "We were repulsed at all points with fearful slaughter, losing 6,000 men and accomplishing nothing." (Battles and Leaders.)

The Union loss was never definitely ascertained. From partial reports it was estimated to be about 1,500 in killed, wounded, and missing. General Lee made the mistake that he repeated at Gettysburg, and that Burnside made at Fredericksburg, in attacking a naturally difficult position which is amply and well defended.

The victory was Fitz John Porter's. He placed his men and guns and commanded generally in the fight; his lieutenant, General Couch, took charge of the firing line. He rode among the men who were lying in reserve behind the front lines and were getting killed and wounded without being able to fire a shot, and he encouraged them to hold on a little longer. He even rode among the batteries when they were working. Bullets passed through his clothes but he was unhit. Before the fight began Sumner conferred with him and just as it commenced brought up Caldwell's Brigade, saying to Porter: "You may need it; and there are more where it came from."

Later in the fight, when it seemed that his extreme left under Morell, near the Crew house, would be driven back, Porter asked Sumner for another brigade, and was sent Meagher's Irish, who went up at a double quick.

General Porter placed himself at the head of

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Meagher's Brigade and led it rapidly to the Crew house.

Finding that Griffin and Butterfield had at last checked the enemy, General Porter took the Irish Brigade and charged into the Confederate lines. Before starting he tore up his diary and dispatch book, lest he and they be captured—and this hasty action he long lamented. Fifty yards away the Brigade halted and received a terrific volley. It returned one of equal destructiveness. In a few minutes the Sixty-ninth and the Eighty-eighth New York charged again, broke up Semmes' Brigade, captured Lieut.-Colonel Waggaman, of the Tenth Louisiana, and a lot of his men, and drove the rest of the Brigade clear away. Meagher then held his position till midnight.

The Confederates were wont to attribute the success of the Union defense at Malvern Hill to the co-operation of the gunboats in the James river, only two miles away. The truth is the gunboats did more harm to the Union side than good. At the crisis of affairs on the Union left, when Meagher and Sickles were sent for, the gunboats—with the good intent of aiding General Porter, no doubt—opened fire on Malvern Hill. But their shot all landed among or close to Tyler's big guns near the Malvern House, killing and wounding some of Tyler's men. Probably the guns of the boats could not throw their projectiles farther, or the gunners may have thought Tyler's guns were the enemy's. At any rate the signal men dispatched the boats: "For God's sake stop firing," or there is no telling the damage they would have done. The large projectiles, which the Confederates called "lamp posts," and of which they complained, must have been thrown by Colonel Tyler's heavy guns.

General Porter was ordered to withdraw his own

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Corps and tell Sumner and Heintzelman to withdraw theirs, and to direct Couch to retire his Division and all move south to Harrison's Landing.

Harrison's Landing was only eight miles from Malvern and the Confederates had retired some miles to the northward; they were astonished when the scouts of Stuart's Cavalry brought word that the Federals had run away. The Confederates came back to the battlefield, gathered up prisoners, arms, and other spoil, and Lee followed McClellan to within sight of his new position.

All during the lightnings and thunders of that fearful death storm at Malvern Hill the First Minnesota lay in Binford's oatfield. Though the men were out of danger, they were nervous and excited and expected every minute to be called into the fight. They were ready and willing to go, and fully expected to be called upon. They were doing their duty faithfully, for "they also serve who only stand and wait."

Toward morning the Regiment was withdrawn and with the rest of Sedgwick's Division ascended to the Malvern plateau. Nobody there. Nobody anywhere on the field but the dead and wounded and their attendants. The rest had gone on to Harrison's Landing. The First Minnesota followed. It descended Malvern Hill down its steep face to the low ground along the James river. Then it set out to the southward over an indescribable roadway. Naturally it was a good road, but drenching rain had been falling since midnight and the preceding passage of so many, artillery, and wagons had reduced it to a great river of mud paste through which the men plunged and wallowed all the way to Harrison's Landing, the new base.

CHAPTER XXII.

AT HARRISON'S LANDING.

DURING the night of July 1 and on July 2 a copious rain fell throughout the lower James region, and when the columns arrived at Harrison's Landing all the ground was well soaked. Sedgwick's Division encamped in a wheat field in which the wheat was yet standing. This field was near the old mansion house called Berkeley, (local pronunciation Barkly) the historic home of the Harrison family. The house was built by Benjamin Harrison, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and here was born his son William Henry Harrison, afterwards President and grandfather of Benjamin Harrison, who also became President. The boat landing was named for Benj. Harrison, the first of the name. General McClellan established his headquarters in Berkeley, a great and ample two-story brick, then more than a hundred years old. Harrison's Landing was, in a direct line, about twenty miles southeast of Richmond; by the wagon roads it was farther.

The growing wheat was soon trampled into the soil, or cut and used as bedding to keep the men from the wet ground. Neither wood nor boards were to be had, and the men were very uncomfortable and many became diseased. One thing lightened the gloom. The men had been without food for 24 hours and the transports in the James landed plenty of good rations which were speedily issued.

The rain continued all night and the flimsy wheat straw floors were soon fairly afloat in pools of water. The soil was so soft that it would not hold the tent pins, and in the morning many of the tents were

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down, exposing the men to the pelting rain when already their beds were half sunk in the mud. At about 8 o'clock while some of the men were yet asleep, and others went growling and grumbling about, attempting to get some sort of a breakfast, the whole camp was startled by a sudden outburst of artillery fire, and shells came whistling over some of the Divisions. Jeb Stuart, the bold rebel raider, had slipped up and planted a howitzer of his battery (Pelham's) near Westover Church across Herring Creek, which flowed north of Harrison's Landing. The howitzer banged away till 2 o'clock, when it had exhausted its ammunition and a Union battery was in position to knock it out. Stuart retired, taking with him 30 mules and 134 prisoners, stragglers, which were coming towards camp from the rear. (McClellan's *Stuart's Campaigns*, p. 83.)

The army of the Potomac spent five rather uneventful weeks at Harrison's Landing, from the 2nd of July forward. The Fourth of July was celebrated by a parade and review of the army, and General McClellan thanked the soldiers for their gallant and good conduct throughout the campaign which had just closed.

On the 8th President Lincoln visited the army at Harrison's Landing and spent some time in examining the situation for himself and in conference with McClellan. On the 9th he, with Generals McClellan, Sumner, Sedgwick, and others, rode along the lines reviewing the troops.

On the 22d Sumner's Corps was formally reviewed by General McClellan, and the regiments in line carefully inspected. The next day General Sumner, in orders, complimented the First Minnesota and the Nineteenth Massachusetts, of Dana's Brigade, as the two model regiments of the Corps.

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On the 28th General Lee sent Gen. Dan H. Hill down the west side of the James to reconnoiter General McClellan's position at Harrison's Landing, across the river. As a result of his reconnaissance, General Hill put French's Confederate Division, with 41 pieces of artillery, in position at Coggins' Point, opposite Harrison's, and at midnight on the 31st all these cannon opened on the Union shipping and McClellan's camp. In the darkness the cannonading awakened everybody and caused a lot of ridiculous fright and consternation to the soldiers among whom the shells fell. A few were wounded, still fewer killed, and some horses were killed. The shipping was not much hurt. The gunboats returned the fire and soon drove the Confederates away. General French reported one man killed and three men wounded. The next morning General McClellan sent a force across the river, occupied and fortified Coggins' Point, which he ought to have done weeks before, and thereafter was not troubled from that quarter.

From August 2 to the 8th reconnaissances were made by Hooker's Division, of the Third Corps, Sedgwick's, of the Second, and other commands to and beyond Malvern Hill. Emory's Cavalry went back to the White Oak Swamp and skirmished with Wade Hampton's troopers.

Monday, Aug. 5, Sedgwick's Division, including the First Minnesota, and Hooker's, Kearney's, and Birney's Divisions, with Emory's Cavalry, went up on a big reconnaissance. The next morning they were on Malvern Hill battle ground, and Lee sent down Longstreets, McLaw's, Ripley's, and D. R. Jones' Divisions and Hampton's Cavalry to meet them. General Lee at first thought McClellan was advancing on Richmond, but McClellan said he was

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only trying to ascertain whether or not the Confederates had left Richmond and gone north against Pope's new army. There was some skirmishing with very slight damage to either side; unfortunately the Confederates captured a few prisoners who informed Lee what Union divisions were present. Baker's First North Carolina Cavalry and Young's Georgia Legion skirmished on Malvern Hill, but the important work was done with artillery. McClellan said he was satisfied that Richmond was "not evacuated." Lochren gives this account:

On August 4, our Division and some other infantry, with cavalry and artillery, moved by a circuitous route to the rear of Malvern Hill and advanced to that field the next day over the same road as when coming from Glendale. The rebels, after brief resistance, were driven from the field and we bivouacked on that part of the battle-field where the severest fighting between Porter's and Magruder's forces had taken place. The pits where the dead had been buried in piles had sunk and bones were protruding. We now hoped that this movement was the beginning of a new advance on Richmond.

On the 11th of July Gen. Henry W. Halleck, then at Corinth, Miss., was placed in chief command of the armies of the United States and on the 23d, at Washington, assumed his authority. On the 25th General Halleck too came to Harrison's Landing, saw the situation, talked with McClellan, and returned to Washington, "fully convinced," he said, that the Army of the Potomac had not done, and under General McClellan would not do, any good in front of Richmond, and that it should be brought away and its command given to another general.

Sickness broke out among the soldiers soon after

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their arrival at Harrison's Landing. The malaria of the Chickahominy swamps and the region about Richmond, and the malaria and miasma of the lower James, the midsummer heat, and the natural unhealthiness of army life, prostrated thousands. According to the report of Medical Director Letterman, (War Recs., Vol. 11, part 1, pp. 210-220) about 6,000 sick were sent away soon after the army reached Harrison's Landing, leaving 12,795 other sick in camp. July 30 there were 12,000 on the sick list, but of these 2,000 could do light duty in a few days and might be returned to their regiments.

It was at Harrison's Landing that the ambulances of the army were withdrawn from the direct but irregular oversight of the medical corps of the army, and organized into an Ambulance Corps, under officers assigned to that service. On the separate organization of this service Second Lieutenant Searles of Co. II was assigned to command the Ambulance Corps of the First Brigade, Second Division, Second Army Corps.*

*This officer was employed in so many different positions—both with and detached from the regiment—that it will be well to note them here.

On being appointed Second Lieutenant at Camp Stone, Jan. 10, 1862, he was appointed Acting Quartermaster of the regiment when it broke camp to accompany General Banks up the Shenandoah in the spring of 1862, and continued in that position until just before the battle of Fair Oaks, when he rejoined his company and there remained through the battles of Fair Oaks, Peach Orchard, Savage's Station, White Oak Swamp, Glendale and Malvern Hill.

At Harrison's Landing he was assigned, as already stated, to command the Ambulance Corps of the brigade and continued in that position until July 8, 1863, when he was commissioned First Lieutenant of Company K and assigned to command the Ambulance Corps of the Second Division, Second Army Corps.

He remained in that position until the regiment was sent to New York City during the riots, when he acted as adjutant of the regiment until the regiment rejoined

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This branch of the service comprised two ambulances for each regiment. These vehicles were spring wagons for two horses, having wide upholstered benches on each side of the box, with steps at the rear to get into them.

Each regiment detailed its quota of men to handle them—a driver and two men to handle a stretcher. These stretcher men were required to go on the battle field during an engagement and bring off the wounded and put them in the ambulances, which were then driven to the field hospital where the wounded were left to the care of surgeons.

On the march the ambulances furnished transportation for the sick and such men as the regimental surgeons gave permits for riding.

The men carried no arms, but were under fire in picking up the wounded. Their ambulance train on the march took position in line immediately following the troops.

its former brigade in the Army of the Potomac, and afterwards until after Bristow Station engagement. On Oct. 7, 1863, he was commissioned Captain of Company C and assigned to command the Ambulance Corps of the Second Army Corps and continued in that position until he rejoined the regiment as it was ordered home to be mustered out. In these various positions he was in all the battles and campaigns in which the regiment was engaged, although mostly on detached service.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ARMY LEAVES HARRISON'S LANDING.

ON THE 3d of August General Halleck telegraphed General McClellan: "It is determined to withdraw your army from the Peninsula to Aquia Creek. You will take immediate measures to effect this, covering the movement the best you can."

Striking across the country, the army got into the Williamsburg road, then passed down over Heintzelman's and Keyes route of three months before to old historic Williamsburg. From Williamsburg it went back to Yorktown, and from Yorktown to Newport News and Fortress Monroe. Here ships were taken for Aquia Creek and Alexandria. The Fifth and Third Corps embarked August 20 and 21; the Sixth three days later, and the Second (the First Minnesota's Corps) and the Fourth (except Peck's Division) August 26.

As fast as the first two Corps of the Army of the Potomac reached Alexandria they were pushed out to General Pope and placed under his command. Reynold's Division, of McCall's, joined him at Rappahannock Station as early as August 23, and Heintzelman's Third and Fitz John Porter's Fifth were at Warrenton Junction on the 26th and 27th. McClellan himself was retained at Washington with no other duties than to dispatch his troops to Pope.

Sumner's Second and Franklin's Sixth Corps arrived at Alexandria on the 27th and 28th. Sedgwick's Division of the Second, with the First Minnesota, arrived on the morning of the 28th and marched out about three miles in the direction of Fairfax Court House. Franklin's Corps was soon up.

CHAPTER XXIV.

VIENNA AND FLINT HILL.

MONDAY, September 1, when Pope's army was retreating from Centerville to Washington, Sumner's Corps was placed in the rear to cover the retreat. The First Minnesota was the extreme rear guard of that division of the retreating force which was retiring to Washington by way of Vienna. Now, Vienna is 15 miles west of Washington, six miles north of Fairfax Court House, and ten miles north-east of Centerville. It was not the nearest road to Washington but was followed to protect the left flank of the Union army.

The First Minnesota followed the army after dark and through the thick, sticky mud. The march was made through the night, and so slow was the progress that at daylight the command had proceeded but about four miles and was near Chantilly.

The regiment spent Tuesday, Sept. 2, with other troops, in camp near Chantilly. A cold rain had fallen the previous Sunday, while the battle was in progress and the roads were simply terrible. But all the same the main part of the army marched away for Washington and with it went such of the First Minnesota as were unable for duty. Loehren says the regiment was now reduced to 300 men. Two pieces of Tompkins' Battery, A, First Rhode Island, constituted the artillery of the rear guard.

Stuart's cavalry was hovering about the position and riding over the country generally. Detachments of these troopers, from Hampton's Brigade, swarmed about the position, firing at long range. Near sunset Hampton drove in the Minnesota pickets. The

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position was an exposed one, with nobody to defend it but the First Regiment and the two Rhode Island cannon. Colonel Sully retired the command some distance to the cover of a wood, where he took another position and threw out a strong line of skirmishers.

Hampton's cavalry followed and went into line in front of the wood. Pelham's Battery—the Stuart Horse Artillery—came into position and opened with grape and canister. Colonel Sully directed the Rhode Island Artillery section to retreat to a locality called Flint Hill, half a mile to the rear, and there take position in the road. Holding back the enemy until he thought the guns were in battery, the Colonel directed the men to break ranks and move as fast as they could until they reached them, and then re-form, with the guns as a center.

This movement was executed with celerity and in silence. The guns were planted in the middle of the road, near the crest of Flint Hill, and the wings of the Regiment were on either side, thrown forward like the letter V, with the opening towards the enemy, so as to partly envelop the troopers when they came up. In a little time the Confederates approached. Let Lochren complete the story:

“Silently we waited, but not long, for the rebel cavalry and artillery, finding the road clear, hurried on in pursuit, not discovering us until the advance was nearly at the muzzles of the two guns. Sully's challenge, ‘Who comes there?’ and the surprised response, ‘Who the devil are you?’ and a pistol shot from the rebel leader directed at Sully brought a volley of canister from the two pieces and musketry from the First Minnesota, which must have done fearful execution, judging from the cries, groans, curses,

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and commands, as those who were able dashed madly to the rear, hastened by a second volley from the guns and the Regiment, and during that night they troubled us no more.”

Having repulsed the Confederate pursuit, the Regiment resumed its march, and at this time it was a considerable distance behind the other troops. Near Vienna it met the Nineteenth Massachusetts, of Dana's Brigade, which had heard the firing at Flint Hill and was hastening back to help. Learning that the danger was over, it turned about, and the two regiments began again the march toward Washington.

Having passed through the little village of Vienna—now (1912) a railroad station of 300 inhabitants—the two regiments were jogging along in the darkness, when suddenly there came a cavalry charge FROM THE FRONT. It struck the Nineteenth Massachusetts first and that regiment sprang to the sides of the road, both receiving and returning shots. When the troops struck the Minnesotians, the latter did as the Massachusetts men—fell away to the sides of the road. The charge was made by a detachment of New York Cavalry who thought the two Union regiments constituted a Confederate force.

In these two affairs at Flint Hill and Vienna the casualties of the regiment were as follows, viz.: Wm. B. Winchell, Company K, killed; mortally wounded, Lieut. Charles Ziernberg, Co. A, Edward C. Hoff, Company A, and John D. Whittemore, Company D, and wounded, Reuben M. Mayo, Company E, Andrew Bayer, Almeron Davis and Wm. Shadinger of Company F and Warren Warner of Company K.

Hoff and Whittemore died of their wounds, thus making a total of four men killed or mortally wounded and five wounded.

VIENNA AND FLINT HILL

No official report was ever made of the services of the First Minnesota in guarding the rear of Pope's retreating army, nor of the skirmish at Flint's Hill, nor of the affair with the New York Cavalry near Vienna. Neither Colonel Sully nor General Gorman ever put either of these incidents upon record. The only particular description of them, or either of them, by Union participants has been made many years afterward and based upon the treacherous memories of men after so long a lapse of time. On the Confederate side, Gen. "Jeb" Stuart reported the Flint Hill affair, but not until in February, 1864.

It seems quite probable that the command that made the blundering charge on the Massachusetts regiment and the First Minnesota was the Ninth New York Cavalry, then commanded by Maj. Chas. McLean Knox. This regiment was in the neighborhood, assisting in guarding the Union retreat. Major Knox reported (War Recs., Vol. 12, part 2, p. 275) that he had an affair with "the enemy" which occurred on the date and in the locality of an "incomplete railroad," the Loudoun & Hampshire, when the night charge was made. Colonel Beardsley, of the Ninth, then commanding the cavalry brigade, corroborates Major Knox, (*ibid* p. 272) apparently, but not distinctly and clearly. He says that in the engagement "at midnight" in the "thick wood at the cross roads" north and east of Vienna, his cavalry had "several" killed and 20 wounded.

The portion of "Jeb" Stuart's report (*ibid* p. 744) relating to the skirmish at Flint Hill reads:

"The next day, (Sept. 2) the enemy having retired, Fairfax Court House was occupied by Fitz Hugh Lee's Brigade, and I sent Hampton's Brigade to attack the enemy at Flint Hill. Getting several pieces of the

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Stuart Horse Artillery in position, General Hampton opened on the enemy at that point, and our sharpshooters advancing about the same time, the enemy hastily retired after a brief engagement. They were immediately pursued and Captain Pelham, having chosen a new position, again opened upon them with telling effect, scattering them in every direction. They were pursued by Hampton's Brigade, which took a few prisoners, but owing to the darkness, and the fact that the enemy had opened fire upon us with infantry and artillery from the woods, he considered it prudent to retire, which was done with the loss of only one man. This proved to be the rear guard of Sumner's column retreating toward Vienna, and I afterwards learned that they were thrown into considerable confusion by this attack of General Hampton."

Capt. W. F. Russell's Company of the Second Minnesota Sharpshooters—known as Company L, First Minnesota—had been attached to the Regiment since Fair Oaks, and was present at Flint Hill. In the affair with the New York Cavalry, Captain Russell reported that Lawrence White, of the Sharpshooters, was mortally wounded and "died later," and that Edward D. Rinhart had an eye shot out.

The army was not in as bad a shape as General Pope and others thought. At least, it was soon reorganized, and its morning returns showed on the 5th of September an aggregate present for duty at Washington of more than 100,000 men.

The greater part of this army with McClellan in command was soon in pursuit of Lee.

Sergt. Myron Shepard's recollection of the affair at Flint Hill and immediately prior thereto, is valuable as it is the authentic account of a reliable, competent observer and actual participant. He says:

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“The regiment had ‘fallen in’ after a brief rest near the edge of an open field, and it was well known that we should cover the retreat. An order came for two volunteers for extra hazardous duty. Two Sergeants, Wm. M. May and Myron Shepard, stepped to the front. It was understood that they were to be sacrificed, and for a moment the question was asked by the officers: ‘Why two SERGEANTS and both from Co. B?’ We were ordered to skirmish about 150 yards to the rear, one on each side of the road upon which the enemy was approaching. Our firing was to give notice to the regiment that the enemy was upon us. Each took his tree, and in a few minutes his cavalry and a battery appeared. Two well directed shots confused and halted them for a moment, while we took to the rear. A rebel battery on our right and cavalry on our left, and Sully’s skirmishers on his rear made our escape doubtful. But we made it and found the regiment drawn up behind a sort of hedge and trees across the road. We were welcomed and congratulated by our comrades who had thought us lost. The converging wing formation of the regiment and the volley into the pursuing rebels occurred later, after dark. I was near Sully and heard his challenge and order to fire distinctly. Also was right there when that frantic cavalry blunder was made. It came from the front (not the rear) and we knew at once that ‘some one had blundered.’”

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ANTIETAM CAMPAIGN.

ON THE 2nd of September General Halleck appointed General McClellan to the "command of all the fortifications of Washington and of all the troops for the defense of the Capital." The same day, according to General McClellan's statement, (Own Story, p. 535) President Lincoln told McClellan that he considered Washington as lost and asked him, as a personal favor, to "renew command and do the best that could be done." McClellan says he at once accepted and "staked his life" that he would save the city.*

McClellan was a fine organizer, and an organizer was badly needed then to put the stragglers, deserters, and skulkers lying around Washington into line and bring all of the distracted commands into fighting shape again. His great engineering capacity enabled him to put Washington in a state of security, and restore confidence in the future, which Bull Run so greatly shattered.

Such a large proportion of the Army of the Potomac had been sent away to Pope and put under his command that McClellan had been left with only two Corps, Sumner's and Franklin's, and these he

*Nicolay & Hay, who were Lincoln's private secretaries, say (Nic. & Hay's Lincoln, Vol. 6, p. 21) that "the restoration of McClellan to command was Mr. Lincoln's own act; the majority of the cabinet were strongly opposed to it." The President's reasons, as recorded by John Hay, (ibid, p. 23) were: "There is no one in the army that can man these fortifications and lick these troops of ours into shape half as well as he can. If he can't fight himself, he excels in making others ready to fight."

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was ordered to send out to guard Pope's retreat. Placing him in command of the defense of Washington was his only "restoration" to the leadership of his old army ever made record of.

Thereafter he held command of the Army of the Potomac only as it were by the rule of adverse possession, but the rule was ample in its scope.

His great victory over Pope had made General Lee very confident. He had learned to despise Pope. He thought he could pick his own ground for future operations, and he selected Maryland. It had long been the belief of the Confederate people that the Union authority over Maryland was a "despot's heel;" that the people were held in a military subjection which they were waiting to throw off; that they would rapturously welcome an invading Confederate force and join it by thousands.

General Lee honestly believed this nonsense and declared his belief in a widely distributed proclamation. (See Cooke's Life of Lee, p. 127; War Recs., Vol. 19, part 2, p. 601.) He also knew that if he marched his army into Maryland the movement would threaten Washington and Baltimore and force the Union commanders to withdraw all their forces from the south bank of the Potomac to follow him; and eventually he would draw them up into Southern Pennsylvania and allow a force to come from Southern and Western Virginia and work its will on Washington City.

Between the 4th and 7th of September, General Lee crossed his army over the Potomac, chiefly by the fords near Leesburg, and on the latter date he sat down at Frederick and began spreading his proclamations telling the people that he had come to "restore their liberties," and this he would speedily do if they would exchange all kinds of army

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supplies for Confederate shiplasters and enlist their able-bodied men in his ranks.

To the great and mortifying astonishment of General Lee and Jeff Davis and every other Confederate that had been weeping over the "wrongs of down-trodden Maryland," the people of that State did not receive Lee's invaders with enthusiasm. They did not seem to have lost many "liberties," and they were apparently perfectly happy under the "yoke of the oppressor." They welcomed the Confederates with Union flags and marble hearts. Apparently the whole Frederick district was as loyal to the stars and stripes as old Vermont or "bleeding Kansas."

The Confederates simply couldn't understand it. Then they levied freely on the barns, stables, smoke-houses, pig pens, mills, stores, and granaries of the people, cursed them for being condemned Yankees, and wanted to go back to "Ole Virginny," where they could get sympathy and love if not bread and meat.

But, with all their foraging in Maryland, Lee's army started to leave the State a weary, ragged, hungry, and wretched crowd, since they had learned that thousands of Marylanders, including many wealthy slave-owners, were radical Union men and many of them in the Union army.* General Lee says his army, "lacked much of the material of war, was feeble in transportation, the troops poorly provided with clothing, and thousands of them destitute of shoes."

On the 10th, realizing that McClellan was behind him with a large army, General Lee closed up his Maryland recruiting offices and moved from Frederick

*Maryland furnished to the Union army 46,638 Union soldiers who served one year or more, and perhaps 20,000 Confederates.

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to Hagerstown. Stonewall Jackson started for Harper's Ferry, and Longstreet and Dan Hill crossed the South Mountain and moved towards Boonesborough.

Whatever may have been his real military ability and capacity, General McClellan's re-appearance at the head of the army had a most beneficial effect upon it. Its morale immediately underwent an astonishing change for the better. His name had a magical effect upon the men, and every time he reviewed them, or even showed himself among them, they cheered him wildly. When Lincoln said sternly to him, "You must find and hurt the enemy now," (Nie. & Hay) General McClellan was stirred to action as much by his confidence in his army as by his respect for the mandate of his chief.

As soon as it became known that Lee had crossed the Potomac and gone into the fine field of Maryland—

Fair as a garden of the Lord

To the eyes of the famished rebel horde—

General McClellan was out and after him. The advance was made by five parallel roads, and the columns were so disposed as to cover both Washington and Baltimore; for the left flank rested on the Potomac and the right on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. The right wing consisted of the First and Ninth Corps, under General Burnside; the center, of the Second and Twelfth Corps, under General Sumner; the left wing of the Sixth Corps, under General Franklin.

The Second and Twelfth Corps, under General Sumner and Gen. A. S. Williams respectively, started Sept. 6 from Tenallytown, just outside of Washington, and the Second marched to Rockville, and thence by Middlebrook and Urbana to Frederick; the

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Twelfth moved by a lateral road between Urbana and New Market.

The Second Corps, now had three Divisions,—in order, Richardson's, Sedgwick's, and Gen. Wm. H. French's. The First Minnesota still belonged to Gorman's Brigade (the First) of Sedgwick's (Second) Division, and the Brigade was composed of the old time-tried and fire-tested regiments, the Minnesota First, the Massachusetts Fifteenth, and the New York Thirty-fourth and Eighty-second. At this time there also belonged to the Brigade two companies of sharpshooters, Captain Russell's Second Minnesota and Captain Saunders' First Massachusetts. The battery was Kirby's, (I. First U. S.), now commanded by Lieut. Geo. A. Woodruff.

The van of McClellan's army, Hooker's Corps, entered Frederick Sept. 12, driving away Stuart's cavalry and receiving a hearty welcome at the hands and from the hearts of the people. The next day McClellan came. The Confederates had sent Jackson and McLaws to capture Harper's Ferry, 25 miles to the southwest, where Gen. Dixon Miles had 11,000 men; the rest of Lee's army was following after. General Halleck would not allow Harper's Ferry to be evacuated, although General McClellan assured him that it would be captured.

General Halleck advised that McClellan should, "keep more upon the Potomac, and press forward his left, so as more readily to relieve Harper's Ferry, the point then in most danger." Of course there was danger that if McClellan did not take care of his left flank the Confederates might move on Washington. (Com. on Cond. War, part 1, p. 452.)

The day McClellan reached Frederick City a soldier of the 27th Indiana picked up in an abandoned Confederate camp a piece of paper wrapped about

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three cigars. The paper was found to be a genuine copy of Lee's order of march to his generals, and was dated September 9th. Stonewall Jackson was to march westward by way of Sharpsburg; cross the Potomac and the Baltimore & Ohio near there, and go on ten miles to Martinsburg, which is 15 miles northwest of Harper's Ferry, and "intercept such as may attempt to escape from Harper's Ferry." Longstreet was to move to Boonesborough, which is 20 miles nearly northwest of Frederick and 10 miles due north of Harper's Ferry. McLaws and R. H. Anderson were to go straight to Harper's Ferry and endeavor to capture the place, first occupying Maryland Heights. Walker's Division was to march to Loudoun Heights, opposite Harper's Ferry, and cooperate with McLaws and Jackson. Gen. D. H. Hill was to have command of his Division as the rear guard.

The paper which the soldier found, and had sense enough to see was of the supremest importance, virtually delivered Lee's army into General McClellan's hands.

The Union commander now knew, to his surprise, that Lee's army was divided and somewhat scattered; that one great part was at Boonesborough and another great part west of Harper's Ferry, the two 20 miles apart. He knew when and where Lee's trains, rear guard, and cavalry were to march, and when and where the detached commands were to join the main body.

General McClellan seemed to realize the importance of the paper the soldier found, for he telegraphed Lincoln: "I have all the plans of the rebels, and will catch them in their trap, if my men are equal to the emergency," but he did not act accordingly.

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Franklin with his Corps, which two weeks later had 22,568 men present for duty, (War Recs., Vol. 19, part 2, p. 374) was at Buckeystown, 12 miles east of South Mountain, six miles south of Frederick City, and 20 miles east of Harper's Ferry.

It was noon of September 14, when General Franklin, with his two divisions of Slocum and Smith stormed the crest of the mountain at Crampton's Gap and drove away Cobb's and Semmes' Brigades, of McLaw's, Mahone's Brigade of Anderson's Division, and two regiments of Stuart's Cavalry, which were guarding the pass.

The same date the Union right wing commanded by General Burnside, fought all day in what the Unionists call the battle of South Mountain, and the Confederates Boonesboro, although that village is three miles away, to the northeast. This was for the possession of Turner's and Fox's Gaps through the South Mountain division of the Blue Ridge Range. These Gaps were six miles north of Crampton's. Turner's Gap was as strong naturally as Thermopylae. The mountain had precipitous sides, the passes were stoutly defended, and there was a great deal of hard fighting and many gallant deeds done that day.

On the Confederate side the fighting at first was done mainly by Dan H. Hill's Division with Colquitt's and Garland's Brigades. Later his other two brigades, Rodes' and George B. Anderson's, became involved. In the afternoon George T. Anderson's, Kemper's, Drayton's and Jenkins' Brigade, of Longstreet's Division, joined the defenders. Longstreet's entire corps had now come up and was in reserve.

On the Union side the fighting was by Gen. Jesse L. Reno's Ninth Corps, of four Divisions, until 3 p. m., when Hooker arrived and Meade's and Hatch's Divisions were sent in. With Hatch's Division was

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Capt. Chase's First Minnesota Sharpshooters, which received honorable mention as the first Union troops to "reach the top of the mountain." General Burnside was in general command of the forces engaged.

At night the Union troops held the crest of the hill and the rest of the army was up and the next morning the Confederates had retreated.

The First Minnesota left its camp near Frederick on the morning of September 14, and with Sedgwick's Division marched about 12 miles northeast, via Middleton, to the South Mountain at Turner's Gap. In the afternoon the regiment came within earshot of the fighting at the Gaps. At sunset the regiment came up to the fighting ground and was at once pushed to the front up the mountain side to strengthen the Union force, though it needed no strengthening. The Minnesotians lay down to rest right among the dead bodies of those that had fallen in the conflict a few hours before.

The battle was over, although there was picket firing nearly all night between the contending forces. The last Confederates did not get away until nearly daylight. Both Hill's and Longstreet's troops hurried to the westward to join Lee, near Sharpsburg, eight miles away.

Lee realized that he would have to fight and had picked his ground. All his outlying divisions were hurrying to it. Longstreet's and Hill's were coming from Turner's Gap; McLaws and Anderson were marching from Crampton's; Stonewall Jackson's were running up from Harper's Ferry, to be followed by the other brigades of McLaws and R. H. Anderson, with A. P. Hill's to come close upon their heels.

The Confederate muster place was the west side of the Antietam Creek, a little stream which rises in the northern part of Washington county, Maryland,

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flows southward, "winds about and in and out" for eighteen miles, and finally falls into the Potomac seven miles or so up stream from Harper's Ferry. Southwest of the village of Sharpsburg, which is two miles west of Antietam Creek and about the same distance east of the Potomac, was to be the field of glory.

Here the little creek's banks were steep and difficult of passage, and the Union troops must cross them to effect anything. There were from north to south four good stout stone bridges across it. Any place on the upper portion of the stream could be easily crossed by infantry anyhow. The only bridge whose destruction would really be an impediment to crossing was No. 4, the lowest one, exactly where the extreme Confederate right flank rested on Antietam Creek. The extreme of his left flank was the Potomac.

The Confederate line was in the woodlands and thickets on the east side of the Hagerstown turnpike, a good thoroughfare running north and south from Hagerstown to Sharpsburg, a distance of about twelve miles. The line was parallel with the road, and on the 15th was composed of about 10,000 men of Longstreet's Corps and 5,000 of D. H. Hill's Division, and extended for about a mile and a half. When all the Confederate forces were up, the line was strung out to nearly four miles. Except on the extreme right flank, where it touched Antietam Creek, it was from half a mile to two miles west of that stream. Stuart's three cavalry brigades were here and there.

The main line ran through patches of woods; behind fences, some of them of stone; in the rear of corn fields, farms, and farm buildings, and over lands well strewn with large granite boulders, and altogether Lee's position constituted splendid fighting

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ground for a force on the defensive.

From Hagerstown down to Sharpsburg the country was the same. There were plenty of farms and they were fairly good ones. The soil was naturally not very productive, but the owners kept their fields well fertilized and harvested good crops. A great many of the people belonged to the primitive German Baptist Church, the members of which are called Tunkers or Dunkers, or Dunkards. They resemble somewhat the Quakers. They do not go to war or to law, and they work industriously and live plainly, honestly and at peace with all the world. A mile north of Sharpsburg, on the west side of the Hagerstown pike, the Dunkers had a church. It was plain, modest, and unpretentious, like the people that worshipped in it. The walls were of brick and painted white. It had no steeple or belfry, for the Dunkards don't believe in such "vanities" on their churches. Many of the soldiers that saw it came away from the battlefield believing that it was a country school house, and a frame one at that.

The church stood on the land of Sanford Mumma. (pronounced Moo-maw) whose house was a little more than a quarter of a mile east of the church; the Mumma house was burned by D. H. Hill's troops at the beginning of the fight. Mr. Mumma gave the land for the site and was active in building the church. He was commonly called "Sant" Mumma, and this led to a somewhat ludicrous error. The Confederate generals Hood, Law, and some commanders, hearing some of the country people call the building "Sant" Mumma's church, and knowing more about military matters than the Saints' Calendar, concluded that the little church, like many another, had been named for a canonized worthy; therefore they corrected the pronunciation, and in their reports style it "Saint

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Mumma's'' and "St. Mumma's Church."

On the morning of the 15th, the First Minnesota, with its Brigade and Division crossed the South Mountain, and marched three miles northwest through Boonesborough, now a village of 700 people, then turned southwest and bivouacked that night between that village and Keedysville (present pop. 520) which villages are about four miles apart. The next morning the regiment marched early, still to the southwest, and in a few hours came to the vicinity of Lee's position across the Antietam.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM.

THE action at Antietam, is set down as one of the great battles in the world's history. But its greatness is composed of heroic fighting, gallant deed, long hours of struggle, an appalling loss of life, a gory record of wounds, and it is believed to have caused the issuing of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. There was nothing decided by it for it was not a decisive battle. It did not change the map of the country in any particular, it was only a great slaughtering and wounding of men. At its conclusion neither party had an immediate advantage, but it terminated General Lee's invasion of Maryland.

In this great contest, this awful holocaust, this mighty incident of the great war, Minnesota was represented as she was on nearly every great battlefield of that dreadful first three years of the war. The First Minnesota and Russell's Sharpshooters were present as delegates to this terrible convocation and were active participants in the proceedings.

It was in the afternoon of September 15 when the main advance of the Army of the Potomac approached General Lee's position east of Sharpsburg and drew up along the left bank of Antietam Creek. On the opposite side, but a mile west of that creek, the Confederate line was ostentatiously displayed. The batteries were in position, the infantry in plain view.

The Confederate battalion of artillery under Col. Stephen D. Lee had crossed Antietam Creek at 8 o'clock that morning and gone into position on the

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left or east of the turnpike running southward from Hagerstown to Sharpsburg; later it fell back to the west of the turnpike. General Lee had moved his army down from Hagerstown the day before, so that the forces he had sent to take Harper's Ferry could the more easily join him when they had finished their work; he would meet them half way.

Later in the forenoon the blue uniforms of the Union troops appeared among the trees that crowned the heights of the eastern banks of the Antietam.

About 1 p. m. the Union infantry came up within range, and Lee opened upon them with his long range guns. The Union batteries soon replied, and there was considerable artillery firing that afternoon. At 3 o'clock General McClellan came up on the hill where other prominent officers were, and instantly was under fire. A Confederate shell screamed over the heads of the groups of officers, and McClellan directed that all but one or two of them should retire behind the ridge, while he continued his reconnaissance coolly and business-like. (Gen. J. B. Cox, *Batts. and Leads*. Vol. 2, p. 631.)

The examination of the ground, the posting of troops and a lively artillery duel occupied the forenoon of the 16th. At 2 p. m. (Meade's report) Hooker's First Corps, 14,800 strong, (according to McClellan) was put in motion and crossed Antietam Creek at the bridge and ford highest up the stream, (Bridge No. 1) near and a little west of Keedysville, and also near Samuel Pry's mill. The crossing was out of range of the hostile fire.

General Hooker continued the march westward for nearly a mile and a half, and was half a mile east of the Sharpsburg and Hagerstown turnpike, when the skirmishers of Meade's Division struck Hood's Division of two brigades of Longstreet's

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Corps, in position in the woods to the left or South of the Union column. It was now nearly sundown. There was a brisk skirmish for several minutes.

Both of Hood's, Wofford's and Law's were in action. The skirmishing lasted until after dark. Then Lee sent up, as stated, first Gen. J. R. Jones' division and then General Lawton's of Jackson's Corps, with two brigades, to relieve Hood's worn-out command.*

The opposing forces rested on their arms, both occupying a skirt of woods which formed the eastern enclosure of D. R. Miller's corn field, which according to varying estimates, was from 30 acres to 50 acres in extent, and was on both sides of the turnpike, just south of Miller's house.

After Hooker's column was well under way, across the creek, McClellan came to it. To him General Hooker said: "You have sent me across with my small corps of 13,000 to attack the whole rebel army, and if re-enforcements are not sent promptly, or another attack is not made on the left of our line, the rebels will eat me up." (Hooker's report.) So about midnight McClellan sent over Mansfield's Twelfth Corps of two divisions to the re-enforcement and they went into camp immediately in the rear of Hooker's.

General Mansfield was 59 years of age, an old officer of the army of long and faithful experience. His two divisions, Gen. A. S. Williams' and Gen. Geo. S. Greene's, aggregated 10,126 officers and men. (McClellan's report) and so there were now nearly 24,000 Union troops against the Confederate left wing, where there were at that time perhaps 10,000 men.

*"The officers and men of my command having been without food for three days, except a half ration of beef for one day, and green corn, General Lawton, with two brigades, was directed to take my position to enable my men to cook."—Hood's report.

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Hooker's movement had accomplished nothing, save to inform Lee that the main battle was to be fought on the left of his position, although there would probably be, to use Phil Kearney's expression, "beautiful fighting along the whole line."

Sedgwick's Division, which included Gorman's Brigade and the First Minnesota, were encamped on Pry's farm, on the Antietam in the extreme north-eastern corner of the battle ground. General McClellan established his headquarters in Pry's big square farm house.

The Antietam was easily fordable almost anywhere, but the banks were precipitous. Many crossing places were desired. That evening a detail from Gorman's brigade, including several men from the First Minnesota, the whole under Lieut. Martin Maginnis, then of Company B, graded down the banks of the creek in several places, making suitable approaches to crossing places.

As early as three o'clock in the morning of that memorable Wednesday, September 17, 1862, the pickets of Lawton's Confederates and those of Seymour's Union brigade were "at it" in earnest. (Hood's report.) At 6 o'clock Lawton sent for Hood's brigades, which came back immediately, but before they could get up Lawton was grievously wounded and was succeeded in the command of the division by Gen. Jubal A. Early, who brought his brigade down from the support of Stuart's Cavalry and batteries, to the northwest. Hooker's men were inflicting great losses but were receiving the same.

At 7 o'clock, or a little later, Hooker had cleared the woods (called the East Woods) and the fields of D. R. Miller's farm, on the east of the Hagerstown turnpike, and the Confederates on the upper part of the line had been driven to the west

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of the turnpike, about the Dunker church, in what were called the West Woods. Here they had a good position, concealed in the woods, behind trees, boulders, stone ledges, inequalities of the ground, and other shelters. In addition to the infantry attacks upon them, they had been under a very destructive artillery fire and were certainly in a sad condition.

Hooker advanced his center division under Meade to take the Hagerstown pike, the position at the Dunker Church and the west woods—all three. Resisting this movement, John R. Jones' Division, (1,600 men, says its commander) and Hood's two brigades advanced from the woods, threw back Meade's division and broke it badly, sending it to the rear. Ricketts' Division, at the left of Hooker's line, advanced to the Hagerstown pike but was met by three brigades of Dan Hill's Division (which had closed up to Jackson's line and was on its right) and was also driven from the field. Hooker's remaining division, General Doubleday's, got down into Miller's corn field opposite the Dunker church, but was driven back by the fire of the enemy in the church woods and by Stuart's batteries, and took refuge behind the advancing lines of Sedgwick's Division. (Doubleday's report.)

The First Corps had suffered severely from the enemy's fire, and had lost nearly half its men by straggling, (McClellan's and Meade's reports) so that its effectiveness was practically gone. But Hooker continued to fight until about 9:15 when he was badly wounded in the foot and General Meade took command of the Corps.

As a result of the engagement, Hooker's Corps retired to the northward, up the Hagerstown road, and did not stop until it reached a point at Joseph Poffenberger's and Wm. Middlekauff's farms, fully a

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mile north of where they had formed the night before and from where they had started that morning. The Corps was badly demoralized. A great many had been killed and wounded, but a far greater number had skedaddled or "straggled," as the milder term was. General Meade reported that there were but 6,729 men of the Corps present on the 18th; but on the 22d, after the stragglers had come up, there were 13,093.

The Confederates, too, had been badly hurt. In the early cannonade Gen. John R. Jones, commanding Jackson's left division was so badly injured that he had to leave the field. Gen. Wm. E. Starke took command of the division and a half-hour later fell dead with three minie balls in his body. In his report Stonewall Jackson says:

"The carnage on both sides was terrific. At an early hour General Starke was killed. Colonel Douglass, commanding Lawton's Brigade was also killed. General Lawton, commanding division, and Colonel Walker commanding brigade, were seriously wounded. More than half of the brigades of Lawton and Hayes were either killed or wounded, and more than a third of Trimble's; all the regimental commanders in those brigades, except two, were killed or wounded."

Meanwhile the two divisions of the Twelfth Corps had come up. Upon the mortal wounding of General Mansfield, Gen. A. S. Williams had taken command and brought his division, now commanded by General Crawford, and that of General Greene down to the Dunkard Church. Crawford, with his two brigades, advanced across the southern part of D. R. Miller's corn field and seized a point of the woods on the west side of the Hagerstown road, north of the church. At the same time Greene's Division, on the left or

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south of Crawford cleared its front and crossed into the woods on the left of the church. The Confederates of Early's Brigade and Lawton's and the J. R. Jones' Division were back in the woods, behind trees, boulders, and rock ledges, Stuart's batteries pounding them, and Crawford and Greene held their positions under heavy loss; finally their troops too began to waver and break and at last withdrew.* It was now between 9:30 and 10 o'clock and General Sumner with the Second Corps came upon the field.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA AT ANTIETAM.

The morning of the 17th of September opened cloudy and cool at Antietam. "Thank the Lord," said many of the men, "we won't have to fight today under a broiling sun." The First Minnesota and the whole of Gorman's Brigade, from the vantage ground on Pry's farm east of the creek, could overlook a great part of the battlefield. They had been called up at 4 o'clock in the early morning, for Sumner had orders to be ready to take in the Corps at day-break, and to be ready to move at a moment's notice. Breakfast had been cooked and eaten and the knapsacks packed to leave in camp.

When daylight came and Hooker began his attack, many of the men sought to see the show. Some sought the hilltops, some climbed to the crests of straw stacks, and from these elevated positions saw the battle "from afar off," and saw it plainly, commenting upon it as it progressed. When Hooker's troops at the first stage, drove the Confederates out of the East Woods, there was great satisfaction and even enthusiasm; but when the advance stopped in

*In his report General Doubleday claims that the Twelfth Corps "did not attack in the right place," and were therefore "soon swept away."

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front of the West Woods and presently the masses in blue began to go back, there was consternation.

It was 7:20 when General Sumner received orders to take his Corps to the field.

The Corps marched promptly. Sedgwick's Division moved first in three lines, a brigade to the line. Gorman's Brigade was the first in line and the First Minnesota was the head of the Brigade. The route from camp for the first half mile was toward the northwest. The Antietam was waded at knee deep over a little fording place half a mile west of Philip Pry's house, where General McClellan had his headquarters during the battle, and the farm and house on the west bank of the creek belonging to Harmon F. Neikirk.

A quarter of a mile up the slope from Neikirk's the division was formed into battle column and advanced toward the west. The Dunker church was about a mile due west from where the Corps crossed Antietam Creek, and the church was the point aimed at. The formation was by brigades, one behind the other, a brigade to the line. Gorman's Brigade was in the first line, Dana's in the second, and Howard's in the third. Kirby's Battery, now in charge of Lieut. Geo. A. Woodruff, was being held in the rear for an emergency.

In Gorman's brigade line the First Minnesota was on the right, and on its extreme left Russell's company of Minnesota Sharpshooters; Company I, the Wabasha Company, under Captain Pell, was on provost guard duty and not with the Regiment that day. The regiment marched into action with 435 officers and men. The Eighty-second New York came next, then came the Fifteenth Massachusetts (and the company of Andrew Sharpshooters), and the Thirty-fourth New York was on the extreme left of

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the brigade. Fifty yards behind Gorman's was Dana's Brigade, and 50 yards behind Dana's was Howard's.

Under Sedgwick's orders the three brigades advanced to the westward simultaneously. French's Division was following Sedgwick's, Richardson's was crossing the Antietam; French's Division had been added to the Corps only the previous morning. It was commanded by Gen. Wm. H. French and had three brigades under Gen. Nathan Kimball, Col. Dwight Morris, and Gen. Max Weber, in all ten regiments, all veterans of the Shenandoah campaign but one, the One Hundred Thirtieth Pennsylvania, now in its first battle. Richardson's Division came up half an hour later.

The three brigades moved rapidly forward for about three-quarters of a mile westward. Then the direction (at least of Gorman's Brigade) was changed to the southwest. They had passed through the East Woods, a fine grove, mostly of oaks, without underbrush, dead and dying under all the trees. Then they entered D. R. Miller's big corn field, nearly ready for husking, but now yielding another sort of and a very horrible harvest, a crop of shot men. The field was already strewn with the victims of battle, largely Hooker's men. Dead men and grievously wounded men lay in furrows behind corn hills.

It was a brave sight these three lines of battle, 5,000 men, marching to the conflict. The ground was fairly open and favorable. The lines were well kept—too well kept: hardly a shot against them could miss. The men bore themselves well, even gallantly—no shrinking and no faltering, although every man knew he was going against the force, somewhere in the West Woods beyond, that had destroyed Hooker and Mansfield. They had not proceeded 50 yards from where their lines were formed when they came

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under the fire of Jeb Stuart's batteries to the west.

On went Gorman's Brigade to the Hagerstown road across which thoroughfare, in the woods about the Dunker Church, lay the Confederates. They were of Jackson's old division, here commanded first by J. R. Jones, then by Starke, now by Col. A. J. Grigsby, and of four brigades: then there was Ewell's (or Lawton's) Division now commanded by General Early, with four brigades.

On each side of and running parallel with the Hagerstown pike was a post-and-rail fence. These were soon passed and the West Woods entered. But at the west fence the color-bearer of the First Minnesota, Sergt. Sam Bloomer of the Stillwater Company (B), had his leg shattered by a musket ball and surrendered the flag to other brave hands. He had received it when the gallant George Burgess fell with it at Savage's Station and had borne it in honor thereafter.

Passing over the two fences and the Hagerstown pike, the Brigade entered the West Woods to the right or north of the Dunker church. The woods were being held by Hood's two brigades, Law's and Wofford's and "Tige" Anderson's, and here were, as of old, the Second and Eleventh Mississippi, Fourth Alabama, and Sixth North Carolina. Gorman's Brigade had last met them at Fair Oaks.

The Brigade passed into the woods, where Union troops had never before entered, and pressed forward firing deliberately and effectively. Hood's brigades and Anderson's were driven out of the woods and away from the battle ground by this firing. They were short of ammunition and were being badly shattered. General Hood had called loudly and repeatedly for re-enforcements and not receiving them had ordered his brigades to retire and they needed no

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second command, but retreated hastily, yet in tolerable order. "Tige" Anderson knew when he had enough, and he, too, left the ground in haste.

Soon Gorman's Brigade had reached the open ground at the west side of the woods, the most advanced position to the westward occupied by the Union troops during the battle. It was the foremost brigade. It constituted a diagonal line from northwest to southeast, facing toward the southwest, and the First Minnesota was on the northwest end, and was the farthest regiment to the front that day.

The Division had come into the woods among the scattered detachments of Williams' and Greene's Divisions of the Twelfth Corps, which had succeeded not only to the field position of Hooker's Corps but to its fate. Both Divisions were in great disorder.

In entering the Dunker Church woods Colonel Suiter's Thirty-fourth New York, on the extreme left of Gorman's Brigade, ran afoul of a derelict regiment, the One Hundred Twenty-fifth Pennsylvania, which in the wreck of Williams' Division, had drifted away on the sea of battle and was floating about hither and thither. A ravine had thrown the Thirty-fourth away from the Brigade, and the Pennsylvania regiment somehow got between the two for some minutes, adding to the Thirty-fourth's confusion. There was also a great wide gap between the left of that regiment and the right of French's Division, which was at least a quarter of a mile to the southeast of Gorman's Brigade; French's Division never crossed the Hagerstown pike. Colonel Suiter's left wing was therefore "in air."

The other regiments of Gorman's Brigade had emerged from the west woods and were fighting Early's thin lines about the John Hauser buildings. Ten minutes more would have brought a Union vic-

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tory; but at the decisive time and place the Devil "took care of his own" and a large volume of Confederate re-enforcements came.

It was not later than 10 o'clock that morning when Gen. Lafayette McLaws' Division of four brigades comprising 2,893 infantry, and two batteries, arrived at Lee's headquarters from Harper's Ferry.

They were brought up to the Dunker Church woods in response to General Hood's earnest demands and took the place of that general's two brigades and "Tige" Anderson's brigade, which had gone away from the fighting. Hood's brigades returned at 1 o'clock, but Anderson's command remained down the line with Dan Hill's command.

With McLaws' force had come Gen. John G. Walker's Division of two brigades, Ransom's and Walker's, the latter now commanded by Col. Van H. Manning, Third Arkansas. It occupied a position down below Sharpsburg, commanding the Burnside bridge, until 9:30 when it was ordered up to the relief of Hood and Early, near the Dunker church.

Let us now see what Gorman's Brigade had accomplished up to this time against Hood's Division of Law's and Wofford's Brigades. In his report at this time Gen. Law (War Recs., Vol. 19, part 1, p. 938) says:

So far we had been entirely successful and everything promised a decisive victory.*** At this stage of the battle a powerful Federal force (ten times our number) of fresh troops was thrown in our front.

"Our losses up to this time had been heavy; our troops now confronting the enemy were insufficient to cover properly one-fourth of the line of battle; our ammunition was nearly expended. Still our men held their ground, many of them using such am-

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muniton as they could obtain from the bodies of our own and the enemy's dead and wounded. The enemy's fire was most destructive. This state of affairs could not long continue. To remain stationary would have caused a useless butchery. I adopted the only alternative—that of falling back. The enemy followed very slowly and cautiously. Under direction of General Hood, I re-formed my brigade in the rear of Saint Mumma's Church (Dunkers' Chapel) and, together with the Texas Brigade, which had also retired, again confronted the enemy, who seemed to hesitate to enter the wood. Re-enforcements now arrived and the brigade was relieved for the purpose of obtaining ammunition."

Colonel Wofford, who commanded the Texas Brigade, (Hood's former brigade) reports (*ibid.*, p. 928) as follows:

"The enemy, now in overwhelming numbers, commenced advancing in full force. In a little time, seeing the hopelessness and folly of making a stand against them with our shattered brigade and a remnant from other commands, (the men being greatly exhausted and many of them out of ammunition) I determined to fall back to a fence in our rear. We were in line under cover of the woods to the left (or north) of the church and waited for support. None coming we fell back to the fence, where we met the long looked for re-enforcements. At the same time we received an order from General Hood to fall back farther to the rear to rest and collect our men."

But Gen. Paul Semmes who commanded one of the re-enforcing brigades, says the two brigades were not met at "a fence," or near the battle ground,

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but well in the rear. In his report (*ibid*, p. 874) General Semmes says:

“Moving forward by the flank in the direction of the enemy, before coming into view, two brigades were met retiring from the front, apparently badly cut up. An incessant current of wounded flowed to the rear, showing that the conflict had been severe and well contested. Coming in full view of the enemy’s line, Major General McLaws, in person, ordered me to move forward in line.”

It will be observed that General Semmes met the retiring brigades “before coming in view” of the Union line, so that at this juncture there was no enemy at all within gun-shot of the front of Gorman’s Brigade.

General McLaws also testifies that Hood’s Division had left the field. In his report, (*ibid*, p. 858) describing his arrival on the battle ground, he says:

“General Hood pointed out the direction for the advance, and my line of battle was rapidly formed, with General Cobb’s brigade on the right, next General Kershaw’s, General Barksdale’s and General Semmes’ on the left. Just in front of the line was a large body of woods, from which PARTIES OF OUR TROOPS—OF WHOSE COMMAND I DO NOT KNOW—WERE SEEN RETIRING, AND THE ENEMY, I COULD SEE, WERE ADVANCING RAPIDLY, OCCUPYING THE PLACE. My advance was ordered before the entire line of General Kershaw could be formed.” (Capitals by Compiler.)

There is no question that Hood’s Division was tired from its fighting with Hooker’s and Mansfield’s men; but there is equally no question that the Division was driven back into the West Wood, “in the

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rear of Saint Mumma's Church, Dunkard's Chapel," (Law) "to the left (or north) of the church," (Wofford) and then driven entirely out of and to the west of the Wood by Gorman's Brigade. Perhaps General Gorman was not aware of this condition of the enemy, for Stuart's dismounted cavalry to the right and some of Early's forces to the southwest were still firing musketry at him, but the condition existed.

"Tige" Anderson's brigade had also been driven off to the south and connected with D. H. Hill's Division. (See Anderson's report.) This division had all the while fought on the extreme southern portion of Hood's line, having come up as a reinforcement to Hood. Singularly enough neither Lochren's sketch, the History of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, Walker's History of the Second Corps nor any other publication available to the compiler, except the Official Records, mentions that Colonel Anderson's Brigade was engaged against Gorman's at Antietam.

General Francis A. Walker, who was Assistant Adjutant General of the Second Army Corps from Oct. 9, 1862, to Jan. 12, 1865, and was on General Sumner's staff at Antietam, writes, in his admirable History of the Second Army Corps, (p. 104) about the passage of Sedgwick's Division into the woods about the Dunker Church. He notes that after a little while there was no enemy in the Division's front—which was at the time when Hood's Division and Tige Anderson's Brigade had retreated. Says General Walker:

"Leaving the Dunker Church on their left and rear, Sedgwick's Division, in close array, in three lines by brigade, having crossed the Hagerstown pike, disappears in the woods.

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This is no tangled thicket like the Wilderness, where a captain may not see the left of his company, but a noble grove of perfect trees, free from underbrush, allowing the rapid advance of the lines in unbroken order. Even when the leading brigade, (Gorman's) emerges from the further side of the grove, no enemy is seen in front. Only Stuart's batteries, from some high, rocky ground on the right, search the woods, as they had the cornfield, with shell and solid shot. What means this unopposed progress? Is it well or ill that this ground should not be disputed? Does it signify success or danger?"

General Sumner was riding with the field officers of Gorman's Brigade (General Walker) and driving his massed column straight forward to find his enemy. From General Hooker's experience, Sumner evidently expected to find the Confederates in heavy and strong force, and he meant to throw against them his huge massed Division like a great battle-bolt, which would shiver their front lines to pieces by its weight and impact, and utterly demolish their organization by its subsequent work. He was, where he always was when a charge was in progress, at the head of the column, this time Gorman's Brigade, and he was waving the same hat that he waved at Savage's Station, and his heavy gray hair was tossing in the wind as it tossed at Fair Oaks.

As Gorman's Brigade emerged from the West Wood upon the farm of John Hauser, firing was opened upon it from a Confederate line extending along a crest of a slight ridge in front upon which stood Hauser's farmhouse, barn, and stacks. This fire was from some of Early's men. Jeb Stuart's Poague's battery was still playing on the Dunker Church woods. The Thirty-Fourth New York, in

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extricating itself from the tangle with the new Pennsylvania regiment, and in trying to march clear of the ravine, had become detached somewhat from the Brigade.

There was a great gap in both the Confederate and Union lines for several minutes. It was soon filled!

Colonel Suiter, with the Thirty-Fourth New York, now had the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Pennsylvania on his right. Next to Colonel Suiter's regiment should have been its old-time comrade regiment, the Fifteenth Massachusetts, which made such a bloody but glorious record that day. The Thirty-fourth, being at the extreme left of the line, should have connected with the extreme right of French's Division;* but General Sumner, in his great impatience to get into the fight, had not waited for French to come up in line with Sedgwick, but pushed on with Sedgwick's Division "in the air."

And now the Confederate re-enforcements under Walker and McLaws burst upon the field. It would seem from the somewhat obscure reports that Walker was the first to come. He went into line with his own old brigade under Colonel Manning on the right or south, and Ransom's on the left or north, and the left of Ransom's brigade extended nearly up to, but yet a little south of the Dunker Church. Leaving two regiments, Third Arkansas and Twenty-Seventh North Carolina, to hold the gap between his right and Longstreet's left, General Walker advanced to the Union lines and struck the wandering One Hun-

*Lochren says it was the failure of the left of the Brigade to connect with "Richardson's Division" which caused the trouble: but Richardson's Division was then not on the battlefield, and not expected to be. French's Division was the one to be connected with.

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dred Twenty-Fifth Pennsylvania and the left of Sedgwick's Division.

McLaws advanced perhaps five minutes later than Walker. As has been stated, the former general went forward with Cobb's Brigade (under Colonel Sanders) on the right, Kershaw's next, Barksdale's next, and Gen. Paul Semmes' to the extreme left.* They at once re-enforced Early's men behind the rock ledges, the outbuildings, fences, and stacks of straw and grain on the Hauser farm. Hardly had they been put into position when there was work for them.

Sedgwick's three brigades were now all facing southwest in extended lines, with no protection whatever for the exposed flanks. As Gorman's Brigade had emerged from the West Woods General Early's scattered regiments had opened fire. Now came McLaws' men to the re-enforcement. Walker's two brigades had already struck the exposed left flank, had hit the Pennsylvania regiment hard. Ransom's Brigade in part was advancing down the ravine on the north flank of the Thirty-fourth New York, and that regiment was almost between two Confederate lines.

McLaws' brigades were deployed along the entire length, practically, of Sedgwick's Division.

And now there was about twenty minutes of as desperate and deadly fighting as ever took place on a battlefield. The contending forces were not more

*On the map accompanying the History of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, page 191, the position of Walker's Division is given as on the left of the Confederate line, while McLaws' is located as on the right, both north and west of the Dunker Church. These are errors. Walker's report, in the War Records, shows that his Division was on the Confederate right, next to D. H. Hill's, and McLaws' report proves that his Division was on the Confederate left, to the west of the Dunker Church.

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than from 100 to 150 yards apart. The Union troops were unprotected; the Confederates were under fairly good covering. Both sides were about equally well (or illy) armed with old muzzle-loading muskets, using paper cartridges and percussion caps. If a soldier loaded and fired his gun once a minute, he made good time.

The men had been at work perhaps 20 minutes; General Howard says they had fired from 30 to 40 rounds, but General Gorman gives the number as from 40 to 50 rounds, when there was a sudden commotion on the left of the Brigade and of the Division. General Walker's Division had struck.

The first blow fell upon the One Hundred and Twenty-Fifth Pennsylvania, the nine month regiment of the Twelfth Corps, which had become fouled with the Thirty-Fourth New York. Col. Jacob Higgins, of the Pennsylvania regiment, reports that the Confederates were advancing on his front in force and he commenced firing and checked them. "I held them here for some time, when I discovered two regiments of them moving around my right, while a brigade charged on my front. On looking around and finding no support in sight, I was compelled to retire. Had I remained in my position two minutes longer, I would have lost my whole command."

The Thirty-Fourth New York was now cut off from Gorman's Brigade by the intervention of the Pennsylvania regiment and the two Confederate regiments on the right, and was also being flanked on the left. Colonel Suiter reports:

"Fronting the pike road to Sharpsburg was a piece of timberland, into which I moved my command, still at double quick, arriving at about 20 yards in rear of a school house, (Dunker Church) when I dis-

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covered the enemy under the hill. I immediately ordered my command to fire.

“From some cause to me unknown I had become detached from my brigade, the One Hundred and Twenty-Fifth Pennsylvania being on my right. On my left and rear I was entirely unsupported by infantry or artillery. The enemy were in strong force at this point and poured a tremendous fire of musketry and artillery upon me. At this time I discovered that the enemy were making a move to flank me on the left. Lieutenant Howe* arriving at this time, I informed him of my suspicions. He replied that he thought they were our friends. Lieutenant Wallace went to the front to make what discovery he could and returned saying that the enemy were moving upon my left flank with a strong force. I turned and discovered Lieut. Richard Gorman, of General Gorman’s staff, and requested him to inform the General that the enemy were flanking me. He immediately returned for that purpose. Presently General Sedgwick arrived upon the ground. Moving down my line he discovered the situation of my command, and that the point could not be held by me and gave the order for me to retire, which I did. Rallying my command, I formed them in line of battle, supporting a battery some 400 yards in rear of the battlefield.”

From the reports it is reasonable to conclude that Kershaw’s Brigade followed Walker’s and contributed to the flanking process against the left of Sedgwick’s Division. They came against the Fifteenth Massachusetts, that day commanded by Lieut. Col. John W. Kimball, and this regiment, by the falling back of the Thirty-Fourth New York, was now on the

*Lieut. Church Howe, Fifteenth Massachusetts, then aide to General Sedgwick.

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extreme left of Gorman's line. In his report Colonel Kimball writes:

“The enemy soon appeared in heavy columns, advancing upon my left and rear, pouring in a deadly cross-fire on my left. I immediately and without orders ordered my command to retire, having first witnessed the same movement on the part of both the second (Dana's) and third (Howard's) lines. We retired slowly and in good order, bringing off our colors and a battle-flag captured from the enemy, re-forming by the orders of General Gorman in a piece of woods some 500 yards to the rear under cover of our artillery.”

But in an address before the Fifteenth Massachusetts Association on the field of Antietam, Sept. 17, 1900, the 38th anniversary of the battle, and upon the dedication of its fine regimental monument, on the field, General Kimball made a more striking and a somewhat different statement of the breaking of the Union line. He said:

“While the fighting was the fiercest, General Sumner rode along the line, and halting behind the Fifteenth, said to me, (I was on foot, my horse having been shot under me), ‘Colonel, how goes the battle?’ I replied: ‘We are holding our ground and slowly gaining, but losing heavily, as you can see.’ At that moment I discovered that the enemy had turned our flank, and was moving rapidly upon the left and rear of the Division, and I called General Sumner's attention to them. He could not believe it possible and said: ‘Are you sure, Colonel, that it is the enemy?’ I replied, ‘I am sure.’ His response was, ‘My God! we must get out of this,’ and rode to the left and rear, evidently intending to change the position

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of the other brigades to meet the enemy, but there was not time for such a movement."

General Walker, in his History of the Second Army Corps, (p. 106) says:

"At the moment the storm is breaking Sumner is riding along the rear of the leading brigade, enjoying the furious fire of musketry and encouraging Gorman's regiments to a fresh advance. As he pauses a moment to converse with General Kimball, of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, Major (Chase) Philbrick calls attention to a large force of the enemy advancing from the left upon the flank of the Division, driving before them some of Hooker's (Mansfield's) men (One Hundred and Twenty-Fifth Pennsylvania?) who had still held to their ground in the woods around the Dunker Church. 'My God,' exclaims Sumner, 'we must get out of this,' and he dashes back to form Dana's and Howard's Brigades to meet this sudden and appalling danger. But there is not time."

Walker's Division had charged the Union lines within a few minutes after coming up. McLaws was compelled to halt and fight for at least twenty minutes, then seeing the Union forces in commotion as they were changing formation, two or three brigades of his Division charged very bravely.

Walker's men hurried around Colonel Higgins' and Colonel Suiter's regiments and dashed upon the left flank of Howard's (formerly Burns') Philadelphia Brigade, the third line of Sedgwick's Division, and then swinging around, gained its rear. The left regiment, Baxter's Fire Zouaves, (Seventy-Second Pennsylvania) was crushed and driven out. Dana's Brigade, too, was in great confusion, and had been losing more than Gorman's and many more than

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Howard's. It is always confusing to change the formation of a brigade, even on a level parade ground, but to make the change on a rough irregular and obstructed field, under a deadly fire, with men falling killed every second, is a thing involving dreadful entanglements. Sedgwick's Division was being re-formed to meet new conditions.

“My God! We must get out of this!”

Sumner, daunted at last, had given an order to retreat, something he had never done before!

Howard's regiments began to slip away to the rear, and Dana's Brigade became the rear line. Gorman's Brigade was still fighting in front, but under discouraging circumstances. Dana's regiments were crumbling. Dana himself had been badly wounded, but that was no time to leave the battlefield for a musket-ball wound, no matter how severe. He broke off the Tammany Regiment (Forty-Second New York) from the disorganized mass and made it “change front to the left” to meet the attack of Ransom's and Manning's Brigades of Walker and Kershaw's of McLaws; but while the regiment was in the confusion incident to the movement and was trying to connect with the Seventh Michigan, here came the Confederates and poured upon the two regiments a fire which Dana said was “the most terrific” he ever witnessed. The two regiments continued to fight, however, until half their number was disabled. The Forty-Second New York lost 181 officers and men; the Seventh Michigan, 221.

The casualties in Gorman's Brigade had been heavy. The regiments had been drilled and trained to present solid lines to the front in battle instead of “taking intervals” and fighting in open order, and now they were suffering from their training. A shot fired at Sedgwick's Division would hit it some-

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where and hurt somebody. The Division was as easy to hit as the town of Sharpsburg. The Confederates were "scattered out;" a hundred of them would "string out" for more than a quarter of a mile or cover an acre.

Sumner had said the Division "must get out of this" and it was getting out. Gorman's Brigade was the farthest forward of any other Union command, and yet this Brigade was the last to leave. It did so in perfect order. General Sedgwick himself, when he saw that the Thirty-Fourth New York was flanked, ordered Colonel Suiter to take away that regiment.

The idea was to march the whole brigade away from the front of Dana's Brigade and let that command be the front line and engage the enemy. At the time Gorman did not realize that both Dana's and Howard's Brigades had gone to pieces and were well nigh demolished, and that his own Thirty-Fourth New York had left the field by Sedgwick's orders.

So Colonel Sully led away the First Minnesota through the woods to the open ground on the north. Colonel Hudson followed with the Eighty-Second New York. Then Lieutenant Colonel Kimball, seeing that he was entirely alone on the field except for the charging Confederates, had sense enough to order himself to take away the good old Fifteenth Massachusetts, which he did decently and in order. A Confederate battle flag (of the First Texas?) taken from the enemy was carried along, but more than 300 killed and wounded of the regiment were left behind.

Colonel Sully was very good at making history but very poor at writing it. His report of the services of the First Minnesota at Antietam, as elsewhere, is very incomplete and nearly barren of de-

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tails and real information. One cannot understand from his report alone what the First Minnesota did, or what was meant by certain maneuvers. However we know from other reliable authorities that the Regiment retreated to the north end of the woods about the Dunker Church, then halted and faced about to hold back the enemy. Colonel Hudson formed the Eighty-Second New York on Sully's right or west: soon came the Nineteenth Massachusetts, of Dana's Brigade, and formed on the left or east. The Nineteenth was now another derelict regiment afloat on a bloody sea, without compass or rudder and with no organization to look to for support. It was glad to stand beside its old comrade regiments of the Ball's Bluff days. Its Colonel, Ed W. Hinks, had been badly wounded and Lieutenant Colonel Devereux was in command. Soon the three regiments were in line fronting Semmes' Brigade.

In a few seconds here came the Confederates of Semmes' and Barksdale's Brigades. The fight was short but very hot and bloody. In a few minutes—during which time Colonel Sully says the First Minnesota “suffered greatly in killed and wounded”—the three regiments had to retreat again. They made a brief stand near Nicodemus' log farm house, then went farther back 125 yards and took up a good safe position behind a strong stone fence.

“Here,” Col. Sully says, “a section of artillery was sent to assist us.” This was Kirby's Battery, so long attached to Gorman's Brigade. It was the full battery, not “a section.” Lieut. Geo. A. Woodruff commanded it that day. It went into position in the field opposite the north end of the Dunker Church woods and opened with canister on the pursuing Confederates and helped to check them. “We kept the enemy in check,” says Colonel Sully,

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“till they brought a battery of artillery on our flank, which compelled me to order the regiments back to join our line of battle.” This battery which was brought up on the Union flanks was Poague’s “Rockbridge battery,” of three 12-pound Napoleons, now serving with Stuart’s artillery battalion on the Nicodemus plateau, which was on Colonel Sully’s right or west flank.* Where the line of battle was, to which the Colonel ordered the regiments “back to join” he does not give the slightest hint; but without doubt it was the position described by General Gorman in his report, as “the woods, on the left and east of the turnpike, where I found the entire Brigade at a distance of 400 yards from the original position.” By “original position” is perhaps meant the position at the East Woods, east of the Dunker Church.

At the Nicodemus stone fence the Thirty-Fourth New York came up, and after a time the Brigade, now quite re-constructed, but with quite too many men “missing,” moved still further back a mile or so to the Joseph Poffenberger farm. This farm had been occupied by General Hooker and his Corps the night before, and here now were two of his Divisions, Meade’s and Ricketts.’ once great and powerful, but now demoralized and inefficient. Doubleday’s Division was also near by. Here too were Mansfield’s two Divisions, the Twelfth Corps, in similar conditions to Hooker’s. Sedgwick’s Division came up, and as a whole it was not in much better condition than either

*Poague’s Confederate battery called the Rockbridge Artillery was from Lexington, Rockbridge county, Virginia. Among the privates in this company at the time of the battle of Antietam was Robert E. Lee, Jr., the 17-year-old son of the General. The boy served as a private nearly one year; then was sergeant, and finally, in 1864, became a lieutenant and a cavalry staff officer.

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of the Divisions of the First and Twelfth Corps.

Of the condition of the Division on the retreat, and especially of Sully's line at Nicodemus' stone fence when Stuart's battery disturbed it, General McClellan testifies. He says he was present and in his "Own Story" (p. 606) says:

"When I was on the right on the afternoon of the 17th I found the troops a good deal shaken—that is, some of them who had been in the early part of the action. Even Sedgwick's Division commenced giving way. I had to ride in and rally them myself. Sedgwick had been carried off severely wounded."

In his first official report General McClellan also wrote:

"Toward the middle of the afternoon, proceeding to the right, I found that Sumner's, Hooker's and Mansfield's Corps had met with serious losses. * * * One Division of General Sumner's (Sedgwick's) and all of General Hooker's Corps on the right, had, after fighting most valiantly for several hours, been driven back in great disorder, and much scattered, so that they were for the time somewhat demoralized. * * * One Division of Sumner's Corps (Sedgwick's) had also been overpowered and was a good deal scattered and demoralized. It was not deemed by its Corps commander in proper condition to attack the enemy vigorously the next day."

But Gorman's Brigade was, as a brigade, in fine order considering the circumstances. The First Minnesota and the Fifteenth Massachusetts were in admirable form. The two New York regiments were not in perfect shape, but, in two days, only a few men were unaccounted for or missing. Howard's

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Pennsylvanians and Dana's brigade were really in bad condition. But as to the First Minnesota Colonel Sully reported:

"The officers and men of the Regiment behaved nobly and it was with some difficulty I got some of them to obey the order to fall back."

General Gorman notes the "coolness and accuracy" of the firing done by the Regiment and its effectiveness and his report shows that it never retired except when ordered.

Colonel Hudson, Eighty-Second New York, which regiment attached itself to the First Minnesota on the retreat, reports that the two regiments retired every time in good order and "slowly left the field." General Howard, who commanded the Division after General Sedgwick retired, said:

"The following officers were successful in drawing off their regiments without breaking: Colonel Sully, First Minnesota; Colonel Hinks and Lieutenant Colonel Devereux, Nineteenth Massachusetts, and Colonel Hall, Seventh Michigan. I noticed General Gorman at his post near his command while it was retiring and he remained with it during the rest of the day, inspiring his men by his remarks and calling upon them to sustain their reputation."

General McClellan, in his revised and more elaborate report made in August, 1863, said in writing of the retreat of Sedgwick's Division:

"General Gorman's Brigade and one regiment (Nineteenth Massachusetts*) of Gen-

*The First Minnesota was on the extreme right of Gorman's Brigade in the front line. The Nineteenth Massachusetts was on the extreme right of Dana's Brigade in the second line, immediately behind the First Minne-

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eral Dana's soon rallied and gallantly checked the advance of the enemy on the right."

But General Gorman's Brigade was not demoralized or scattered. The whole number reported "missing," which included the skeddaddlers, (but also meant men that were taken prisoners) was but 66; the First Minnesota, three days after the battle, had 21 missing and of these 6 were believed to have been taken prisoners.

Back at Joe Poffenberger's farm, the First Minnesota rested comfortably behind a snug fence during the afternoon and evening of the 17th. The Division was under a scattering fire from Stuart's forces, down on the Nicodemus farm, nearly all the time. A number of Stuart's Cavalry were merely mounted infantry armed with muskets; the rest had good carbines. Stuart kept out skirmishers who pecked steadily away at the Union lines.

The night after the battle was not a restful one. Each army had out a strong picket line and the pickets were spatting at one another all night. The Minnesotians were too far away from where they had fought to visit their dead and wounded comrades, who were now either within the Confederate lines or between the two hostile forces, and under fire all the time, but on the 18th they buried their dead and cared for their wounded as did both armies under an armistice. How the poor Union wounded suffered! Many a valuable man's life

sota. When the break to the rear came, Captain Weymouth, commanding the Nineteenth, reports: "The Minnesota was the last regiment in its line to leave the position and was immediately followed by the Nineteenth." Soon the two regiments were together on the fighting line. Colonel Hinks of the Nineteenth, was badly wounded here.

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could have been saved if he could have been reached and ministered to that night.

That night Lee and his army retreated, taking off everything that was in good order. The route was by a rough road running south from Sharpsburg a mile or so to the Potomac and the crossing was at Boteler's ford and at Shepherdstown. The wagons and most of the artillery went first. The infantry waded the river; Fitzhugh Lee's brigade of Stuart's Cavalry guarded the rear.

The movement was made so rapidly and the Confederates slipped away so quietly, although taking a lot of their wounded with them, that McClellan did not discover what they had done until next morning at daylight. He had ordered another attack on the 19th.

All day on the 18th he had his batteries massed on the ridge on the east side of the Antietam near the Burnside bridge, expecting an attack from the Confederates in that quarter.

The nominal list of the First Minnesota gives one officer and 15 privates killed and 1 private mortally wounded, a total of 17 lives lost; 5 officers and 64 privates wounded, and 21 privates missing, a total of 107 killed, wounded, and missing, not including the Sharpshooters. The officer killed was Capt. Gustavus Adolphus Holtzborn, commanding Company K, the Winona Company. Among the wounded were Capt. D. C. Smith, of Company D, the Minneapolis Company, who received a severe wound in the thigh; Capt. George Pomeroy and Lieuts. J. H. Shepley and M. F. Taylor, Company E, the St. Anthony Company; Capt. Chas. P. Adams, Company H, the Hastings Company, and Sergt. Major E. S. Past, who was discharged for disability from wounds. The Regiment loss was less than that of any other in the

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brigade as it was on the extreme right and hence not exposed to the enemy's heaviest fire, which was mainly directed upon the Fifteenth Massachusetts.

Captain Russell's Company, L, Second Minnesota Sharpshooters, had 21 men wounded, one dying of his wound later. The company took 42 men into the fight and its loss was therefore 50 per cent.

Of the strength of the Regiment on entering the fight, Col. Sully says: "We marched into the action with 435 men. This includes the Second Minnesota Sharpshooters, but not Company I; that company was not with us."

All the same three men of Company I were wounded in the battle, and two of them, Chas. Nassig and Milo S. Whiteomb, were discharged on account of their wounds. Adding the sharpshooters' loss of 21 wounded to the Regiment's casualty list gives a total loss of 128 killed, wounded, and missing. The Government Records (War Recs., Vol. 12, part 1, p. 192) give the total at 90, but these figures are from imperfect reports furnished soon after the battle.

COLOR-SERGEANT BLOOMER'S ADVENTURE.

Among the wounded recovered was Sam Bloomer, of Company B, the Stillwater Company, the regimental color bearer, whose right knee was shattered by a musket ball, while resting the flagstaff on a fence at the Hagerstown pike. He crawled into the West Woods, near the Dunker Church, and sheltered himself behind an oak tree until the battle was over, caring for his wound as best he could.

After Sedgwick's Division left the field, Sergeant Bloomer was assisted by some Confederates, who piled cordwood about him as a breastwork. These Confederates were of the First Georgia Regulars, of "Tige" Anderson's Brigade, which had been sent up

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by General Longstreet to help Hood. The brigade was driven away by Sedgwick's advance (chiefly by the firing of Gorman's Brigade) and Sergeant Bloomer's friends had become separated from their regiment. One Confederate officer abused the wounded and helpless soldier and took away his sword and revolver; but Stonewall Jackson rode by and spoke kindly to him.

In 1901 Sam Bloomer, who had his leg amputated at the David Hoffman barn, on the Antietam battlefield, corresponded with W. H. Andrews, formerly first sergeant of Company M, First Georgia Regulars, one of the Confederates that assisted him when he lay wounded in the Dunker Church woods. Mr. Andrews, in 1901, lived at Sugar Valley, Gordon County, Georgia. The correspondence is interesting and is preserved in Sam Bloomer's scrap book, in the Stillwater Public Library. It corroborates the official evidence that Geo. T. Anderson's Brigade assisted Hood's Division in defending the Dunker Church woods against Sedgwick's attack. The First Georgia Regulars and the Eighth Georgia, mentioned by Sergeant Andrews, were regiments in the brigade of Geo. T. (or "Tige") Anderson.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FROM ANTIETAM TO LOUDOUN VALLEY.

ON THE evening of September 18 the Confederates began slipping their wagon trains and some of their artillery across the Potomac by the numerous fords and crossings in the vicinity of Shepherdstown. The principal crossing was just below Shepherdstown by Boteler's or Blackford's ford. Shepherdstown is on the West Virginia side of the Potomac and about two miles south of Sharpsburg, and therefore from two to four miles from the Antietam battlefield. The Potomac in this vicinity was then about 300 yards wide but only about three feet deep. The infantry waded it and every wheeled vehicle passed it without difficulty. The whole Confederate army except the wounded was across by the morning of the 19th. Shepherdstown then, like Sharpsburg, was populated very largely by Confederate wounded, every building being a hospital.

Fitzhugh Lee's brigade of Virginia Cavalry protected the rear of the direct retreat, but Hampton's and Munford's brigades of Stúart's Cavalry crossed into Virginia at an obscure ford and then went up the river 15 miles to Williamsport, and re-crossed into Maryland. Stuart apparently threatened to go back and attack the Union forces in the rear of Antietam battlefield. This was a "bluff" to draw away a part of the pursuit after Lee's weak army. It did not wholly succeed. Couch's Division of 7,000 was sent up to Williamsport and soon drove away the Confederate cavalry, but this did not interfere with McClellan's other movements.

In the evening of the 19th the Confederates moved

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out from Shepherdstown on the road leading to Martinsburg. Their affairs were in bad shape. Wagons full of wounded but empty as to provisions; ammunition very scarce; the spirits of the men very low. The leading officers were happy. No attack worthy the name had been made against them on the 18th and not a trigger drawn against their re-crossing the Potomac back into the welcoming embraces of "Ole Virginny." Lawton's shattered brigade was left on the high bluffs of the Potomac, near Shepherdstown, in support of some batteries.

In the afternoon of the 19th, when McClellan concluded to pursue Lee, Porter's Corps—being fresh and unhurt—was selected to lead the pursuit. General Griffin took a part of his brigade and crossed the river, sealed the high bluffs, and captured a few pieces of artillery, Lawton's played-out men making but little fight. Griffin returned to the Maryland side. Next morning Sykes' and Morell's Divisions crossed.

The Confederates were four miles on the way to Martinsburg when Sykes and Morell crossed. At once A. P. Hill and Early with nine small brigades were sent back. In the fight that resulted Barnes' Brigade of Morell was engaged on the Union side and defeated by Hill's and Early's brigades.

For four days after the great and bloody passage at arms at Antietam the First Minnesota remained in camp on the battlefield. It was engaged in burying the dead, in picket duty, and in reconnaissances until September 22. On the 21st Rev. Henry B. Whipple, afterwards the well known bishop of the Episcopal church, visited the regiment and made an interesting address to the men.

The Twelfth Corps, now commanded by General Williams, marched down and occupied Maryland



COL. GEO. N. MORGAN,
The Fourth Colonel of the Regiment.

FROM ANTIETAM TO LOUDOUN VALLEY

Heights, near Harper's Ferry on the 20th. McClellan was ostensibly preparing to follow Lee and Jackson. At daylight on the 22d the First Minnesota broke camp at Antietam and marched to Harper's Ferry, ten miles away to the south. The Regiment encamped on Bolivar Heights, with the rest of Gorman's Brigade. General Sumner, with the Second Corps, was in general command at Harper's Ferry. It was determined that the Union occupation of this important point should be permanent, and to prevent any more captures of the place the three commanding points, Maryland, Bolivar and Loudoun Heights, were strongly fortified.

COLONEL SULLY BECOMES A BRIGADIER—LIEUTENANT COLONEL MORGAN BECOMES COLONEL.

To date from September 26, Colonel Sully was promoted to brigadier general of volunteers. Lieut. Col. Geo. N. Morgan was promoted to the Colonelcy of the regiment in General Sully's stead, and to rank as such from Nov. 14, 1862; Colonel Morgan had previously ranked as lieutenant colonel from October 22. Major Wm. Colvill became lieutenant colonel in Colonel Morgan's place, having been major since September 17, when Lieutenant Colonel Miller had been succeeded by Colonel Sully; Major Colvill was originally captain of Company F, the Red Wing Company. Capt. Chas. P. Adams, of Company H., the Hastings Company, was promoted to major to take rank from September 26.

Colonel Morgan had gone out as captain of Company E, the St. Anthony Company, and had passed regularly through the grades of major and lieutenant colonel. He was a very efficient officer in all respects, but unfortunately he was in poor health and unable to command at all times, and at last was forced to

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resign from the service, May 5, 1863.

Gen. John Sedgwick never returned to his division after he was wounded at Antietam. When he rejoined the army he was placed in command of the Sixth Corps. He was succeeded in the command of the Second Division by Gen. Oliver O. Howard, who had been in command of the Third Brigade. He did not assume the position immediately and for some days the Division was commanded by General Gorman, who was succeeded in the command of the First Brigade by General Sully. When the latter made up his staff he selected as one of his aides Lieut. Josias R. King, who had been serving as adjutant of the First Minnesota for some time.

The Regiment with the brigade, remained on Bolivar Heights for about six weeks. When it first came the men were in need of clothing; the three weeks of marching and campaigning from Washington to Harper's Ferry had been hard on the uniforms. But in a little while new clothing was received, the men were paid off, and happiness was general throughout the camps.

October 1st President Lincoln reviewed the troops at Harper's Ferry and thoroughly inspected the place. General McClellan accompanied him. At this time the General still maintained his headquarters at Antietam and the President visited him there and was his guest. Together, the General and the President rode over the battlefields of South Mountain and Antietam and McClellan explained the contests from his viewpoint.

BRAVE OLD GENERAL SUMNER LEAVES THE SECOND CORPS.

October 7 the noble old commander of the Second Corps, Maj. Gen. Edwin Vose Sumner, was, on his

FROM ANTIETAM TO LOUDOUN VALLEY

application, granted a leave of absence which involved his surrendering the command of the Corps. He was succeeded by Maj. Gen. Darius N. Couch, who in front of Richmond had commanded a Division in Keyes' Fourth Corps to whose timely relief the First Minnesota and Gorman's Brigade came at the battle of Fair Oaks. A few weeks before General Couch's Division had been transferred to Porter's Fifth Corps. General Couch assumed his Corps command on the 9th. He was a small man, slightly built and very quiet in his manners. He was a brave man and without being a great general he was a very good one and withal a faithful soldier.

Ever since Antietam, when Sedgwick's Division gave way, General Sumner had been depressed and disconsolate. General Walker was adjutant general of the Second Corps and very intimate with General Sumner. In his history of the Second Corps, page 117, General Walker says of the old hero: "He was heartbroken at the terrible fate of the splendid Division on which he had so much relied, which he had deemed invincible, and his proximity to the disaster had been so close as to convey a shock to his system from which he had not recovered."

Although General Sumner had himself ordered the Division away from the field, saying: "My God! We must get out of this," yet he claimed that he did so because he saw that the regiments were in disorder and not disposed to fight the enemy with proper bravery and desperation, and that they would soon be suffering far worse than they then were. General Sedgwick had been so badly wounded that at last he had to leave the field; his cousin, (who was also his adjutant general) Maj. W. D. Sedgwick, was mortally hurt, dying in a few hours; General Dana and a lot of other good officers had been seriously

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wounded and many had been killed, and now the good regiments on whom he relied were broken and bleeding almost at every pore. Then the sudden appearance on the left flank of Walker's Confederates yelling and slaying, without being sufficiently resisted—these disasters demoralized him and he gave the order to "get out of this."

This great old warrior, the American Bluecher, the Yankee "Marshal Forward," sank in spirits and in health after Antietam. His 65 years of active life began to tell on him. He came back to the army in the first week of November and was soon given command of Burnside's "Right Grand Division," composed of the Second and Ninth Corps, and fought it as well as possible at Fredericksburg. The ill success and the fatigue of that criminal operation hurt him in mind and heart and frame. He was relieved from active service a month after Fredericksburg and soon after appointed to the command of the Department of Missouri. He was on his way to his command when by serious illness he was forced to stop at Syracuse, N. Y. Here he languished until March 21, when, having lived nobly, he died bravely. Fifteen minutes before his spirit took flight he roused himself from sleep and extending his hand cried out exultantly: "The Second Corps never lost a flag or a cannon!"* The attendants ran to his bedside and he said to them: "That is true—never lost one." Then he sank into a seeming stupor. The attendants raised his head and handed him a glass of wine and asked him to drink it. With great effort he waved the glass above his head and uttered this

*A common version is that the old general said: "The Second Corps never lost a color or a gun," but the quotation above is from an eye and ear witness.—See American Encyclopedia.

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sentiment: "God save my country, the United States of America." He took the wine at one draught. Then he lay back, the glass loosened from his fingers and in two minutes he was dead.

October 16th, while the greater part of the army was on the Maryland side of the Potomac, General McClellan sent out two important reconnaissances to "feel the enemy." General Humphreys took his Division, 500 cavalry and a battery, in all 6,000, and went from Sharpsburg to Smithfield, Va., via Shepherdstown and Kearneysville. He found plenty of Confederates and had a light skirmish with a small force at Kearneysville, losing three killed.

The same day, General Hancock took Richardson's old Division which he now commanded—1,500 men of other divisions, under Colonel Lee, of the Twentieth Massachusetts, some cavalry, and Tompkins' Rhode Island battery, and went from Harper's Ferry ten miles to westward to Charlestown, the county seat of Jefferson county and where John Brown was tried and executed. This was another effort to "ascertain the whereabouts of the enemy," and when his "whereabouts" were ascertained then his "which-aways" were to be looked into.

The First Minnesota went on this expedition. It belonged to Colonel Lee's command and there were with it the Twentieth Massachusetts, Seventh Michigan, the Forty-second and Fifty-ninth New York, and the Seventy-first and Seventy-second Pennsylvania, the last two named being respectively known as the California Regiment and Baxter's Fire Zouaves. The First Minnesota was under command of Colonel Morgan, and was detached for skirmishing during the reconnaissance.

Charlestown was reached in due time and there was a little skirmishing with Colonel Munford's

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brigade of four regiments of Virginia Cavalry and one gun of Chew's battery and three guns of the Richmond Howitzers. The latter were under Capt. B. H. Smith, of Richmond, and he fought them so pluckily as to win Hancock's and everybody else's praise.

Munford's command was soon driven away and General Hancock occupied Charlestown until the afternoon of the next day. Captain Smith, the brave artillerist, and about 100 Confederates wounded at Antietam, with surgeons, nurses, etc., were found in the town and paroled, and 28 stragglers rounded up and taken back to Harper's Ferry. General Hancock learned that Lee's army was still in the Valley encamped along Opequan Creek, from seven to ten miles west of Charlestown. The command returned to Harper's Ferry on the 18th. It encamped at Halltown, five miles east of Charlestown the night of the 17th. (War Recs.) No casualties were reported on the Union side. Colonel Munford said he had two killed and three wounded in his batteries and several cavalry were wounded.

Lochren says that at Charlestown the Confederates "shelled us furiously as we advanced toward the town, but retired before our infantry about four miles beyond that place." Munford was pursued beyond Charlestown by the infantry and Lochren says: "Night and heavy rain coming on we started to return (from the pursuit) in intense darkness, in which our guides lost their way and the most of the night was spent in comfortless wandering, not reaching Charlestown until near day." Colonel Lee, the commander of the temporary brigade, to which the First Minnesota was attached on the expedition, reported: "The troops under my command were not engaged with the enemy but their behavior was in

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every respect perfectly satisfactory.”

About the 4th of October, Sully's Brigade was joined by a new regiment, the Nineteenth Maine, Col. Frederick D. Sewall. It was one of the new regiments recruited and organized in August and came out with the new levy under the President's call for 300,000 more, "shouting the battle cry of freedom." Nearly all of the new regiments organized under this call in the Eastern and Middle States came to the Army of the Potomac, and as has been noted some of them came in time to take part in the battle of Antietam. The Nineteenth Maine was a splendid regiment, nearly 900 strong. It was badly needed by the Brigade, which had lost nearly 800 of its members at Antietam. Twenty-one other new infantry regiments came to McClellan's army about this time.

On the 26th of October the extreme advance of that part of McClellan's army on the Maryland side of the Potomac began crossing that river on a pontoon bridge at Berlin, five miles below Harper's Ferry. The crossing was well under way on the 29th. The Sixth Corps was the last to cross on November 2.

The Second Corps, to which the First Minnesota belonged, and which formed the head of McClellan's great infantry column, crossed the Shenandoah at Harper's Ferry, October 30, and, passing around the base of Loudoun Heights in Loudoun Valley, moved southward nearly to Hill Grove, encamping that night in the woods.

This first day of the march was very hot. The Nineteenth Maine, inexperienced in campaigning, had an uncomfortable experience. Its men were newly recruited and had large outfits of clothing. Their knapsacks were stuffed on the inside and covered

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with articles strapped and tied on the outside. As the march progressed the burdens grew heavier, and finally, in order to lighten them so as to be able to march at all, the men began throwing their clothing away to the sides of the road. First the overcoats went, then the extra blankets, then trousers, etc., until finally the men were in good sensible marching order.

The First Minnesota and the other older regiments had gone through about the same experience that the Maine boys now met, and had profited by it. Lochren says: "As our regiment marched next behind the Maine regiment, with light knapsacks, and were well seasoned to fatigue, the men picked up the discarded new overcoats and much other clothing and before night were fully supplied for the cold weather which set in a week afterward." The Maine boys soon learned, as their older comrades had, not to draw clothing when expecting marching orders.

The last day of October was spent pleasantly by the greater part of the Brigade in picket duty and scouting up among the Blue Ridge mountains. McClellan made shrewd demonstrations against the gaps in the Blue Ridge mountains as if he meant to pass them and go westward and attack Lee and Jackson on the Occoquan. The passage of the Blue Ridge range could be made only at the gaps, which were not plentiful or always where they were desired. Every important gap was now defended by a detachment of Stuart's cavalry, with occasionally a small party of infantry.

November 1 Gorman's Division occupied Gregory's Gap in the Blue Ridge, 13 miles south of Harper's Ferry. Sunday morning, November 2, the Brigade marched on and bivouacked in line of battle during the night in front of Snicker's Gap, which is 18 miles

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south of Harper's Ferry. A part of Hancock's Division held the Gap. At first the Confederate Cavalry did not offer much opposition to the capture of the Gap, but after it was occupied they came back to regain it; a few rounds from two batteries drove them away.

At the east of Snicker's Gap is the little hamlet of Snickersville, named for its founder, Col. George Snicker, who graded and improved the gap under a charter from the Virginia Legislature in Colonial times. On the 3d the Division moved about ten miles south to Upperville, four miles east of Ashby's Gap, another noted pass through the Blue Ridge, 28 miles south of Harper's Ferry. Hancock's Division was left at Snickersville. On the 4th Sully's Brigade moved westward from Upperville to Paris, a little village at the east end of Ashby's Gap. Upperville now has a population of 350 and Paris of 168; each was nearly as large during the war.

The Confederates were preparing for a fight at Ashby's Gap and Gorman's Division and some cavalry moved against them. Approaching the Gap a line of battle was formed and skirmishers were thrown out. The batteries shelled the woods in front, the Fifteenth Massachusetts rushed and carried an important hill, and it seemed as if a battle were imminent. A heavy reserve occupied the hill and the pickets were thrown out half a mile beyond. The small Confederate force retired after developing the Union force and the next morning at 9 o'clock the Division was in unopposed and undisputed possession of Ashby's Gap. These demonstrations of McClellan against the gaps were, as has been said, merely deceptions.

Gorman's Brigade stayed in Paris until November 6. After the train had passed, the brigade fol-

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lowed as rear guard. Some sutlers that remained at the Gap to trade with the citizens were captured and their possessions confiscated by a dash of Stuart's Cavalry that had lurked in the rear watching for an opportunity to damage the Yankees without much risk to themselves. The Brigade remained in a commanding position, only a few miles from Ashby's Gap until November 8.

The march of the Brigade and Division, after it passed the Blue Ridge to the east near Harper's Ferry, down to Upperville and Paris, was through the famous Loudoun County. This county is nearly 30 miles long by from 20 to 25 miles wide, and its northern and northeastern boundary is the Potomac. Leesburg, near Edwards Ferry and Ball's Bluff, is the county seat. The great Loudoun Valley was then a beautiful and fertile country with pleasant villages and thrifty farms. It had never been overrun by the Union troops, but the Confederates had made frequent requisitions upon it.

The people were mainly of Confederate sympathies and hated Yankees intensely although a majority of them had never seen one in all their lives. Nearly all the able-bodied men were in the Confederate army either as volunteers or conscripts. The county is largely hilly and mountainous, and in the mountain districts were plenty of Union men, mostly of the poorer class. About 200 citizens of Loudoun County served in the Union army, and Capt. Sam Means' company, the "Loudoun Rangers," performed valuable services as scouts and raiders, frequently routing Confederate detachments and on two or three occasions defeated Mosby's men. In 1863 and 1864 Loudoun County was the scene of almost daily raids and encounters between Mosby's and other Confederates and detachments of Union cavalry.

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South of Loudoun, with the boundary running east and west a few hundred yards north of Paris and Upperville, is Fauquier County, whose county seat, about the center of the county, is Warrenton. Fauquier is largely a replica of Loudoun County, and it too in 1862 had fine farms with bountiful supplies for an army. These counties were often bragged about by the Confederates as examples of the high state of civilization generally prevalent throughout the Confederacy. The country was well enough, but not nearly so finely developed, attractive, and prosperous as scores of the older counties of Minnesota today. The so-called "plantations" were not so well kept and so valuable as thousands of farms in the North Star State have been for twenty years, and the dwelling houses of the wealthiest planters were not superior in any respect to very many of the residences of our Minnesota farmers. The ideal and much written of "magnificent plantations and palatial residences" in the South were almost mythical, and at least few and far apart.

But Loudoun and Fauquier Counties abounded in things more attractive to McClellan's soldiers than fine plantations and attractive manor houses. The farms still maintained fat cattle, pigs, sheep and poultry, all belonging to the enemy and fair spoil for the Union soldiers—as fair as was the property of the Union Marylanders to Lee's men. In particular the country abounded in nice fat sheep, to the raising of which the rolling and hilly country was well adapted.

There were stringent orders against foraging on the country, notwithstanding it was as Confederate in sympathy as South Carolina. Notwithstanding any of the owners of these flocks and herds would have exultantly shot the general or any of his men

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in the back if they could have done so without discovery; and notwithstanding the Confederate forces had been and would continue to be supplied with meat from Faquier and Loudoun, yet the Union soldiers were forbidden to take any sort of supplies from the hostile people through whom they marched. This order was made to preserve the discipline of the troops, rather than to protect the property of Southern people.

But these orders were not invariably obeyed. In particular there was a craving for the savory and fresh mutton so plentiful in the country and so easily obtained. In his history of the Second Army Corps, (p. 134) referring to the situation at this time, Gen. Francis A. Walker says:

“Although this was one of the best disciplined commands of the army, with a high repute for good order, a mania now seized the troops for killing sheep. When the fat and fleecy flocks of the country through which we were now called to pass came in sight, discipline for the moment gave way, at least so far as mutton was concerned. In vain did officers storm and swear; in vain was the saber used freely over the heads of the offenders who were caught; in vain, even, did the provost guard of one division fire ball cartridges from the road at their comrades crossing a field on a sheep foray. By order of General Couch, every evening upon coming into camp three courts, one in each division, were in session with sheep raiders before them. Sharp and summary were the punishments inflicted but the sheep killing went on as bad as ever.”

Lochren relates an incident of sheep foraging at this time, when some Minnesota men, by their pres-

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ence of mind, escaped punishment for cold-blooded sheepicide and put the offense upon some of the unsophisticated Nineteenth Maine:

“One of our men, an incorrigible forager, at the close of a day’s march, with the assistance of two or three comrades, captured a fat sheep in the edge of the wood, and while they were dressing it some members of the Maine regiment came up and watched the proceedings. The chief forager chanced to see what no one else saw—a squad of the provost guard approaching stealthily through the brush. Speaking quickly, but in low tones, to his comrades, he said: “Boys, that other sheep we got is enough for us; let us give this one to those Maine boys.” His comrades knew there was no “other sheep,” but also knew there was good reason for his sudden generosity. They replied, “all right,” and all four of them hurried away. The Maine men had begun to divide the carcass when the provost guard pounced upon them, and in spite of their protests marched them away. Passing Division headquarters later in the evening, the Minnesota forager saw the luckless Maine boys tied up to cross bars and added insult to their injuries by calling out to them: “Say, boys, how did you like your mutton?”

Lochren further says that the people of the country were all staunch Confederates, but were willing and even anxious to sell their produce to the soldiers for Confederate paper currency. At this time a certain Philadelphia concern was flooding the army with counterfeit Confederate notes, and a large volume of this spurious paper was soon circulating among the people of Loudoun and Fauquier. But the U. S. authorities soon stopped the manu-

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facture and passing of the bogus "rebel money." To make or pass it was made a crime of equal gravity with the crime of making or passing spurious U. S. money.

The weather in the Valley during the first days of the marching was changeable. Some days were hot. The 7th of November there was a chilling wind and the air was full of frost and flying snow the greater part of the day. But the men were well supplied with clothing, tents, and other necessary articles and there was not much discomfort.

McClellan's movement down Loudoun Valley, east of the Blue Ridge Mountains and between Lee's army and Washington, was as has been previously stated, another movement on Richmond. His primary destination was Culpeper C. H., 60 miles south of Harper's Ferry, and his secondary objective point was Gordonville, 25 miles south of Culpeper. En-route he meant to occupy Warrenton, at the southern end of the famous turnpike from Washington, and the terminus of a branch of the Orange & Alexandria Railway; Warrenton is the county seat of Fauquier County. Culpeper and Gordonville are both on the Orange & Alexandria Railway, which line General McClellan expected to use to draw his supplies from Washington.

New enlistments under President Lincoln's call and other re-enforcements had increased McClellan's army very largely after the battle of Antietam. October 25 he said it numbered 116,000 men; by Nov. 1 he had sent a brigade back to Maryland and the Twelfth Corps, under Slocum, was left at Harper's Ferry. He probably invaded Virginia with 100,000 officers and men and 6,000 were cavalry, under Gen. John Buford.

The President had by this time become greatly

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dissatisfied with General McClellan. He had little faith in the General's plan of invasion. He had no faith that Lee would be fooled by McClellan's demonstrations against the Blue Ridge gaps as if he meant to suddenly go through them and fall on the Confederate forces about Winchester and Occoquan. He feared that after the Union army had proceeded 50 miles or so it would find the Confederates in its front disputing every inch of the way to Richmond. So Lincoln said, after consenting to trust McClellan once more: "If he shall permit Lee to cross the Blue Ridge to the east, and place his army between Richmond and the Army of the Potomac, I shall remove him from command." (Nie. & Hay, Vol. 6, p. 188.) And on the 5th of November Lincoln learned that Longstreet's Corps had crossed the Blue Ridge and was firmly fixed at Culpeper C. H., squarely across McClellan's front and at the first objective point the Union general aimed. He had reached Culpeper the evening of the 3d, the day after McClellan's rear guard crossed the Potomac.

Lee and his generals soon perceived McClellan's plans. Stonewall Jackson with his Corps of 30,000 was left back in the Shenandoah Valley. He took position on the road from Berryville to Charlestown, about twelve miles west of Snicker's Gap. If McClellan should pass through that Gap and come toward Berryville, Jackson would meet him and check him till Longstreet could come to his assistance.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BURNSIDE SUCCEEDS McCLELLAN.

ON the night of November 7th, when General McClellan was at Rectortown and Sumner was there and Hancock's Division was there and Gorman's old brigade was out near Ashby's Gap, an order came from the Secretary of War "by direction of the President" relieving McClellan of the command of the Army of the Potomac. General Burnside was appointed his successor. Burnside protested vigorously for a long time against accepting the command. He said frankly and earnestly: "I am not competent to command such a large army as this." He wanted McClellan left in command and said that. "if things could be satisfactorily arranged," that officer could command the army better than any other general in it.

Lochren says that when the news of McClellan's removal reached Gorman's Division, "officers and men were stunned and exasperated almost to the point of mutiny.***Deepest sorrow and despondency prevailed on November 10, when the army was drawn up to take leave of McClellan. Strong men shed tears. A majority of the line officers of the First Minnesota sent in their resignations," etc. The resignations were soon recalled, however, and the men had to accept the situation.

The army of the Potomac loved and had great confidence in General McClellan. Officers and men felt that he saved the Capital, if not the country, on two occasions—after McDowell's defeat at Bull Run and Pope's defeat at the second Bull Run. They knew of his skillful change of base at Harrison's

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Landing, his victory at Antietam. All in all, Nov. 10, 1862, was one of the darkest days for the Army of the Potomac.

General Burnside was thoroughly loyal and patriotic. He was sincere, honest and frank.

Having had the command of the army virtually forced upon him, General Burnside assumed it reluctantly. He gathered up the greater part of the divisions that McClellan had scattered about, and concentrated them about Warrenton. Here he spent ten days. In order to get the reins of the army well into his hands, he divided it into three teams which he called Grand Divisions.

These were the Right Grand Division, commanded by General Sumner and composed of the Second Corps under General Couch and the Ninth Corps under General Orlando B. Willcox; the Center Grand Division, commanded by General Hooker and composed of the Third Corps under Gen. George Stoneman and the Fifth Corps under Gen. Dan Butterfield; the Left Grand Division, commanded by General Franklin and composed of the First Corps under Gen. John F. Reynolds and the Sixth Corps under Gen. Wm. Farrar Smith. Distributed among the Grand Divisions were 15 cavalry regiments organized into four brigades, the whole commanded by Gen. Alfred Pleasanton.

General Hancock still commanded the First and General French the Third Division of the Second Corps, while the Second Division was now commanded by Gen. O. O. Howard, General Gorman having gone to the West. The First Minnesota was still in Couch's Second Corps, and in the Second Division and in that Division's First Brigade, now commanded by General Sully. The other regiments of the brigade were the old comrades, the Fifteenth Massa-

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achusetts, Maj. Chase Philbrick; the Thirty-fourth New York, Col. James A. Suiter; the Eighty-second New York, Lieut. Col. James Huston, and the new Nineteenth Maine, Col. Fred D. Sewall. There were attached to the Brigade two companies of sharpshooters, the First Company of Massachusetts, Capt. Wm. Plumer, and the Second of Minnesota, Capt. W. F. Russell.

General Burnside resolved to abandon offensive action on the Gordonville line and make a change of base from Warrenton to Fredericksburg. The latter is on the Rappahannock River, 35 miles or so southeast of Warrenton, and 12 miles southwest of the Potomac River, the eastern terminus of the Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad. General Burnside thought Fredericksburg would make an admirable base for his operations against Richmond. The ground was high, dry and easily defended and his supplies could be brought by water up the Potomac to Aquia Creek Station and from thence by rail over the Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad to Fredericksburg, which is on the south side of the Rappahannock, in Spotsylvania county, and nearly 40 miles due north of Richmond.

Swinton tell us (p. 233) on the authority of one of Burnside's Corps commanders "then most intimate in his confidence" that General Burnside did not intend to try to reach Richmond until the next spring. He meant to pass the winter at Fredericksburg and in the spring set out for Richmond, via the Peninsula and the James River, McClellan's old route.

But he must first capture Fredericksburg and that place was on the south side of the Rappahannock, where the stream was troublesome to cross.

The project of changing the line of operations to

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the Fredericksburg route was not thoroughly approved at Washington, but was finally assented to. Lincoln had removed McClellan because he would not march rapidly and give battle to the enemy. But Lincoln did not want to change commanders every week, and so on the 15th of November General Burnside put his troops in motion from Warrenton for Fredericksburg. It was determined to march to Falmouth, a little hamlet on the north bank of the Rappahannock, a mile or so above Fredericksburg, and cross the river by a pontoon bridge and seize the high bluffs on the south bank. Burnside had no pontoons with him; they were to be sent to him from Washington.

Sumner's right guard division led the van and after a two days' march arrived at Falmouth on the afternoon of the 17th. Fredericksburg was then occupied by Colonel Ball's Fifteenth Virginia Cavalry, four companies of Mississippi infantry from Barksdale's Brigade, and Lewis's Virginia battery. When the head of Sumner's column reached the bluff overlooking the river, Lewis's battery opened fire. Sumner ordered up the nearest Union battery, Pettit's B, First New York, and in a few minutes silenced the Confederate guns.

Sumner was for dashing across the river at once. The river was fordable then, four miles above at Banks' Ford, and could be easily waded by infantry and crossed by the batteries. There was also another practicable ford between Banks's and Fredericksburg. General Sumner was very impatient to cross at once and take possession of Fredericksburg and the heights in the rear, but Burnside would not allow him to. In his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, General Sumner testified on this point:

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My orders were not to cross; but the temptation was strong to go over and take these guns the enemy had left. That same night I sent a note to General Burnside asking if I should take Fredericksburg in the morning, should I be able to find a practicable ford, which, by the way, I knew when I wrote I could find (having already found it.) The General replied that he did not think it advisable to occupy Fredericksburg until his communications were established.—Report, p. 657.

Burnside's delay proved disastrous to his army and the Union cause. On the 19th and 20th Hooker's and Franklin's Grand Divisions came up, but no move was made to cross the river.

LEE MOVES TO MEET BURNSIDE.

When Burnside's army began its march from Warrenton, Longstreet's Confederate Corps was at Culpeper. Jackson's Corps, except one division, was west of the Blue Ridge and in the Shenandoah Valley.

As soon as Burnside had developed his intention of occupying Fredericksburg, Stonewall Jackson was directed to bring his Corps from the Shenandoah Valley down to Orange Court House, which is 40 miles west of Fredericksburg and be prepared to join Longstreet at the latter town. Jackson came by slow marches, for the roads were rough, the weather inclement. Jackson reached Fredericksburg about December 1st, having been for some days watching the lower Rappahannock, for Burnside pretended that he was about to cross the river at Fort Royal, which is 20 miles below Fredericksburg.

Burnside did not try to cross the river until December 11, three weeks after his arrival, and by that time the Confederates had been able to build such strong fortifications to shelter themselves that

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they had no fears whatever of the result of any attack. General Burnside was not blamable for some days of this delay. General Walker says, in his history of the Second Corps, (p. 141) that the authorities at Washington had promised General Burnside that pontoon boats to enable him to cross the Rappahannock should be sent to Falmouth and arrive there as soon as the army. General Sumner's advance reached Falmouth, November 17th, the whole army was up on the 20th; the pontoons did not come until the 25th.

General Burnside's first care was for his supplies, and these were soon arriving regularly. A great depot was built at Acquia Creek Station where that stream empties into the Potomac, and big sea-going vessels could land or dock at that station. Then the railroad between the station and Fredericksburg was soon put in full running order, and supplies reached Burnside's army as regularly as if it had been encamped at Washington.

After thorough consideration, involving several days, General Burnside decided to cross the river and attack the Confederates on the high ridges west of Fredericksburg.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG.

PASSING over many of the preliminaries to the battle of Fredericksburg, it is necessary, in order that the great conflict be intelligently understood, to describe briefly the natural situation. At Fredericksburg the Rappahannock flows through a huge trough-shaped valley, resembling portions of the Minnesota Valley in our own state. A high ridge runs along either side, the river flowing in a general direction from northwest to southeast. On the south or west side, the ground at the river is flat and slopes gradually back to the crest of the ridge. A portion of this crest is called Marye's Heights (local pronunciation, Maree's Heights) or Marye's Hill, because the ground was then owned and partly occupied by the fine house and premises of a Colonel Marye. On these heights and the crest of the ridge were the Confederate positions and fortifications. Between the river bank and the crest, on the level and sloping land, was built the town of Fredericksburg.

On the north or east side of the river was another high and commanding ridge called Stafford Heights, because that side of the river is in Stafford County. Along this ridge, which equaled in height the west ridge, was disposed the army of General Burnside whose artillery perfectly commanded the plain of Fredericksburg.

On the 21st of November General Sumner demanded of the mayor and council of Fredericksburg the surrender of the city. He said his troops had been fired upon from it, and that it was and would

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continue to be occupied by detachments of the Confederate army and that the whole town was in general rebellion, etc. If the demand was refused, the general said he would, after 16 hours, shell the town. In great alarm Mayor Slaughter ran to General Longstreet and the latter said: "Answer General Sumner that we shall not occupy the town, for he would drive us out of it in five minutes with his artillery." When the mayor told the general this, the latter said he would not shell the town. But eventually Longstreet's troops did occupy the town and Sumner shelled it.

The scope of this history does not warrant an extended survey of the entire field of operations known as the "Battle of Fredericksburg," consequently that portion with which the regiment was not connected can be given a more general treatment.

Especially is this so in view of the great amount of war literature—Union and Confederate—that has been published, bearing on this contest.

Generally it may be said that General Burnside's artillery under its Chief—Col. Henry J. Hunt—consisting of 147 cannon, was posted on Stafford Heights where they had the range of Fredericksburg and the crossing place for the Union troops opposite the city.

The effort of the engineer troops to lay the bridges, was for a time defeated by enemy riflemen posted in buildings and cellars along the river front of the city. Nine unsuccessful attempts were made.

Most of the inhabitants had left the city and the crossing being hotly contested, the Union guns were opened on the river front of the city, but without driving away the enemy. Therefore it was determined to send a body of troops across the river in pontoons, and this being done, the enemy was driven off the river front and the bridges were successfully

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laid, being completed about sundown.

That evening Howard's Division crossed over into the city. The next day, Hancock's and French's Divisions of Couch's Second Corps, and the Ninth Corps (Gen. O. B. Wilcox) crossed, thus placing Sumner's Right Grand Division in the city.

During these operations Franklin's Left Grand Division had crossed over bridges he had constructed about a mile below the city limits. Hooker's Center Grand Division still remained on the north side of the river.

Howard's Division occupied the town of Fredericksburg the night of the 11th and many of the men slept on feather beds. For the houses and their ordinary contents were abandoned by the owners and were rapaciously looted by the soldiers. The whole day of the 12th was spent in bringing over the remainder of the troops, the batteries, the hospital stores, etc., in reconnoitering the Confederate positions, and in general preparation for the awful killing of the next day. That night the troops lay on their arms under a cold December sky and under depressing conditions, but all seemed cheerful and unapprehensive. Then came the morning of the 13th, and this was to be the day of battle.

During the forenoon of the 12th a thick fog, like a great heavy gray veil, hung over Fredericksburg and shielded from the observation of Lee, Longstreet and Jackson the Union troops as they crossed the river and sat down in the town. The weather during the last week in November was unusually cold and some snow fell, and the same temperature prevailed during the first week in December. On the 5th several inches of snow fell. On the 7th it was as cold as the same day in Minnesota. The ground was frozen on the 10th and the artillery passed over with-

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out breaking it. But the 11th and 12th, though too cold for comfort, were a little milder, causing heavy fogs to rise from the river and its low banks.

The battlefield of Fredericksburg presents the character of a broken plain stretching back from the southern bank of the Rappahannock from 600 yards to two miles. At these distances the field rises into a bold ridge that forms a slight angle with the river, and is itself commanded by an elevated plateau. This ridge, from opposite Falmouth down to where it touches Massaponax Creek is about six miles long. For its six miles it constituted the natural vantage ground which the Confederates had strengthened with earthworks and crowned with artillery. On Marye's Hill the cannon were so thickly and so well placed that General Alexander, the Confederate Chief of Artillery, declared to General Longstreet: "They will rake the hillside as close as a fine-toothed comb; a chicken cannot live down there when the assault is being made." (Batts. & Leads., p. 79.)

Between the rear of the town and the main hill there then ran a canal which by the prolongation of a mill race, extended from a bend in the river above the town, southward nearly to the extreme southern limits of the town, when it turned eastward and emptied into Hazel Run; this canal turned a paper mill in the northwestern part of town. It had to be crossed by an assaulting party before the hill could be fairly attacked. At noon of the 12th, by order of General Patrick, the Provost Marshal, Captain Cummings' Company Eighty-second New York (Sully's Brigade) went out to the paper mill, chased away the Confederate pickets, and turned off the water of the mill race that emptied into the canal.

From the center of the town westward ran two prominent roads. The northern or plank road ran

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northwest to Culpeper Court House; the southern, called the Telegraph road, ran almost due south towards Richmond. It had been used so long and washed out by heavy rains so frequently that its bed was from two to three feet below the surface, and certain writers call it the "Sunken road." Both roads ascended the ridge and crossed the Confederate works at right angles. By the first mile of these roads and over the intervening ground the Union assault was to be made on the high ridge called Marye's Heights. This position formed the left of the Confederate line, and here General Lee disposed Longstreet's Corps, 30,000 men whose infantry was behind a good stone wall on the east side of the Telegraph road.* It was these heights which General Sumner's Right Grand Division was to assail.

The left of the Union line, composed of Franklin's Grand Division, was two miles below Fredericksburg proper, opposite the right of the Confederate line, held by Stonewall Jackson's Corps, 28,000 strong. Jeb. Stuart, with two brigades of cavalry, 3,500 men and 18 pieces of horse artillery, formed the extreme right, extending down to Massaponax Creek, five miles below Fredericksburg.

Under the plan of the coming battle Franklin was not to make an effective attack, but to put in "one division, at least," and try to carry the enemy's position. The order said: "You will send one division, at least, to seize, if possible, the heights near Hamilton's Crossing and take care to keep it well supported and its line of retreat open." The rest of the Grand Division was to be held in reserve, "in position for a rapid movement down the old Rich-

*There was a wall on both sides of the road, but that on the east side, which was breast high, was the one mostly used. (Longstreet.)

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mond road," a road running west from the extreme Union left well around Jackson's flank, including Stuart's Cavalry and crossing the Massaponax.

General Sumner's instructions were of like tenor. He was to extend the left of his Grand Division to Deep Run, to connect with Franklin's. Then he was to get "a division or more" in readiness to move "along the plank road and the telegraph road with a view to seizing the heights in the rear of the town;" but he was not to move this division until ordered by General Burnside, which meant that he must wait until Franklin's movement had succeeded.

The details of this movement under Franklin are foreign to our present purpose, and it is sufficient to say that it failed and at its close the enemy remained in its position, and General Franklin withdrew to the position he occupied south of the river before the battle commenced, and afterward recrossed the river to the left flank.

While Franklin was occupying the attention of the Confederate right wing under General Jackson General Sumner's troops engaged the enemy on Marye's Hill.

At the time Burnside's attack on the Union left was fully developed, General Sumner, on the right, was ordered to assail Marye's Heights.

General Burnside forbade General Sumner from crossing the river to direct the assault of his men, for fear that he would do "something rash." (Batts. & Leads., p. 110.) From the north side of the river, where he couldn't even smell the powder, General Sumner had to give his orders and do his fighting. As per Burnside's orders, Sumner directed Couch to "form a column of a Division" and push out along the plank and telegraph roads and "seize the heights." Another division was to be "held in

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readiness to advance in support of this movement." In sending the order to Couch for the movement, Colonel Taylor, Sumner's Chief of Staff, added the following postscript: "The major-general (Sumner) thinks that as Howard's division led into the town it is proper that one of the others take the advance."

General Couch directed General French to prepare his division in three brigade lines for the advance; Hancock was to follow with his division in the same order.

Toward 10 o'clock the cold, dense fog began to lift. The bluff but truly loyal old Marylander, General French, signaled, "I am ready." General Couch passed the signal on to Sumner, and about 11 o'clock the advance was ordered. French threw out a strong line of skirmishers and his brigades filed out of town on the quick step, by two parallel streets, Hanover on the right and Charlotte on the left. Hanover street ran into the telegraph road, which ran directly along the base of Marye's Hill, the stronghold of the Confederates.

On the outskirts of the town French's men struck the canal or ditch before mentioned. It was quite deep and though but 18 or 20 feet wide was hardly passable except at the street bridges. The floor of the Charlotte street bridge had been torn up and the advance men had to cross single file on the stringers. The advance was so delayed that the rear brigades were made to jump into the ditch, hurry across and then scramble out again. Thus much time was spent. Luckily the canal was nearly empty, Company H, of the Eighty-second New York, having turned off the water 24 hours before.

Once across the canal, the division deployed under the bank bordering the plain over which the men were to charge. This plain was obstructed here and

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there by houses and fences, notably at a fork made by the telegraph and plank roads. In the narrow angle of this fork was a cluster of houses and gardens; on the parallel road just south stood a large square brick house. The cluster of houses and the brick house became rallying points for the disordered troops returning from the attack. The fork in the telegraph road and the brick house were less than 150 yards from the stone wall, behind which Longstreet's infantrymen were posted, and which extended along the edge of the plain in front of the brick house for half a mile. A little in advance of this brick house a slight rising ground afforded some protection for the musketry behind the stone wall, but not against the combined and converging fire of the Confederate artillery on the heights. It must be borne in mind that the stone wall was at the base of the hill; the batteries were on the crest, 100 yards back of and 50 feet higher than the wall.

Now, the Confederate force on the heights and Marye's Hill was of Longstreet's Corps. General McLaws (in Batts. & Leads.) says that the heights above these troops were crowned with 18 rifle guns and 8 smooth bores; the official records confirm this and also show that there were present Colonel Walton's Washington Artillery, nine guns, and Alexander's Artillery Battalion, four batteries, "with a number of smooth bores from the reserve artillery." These guns being 100 yards back of and 50 feet higher than the stone wall (behind which the infantry lay) could easily fire over that infantry without danger to them.

French's Division had to squarely assault McLaws' and Ransom's and indirectly attack Pickett's Division, and Featherston's Mississippi brigade of Anderson's Division. In all French's men had to

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undergo the fire of 20,000 infantry and at least 53 pieces of artillery. The Division went into the charge with less than 2,800 officers and men. It was composed of eleven old and two new regiments, and the old regiments averaged less than 200 men apiece.

A few minutes after noon French's Division charged, Kimball's brigade leading, and a part of his brigade getting into the cluster of houses, which General Kimball in his report calls "a small village." No sooner had the Division burst upon the plain than from Longstreet's 53 cannon and Longstreet's 20,000 infantry came terrible and horrible volleys. The shot and shell opened gaps in the ranks, but the gaps were closed, and the constantly thinning lines pressed bravely on. They nearly reached the stone wall when Cobb's brigade and all the infantry within range opened upon them.

Let us hasten with the story. The shattered and broken brigades, having lost nearly half their number, fell hastily back, amid the shouts and yells of the Confederates. Back they went to the brick house and the cluster of houses, where they reformed and held their ground under a continuous artillery fire. The Division had lost 1,160 in killed and wounded out of about 2,750. Among the killed was Colonel Zinn, of the One Hundred and Thirtieth Pennsylvania, a new regiment; this brave officer fell while carrying the flag of his regiment.

Following French's came Hancock's Division, with Zook's, Meagher's Irish, and Caldwell's brigades in that order. Zook's and Meagher's got nearer to the stone wall than any who had gone before except a few of Kimball's men, and nearer than any brigade that followed them; this was what the burial parties reported. Half a dozen of Meagher's Irishmen and a like number of Zook's Fifty-third Pennsylvania

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were picked up within 50 feet of the wall. Hancock's men were driven back as French's had been. Hancock took in 4,834 officers and men and lost 2,021 in killed and wounded, including 34 officers killed outright.

General Couch now ordered out Colonel Owen's and Colonel Hall's Brigades of Howard's Division. Luckily he did not call for Sully's Brigade. General Couch's first intention was to send these brigades to the right to make a flank attack, instead of pushing them as a forlorn hope over the ground where French and Hancock had gone. But Hancock and French called earnestly for help and Couch countermanded the first order and sent General Howard with the two brigades mentioned to support Hancock. Howard left Sully's Brigade in the outskirts of town ready to support either Owen or Hall.

Colonel Owen moved out Hanover street and crossed the canal on the bridge. He began to receive case shot and shell before he got outside of the town. Kirby's battery came up to his support and opened on the enemy at a thousand yards. The Colonel deployed the brigade in a plowed field and advanced to within 100 yards of the Confederate "first line," which was the stone wall near the base of the hill. The artillery crowned crest was called the second line. A terrific fire was opened on him and he ordered his brigade to lie down, which it did, and this saved many men. The brigade fired on the enemy and kept fighting until nightfall.

Colonel Owen was a brave man and a skillful officer and knew how to take care of his men and at the same time make them acquit themselves creditably. He reported to General Howard while on the field: "I was sent out here to support General Hancock's Division; but there is not much left of it to

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support." The total loss of killed and wounded in the brigade was 258, of which Baxter's Zouaves (Seventy-second Pennsylvania) lost 71.

Colonel Hall, of the Seventh Michigan, commanding the Third Brigade, (Dana's old command) followed Colonel Owen. He went up against a part of the stone wall near the foot of the hill and made two determined attempts to carry it and kill all the "rebs" in his front. He was driven back both times. The first fire on him must have been a terrible one, for it drove back the Seventh Michigan, the Tammany Regiment, the Fifty-ninth New York, and the Nineteenth Massachusetts; but the brave Twentieth Massachusetts never budged an inch, though it lost 125 of its 300 men, and two days before had lost 97 on Hanover street, while driving the Mississippians out of town.

The fleeing regiments soon stopped, reformed, and came back, and again tried to carry the Confederate position. The Nineteenth Massachusetts drove some skirmishers out of some houses, captured the buildings, and held them, but lost severely, including two commanding officers and nine officers in all. Colonel Hall reported to General Howard: "I can hold my position, but can't advance," and Howard replied: "Hold your position." And Colonel Hall and what men he had left held on till late at night, when Sykes' Division relieved them. Hall's regiments were all old 1861 men and did not average 175 men to the regiment. The Forty-second New York (Tammany) had but 110. The Twentieth Massachusetts had 260 and lost in all 128. Colonel Hall reported that he took but 800 in all into the fight and his total loss was 515—more than 64 per cent.

General Couch, about 11:45, ordered General Wilcox to send a division of the Ninth Corps to assault

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the Confederate position on the heights to the left of where French and Hancock had tried. Wilcox sent Sturgis' Division, Nagle's and Ferrerero's Brigades, and they went up the hill and attacked Pickett's and Hood's Divisions and got terribly repulsed and driven down the hill. The total loss of the Division was 1,007. Hood's Division lost but 343, and Pickett's 46.

About 3 o'clock General Hooker, commanding the Center Grand Division, (Stoneman's Third and Butterfield's Fifth Corps) came upon the field. Some time before this, however, Whipple's Division, of Stoneman, had come over and relieved Howard's, so that the latter might join in the center attack, and Griffin's, of Butterfield, had come over to the support of Sturgis. Humphreys and Sykes with their Division, of Butterfield, came to Couch's support. General Couch's Division had been fought to a standstill. He asked Sumner for help, and Sumner answered at 2:40: "Hooker has been ordered to put in everything; you must hold on until he comes in." It will be remembered that Hooker's Grand Division was to furnish re-enforcements. General Couch told Hooker that Marye's Heights could not be carried by a front attack, but might be by an assault on the Confederate left—the Union right. Hooker replied: "I will go and see Hancock about it," and away he rode to confer with that accomplished general. (Couch in Batts. & Leads.) Very often did a Union general in doubt what to do, "go and see Hancock about it." Hooker left word with Humphreys to take Couch's orders and General Butterfield told him the same.

There was a lull in the firing on the Confederate center, and General Caldwell sent word to Hancock that the enemy was retreating from Marye's house.

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Hancock passed the word on to General Couch and Couch said to Humphreys: General Humphreys, it is reported by General Hancock that the enemy is falling back; now is the time for you to go in." Humphreys' Division had but two brigades, eight regiments, all Pennsylvanians, and all new recruits but one, the Ninety-first Pennsylvania. The new regiments joined the army the day after Antietam and this was their first battle.

Spurring to his work, General Humphreys led his two brigades over precisely the same ground traversed by French and Hancock. There is still a dispute as to which of the three divisions got the nearest to the stone wall on Marye's Heights. The musketry fire on Humphreys' men was very heavy and the artillery fire was terrible. At one time General Couch thought that Hooker's batteries on Falmouth Heights were firing short and dropping shells into Humphreys' Division and sent word to that effect. Humphreys was very gallant. He charged with his men, had two horses killed under him, and then charged on foot. All to no purpose.

The Division was driven back to the foot of the hill, but in first-rate order and some of the men were very cheerful. Colonel Clark's and Colonel Allen's regiments, of Colonel Allenbach's brigade, came back hurrahing and singing, and as they went into position at the foot of the hill some of them were heard to call out exultingly: "Well, we had a h--- of a time, didn't we?" (Humphreys' report.) The Division went in with 3,500 men and lost 1,020.

Just after Humphreys' charge was made, Griffin's Division of Butterfield's Fifth Corps, three brigades, made a charge on the stone wall over the ground where Sturgis' brigades had assaulted, to the left of the main line, and against Hood and Pickett.

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Same result. The Division was repulsed with a loss of 66 killed, 752 wounded, and 120 missing, or 938 in all. About 5 o'clock, while General Humphreys was leading his Pennsylvanians on their hopeless charge, Getty's Division of Wilcox was ordered by General Wilcox to the charge on the left of the route taken by French, Hancock and the rest. It went out Prussia street, the third street south of Hanover, and struck into and upon an unfinished railroad cut and track; when completed this was called the Potomac, Fredericksburg & Piedmont Railroad. Soon after getting out on the unfinished railroad, Hawkins' advance brigade came under a hot fire and was somewhat cut up before it had advanced half as far as French and Hancock.

Only General Hawkins' First Brigade was conspicuously engaged. It did not charge very far or very hard, for darkness came on and it soon fell back as General Getty reports, to "the cover afforded by a depression of ground and the bed of an old canal." From this position the brigade was withdrawn behind the Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad grade and finally stationed at the slaughter house near the corner of Princess Anne and Prussia streets for the night.

General Harland's Second Brigade advanced in the rear of Hawkins' to the railroad and there stayed until next morning, when it returned to its former station on Caroline street. It lost one officer (Colonel Cross, Fourth Rhode Island) and one man killed and 9 wounded. The total loss in the Division was 551. Hawkins' Zouaves (Ninth New York) did not charge—but guarded a battery at a brick kiln.

All of Burnside's generals except Sumner had protested against the assaults on Marye's Heights. Sumner supported the idea of a direct assault but not

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with only one Division. When Burnside appealed to him he weakened and said: "I always support my commander." And now Burnside was determined to repeat the assault on the 14th. At 11 o'clock the night of the 13th, Hooker, Franklin, and other officers were in consultation at the Phillips House. Burnside came suddenly in, saying as he entered the door: "Well, it's all arranged; we attack at dawn, the Ninth Corps in the center, which I shall lead in person. The troops that did not fight today will get plenty to do tomorrow."

Generals Wilcox, Humphreys, Getty, Butterfield, Meade, and others had sent Hawkins to the conference to say for them that there must be no more assaulting. Hooker had been swearing that there had been enough of slaughter and Sumner agreed with him. After Burnside had made the announcement there was silence for a few moments, and then Hooker arose and pointing his finger at Sumner said: "Sumner, tell him," and then stretched himself on a bed. Sumner stated the object of Hawkins' visit and said the troops had met with such disasters, were so fatigued, etc., that they ought not to be required to make another assault so soon—"Wait a few days." Burnside finally consented to postpone the attack and did so.

General Couch was not at this council. That afternoon, when Hooker went "to see Hancock," he talked with that general and then went back across the river and saw Burnside. He told Burnside that there had been enough men sacrificed; that even the stone wall could hardly be carried, but that if it should be, the line of the 53 cannon and the supporting works on the crest could not possibly be taken. To all this Burnside replied: "That crest must be taken tonight."

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Hooker returned to the battle side of the river in great rage. He was directing the formation of Humphreys' Division when General Couch rode up and again urged that the assault be made far out to the right. Hooker replied very hotly and insolently. He said bitter things. He said that Couch was very ready to suggest where the troops should be sent, but he insinuated that he was unwilling to lead them and afraid to go with them. General Walker, who, as General Couch's Adjutant General, was present at the time, tells the rest of the story in his *History of the Second Corps*, p. 179:

“Stung by the insults, broken-hearted at the defeat of his Corps and the massacre of his gallant soldiers, and perhaps shrinking from the spectacle of a fresh slaughter, General Couch turned away and dashed up the telegraph road. Passing Hazard's battery, he rode slowly up to Adams' gun, which was being served in the road, and stopped and talked with Adams; then he galloped forward to the extreme advance of the Union line at the end nearest town. Here, while under fire, he stopped and talked with Col. John R. Brooke, of Zook's Brigade, who begged and almost prayed him to retire. Then, turning to the left, he rode slowly down the full line of his Corps, just in the rear of where the men lay, and then rode back again—all the while under a most terrible fire!”

After dark Couch was out on the line, having his wounded brought off the plain, when an order came to him from Hooker relieving the Second Corps and putting Sykes' Division of regulars in its place. Instantly and indignantly Couch said to the officer that had brought the order: “No! Say to General Hooker that no men shall take the place of the

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Second Corps until General Sumner gives the order. The Corps has fought and gained this ground and shall hold it." But about midnight an order came from Sumner for Sykes to relieve the Second Corps, and Couch assented and French and Hancock came back to town.

The repulse of Humphreys and Griffin virtually closed the battle of Fredericksburg. General Hooker, at nightfall, took the situation in hand and stopped the assaulting. To the Committee on the Conduct of the War he said: "Finding that I had lost as many men as my orders required me to lose, I suspended the attack." (Report, Vol. 1, p. 668.) And General Burnside did not over rule the somewhat presumptuous action, so far as it affected operations that night. It was later that he threatened to renew the attack in the morning. General Walker says:

"General Hooker strenuously opposed the attacks on the 13th. In his report he says: "A prisoner in the morning had given to General Burnside, General Sumner and myself full information of the position and defenses of the enemy; that it was perfectly impossible for any troops to carry the position; that if the first line was carried, a second line of batteries commanded it. The result of the operations of General Sumner's Corps fully confirmed the statements of this prisoner, a very intelligent man. * * * I dispatched an aide to General Burnside to say that I advised him not to attack. The reply came that the attack must be made."

"During the two days that followed, General Burnside remained shocked and bewildered at the disaster which had befallen his army—at one time telegraphing to Washington that though his assault had not been successful, he had gained ground and was holding it; at another time scheming to

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transfer all his troops to the left and again assault where Franklin did; at another time declaring that regardless of what had been said he would form his old Ninth Corps into column and lead it in person up Marye's Heights; at other times plunged in the deepest distress."

During Sunday night, the 14th, General Howard was ordered to relieve General Sykes' Division at the front. General Howard sent five regiments. These were the First Minnesota, the Seventy-first and One Hundred Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania, the Fifteenth Massachusetts, and another. All day of Monday, the 15th, these regiments were under fire from artillery and sharpshooters. They were stationed along the Union reserve line of the preceding days and along the mill race or canal. The right of the line was 100 yards west of the tomb of Mary Washington, the mother of the Father of his country; she died Aug. 25th, 1789, and was buried here at her request.* A fine monument was erected over the grave, in 1894, by the women of America.

Between 8 and 9 o'clock p. m. the troops in the town received orders to recross the river to Falmouth, and during the night, under cover of the darkness and a driving storm, this movement was accomplished.

The desire to criticize the entire movement against the enemy on Marye's Heights is strong, but adhering to the plan of this work, we forbear. Posterity has assigned the responsibility of the disastrous movement.

*Though born in Westmoreland county, on the southern Potomac, George Washington was reared to manhood in Stafford county, on a plantation a few miles from Fredericksburg.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA AT FREDERICKSBURG.

EARLY on the morning of December 11, the First Minnesota left its camp east of the Rappahannock and marched about two miles to near the river opposite Fredericksburg. The entire Division halted for the day under the shelter of a hill. There was no possible danger except from Confederate artillery away across the river on Marye's Heights, and not much from that. The pontoon bridges were completed at sunset, and soon after Howard's Division crossed upon them under the enemy's fire. There were still some Confederate skirmishers in the houses and elsewhere among the back streets and Owen's and Hall's Brigades were looking after them. Also there were two batteries at work a mile back from the river and they were throwing shot and shell at the advancing Union troops all the time.

Sully's Brigade crossed the river with 2,211 officers and men. It bivouacked on Sophia street, the street directly in front and parallel with the river.* And here it remained till morning. Only Howard's Division crossed that night, so that General Howard was in command of Fredericksburg. Hall's Brigade

*At that time the streets of Fredericksburg running north and south, or parallel with the river, were in order, commencing on the river front. Sophia, Caroline, Princess Anne, Charles, Prince Edward, Winchester, and Barton. Hanover was the principal street running perpendicular to the river, or east and west. The streets north of it were in order George, William (or Commerce), Amelia, Lewis, Faquier, and Hawks. Those south of Hanover were Charlotte, Wolfe, Prussia, Frederick, and Princess Elizabeth. The court house faced west on Princess Anne, between Hanover and George. Directly at Fredericksburg the river and the streets ran from northwest to southeast.

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advanced skirmishing from the river along George and Commerce streets two blocks, or to Princess Anne, but the Twentieth Massachusetts had charged and driven back the Mississippians two blocks farther to Prince Edward street. Owen's Brigade got only one block from Sophia, or to Caroline street, but it skirmished all the way and captured 21 prisoners, mostly from the Twenty-first Mississippi. The Brigade bivouacked on Caroline. Howard's Division contained about 3,500 officers and men.

When faint daylight came on the 12th Owen's and Sully's Brigades, of Howard, and Hawkins' Brigade, of the Ninth Corps, were ordered to advance upon the back streets of the town and clear them of the enemy's troops, who were supposed to have been re-enforced during the night and to be fortified in some manner. All preparations were made for a hot time, but when the advanced skirmishers went out they found that the Confederates had retired from the town during the night. Then Howard's three brigades were ordered into various positions, some inside and some without the city, to cover the crossing of the remaining troops.

Sully's Brigade was moved out and disposed among several positions in the western suburbs of the city to the north of Hanover street. The First Minnesota was along or near the upper part of the canal and not very far from Mary Washington's grave, which is about half a mile back from the river. The regiment was on picket duty during the day and the night following and throughout the entire time was under a very dangerous artillery fire from Marye's Heights. There was good shelter, however, and the boys found it, and only two men were wounded.

On the night of the 11th, while Owen's and Hall's

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men were skirmishing with the Mississippians, only two blocks away, and the bullets were whistling in every direction, the looting commenced. The citizens had abandoned their houses after having foolishly held to them until it was too late to remove their contents and had left, bearing with them but few of their possessions. The contents of the stores had been for the most part taken away, but scores of boxes of tobacco had been left. Loehren says:

“Some of our boys made their way to the houses and stores and returned laden with provisions, wines, liquors, tobacco and a violin. Soon quadrilles and contra dances were under way, the melody of the fiddle being often varied by the hissing of passing bullets. The next morning early we moved into one of the principal streets, and because the houses had been used as cover by the enemy, the men ransacked them and the stores, from which the owners had fled. Provisions were found in abundance and boxes of tobacco were thrown out on the sidewalk that all might help themselves. The men were not allowed to quarter in the houses, but fences and outhouses were broken up for little fires in the street and over these they boiled coffee and fried bacon. Many carried out furniture and ate their suppers from sofas and upholstered chairs. * * * * General Sully took possession of a handsome residence that chanced to be near the place occupied by the regiment, and when it was invaded by a squad of the boys, told them to help themselves freely, as the place belonged to his brother-in-law, a d - - - rebel.”*

*Loehren also notes that there were several excellent portraits in this house, which, he says, were painted “by the General’s father, the eminent painter, Thomas Sully.” It is more probable that the pictures were made by the General’s sister, Mrs. Jane Darley, wife of John C. Darley, the owner of the house. Mrs. Darley was a very talented

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The boys took nothing and kept off the other marauders.

Other troops than those of Howard's Division were now in town. Hancock's and French's men were the first to come that morning. In his "History of the Second Army Corps," (p. 153) General Walker says:

Much of the plundering was done in a spirit of fun rather than of hatred. The writer recollects seeing one gigantic private of the Irish Brigade wearing the white satin bonnet of some fair seesh bride, while another sported a huge "scoop" bonnet of the olden time. One man had a coffee pot that would hold ten gallons; another was staggering under a featherbed which he had carried from a house and meant to sleep on that night in the open air; the Inspector General entered a house on the outskirts occupied by the picket reserve and every man was wearing a lady's chemise over his uniform. But many things were done which could not be excused as frolics.

In this near vandalism there was, strictly speaking, nothing contrary to the laws of war. The people of Fredericksburg were ardent Confederates, deadly enemies of the Union army. They urged Mayor Slaughter not to surrender the town; they refused to remove their property, and to remove themselves until the last moment, when Union bullets were flying through the streets; their town was captured by fierce and deadly fighting, street by street, and some troops would have stripped it of everything they could carry off and then destroyed every house in the place—and the laws of war would have justified and skillful artist as was her brother, Thomas Sully, Junior.

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them. All the same it would be pleasanter to remember Fredericksburg had there been no looting by any Union soldiers. About 48 hours afterward many that participated in it were lying cold in death out on the slopes below Marye's Heights.

At 8 P. M. of Friday evening, the 12th, the First Minnesota went out and relieved the Eighty-second New York, on the elevated ground in the western suburbs of town, near the tomb and the unfinished monument of Mary Washington.

The Regiment spent the night of the 12th in cold, comfortless vigil on the picket line, having been moved out from downtown just after nightfall. In the morning of the 13th Howard's Division was moved to the right rear of Fredericksburg again, this time to be ready for action at any moment. Sully's Brigade was on the right flank and the First Minnesota was on the extreme right of the Brigade. Kirby's Battery was ordered up to this quarter, but as no position could be found for the guns "in battery," the three sections were placed in the ends of the streets, Lewis, Faquier and Hawke. The regiment was sent to support the battery. It was on a ridge in full view of the enemy's batteries on the crest of the ridge in front. They seemed to concentrate their fire on the Regiment and Kirby and gave them a tremendous cannonading. But the Minnesotians found good shelters of one kind or another, lay close to the ground, and lost but 7 men wounded; Kirby had 4 wounded.

While the Regiment lay here it saw—imperfectly, yet plain enough—the terribly bloody and wholly futile attempts made by the Divisions of French, Hancock and Humphrey, and their comrade brigades of Owen and Hall to carry the Confederate positions behind the stone wall on the telegraph road

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and the batteries on the crest of Marye's Heights. The field was less than a mile away. The men momentarily expected orders to move out and participate in the charges and every man was ready. Nobody sought to slink away.

At 2:30 the Nineteenth Maine was sent to the extreme right of the Brigade and the Union line near the paper mill at the upper end of the canal, 250 feet north of Mary Washington's tomb. (American soldiers engaged in fratricidal war and killing one another almost over the grave of the mother of Washington.) The Fifteenth Massachusetts came up from down town and was sent out to relieve the pickets of Owen's Brigade, which was getting ready to charge. En route Surgeon Haven, of the Fifteenth, was killed by an exploding shell from a Confederate battery on the ridge.

When night came on the First Minnesota was ordered to the front as a reserve and support to the picket lines and remained on this duty till daylight of the 14th, when it was moved back to Princess Anne street, where it remained quietly during the day. The position was under shell fire from the batteries on Marye's Heights. The Confederate gunners seemed to follow the rule of Donnybrook Fair and whenever they saw a Yankee head they tried to hit it with a solid shot or shell. They had a good range and command of the streets running east and west and could send shots down them with great accuracy, and would do so whenever a bunch of "Feds" attempted to cross them. Lochren says he saw a young lady ("the only woman I saw in the place") walking along the sidewalk of a street leading towards the river while a bunch of soldiers was starting to cross at a corner in front of her. Instantly half a dozen shells came shrieking down the street

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and exploded near the corner. The soldiers ran or threw themselves on the ground, but the brave Southern maiden continued her walk, apparently unafraid and undisturbed.

It was soon after dark of the 14th when, as previously noted, the five regiments of Howard's Division were ordered to the front to relieve a portion of General Sykes' regulars. These regiments were for the time under the command of Colonel Morgan, of the First Minnesota, which regiment was one of them.

The regiments went out along the Telegraph road and were stationed for a considerable distance along a line in front of where the regulars had been posted, and which ran over a part of the ground where the hardest fighting had occurred. Only a few rods to the front were the Confederate rifle pits, now formidable in character and strongly manned. The picket regiments of Cobb's Georgia Brigade, McLaws' Division, occupied them the first part of the night, but after midnight they were relieved by the four Georgia regiments of Paul Semmes' Brigade. Featherston's Mississippi Brigade had its pickets out to the right front. (See reports of McLaws, McMillan, commanding Cobb's Brigade, Semmes, and Featherston.)

During the night, when it was intensely dark, the clinking of picks and shovels was heard to the front, indicating that the Confederates were either strengthening the positions they occupied or digging new rifle pits in front. The guide furnished to Colonel Morgan had left and nobody knew the topographical situation in front. Colonel Morgan greatly desired to know what the enemy was doing.

Lieut. Chris. B. Heffelfinger, of the Minneapolis Company (D) volunteered to try and find out. He took Corporal William N. Irvine, (commonly called Newell Irvine) with him. Irvine was also a Company

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D man. The two crawled carefully out to the front and wriggled themselves along until they discovered what the "Johnnies" were up to. They were busy at work on their rifle pits. Nearing the enemy's position the lieutenant and the corporal separated, so as to hear and see as much as possible. Lieutenant Heffelfinger got along all right, but Corporal Irvine did not get very far until a big Georgian called out in the Southern vernacular, "Who comes thar?" In a trice the luckless corporal was a prisoner,* but Lieutenant Heffelfinger crawled back in safety and reported. It was a hazardous exploit but of great value.

Colonel Morgan at once sent to the rear for intrenching tools and by working hard the remainder of the night a good trench and breastwork were made amply sufficient to shelter the men. If this protection had not been secured, the Union line at the front would not have lasted half an hour after daylight the next morning. The enemy's rifle pits were not a hundred yards away, their heavily intrenched lines were only a short distance to the rear of the pits, several buildings within easy range were filled with sharpshooters, while the Union line would have been comparatively unsheltered and in the open.

If that line had been driven back, a Confederate assault would have followed, and the greater part of the Union positions then being held, and the greater part of those defending them, were not in condition to resist an assault.

In his official report General McLaws, in front of whose Confederate Division the First Minnesota was

*Corporal Irvine got back in a few days on parole all right. He veteranized and enlisted in Company B, First Battalion, and was made a sergeant. He was killed in front of Petersburg in June, 1864.

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on December 15, says: "On the 15th it was discovered that the enemy had constructed rifle pits at the edge of the ravine to our front."

Only the First Minnesota and the Fifteenth Massachusetts were present on the Union picket line from Sully's Brigade at this time. But on Monday, the 15th, the firing at the front began to be pretty severe, indicating that the Confederates were trying to break the line preparatory to an assault. Then General Sully brought up the Nineteenth Maine and the Eighty-second New York to re-enforce their two comrade regiments. The Thirty-fourth New York was down town on Prussia street, near the Richmond railroad.

When it came up the Nineteenth Maine was sent to the right under cover of some houses. The Eighty-second was placed behind some houses to the front. Lieutenant Murphy, of the Eighty-second was sent by General Sully, with a few men, to occupy a house on the right of the First Minnesota. The devil-may-care Irishman thought he had been sent on a picnic. He and Lieutenant Huggins took but five men and ran out laughing and cheering, under heavy volleys from the enemy, which somehow failed to kill anybody, and got safely into the house and began peppering away from it. In a few minutes Colonel Huston sent up Company C to re-enforce the seven brave spirits and the house was held until 8 o'clock that night. In his report* Colonel Huston says:

"The occupying of this house was the most hazardous undertaking we had to perform. The lieutenant-colonel commanding

*General Sully says in his report that he sent "Lieutenant Murphy in command of two companies" to take the house, but Colonel Huston reports the facts as stated above.

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the regiment feels grateful to Lieutenants Murphy and Huggins for the accomplishment.”

In the afternoon the enemy on the Confederate left—H. H. Anderson’s Division—gave the regiments on the Union skirmish line much annoyance and uneasiness. Frank Huger’s Virginia Battery, belonging to Mahone’s Brigade, got a position on the heights a mile above the Marye House from whence it had a good enfilade range on the Union line. General Mahone himself, whose brigade was on the northern section of the Confederate ridge, assisted in putting the guns, four in number, in position. They opened and sent solid shot, shells and case-shot down the line in fair range and with most uncomfortable accuracy. Even though the men were lying down, they were in great danger from the hurtling and screaming projectiles coming from the right; but if they rose and sought shelter by running to the left they would be under almost perfect range and in deadly peril. So Sully’s Brigade lay low and mighty still.

There were two regiments, the Seventy-first and One Hundred and Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania, of Owen’s Brigade, on the right of the First Minnesota. (Loehren terms them “a brigade”) They too, came under the fire of Mahone’s artillery. The position of the two Pennsylvania regiments was untenable and they were compelled to retire to a more desirable location, but in some disorder as they were exposed to a very destructive shell fire from the enemy.

General Howard, who witnessed their retirement, turned to General Sully and said: “Sully, your First Minnesota doesn’t run.” General Sully afterward said that he had really been afraid that the Regi-

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ment might run, but now he turned to Howard and said proudly: "General, the First Minnesota never runs." In an address to the Regiment a few days later and in general orders General Howard complimented it for its conduct on this occasion.

The position occupied by the First Minnesota at Fredericksburg was a trying one. The long hours spent under a deadly fire, without opportunity or permission to fire a shot in return, constituted an ordeal through which no body of men may desire to pass. The time was spent under great and exhaustive strain, which called for the exercise of the greatest fortitude. The men would really have preferred to spring up and out into the open, fight it out with the enemy and have done with it, but their ability to hold the position was, doubtless, owing to their foresight in entrenching during the previous night, and this was done on their own initiative.

Burnside declared that he would hold Fredericksburg, and Sully's Brigade had been ordered to build intrenchments where they were, commencing that Monday night; but at sundown the General changed his mind and all of Howard's Division was withdrawn, recrossed the Rappahannock and got back into the old camps in the rear of Falmouth by daylight the next morning, Monday, December 16.

The loss in the First Minnesota was slight, only two officers and 15 men wounded, as reported by Loehren, two officers and 10 men wounded, and two men missing as reported by Colonel Morgan. The nominal list shows two officers and 13 men wounded, as follows: Capt. John J. McCallum, and Priv. Wm. M. Herbert, of Company F, and E. B. Robinson, of Company B, were hurt so badly that they were transferred to the Invalid Corps. John M. Darms,

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of Company B, Thomas Kelly, of Company D, James E. Russell and B. K. Soule, of Company G, were discharged from service on account of their wounds, while Chas. W. Savage, of Company D; Chas. A. Berdan, Daniel Bond, Almerson Davis, and Josiah Richardson, of Company F; Chas. B. Boardman and Alex Shaw, of Company K, were severely wounded, and Lieut. C. B. Heffelfinger of Company D, was slightly wounded.

CHAPTER XXXI.

IN CAMP AGAIN AT FALMOUTH.

UPON returning to its former camping ground in the rear of Falmouth, practically in fair view of the Confederate positions still on the Marye's Heights ridge, the First Minnesota resumed the ordinary routine of camp duties. And for more than four months the regiment was practically inactive, and so was the army to which it belonged—at least the few movements it made were ineffective.

There was a great deal of discontent in the army after Fredericksburg. Both officers and men were bitterly dissatisfied with General Burnside. They blamed him wholly for the loss of the battle, and his want of tact. They clamored to have McClellan restored to command. General Sumner said there was "a great deal of croaking" among the officers. The privates knew that they had not had a fair chance at Fredericksburg, and in their minds they had dismissed General Burnside long before President Lincoln had.

A few days after the battle there was a grand review of the Second Corps at which both General Burnside and General Sumner were present. The troops marched by Burnside in freezing silence. The situation was very embarrassing, and to relieve it General Sumner directed General Couch to call for "three cheers for General Burnside." The Corps and Division commanders and their staffs rode along the lines, waving their caps or swords.

General Burnside began immediate preparations for crossing the Rappahannock again and giving battle to Lee, Jackson, and Longstreet. He meant

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to snatch victory out of defeat. But this time he would not cross directly at Fredericksburg. On the 29th of December his plans were prepared for crossing the river with a large force seven miles below Fredericksburg with a view of turning Lee's right position. At the same time he would send a cavalry expedition to the Confederate rear to cut the Richmond railroad. The latter movement had already begun when, December 30, the General received an order from the President directing him not to make a general movement of the army "without letting me know all about it."

This movement, known as "Burnside's Mud March" was abandoned, owing to the condition of the roads caused by unexpected storms.

The troops engaged in that movement returned to their former positions.

CHAPTER XXXII.

GENERAL HOOKER SUCCEEDS GENERAL BURNSIDE.

ON the evening of January 23d, the next evening after his return from the Mud March, General Burnside issued "General Orders No. 8" dismissing from the service General Hooker, as "unfit to hold a commission at a crisis like the present"; dismissing Gen. W. T. H. Brooks, for "complaining of the policy of the government and for using language tending to demoralize his command," and dismissing Gens. John Newton and John Cochrane, "for going to the President with criticisms upon the plans of their commanding officer." The order also "relieved from duty" with the Army of the Potomac, (directing them to report to the Adjutant General for orders) Generals Franklin, "Baldy" Smith, Sturgis, Ferrerro, and Lieut. Col. J. H. Taylor, the Adjutant General of the Right Grand Division. The last named officers, he said, "can be of no further use to this army."

Armed with this order and with his own letter of resignation from the command of the army and from the service, General Burnside repaired to Washington on the 24th and demanded that President Lincoln approve either the order or the letter. The President declined to endorse either in full. He would not remove the generals and he would not accept Burnside's resignation from the service. He promptly told Burnside, however, that he would relieve him from the command of the Army of the Potomac as soon as he could decide upon his successor, but that he was "too good a soldier" to lose entirely from the service.

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The next day, by "General Orders No. 20" the President relieved General Burnside from command of the Army of the Potomac "at his own request." He also relieved General Sumner from command in that army, also "at his own request." He relieved General Franklin with no reason given. The same order directed, "That Maj. Gen. J. Hooker be assigned to the command of the Army of the Potomac." Both Sumner and Franklin outranked Hooker at the time, but were willing to get out of the way, for they were tired of serving in that army. Franklin, however, was under a cloud of censure by the Congressional Committee and by some of his associates, who said that he did not do all that he could and should have done with his Left Grand Division at Fredericksburg. Not long after Franklin was sent to Louisiana and Sumner was given command of the Department of Missouri. Burnside was given a rest of 30 days and then Lincoln gave him command of the Department of Ohio, with headquarters at Cincinnati, so that he could keep watch over the rebels in Kentucky and at the same time repress Vallandigham and the other "Copperheads" of Ohio.

Burnside was loyal to the core. He unselfishly said to the President that Hooker's appointment was "the best solution of the problem possible," and that no one would be happier than himself if General Hooker should lead the Army of the Potomac to victory. (Nic. & Hay.) His order taking leave of the army manfully and chivalrously commended the "brave and skillful general" who was to succeed him to that "cordial support and co-operation" which he alleged he had always received—but which he and everybody else knew he had not.

General Burnside had important commands in

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the army until the close of the war, but never distinguished himself except in his defense of Knoxville, Tenn., against Longstreet, in November, 1863.

General Hooker at once instituted and enforced vigorous measures of reform. He greatly checked desertion and absenteeism; he did away with "Grand Divisions," he infused vitality into the general administrative service; he instituted a system of granting furloughs for meritorious conduct; he consolidated the cavalry instead of leaving it scattered by brigades among the Grand Divisions, and he gave distinctive badges to the different Army Corps.

The badges were greatly admired by the men. They became general throughout the entire army.

Gen. Dan Butterfield, who became Hooker's Chief of staff, originated the idea and devised the badges in detail; but Swinton says the germ of the badge designation was the happy thought of Phil Kearney, who, at Fair Oaks, ordered the soldiers of his Division to sew pieces of red flannel to their caps, so that he could recognize them in the tumult of battle. The badge of the Second Corps was a trefoil, or three-leaved clover, which came to be designated by other Corps as the shamrock, the ace of clubs, etc.

General Hooker had been a good officer under McClellan, although he was not fortunate at Antietam. Yet he was said to be a "dashing" general and he had somehow gained the sobriquet of "Fighting Joe." The latter title he always rejected. "It sounds as if I were a pirate," he said. He was really an affable man and made friends readily. Yet he had a petulant temper and indulged it frequently. He always seemed anxious to fight the Confederates, yet he tried to repress foraging by his soldiers, whom he reminded in a general order that "this is a war between fellow citizens of a common country and

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should be conducted accordingly. It will end in the triumph of the Union cause and then our present foes will be our warm friends.”

The Army of the Potomac had a fairly comfortable season during its encampment on the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg during the winter and spring of 1863. The troops constructed for themselves comfortable quarters, which were generally small log cabins with wedge-shaped tents for roofs, and each cabin had a fireplace which answered very well to warm the little room. All kinds of supplies came up regularly from Acquia Creek Station, mails were received, visitors came from the North, and although there were many cold days and nights they were easily endured and the world went very well then.

On the 5th of February, General Hooker issued an order abolishing the Grand Divisions and adopted in its stead a Corps organization of the Army, as follows: First Corps, General Reynolds; Second Corps, General Couch; Third Corps, General Sickles temporarily; Fifth Corps, General Meade; Sixth Corps, General Sedgwick; Eleventh Corps, General Sigel; Twelfth Corps, General Slocum. In April General Howard, who had commanded the First Minnesota's Division (Second of the Second Corps) so long and so ably, was made a major general and given command of General Sigel's Eleventh Corps. He was succeeded in the command of the Division by Gen. John Gibbon, from the First Corps, who had greatly distinguished himself on the left, under Franklin, at Fredericksburg. There were re-organizations from time to time.

January 27 President Lincoln and Mrs. Lincoln visited the army and spent a few days at Falmouth. General Hooker gave them a dinner at the Lacy

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House. The Corps Commanders were present. The President confined the table talk chiefly to a discussion of getting the better of "those fellows on the other side of the river"—Lee and his army. When taking leave of Generals Hooker and Couch, the President said very earnestly: "Gentlemen, in your next fight don't send in a few at a time; put in all your men." (Couch in Batts. & Leads.) On the 8th of April the President again visited the army and had a long and earnest consultation with Hooker and Couch and again besought them to "put in all your men" in the next battle. On both visits there was a grand review of the Second Corps.

All the time the Confederate pickets were on the opposite bank of the river confronting the Union sentinels for several miles. For some time the personal relations of the two picket lines were not especially cordial; but as the weeks passed the men became somewhat acquainted and very friendly. Some of the men of the respective armies covertly carried on quite a trade with the enemy. The Union pickets exchanged "sure-enough" coffee for genuine Virginia leaf tobacco and swapped New York and Washington newspapers for those of Richmond and Charleston. Bits of news were freely exchanged, and some items were sent from each side that were not news. In April, while Lincoln was on a visit to the army, the Confederates halloed across the river: "You all have taken Charleston!" The report was believed by many and caused some excitement. But finally calling across to the Confederates was forbidden under severe penalties, but the friendly intercourse did not entirely cease. Then was tried the device of making miniature boats and rafts, equipping them with sails and loading them with articles of barter. The sails would be properly set

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by experienced sailors, and quite often a kind breeze wafted the little crafts safely across to their destinations. But quite oftener the sail would slew around or the wind change and the craft drift away and never be heard of.

The First Minnesota encamped and waited for over four months on the east or left bank of the Rappahannock river on what are yet called the Stafford Heights, because in Stafford County. The experience was only the routine of camp life and was comparatively uneventful. The drills were resumed and there was a dress parade every evening, as in the regiment's first days. The weather was disagreeable. January 29, fully five inches of snow fell, but it all melted away in a few days. The coldest day was February 3, but five days later the weather was warm and springlike. A heavy guard was constantly kept out and picket duty along the river was kept up but under discomforts and difficulties.

April 2 Governor Ramsey paid the Regiment a visit, and was enthusiastically welcomed. He brought a new flag for the Regiment, presented by the ladies of Minnesota and inscribed upon it were the battles in which the First Minnesota had then been engaged. On the 8th when President Lincoln was on his visit to General Hooker, he went through all the camps, not omitting the camp of the First Minnesota.

Gibbon's Division, to which the First Minnesota belonged, was in camp just below "Chatham," commonly called the Lacy House, which was so often the headquarters of the Union generals. The camp was near the river and within direct range of the 300 Confederate cannon in battery along the Marye's House heights ridge, only a mile away. Just across the then narrow and fordable river were camps of

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Confederate infantry, within easy musket shot, and the opposing pickets were almost within a stone's throw of one another. Loud conversation was easily heard and though talking was strictly forbidden by each side, there was a great deal of good natured badinage indulged in between these deadly enemies.

On May 10, General Sully was sent to Dakota to fight Indians. He was the best beloved of all its colonels by the First Minnesota, whose members, a short time before he left his brigade, presented him with a fine dress sword.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE BATTLES OF CHANCELLORSVILLE AND SECOND FREDERICKSBURG.

A DAY or two after the first battle at Fredericksburg, General Lee visited Richmond and Jeff Davis and his Cabinet informed him that the war was practically over, the North was discouraged, and the Southern Confederacy would probably be recognized and complete peace come within 60 days. (Batts. & Leads., Vol. 2, p. 84; Longstreet, Man. to Appo., p. 317, etc.) Davis directed Lee not to "harass the men" by hard duties, as they would soon be sent home. But peace did not come and General Lee was forced to "harass the men," by making them dig and build breastworks in freezing weather all along the right or south bank of the Rappahannock from below Fredericksburg to the United States Ford 25 miles above. The Confederate army was strung along this line.

General Hooker determined to turn Lee's left flank by going far up the Rappahannock, above its confluence with the Rapidan, and crossing each stream separately, getting well around and in the rear of Lee and cutting him completely off from Gordonville. He began operations as soon as spring opened. Fredericksburg is in the same latitude as St. Louis, and spring weather is established April 1. Prof. Lowe, in his fine war balloon, made successful daily ascensions above the Confederate camps and then made safe returns, reporting all conditions favorable.

April 13, General Hooker directed Gen. George Stoneman to cross the Rappahannock with 8,000

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cavalry and go southward toward Richmond and cut off Lee's Gordonville line of supply. Heavy rainstorms prevented this movement until April 29.

General Hooker decided to accomplish his turning movement by sending a strong column which should go 27 miles up the river to Kelly's Ford, cross there and go south to Ely's and Germanna Fords over the Rapidan, cross them and go southeast to Chancellorsville. Now this famous "ville" was simply a fine two-story brick farmhouse, the residence of a farmer named Chancellor. It was on a fine macadamized turnpike road running west from Fredericksburg and ten miles west of that town. At this house there was an important cross roads, composed of the turnpike and a road running north to the U. S. Ford over the Rappahannock. All about the Chancellorsville house—except immediately around it—were dense brush thickets, and to the south and west was that vast jungle of scrub-oaks and jack-pines called the Wilderness.

To conceal his movement up the river General Hooker put three Corps—the First, (Reynolds), the Third (Sickles) and the Sixth (Sedgwick) under Gen. John Sedgwick, and directed him to cross below Fredericksburg and make a demonstration against the enemy's position as soon as the flanking force was well under way. Gibbon's Division, of the Second Corps, was to act under Sedgwick's orders, but because its camp was in plain sight of the Confederates it was not to move until the other troops crossed the river; for the Confederates could easily see them taking down their tents and marching out of camp and would know that "something was going on."

The turning column left Falmouth, Monday, April 27. It was composed of three Corps—the Fifth,

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(Meade) and Eleventh (Howard) and the Twelfth, (Slocum.) It crossed the Rappahannock at Kelly's Ford on the night of the 28th and the morning of the 29th on a canvas-covered pontoon bridge. It crossed the Rapidan by the Germanna and Ely's Fords by wading and reached Chancellorsville on the 30th, where General Hooker established his headquarters that evening. French's and Hancock's Divisions of the Second Corps also came up that evening, having crossed the Rappahannock at the U. S. Ford; Gibbon's Division remained at Fredericksburg.

The resulting battle at Chancellorsville was not participated in by the Minnesota regiment as it remained with that part of the enemy left with General Sedgwick, consequently any extended account of the struggle between Lee and Hooker at Chancellorsville proper is not pertinent to this history. That part of the grand operation called the battle of Chancellorsville which was conducted by the troops under General Sedgwick directly concerned this regiment as it formed a part of the body of troops under General Sedgwick's command.

When, on Saturday night, General Hooker saw that his right wing at Chancellorsville was smashed and his whole army imperilled, he sent orders to General Sedgwick, opposite Fredericksburg, to occupy the town, to seize Marye's Heights, move out over the turnpike road to Chancellorsville and attack Lee from the east. General Sedgwick now had under him his Sixth Corps and General Gibbon's Division of the Second. But the Sixth Corps numbered of infantry, and artillery 23,563 men, "present for duty and equipped," and belonging to it were 54 pieces of artillery. Gibbon's Division had about 5,000 men; but "Paddy" Owen's Pennsylvania bri-

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gade was left on the north side of the river and the two brigades in Fredericksburg numbered all told about 3,300; so that Sedgwick had nearly 27,000 men.

As has been stated General Lee had left to defend Fredericksburg Early's Division of four brigades of Jackson and Barksdale's brigade of McLaws' Division of Longstreet. General Wilcox's Alabama Brigade was four miles above watching Banks' Ford. Early's Division had about 8,200 men, Barksdale's Mississippi Brigade (four regiments) about 1,200, and in the 20 or more batteries there were perhaps 1,200—or in all 10,600 men to fight General Sedgwick's nearly 27,000. But the Confederates were in those strong positions of awful memory; Marye's Heights and the stone wall at their base which had resisted Burnside's mighty attack the previous December.

General Barksdale's Brigade occupied the heights immediately in rear of the town, including Marye's Hill and the stone wall at its base. Early's Division held the right, below town, where Franklin had attacked. Three companies of the Washington Artillery, from New Orleans, were stationed on the crest, and Sunday morning General Early sent Harry Hays' Louisiana Brigade to re-enforce Barksdale. The sunken road behind the stone wall was then successfully defended by Cobb's Georgia brigade and three other regiments, with later four more regiments to help, while the crest was held at its front by nine guns of the same Washington Artillery (that was now stronger here by four guns.) and it had Ransom's Brigade (under Cooke) and a part of Kershaw's on its right and left.

General Sedgwick first felt of the extreme lower end of Early's position with Howe's Division and found it strong. He had ordered Gibbon's two bri-

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gades across, and now he sent them cautiously and tentatively against the Confederate left or north. Gibbon took the brigade out to near Mary Washington's tomb, where they were stopped for a time by the greater canal. Then a "feeling" attack was made, and the result of the three investigations convinced General Sedgwick that the heights could only be carried by direct assault, involving brave and gallant conduct on the part of a strong force.

About 11 o'clock (Sunday, May 3) General Sedgwick began his movement to carry the Heights of Fredericksburg, Marye's Hill and the elevation to its south now called Lee's Hill, the latter defended by Early's three divisions. To carry the works held by Early, Howe's Division of the Sixth Corps was assigned; to take the sunken road and Marye's Hill, there were elaborate preparations.

The attack on Marye's was made under the direction of General John Newton and regiments from his division made it.

The order to advance was given at 11 o'clock. Generals Sedgwick and Newton watched the attack from the garden of a brick residence on the left of the Telegraph road on the outskirts of town. The Confederates repeated the tactics used in repelling the charges the previous December. The Washington Artillery opened as the column emerged from town.

The Confederate artillery increased its fire and the roar of cannon was continuous. Barksdale's Mississippians, behind the stone wall, held their fire until the line and columns got up close, when they gave a murderous volley and the Washington Artillery poured a great storm of canister and grape upon the assailants. For a moment the heads of the columns and the front of the battle line wavered,

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and Sedgwick and Newton, back at the brick house, were greatly alarmed.

Then the "line of battle" advanced towards the crest and the skirmish line of the Fifth Wisconsin was the first to reach that long coveted position. All three batteries of the Washington Artillery did not have time to get away, and Captain Richardson's battery was captured, the captain surrendering and handing his sword to Col. Tom Allen of the Fifth Wisconsin. Then the columns came up and the whole crest of Marye's Heights was occupied, after months of waiting and effort, by the Union troops. What was left of Barksdale's Brigade and the Confederate artillery fell back down the telegraph road southward, two miles, to the Cox house and farm, where they took up a new position.

Lee, feeling assured that Hooker would not take advantage of the Confederate withdrawal, sent forward with all speed towards Fredericksburg Mahone's Brigade of Anderson's Division and the three brigades of McLaws to join their comrade brigade of Barksdale and to help Wilcox check Sedgwick. They hurried down at quick time, notwithstanding they had been fighting hard the night before and all that morning, and when they came to where Wilcox's brigade was in line Mahone went to its left and Kershaw on its right; then when General McLaws came up he sent also Semmes' brigade to the left and Wofford's to the right, and then five good brigades were in line in the woods awaiting Sedgwick's approach and attack.

The attack was soon on. Brooke's Division came up about 5 P. M., and Brown's New Jersey and Bartlett's mixed brigade plunged at once into the thick brush copses on both sides of the road. Some

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writers are of the opinion that on this Sunday evening, May 3, at Salem Church, occurred the hardest and bravest fighting of the war. Frank Wheaton's brigade of Newton's Division went to the extreme right. These three brigades went bravely forward through the brush and thickets and drove back the Confederates to the crest of a hill in the rear where Salem Church stood and where there were some rifle pits. The crest was afterward called Salem Heights. The brush only served to conceal the Confederates; the tree growth was so small that it was no protection from their well-delivered volleys. The attacking forces lost heavily.

At the crest and rifle pits there was plenty of desperate and bloody fighting for some minutes. Then the Union troops were driven back. Again they rallied, advanced, fought, and were driven back; and yet again they rallied, advanced and were driven back. Then darkness came on and they gave o'er; but it had taken five of the best brigades in Lee's army to make them do it.

Monday morning, May 1, found each of the contending armies cut in two, and the opposing halves were deadlocked. Hooker had assumed the defensive, and Lee feared to attack him with less than the whole Confederate force, and this force could not be concentrated until Sedgwick was disposed of. Sedgwick felt able to hold his own, but not strong enough to now attack the enemy in his front. Wilcox had been re-enforced by Early's Division and Barksdale's Mississippi and Harry Hay's Louisiana brigade which had come up from the Cox farm and re-occupied the Fredericksburg heights and were demonstrating against the Union rear; they put hundreds of skirmishers in the streets of Fredericksburg.

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Early that Monday morning, too, General Lee came up from Chancellorsville, with R. H. Anderson's big division, and took charge of movements designed to cut off Sedgwick from Banks' Ford and either capture or destroy him before he could re-cross the Rappahannock.

General Sedgwick, now with less than 20,000 men and nine batteries, fought his way to Banks' Ford against 24,000 Confederates (Early's, McLaws, and Anderson's) and 17 batteries which were in the presence and under command of General Lee himself, and then did not re-cross the Rappahannock until he received Hooker's positive orders to do so.

As soon as it was dark Newton's and Brooks' Divisions, with Burnham's Light Brigade, fell rapidly back upon Banks' Ford, took position on the heights and in the rifle pits there, and were ready to fight again. Howe's Division came back at 10:30 and every wagon, cannon carriage, and other wheeled vehicle was brought back. At 2 o'clock the next morning Hooker ordered Sedgwick to recross the river with all his force and then take up the bridge. The order was splendidly obeyed, under a brisk shelling from the Confederate batteries, and everything was across in two hours but the last regiment of the rear guard, and it was on the bridge, when another order came from General Hooker countermanding the order to cross. It was then near daylight, the Confederates were crowding down to the river with their batteries. Sedgwick went into camp on the north side of the river in the vicinity of Banks' Ford, watching it and guarding it.

It was not the Union army that was beaten at Chancellorsville, but its commander, and his conduct on this occasion severely and permanently injured

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his reputation. His officers ridiculed his generalship; his rank and file swore at him, and tens of thousands of them could not understand how they had been defeated in a battle in which they had not fired a shot. His cruel conduct in trying to make General Sedgwick the goat of the unfortunate battle was ignominious. Sedgwick's brilliant exploit in carrying Fredericksburg Heights, and his victorious defense of Banks' Ford are yet the only bright places in the gloomy history of Hooker's hapless Rappahannock campaign.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

AT SECOND FREDERICKSBURG.

IT was not until Saturday, May 2, when Gibbon's Division began its part of the Chancellorsville campaign. Then Owen's Pennsylvania Brigade was ordered up to Banks' Ford, to protect that crossing. That night General Gibbon received orders to cross the two remaining brigades of his division and occupy Fredericksburg, and this involved laying pontoon bridges. The brigades appeared at division headquarters, near the Lacy house, at 1 a. m., Sunday, ready for work.

Colonel Hudson, of the Eighty-second New York, had commanded the first brigade until the 2d, when he was succeeded by Col. Byron Laffin, of the Thirty-fourth New York. Ever since April 29th the brigade had been kept ready to move, every soldier with eight days' rations and 140 rounds of ammunition. On the night of the first the Nineteenth Maine was ordered away to guard the military telegraph, from Falmouth up to the U. S. Ford, so that the brigade now was composed of the four old regiments, First Minnesota, Fifteenth Massachusetts, and the Thirty-fourth and Eighty-second New York.

At the Lacy House a call was made for 100 volunteers from the brigade—25 from each regiment—to cross the river as a storming party to dislodge the enemy in the town. It was supposed that this would be a very tough job, for it was well remembered what the experience of the Seventh Michigan and the other regiments of Hall's Brigade was when they performed a similar task the previous December. But now so many men volunteered from this brigade

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for the perilous duty that not one in fifteen could be accepted.

Luckily the brave 100 had no serious fighting to do; the Confederate skirmish line retired before they could get across, after fighting with them and the bridge party for an hour or so. Then the 100 went forward to the skirmish line and fought the enemy all day under Colonel Hall, of the Third Brigade.

It was after daylight on Sunday morning, May 3, before the brigade crossed on the pontoon. Colonel Laffin moved forward and formed it on Princess Anne street, the third from the river, the left on the right of Hall's brigade. General Sedgwick now ordered General Gibbon to take the two brigades out, cross the mill race near Mary Washington's tomb, and attack the left of the enemy's works above the town and carry them, thus turning Marye's Heights. These works were occupied by General Wilcox's brigade of five Alabama regiments. Colonel Hall at once moved out and Colonel Laffin followed him with the First Brigade.

At half the distance from the river to the enemy's works a broad and deep canal lay at the foot of the hill on the crest of which Wilcox had his breastworks. Colonel Hall, under direction of General Warren, chief engineer, repaired a bridge over this canal, under the fire of two guns from Frank Huger's Confederate battery. (See Wilcox's report.) The mill race ran from the canal and the canal was distinct work from the race.

The two brigades crossed the canal and Laffin's marched across an open field and went into position, with the left of the brigade connecting with Hall's and the right resting on the Rappahannock. Colonel Laffin now sent out skirmishers up a road running

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back from the river and they soon found Wilcox's brigade on the crest of the ridge in front of Dr. Taylor's house and behind strong fortifications. The entire movement was performed under constant fire from Lewis' and Huger's batteries. Wilcox was watching an opportunity to participate in the Confederate movements to keep Sedgwick from carrying Marye's Hill. But for the presence of Laffin's Brigade, he would have marched eastward and been under the hill, in the outskirts of the town, in a position to fall on the flank of Newton's columns when they were preparing to make their successful charge. The march of the brigade to the canal was a great surprise to General Wilcox. In his report (War Recs.) he says:

“My command was being formed to march to Chancellorsville, when one of my pickets came running from the canal in front of Dr. Taylor's to report to me that the enemy were advancing up the road between the canal and the river. Gathering up my pickets I deployed them as skirmishers along the crest of the hill in front of Dr. Taylor's and near the canal. Two rifled pieces of Huger's battery were ordered into position in the battery across the road from Dr. Taylor's. * * * Huger's pieces opened with a fire of shell upon the enemy who had halted in the road upon the display of our skirmishers.”

After resting for a time in front of Wilcox's position, and under constant fire from it, the two brigades were ordered away. Newton's columns and the other assaulting Union forces were storming the Fredericksburg heights and Gibbon's brigades were needed as supports. Hall's brigade, being in the lead, marched first and going eastward soon reached

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the rear of the right charging column which it was ordered to support. At double quick the brigade advanced and crossed the stone wall position, but kept on toward the crest, which it reached just after the storming columns had driven the Confederates away.

At the stone wall Colonel Hall sent forward the 100 men of the storming party of the First Brigade as skirmishers, and followed behind them with his brigade in line of battle. The gallant 100 were under command of Captain Ryerson, of the Eighty-second New York. They attacked the enemy's skirmishers to the right, charged them and drove them to the crest of the ridge and kept after them. They chased the fleeing Confederates nearly a mile, and came back with 90 prisoners, nearly a "Johnny" for every man of the 100. And not a man of the gallant phalanx was killed and only a few wounded.

Laffin's Brigade followed Hall's from the canal to the second heights, where it remained in position for some time and then, under orders, returned to the streets of Fredericksburg, and from thence at about 4 p. m. re-crossed the river, half by the Lacy House pontoon and the other half by the lower bridge, with orders to protect both bridges until they were removed. In his report Colonel Laffin complimented the entire brigade on its good conduct, saying among other things that there had been but four stragglers, and that only 16 men had been wounded. He made especial reference to Lieut. Josias R. King, of the First Minnesota, whose good services, he said, were highly appreciated and commended.

In the movements of Gibbon's Division and Laffin's First Brigade at Second Fredericksburg, the First Minnesota was commanded by Lieut. Col. Wm.

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Colville. Colonel Morgan had tendered his resignation on account of ill health, and was not fit for duty; the resignation was accepted May 5 and Colonel Morgan given a position in the Reserve Corps.

When the brigade crossed the canal and confronted General Wilcox, Colonel Colville observed the Confederates placing some of the guns of Lewis' Virginia Battery in position to enfilade not only the First Minnesota, but the Thirty-fourth New York as well. Colonel Laffin, the brigade commander, gave Colville permission to place the First Minnesota in the intrenchments constructed and abandoned by Wilcox's men, and which ran along and parallel with the Rappahannock. No sooner had the Minnesotians settled down in these rifle pits than Wilcox's batteries opened on them and gave them a vigorous shelling; but the protection was too good and the artillery fire was quite ineffective and in a few minutes it was stopped. Of this incident General Wilcox reports:

“The enemy halted in the road upon the display of our skirmishers and our artillery fire. The advanced one of these regiments moved down the river in front of Falmouth and sought shelter from our artillery fire in the rifle pits along the river; the other regiments remained in the road, lying down: the stone knolls on either side of the road gave them good protection.”

The Regiment bade good-bye to Wilcox's Brigade (to meet it two months later) and marched with its own brigade to the crest of Marye's Heights, then back to town, arriving at 3 p. m., and then re-crossed the river. Arriving on the north bank it guarded the lower pontoon bridge that night and all day Monday; then it moved up and guarded the Lacy

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House bridge until Tuesday evening. Both bridges having been removed safely, the regiment went into camp.

The First Minnesota had nine men wounded; Benj. Fenton, of the St. Anthony company; Almeron Davis of the Red Wing company; Ed. P. Phillips, Albert Johnson, and ——— Reed, of the Faribault company; Greenhalt Hess, of the Hastings company; C. B. Boardman and A. Shaw, of the Winona company; Nicholas Guntzer of Company A, St. Paul.

CHAPTER XXXV.

IN CAMP ON STAFFORD HEIGHTS.

FOR a month the First Minnesota, with the rest of the army, remained in camp on Stafford Heights, immediately opposite Fredericksburg. Gibbon's Division encamped just below the Lacy House, ("Chatham") near the river. The camps were within a mile of Marye's Heights, now in possession of the enemy whose guns were stuck along the crest as thickly, almost, as pins in the original rows. If so disposed, the Confederates could easily send shells into the tents or down the streets of the Union camps. Confederate infantry, too, were encamped across the river within plain sight, and almost directly under the Union batteries on the heights.

The situation was somewhat curious. Here were deadly enemies within striking distance of one another, with all of the means and appliances of warfare, and yet no man offering to fire a shot. There was a tacit understanding between the soldiers of the respective armies that an armed truce was on. Lochren notes that the pickets on each side of the narrow river, then fordable, stood picket and were regularly relieved within a stone's throw. On both sides the men were mostly seasoned soldiers, who would have fought one another to the death in battle or under orders, but who now considered that to shoot a man in the opposite army would be practically an act of assassination, a species of warfare to which they were not inclined.

Lower down the river the Confederates made a seine, and as the Rappahannock was then shallow and fish were abundant, they had fine times seining

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the river and drawing out fine catches of shad, perch and other fish. Nothing could prevent the Yankee soldiers from slipping across after dark and joining these fishing parties and sharing in the catch. This unauthorized communication with the enemy irritated General Hooker to such an extent that he wrote General Lee about it in protest, and saying that he must endeavor to "put a stop to the practice of seine fishing from the south side of the river." (War Recs., Vol. 25, part 2, p. 521.) But General Lee paid no attention to the protest; the fish helped out the scanty rations of his men, and the seining parties were occasions of a peculiar enjoyment which did no harm to either army.

Up at the town, opposite Sophia street, communication between the two armies was more restricted and guarded. The soldiers were forbidden to talk to their enemies, or to halloo across to them. But Lochren says the Minnesota men constructed miniature boats and rafts out of juniper (red cedar) fitted them with sails and rudders and sent them safely over the river laden with Northern newspapers, coffee, and salt; the Confederates sent back similar crafts with cargoes of Richmond papers and Virginia leaf tobacco.

Although conversation between the hostile ranks was strictly forbidden, the men improved every opportunity to talk to one another, orders or no orders. The pickets were the most frequent violators of the rule. "Say, Yanks," the Confederates would suddenly cry out; "our officer of the day has gone up town: if yours is there, buck and gag him. How are you all this mawnin?" Then would follow a conversation on miscellaneous subjects. Quite often there was sharp badinage. It was a favorite theory of the Confederates that every Union soldier was a "black

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Abolitionist," or a "nigger lover," of various shades of ebony, in proportion to the intensity of his regard for the negro.

"What have you all done with McClellan? Why did you remove him? Wasn't he black enough for you?" This from the Confederates. The Yankee reply was: "Little Mac is all right; his only fault is that you like him too well."

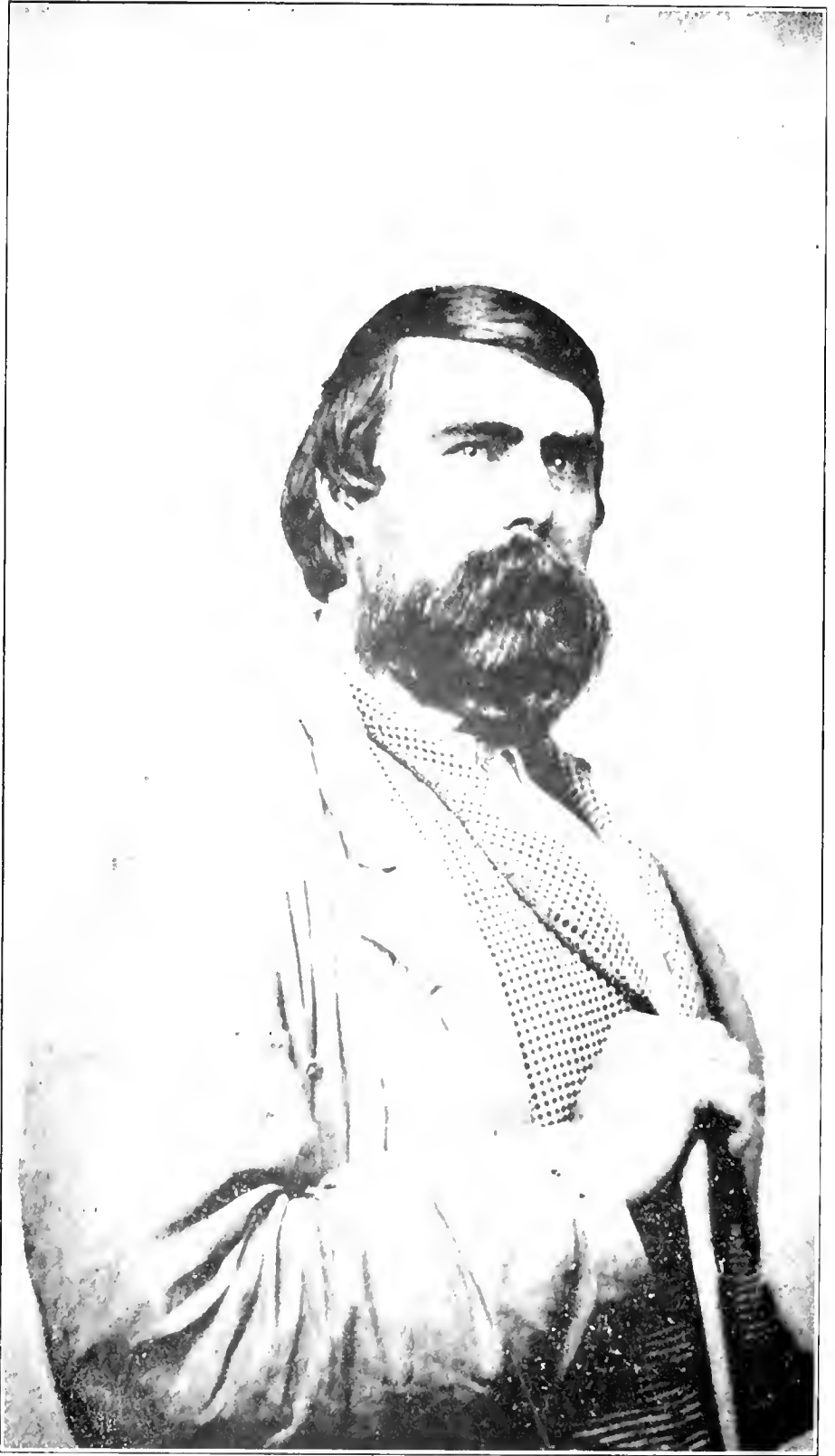
"Hev ye got the nigger gal picked out that ye are goin' to marry and take back up Nawth?" "Well, I picked out a yaller gal the other day but she turned out to be your half-sister and I won't have her."

"When are you all comin' over to whip us agin?" (This very sarcastically.) "O, we will come some day, and when we do, you'll get your licking all right."

The Union boys asked questions, too, and often embarrassing queries. They delighted to confuse the Confederates by asking what they were fighting for—what rights of theirs were in danger, how many negro slaves they owned, or ever expected to own, etc.

Of course there had to be drills and reviews and fatigue duty and the other routine of a soldier's camp life; but the time passed very well. On the 10th of June General Couch, the Second Corps' very excellent leader, was after repeated requests, relieved from the command of that corps and transferred to the head of the new Department of the Susquehanna, and Major-General Hancock, the superb soldier, so long in command of the First Division became the commander of the trefoil corps.

General Sully got a command in Dakota to fight the Sioux, and May 10 bade the First Regiment good-bye and set out for his new field, followed by the good wishes of every man in the regiment. Gen. Wm.



BVT. BRIG. GEN. WILLIAM COLVILL,
The Fifth Colonel of the Regiment.



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Harrow succeeded to the command of the former Sully's Brigade. General Harrow had been colonel of the Fourteenth Indiana and won his stars fairly under Shields in the Shenandoah Valley and in French's Division at Antietam.

Colonel Morgan's resignation as Colonel of the First Minnesota became effective May 5 and Lieut. Col. Wm. Colvill became colonel in his stead. Maj. Chas. Powell Adams became Lieutenant Colonel, and Capt. Mark Downie became Major. All the new field officers took rank from May 6, 1863.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

GENESIS OF THE GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN.

AFTER Jackson's death at Chancellorsville, Lee had reorganized his army by dividing it into three Corps. The First he left with his "old war horse," Longstreet; the Second, Jackson's old corps, was given to Gen. R. S. Ewell, and the Third was created for Gen. A. P. Hill. Gen. Dan H. Hill was a better general than either Ewell or A. P. Hill, but Longstreet says, "not being a Virginian he was not as well advertised," and not in so much favor with what was called "the Virginia ring," which always got Virginians promoted when possible. Both Ewell and A. P. Hill were Virginians.

There were three divisions to the corps and four brigades to the division, except Richard H. Anderson's, Rodes' and Pickett's, each of which had five brigades.

General Lee's preparations for his march northward, began June 3rd, when he started Longstreet's Corps from Fredericksburg.

Within a day after, the scouts and balloon observers of the Union army "had discovered signs of activity on the other side of the Rappahannock—troops in motion, dust rising from roads in rear of Lee's encampments and other tokens which indicated a forward movement, which, on various grounds Hooker had surmised might at any time be undertaken, and accordingly he was not even for a day nonplussed." (Young, "Battle of Gettysburg," p. 90.)

Hooker had in mind a possible movement against the enemy's rear, if the latter inaugurated another movement toward the north. Such a movement he

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suggested to President Lincoln on the 5th day of June, (Off. Rec. XXVII, 1:30.) On the same day Hooker sent an engineer force and the Second Brigade of Howe's Division, commanded by Col. Lewis A. Grant (now Gen. Lewis A. Grant residing at Minneapolis) leading the way, across the Rappahannock at Franklin's former crossing, and found Hill's Corps in position.

Hooker was not permitted by the President and General Halleck to undertake the movement across the river on Lee's rear.

The communications between Hooker and his superiors continued until the 10th of June, but in the meantime he had broken up his permanent camps and prepared to move his army as occasion demanded. On June 9th Hooker ordered his Cavalry under General Pleasanton to develop the situation on his right. This brought on the Cavalry engagement at Kelly's Ford.

In General Stuart's baggage, captured in this engagement, were found letters and orders showing that Lee was moving to the north, and this advised Hooker that he must move his army to prevent his right flank being turned and a possible attack on Washington.

The real beginning of Lee's movement (after his concentration at Culpeper) was on June 10th, when Ewell's Corps started for the Shenandoah valley. Hooker moved his army to Manassas and thereafter kept his forces at all times safely between Lee's army and Washington as both armies advanced across the Potomac to the field of Gettysburg.

As soon as A. P. Hill was well in the Shenandoah Valley and prepared to care for it, General Ewell resumed his march northward with his Corps. June 22d he crossed the Potomac at Shepherdstown and

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Williamsport and marched by way of the Antietam battleground to Hagerstown. He sent General Imboden, with a brigade of cavalry, westward to destroy the Baltimore & Ohio railroad and the Chesapeake & Ohio canal. Gen. A. G. Jenkins, with his brigade of Virginia cavalry, was pushed swiftly up to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, which he occupied on the 23d. Nearly the whole of Western Pennsylvania, up to the Susquehanna, was now open to Ewell's men to come and go, to forage at will, to have the time of their lives, with none to molest them or make them afraid.

A majority of the Confederate soldiers were poor men, lived in poor districts amid poor surroundings and had never before traveled far from home, and they were simply astounded at the prosperity and the magnificent bounties possessed and enjoyed by the Pennsylvania farmers. Col. John C. West of the Fourth Texas, writes in his little book *"A Texan in Search of a Fight"*: "The pig-pens and hen-houses of the farmers of the region were far more stylish and comfortable than the residences of the average Texas farmer, while I never saw finer private residences in any southern city than those of many of the Pennsylvania farmers. As to agricultural stores, live stock, etc., I never before thought that any region on earth could be made to produce so abundantly."

With no hostile force to interfere with him but the not very formidable "green" Pennsylvania militia, General Ewell's movements were practically unrestricted. From Chambersburg he moved his corps northward, sending Fodes' Division northeast to Carlisle and Early's Division eastward to York, by way of the South Mountain ridge and Gettysburg. Then from York Early dispatched Gordon's Brigade

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eastward to Wrightsville to seize the fine bridge over the Susquehanna there. Wrightsville is on the west side and Columbia on the east side of the Susquehanna at that point. Early meant to cross the river, go eastward a few miles and capture Lancaster, then go up northward and capture Harrisburg, the state capital.

But the battalion of Pennsylvania militia at Wrightsville won a great victory for the Union cause. They skirmished with Gordon's Brigade until they sustained a small loss, then they retreated across the bridge, having first set it on fire so thoroughly that it burned up despite General Gordon's efforts to put out the fire. This saved Lancaster and Harrisburg.

General Ewell's command spent several days in riotous living in Pennsylvania. They fairly reveled in good eating and drinking. They gathered up 3,000 head of good fat cattle which they sent down to Longstreet and A. P. Hill's hungry men, and they informed them where in Maryland 5,000 barrels of flour could be had. (Longst. Man. to Appo., 345.) Gen. Jubal Early was a cheerful and very enterprising robber. He commanded a division of Ewell's Corps and made the most of his position and power. This is his report (War Recs.) of what he did to the town of York:

"I made a requisition on the authorities for 2,000 pairs of shoes, 1,000 hats, 1,000 pairs of socks, \$100,000 in money and three days' rations of all kinds. Subsequently about 1,500 pairs of shoes, the hats, socks and rations were furnished, but only \$28,600 in money was furnished, the mayor and other authorities protesting their inability to get any more money, as it had all been run off previously. * * * I determined to

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cross over the Susquehanna, march upon Lancaster, and lay that town under contribution * * * but this prospect was thwarted by the destruction of the bridge over the Susquehanna.”

The authorities of the town of York had the alternative of seeing their town burned in case they did not comply with General Early's chivalrous requisition; he plainly told them so.

The Confederate invasion of Pennsylvania produced intense excitement and alarm throughout the North. The southern half of the Keystone State trembled through and through; bankers, merchants, and many others sent off their money and valuables for safe keeping; thousands of farmers, with their live stock and household goods, hastened to the north of the Susquehanna, yet leaving plenty behind; Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington were considered in extreme peril, and even New York City was not thought to be beyond the danger line.

As early as June 15th, President Lincoln, foreseeing this invasion, had called out 100,000 militia from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, and West Virginia, to serve six months unless sooner discharged. The governors of all these states soon had their respective quotas at the places of rendezvous. Gov. Horatio Seymour of New York, and Gov. Joel Parker, of New Jersey, both ardent War Democrats, voluntarily called upon the citizens of their states to go to the assistance of their neighbors. Cordially were these calls responded to and thousands of New York and New Jersey militia and unorganized citizens were soon swarming upon all railroad trains running to the Susquehanna, furnishing their own arms and rations.

With their Corps, A. P. Hill and Longstreet

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crossed the Potomac into Maryland June 24 and 25, Hill at Shepherdstown and Longstreet at Williamsport, and both followed Ewell's paths into Pennsylvania. No further danger to the National Capital being apprehended, Hooker gathered up the forces that had been protecting it—and which were distributed over a considerable region—and crossed his entire army over the Potomac at Edwards Ferry, on the 25th and 26th, and made a movement to concentrate his forces at Frederick.

From Frederick General Hooker meditated a movement against Lee's rear and right flank. He ordered Sloeum's Twelfth Corps to Harper's Ferry and he proposed to make the movement with that corps and the 11,000 men at Harper's Ferry under General French. On the 26th he telegraphed Halleck: "Is there any reason why Maryland Heights should not be abandoned after the public stores and property are removed?" The next day he again telegraphed Halleck, giving some excellent reasons why Harper's Ferry should be abandoned and its garrison put into the field. Halleck answered that Maryland Heights (Harper's Ferry) had always been regarded as an important point, that much expense and labor had been spent in fortifying them, and that he would not approve their abandonment, "except in case of absolute necessity." Without assuring Halleck that the "case of absolute necessity" was present, Hooker—did something else.

General Hooker was not solely dependent on the troops at Harper's Ferry to make his contemplated movement on Lee's rear; he had plenty of others that were not needed elsewhere. So important was that movement that he should have made it at all hazards. There is not room here to give all the reasons why it would have succeeded, but General

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Longstreet, in his "Manassas to Appomattox," (p. 348) says:

"If General Hooker had been granted the authority for which he applied, he would have struck our trains, which were wholly exposed from Chambersburg to the Potomac, without even a cavalryman to ride in and report the trouble. General Stuart was riding around Hooker's army, Robertson was in Virginia, Imboden at Hancock, and Jenkins with General Ewell. With our trains destroyed the army would have been in a ruinous condition."

An hour after sending his reasons why Harper's Ferry should be abandoned, General Hooker, from Harper's Ferry, telegraphed General Halleck that he wished to be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac. The President, who had appointed him, promptly accepted his resignation and appointed General Meade, then at Frederick, to succeed him. General Hooker did not allege in his telegram that his resignation was caused by Halleck's refusal to order the evacuation of Maryland Heights. He said:

"My original instructions require me to cover Harper's Ferry and Washington. I have now imposed upon me, in addition, an enemy in my front of more than my number. I beg to be understood, respectfully but firmly, that I am unable to comply with this condition with the means at my disposal, and I earnestly request that I may at once be relieved from the position I occupy."

For some time it was thought that General Hooker would be removed, but it was believed that General Reynolds would be his successor. Indeed Reynolds half expected this; but when the real commander

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was announced he put on his best uniform and rode over and took Meade's hand in both of his, congratulated him most heartily, and swore to serve him most loyally. General Meade received the highest assurances from all the other generals. He had grown up, as it were, in the Army of the Potomac, having entered it in August, 1861, as a brigade commander, and had actually won the place by meritorious service.

Like Burnside, General Meade protested against being given the command. He, too, alleged his own unfitness and urged that it be given to Reynolds.

General Hooker tried to get a subordinate command under Meade and Lincoln was anxious to give it to him, but General Meade protested. (Nie. & Hay, Vol. 7, p. 227.) He was finally given command of the troops sent to Chattanooga after Chickamauga, and when the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps were consolidated into the Twentieth, he was given command of that Corps. He was a fine soldier, and a loyal and patriotic man. He won great reputation at Lookout Mountain and on the Atlanta campaign; but when General Howard was given command of the Army of the Tennessee by General Sherman, Hooker asked to be relieved from command and his request was granted.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FROM FREDERICKSBURG TO HAYMARKET.

ALL through the month of May and until in the second week of June the First Minnesota remained in its camp on Stafford Heights. Rumors of marching orders were circulated almost every day. And at last marching day came. The Third, First and Eleventh Corps began the movement of Hooker's army northward June 11; these corps constituted the Right Wing of the army, which was commanded by General Reynolds, and they, with the Fifth, moved toward Manassas. On the 13th the three other corps, the Sixth, Twelfth and Second, began their march; the Second acted as rear guard and was the last to leave the camps.

The First Minnesota, with other regiments of Harrow's brigade, moved out on the evening of the 14th, marched a few miles, halted for an hour, faced about, marched back to the Rappahannock, arriving at midnight, and was sent out on picket. Early on the morning of the 15th, the march was resumed, and passing over the farm where George Washington spent his youth and early manhood, the brigade reached Stafford C. H. at about 9 a. m. Here the court house was in flames, having been fired by some wretches from the preceding column. At 2 o'clock, under an almost scorching sun, the march was resumed and continued northeast to a camp a mile beyond Aquia Creek, which empties into the lower Potomac.

Particular mention is made of this day's march because it was probably the hottest that the First Minnesota ever underwent. Although the distance

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traveled was only about 18 miles, thousands of men in Gibbon's Division were completely exhausted. There were numerous cases of sunstroke and three deaths reported in the division. Every regiment had more or less stragglers who fell by the wayside from heat prostration and came forward as best they could as soon as they recovered. The First Minnesota had its quota of these. General Gibbon was unduly stirred up about the inability of the men to undergo the unusual hardship and fatigue.

To avoid the intense heat the brigade marched at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 16th and arrived at Dumfries, on Quantico Creek, at about 8 a. m. It was now out of Stafford and into Prince William county. Continuing northward, it marched to the Occoquan by 6 o'clock and the brigade bivouacked on its banks at the Wolf Run Shoals. The next day Sangster's Station, on the Orange & Alexandria Railroad, was reached in the evening, after another hot march, during which several men were disabled by sunstroke. The regiment was now back on the scene of its first operations in July, 1861, near the Bull Run battle ground; it first saw Sangster's Station July 17. June 19, a march was made to Centerville, well known and not pleasantly remembered.

Passing through the little hamlet of Gainesville, near where the hard battle of August 28, 1862, was fought, the brigade reached Thoroughfare Gap about midnight, and here it remained four days, watching the pass and furnishing details for train guards. Thoroughfare Gap is the pass through the Bull Run Mountains which (by withdrawing Ricketts' Division) General Pope left open for Lee and Longstreet to pass through and join Jackson just before the Second Bull Run.

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JEB STUART'S ATTACK AT HAYMARKET.

In the forenoon of June 25, Gibbon's Division was the rear guard of the Second Corps which that day marched from Thoroughfare Gap towards Edwards Ferry, where it was to cross the Potomac. In front of the Division was the Corps' long train of supply wagons. This had to be carefully guarded, for Mosby's band and Stuart's Cavalry were in the neighborhood, very much in want of supplies and very bold and daring.

It chanced that, just as the Corps was withdrawing from the Gap, General Stuart and his cavalry were passing through the hamlet of New Baltimore toward Gainesville. They were on the famous raid which caused them to be absent from Lee's army at the battle of Gettysburg and to this absence General Lee attributed the disaster which befell him. At the little town of Haymarket where General Hancock arrived his eyes northwards, Stuart came upon Gibbon's Division and saw the train. At once he opened vigorously with his heavy artillery, Breethed's and Chew's Batteries, and moved forward some cavalry skirmishers and captured some prisoners, including Captain Johnson, General Hancock's escort, and some couriers that Hancock had started to General Zook who with his brigade was at Gainesville. General Zook was ordered to leave up and join the Corps and told the route it would take, and Stuart read and mastered the dispatches. The exploding shells * put to flight and into a great panic a crowd of sutlers, negroes, and other camp followers that were lingering in the rear of Gibbon's Division, and it is said that there were some ludicrous scenes. Colonel Colville had

*Adjutant Egle, Fifteenth Massachusetts, says: "I never saw so hard shelling before."

FROM FREDERICKSBURG TO HAYMARKET

his horse killed under him by one of Stuart's shells, and two men of the First Minnesota, Joseph Walsh, of Company B, and George A. Kinney of Company G, and several other men of the division were wounded. The forming of Harrow's brigade and the advance of Webb's caused Stuart to leave the field and retire towards the Occoquan.

Now, this little affair at Haymarket turned out to be of great influence on Lee's final defeat. Stuart was on a raid around that portion of Hooker's forces then in the vicinity of Bull Run, intending to cross the Potomac above Edward's Ferry and join Lee in Pennsylvania. Had he done so, he could have kept Lee informed of the movements and whereabouts of the Union armies, and it was the lack of information on this point which Lee says caused his defeat. At the Haymarket, from Hancock's dispatches to Zook and from the prisoners, Stuart learned that Hancock's Corps and other troops were to be westward of him, and would remain in that direction for some time, and so he could not cross the Potomac above Edward's Ferry, but must pass lower down. Then, after crossing, he must get to Lee's army—which was west of the Union line—the best way he could. Had he not stopped to fight at Haymarket, he could have got to the westward of Hancock's line of march, and soon been in communication with Lee.

Stuart crossed the Potomac at Rowser's Ford, opposite Dranesville, and then went to Rockville. Here, within sight of the spires of Washington, he captured 125 six-mule wagons laden with supplies for Meade's army. These wagons hindered his marching rapidly, and when he got into Pennsylvania he rode hard night and day trying to find Lee and connect with him, and once he parked the wagons, meaning to burn them. Then, June 30, he had a fight with

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Farnsworth's cavalry brigade near Hanover, Pa., four miles southeast of Gettysburg, and he came near being captured. He did not join Lee's army until the evening of July 2, and then connected with its left on the battlefield of Gettysburg. The next day Robertson's Cavalry division came into Cashtown. Meanwhile Lee had been getting along the best he could with two small commands of cavalry, (Jenkins' brigade and White's battalion) but they were not nearly so good at obtaining information as was Stuart and his accomplished scouts. If Stuart had not tried to capture Hancock's wagon train at Haymarket, Lee might have done better in Pennsylvania. (For a full understanding of this subject, see Lee's official report in the War Records; Longstreet's "Manassas to Appomattox," McClellan's History of Stuart's Cavalry, Cooke's Life of Lee, Jones' Life of Lee, etc.)

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FROM HAYMARKET TO GETTYSBURG.

AT nightfall on the evening of the Haymarket affair, Harrow's Brigade went on to Gum Springs and went into bivouac in a drenching rain. Rains are usually disliked by soldiers on a march, but this one was welcomed. It cooled the air and made marching possible without seeing men prostrated by the heat all along the road, with occasionally the corpse of a man who had died from sunstroke.

At Gum Springs the corps was re-enforced by General Hays' New York Brigade under Colonel Willard. General Hays was now the commander of the third division, to which the new brigade was attached. These new regiments more than made up in numbers for the loss of the Thirty-fourth New York, which had enlisted for only two years, its time expiring about June 1. It left the army at Stafford Heights June 9. The First Minnesota escorted it to the railroad station, gave it three rousing cheers as the train moved and parted with its old comrades with sincere regret.

Another change in the official make-up of the Division occurred at Thoroughfare Gap. Gen. J. T. Owen, who had been in command of the Pennsylvania Brigade for some time, was put under arrest by General Gibbon. The vacancy so created was filled by the appointment of Gen. Alex. S. Webb, a most accomplished officer, who had been serving on staff duty and with the artillery, but who was destined to become an efficient commander. Old "Paddy" Owen went back to Philadelphia.

The brigade crossed the Potomac at Edward's

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Ferry June 26, and halted near the old camp. This was familiar ground to the First Minnesota. On the 27th Poolesville and Barnesville were passed and camp made at the base of Sugar Loaf Mountain. The First Minnesota had to send 160 men out on picket.

June 28 Urbana was passed and camp made in the beautiful valley of the Monocacy, within sight of Frederick. The great hosts of the Union army fairly filled the valley. Here the news was received that General Meade had superseded General Hooker in command of the army.

At the time General Meade took command, the Army of the Potomac was lying around and near Frederick, Md., about twenty miles south of the Pennsylvania line and twenty-six miles south of Gettysburg. He knew that Ewell's Corps had occupied the town of Carlisle, and York, and was threatening to cross the Susquehanna at Columbia and Taneytown; he knew also that Longstreet and A. P. Hill's Corps were somewhere in southwestern Pennsylvania, and that General Lee was with them. At once General Meade set himself to make the Confederates lose their hold on the Susquehanna, for if they succeeded in crossing that river, there would be serious trouble.

The very next morning after his appointment, General Meade began gathering up his Corps, and the next day, the 29th, put his army in motion due north, and in his endeavor to overhual Lee. The army moved in three columns, all east of the South Mountain range, and covering completely Lee's possible approach to Baltimore and Washington. Hancock's Second Corps was sent to Frizzelburg, Md. Meade spread out his Corps on different roads like the ribs of a fan, but kept them well in hand so

FROM HAYMARKET TO GETTYSBURG

that he could concentrate them in a short time. The rib of the fan on which the Second Corps moved was the extreme eastern one.

On the night of June 30, after his army had marched two days, Meade fully believed that Lee had loosed his hold on the Susquehanna and was coming to meet him, concentrating his forces the while. The Union general was convinced that the Confederates would attack him and he set about selecting a position where he could best receive them. The selection he made was along the dividing ridge or watershed between the Monocacy, (which flows south into the Potomac) and the waters running into Chesapeake Bay. The line of defense ran parallel with Pipe Creek, a little stream wholly in Maryland, and which flows southwest into the Monocacy. It was a splendid line for defense. Orders were issued that night for the concentration of the Union Corps on and about the Pipe Creek line, the concentration to be the next day, July 1. Pursuant to these orders, General Reynolds was sent with the First, Third and Eleventh Corps up to Gettysburg—not to fight a battle there, but locate the enemy, hold Gettysburg if it could be done without being involved with a superior force and mask and conceal the concentration on Pipe Creek. The Second Corps and headquarters were sent to Taneytown, practically on the creek. The other Corps within easy marching distance.

Owing to the absence of Stuart's Cavalry, with its sharp, news-gathering scouts, it was not until June 28 when Lee became aware that the Army of the Potomac had crossed into Maryland and was at Frederick. That day he was at Chambersburg, Pa., with Longstreet and A. P. Hill and Ewell's Corps was at York and Carlisle. He feared that General

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Meade would move westward across the South Mountain range and cut off the Confederate communication with Virginia.

He was, according to his report, upon the point of moving his whole force northward to cross the Susquehanna and strike Harrisburg, then defended by only a few thousand hastily levied militia under General Couch. Harrisburg in his possession, he might move towards Philadelphia (100 miles distant) or Baltimore, or whither he pleased. But now this movement must be abandoned. To save his communications he must push his army eastward and draw General Meade after him, away from his line of retreat. He thought Meade would follow him wherever he went.

So, instead of sending Longstreet and Hill to join Ewell on the intended invasion, Lee ordered them to march from Chambersburg eastward through the South Mountain range to Gettysburg, 20 miles distant. Then he instructed Ewell to countermarch southward with his Corps from York and Carlisle to Gettysburg also. These movements were begun Monday morning, June 29. The march was made very leisurely, for after two days of it Hill's Corps bivouacked six miles west, and Ewell's was at Heidlersburg, nine miles north of Gettysburg. Lee selected Gettysburg as his point of concentration, not to fight a battle there, but because there were more roads running southward to the Potomac from that town than from any other in the region.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

GETTYSBURG.

THE great battle of Gettysburg, the mightiest ever fought on the American continent, was not deliberately designed by either of the contending armies; it was brought on practically by accident. General Lee set out for Gettysburg only to concentrate his army preparatory to moving and fighting somewhere else, and to establish a base of operations. General Meade sent a portion of his army there merely to mask his concentration on Pipe Creek, where he expected—or at least hoped—that Lee would attack him. The gigantic conflict was brought on in the manner to be described.

While Meade's army was marching northward, Gen. John Buford's cavalry division was thrown well out to the left or west flank. June 29, the division passed through Gettysburg and pushed out reconnaissances west and north. That very morning Lee had put his columns in motion for the town.

But June 26, on the way to Wrightsville and Columbia, (where it was expected to cross the Susquehanna) Early's Division had occupied Gettysburg, after breaking up the Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania militia, which made a pretense of defending the place. General Early, of course, made a demand on the authorities for supplies, but they responded that they had nothing that he demanded. Whereupon this chivalric, high-minded leader proceeded to plunder the town. In his report, however, he regretfully says: "A search of the stores resulted in securing only a very small quantity of supplies, and only about 2,000 rations were found in a train of cars,

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and issued to Gordon's Brigade." The cars and a railroad bridge were burned, but no thought was given of fighting a battle there.

On the night of June 30, Buford's cavalry was at Gettysburg, with scouts well out to the west and north. General Reynolds, with his own First Corps, was bivouacked on Marsh Creek, four miles south of town, with orders to go into Gettysburg next morning. Howard's Eleventh was at Emmittsburg, ten miles southwest of town; Sickles' Third and Slocum's Twelfth Corps were within call, but Sedgwick's Sixth, was further off. A. P. Hill's Confederate Corps was camped six miles to the west, and Ewell's was six or eight miles north, at Heidlersburg, both Corps headed for Gettysburg. A collision was certain and imminent. The two armies were two great storm-clouds charged heavily with thunderbolts, and swiftly approaching each other. Their collision meant a dreadful and frightful convulsion.

Each storm cloud meant to receive the assault of the other. General Lee had promised Longstreet and Hill that he would be cautious and careful and not assault the Union forces if they were strong and in good position; but he did not keep his word. General Meade was determined to place his army in such a way that Lee would be compelled to attack it; and so he had gone into position on the Pipe Creek line to meet his enemy. Lee had been greatly relieved when he learned that Meade was east of the South Mountain or Blue Ridge Range; he knew then no attempt would be made to the west of that range to cut off the Confederate rear.

Neither Lee nor Meade knew anything about the topography of the land at Gettysburg. General Meade expected, and really hoped, that Lee would occupy the town, for then, in a few days, he would

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be compelled to attack the strong Union breastworks on Pipe Creek. Lee determined to occupy and hold Gettysburg as a base, for that town was the meeting place of seven great roads coming in from as many different directions and important points—from Chambersburg, to the west; from Hagerstown and Harper's Ferry, to the southwest; from Carlisle and Harrisburg, to the north; from York to the east; from Emmittsburg and Washington City, to the south, and from Taneytown and Baltimore, on the southeast.

These roads were in effect the spokes of a wheel, of which Gettysburg was the hub. The town had about 3,500 inhabitants. Lee felt sure that, when he had established himself at Gettysburg, Meade would attack him. Each cloud, therefore, expected to stand still, and let the other blow itself against it. The Southern cloud was coming up slowly, but none the less portentously.

CHAPTER XL.

THE FIRST DAY'S BATTLE.

THE battle of Gettysburg has been so often described in both popular and technical literature, that it is not desirable to undertake a repetition, except in a general way, of operations that did not immediately concern the First Minnesota.

As already stated, both armies were looking for each other, and on the evening of June 30th, General Buford with his division (Gamble's and Devin's brigades) of Union cavalry, reached Gettysburg and there met confederate infantry entering the town from the west. Buford drove them toward Cushtown over the Chambersburg pike about four miles.

The next morning the Confederates—Hill's Corps composed of Anderson's, Heth's and Pender's Divisions, comprising about twenty thousand men and twenty batteries with 92 guns—drove Buford toward Gettysburg. General Reynolds sent Wadsworth's division forward to support Buford's cavalry, and himself accompanied those troops, in the meantime ordering up Doubleday's and Robertson's Divisions.

Reynolds' Corps, comprising Wadsworth's, Robinson's and Doubleday's divisions consisted of 10,355 men of all arms and 28 guns.

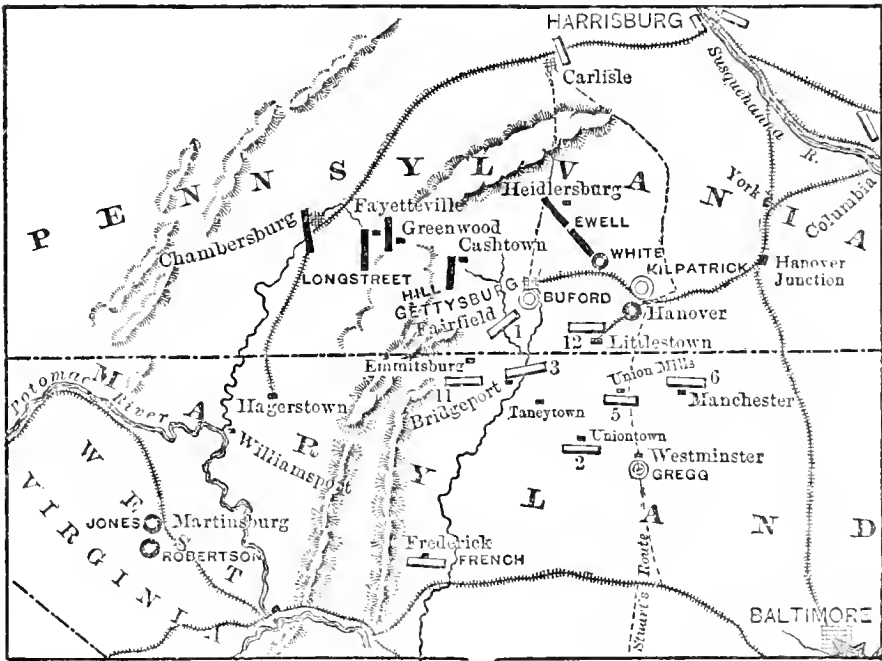
At about noon Howard's Eleventh Corps came up with 10,000 men, but about the same time Ewell's Confederate corps came up to strengthen the enemy with an additional 19,763 men. By four o'clock p. m. the Confederates with over 40,000 men had compelled the two Union corps of 20,000 men to fall back through Gettysburg and take position on Cemetery

THE FIRST DAY'S BATTLE

Ridge, an elevated ground south of the village of Gettysburg.

During the contest of that day, General Reynolds had been killed and Gen. O. O. Howard had assumed command of the Union troops consisting of the First and Eleventh Corps.

General Doubleday took command of the First Corps on General Reynold's death and Gen. Carl Schurz took command of the Eleventh corps, and



POSITION OF FEDERAL AND CONFEDERATE ARMIES, JUNE 30, 1863
(Federal, □ Confederate, ■)

General Howard was thus in command of both corps at the close of that day's fighting.

General Meade was at Taneytown, Md., 12 miles south of Gettysburg, when he heard that General Reynolds was killed. Immediately he dispatched General Hancock of the Second Corps, to "represent me on the field" (Meade's report) and take charge of the situation at Gettysburg.

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The gallant Hancock came galloping up to Gettysburg just as the shattered and confused troops of the defeated First and Eleventh Corps were coming through the eastern part of town. Steinwehr's Division, of Howard, on Cemetery Hill, and Buford's cavalry, on the northern outskirts, were the only sound and stable forces to rally upon. The duties were now upon Hancock, to halt and straighten up the demoralized troops and to select a safe position for them. By riding among the men and letting them see him, he soon had them in fairly good order.

Hancock sent word to General Meade that Gettysburg was a good place for the coming battle, and that evening went back to Tanneytown to report in person on the situation at Gettysburg.

Although General Meade had contemplated concentrating at Pipe Creek, and there awaiting General Lee, he received such information from various sources that day, that at six o'clock that evening (July 1st) he sent a message to Hancock and Doubleday at Gettysburg, saying "A battle is now forced on us at Gettysburg." An hour and a half later he dispatched to Sedgwick "A general battle seems to be impending tomorrow at Gettysburg." (Young, *Batt. of Gettysburg*, p. 212; *Off. Rec.* XXVIII, 3; 466, 467.)

CHAPTER XLI.

THE SECOND DAY'S BATTLE.

THE locality known as the battlefield, has been well described by Jesse Bowman Young in his recent work on the "Battle of Gettysburg" as follows:

"The line of battle, laid out by the topography of the region, and impressed upon the landscape indelibly for all time, is in the form of a fish hook. The end of the handle is Little Round Top, the extreme Union left flank.

"From this point the line runs north for two miles or more to Cemetery Hill, occupying, for most of that distance, an elevated backbone of rocky land, below and east of which, through its entire extent, runs the Taneytown road, which unites at an acute angle with the road from Emmittsburg near the point where the line of battle bends to climb Cemetery Hill."

"Here at the cemetery, the ground is high, overlooking the town and the territory beyond the village, as one glances to the north. The line then inclines to the right (east) running along an elevated ground, back of which runs the Baltimore pike, one of the chief lines of communication leading to the Union rear, which elevated ground finally circles around to the point of the fish hook, where is located the rough, wooded, precipitous height known as Culp's Hill.

"The length of the line is nearly five miles, the distance across, from point to end of handle, half that distance.

"The Confederate line was of similar shape, opposite the Union line at the distance of half a mile to a mile, along Semi-

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nary Ridge, on which it ran from north to south for three miles; at the Seminary it left the ridge, ran (east) through the town and swung around to envelope Culp's Hill."

The crest of the ridge between Little Round Top and Cemetery Hill had been cleared for agriculture, and comprised several cultivated fields, occasional groves of small timber, a good slope both east and west. The amphitheater to the east between the two wings of the Union army furnished fine ground for the handling of ambulances and artillery.

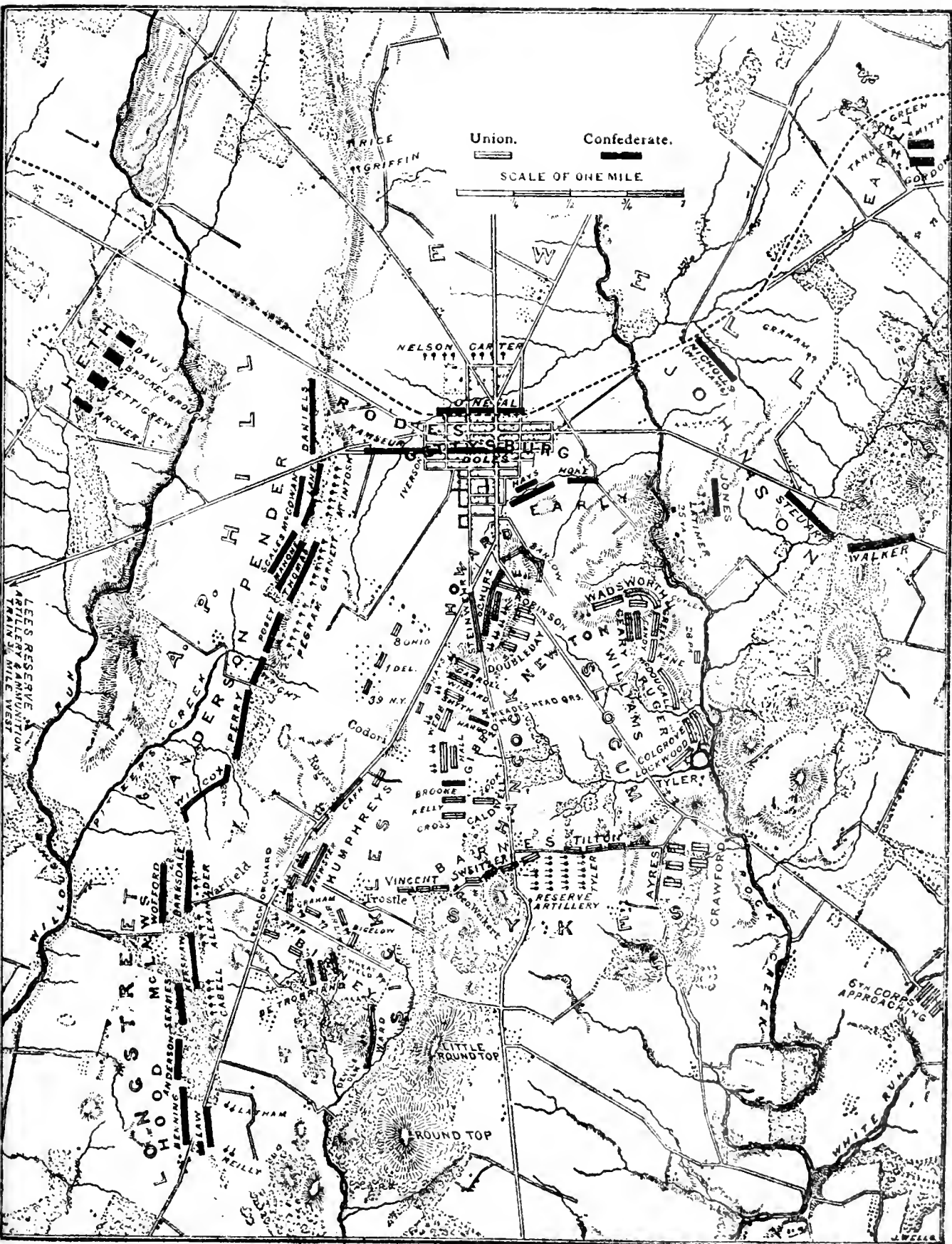
The space between Seminary ridge, occupied by the Confederates, and Cemetery ridge occupied by the Union army, was an undulating region about one mile wide, devoted to farming.

Midway between these two ridges—starting at the village and running southwest, was the Emmittsburg road occupying a minor ridge or elevation, except at a point opposite the junction of Little Round Top and Cemetery ridge, where there was a depression which would have been dominated by an enemy occupying this road at that place.

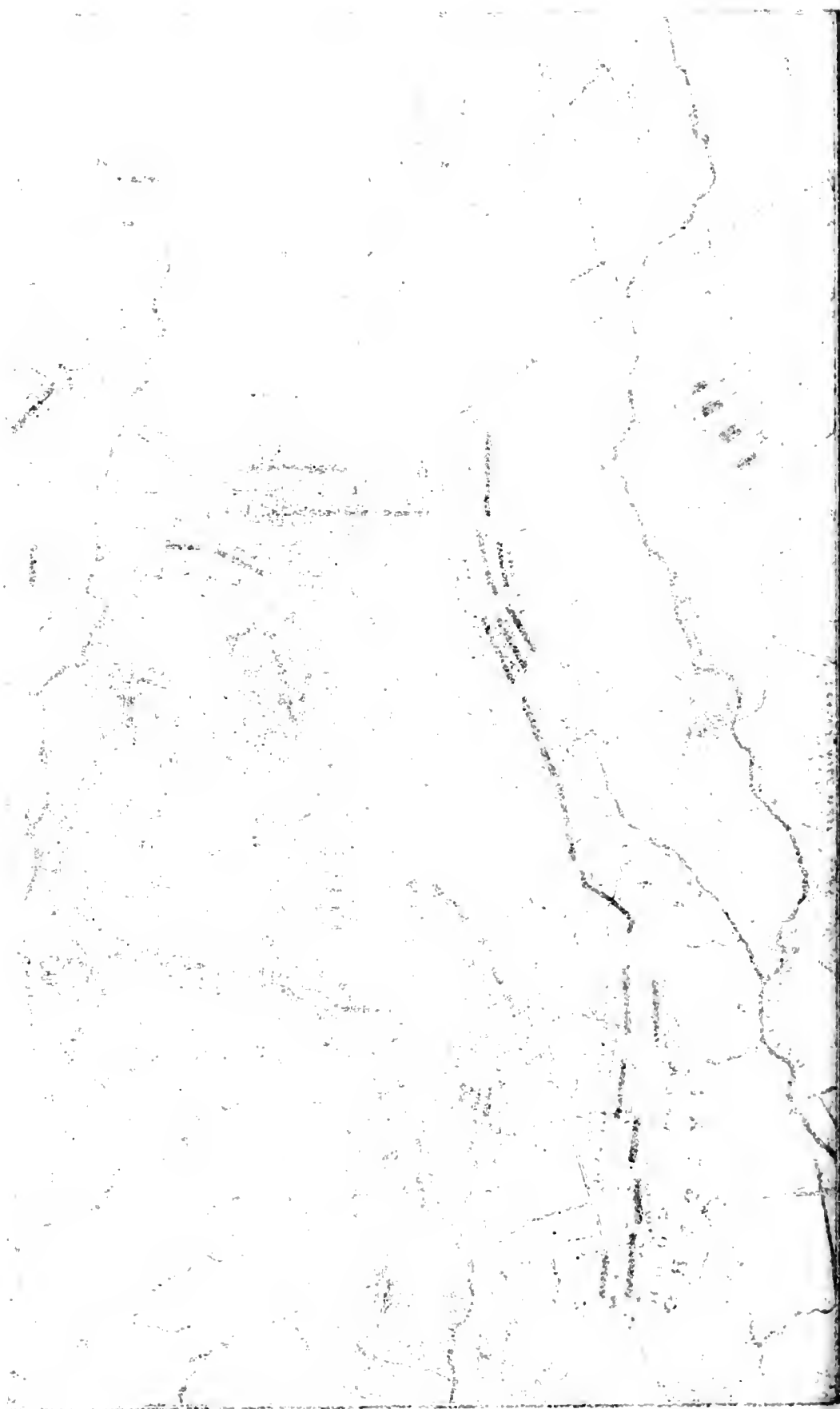
This depression in the Union position was one great cause of General Sickles moving his Corps forward onto the Emmittsburg road, as we shall hereafter note.

During that night and the following forenoon (July 2nd) both commanders were occupied in bringing into position their respective forces.

The first disposition of the Union army was as follows: General Sickles' Corps—comprising Humphreys' and Birney's divisions—constituted the Union left, starting from Little Round Top and extending north along Cemetery Ridge and connecting with Hancock's Corps. Beyond Hancock, running around to the extreme right of Culp's Hill, were the Corps



POSITIONS OF FEDERAL AND CONFEDERATE FORCES, JULY 2, ABOUT 3.30 P.M., WHEN LONGSTREET'S ATTACK OPENED



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of Newton, Howard and Slocum, in the order named. The Fifth Corps (Sykes) was held in reserve, and the Sixth Corps (Sedgwick's) did not arrive until late in the day and was then held in reserve.

The Confederate forces, beginning with the right wing, were in the following order:

Longstreet's Corps, Hill's Corps, and Ewell's Corps which extended around to Culp Hill.

It must be remembered that an army Corps in the Confederate army was fully twice as large as one in the Union army, and the brigades and divisions were of corresponding size.

Different estimates by careful judges of the respective strength of the two armies are as follows:

	Meade.	Lee.
Longstreet		75,568
Century War Book	93,500	70,000
Civil War in America (Formby)	82,000	73,000
The Civil War (Comte de Paris)	84,000	69,000
Numbers and Losses (Livermore)	83,289	75,054
New York at Gettysburg (Fox)	85,674	71,675

(Young, Battle of Gettysburg, p. 173.)

In comparing the strength of the two armies, it should be understood that with the Union Army the basis rested on the report of the First Sergeant "All present or accounted for."

This included those absent on detail, fatigue duty, etc., whereas in the Confederate army, the report covered only those present with the colors and under arms.

As stated, General Sickles, with the Third Corps, was placed on Cemetery Ridge and Little Round Top, and his position constituted the extreme left or south of the Union line. A part of the ridge where he was is not very elevated, and the ground falls off to the

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west into a considerable hollow. But 500 yards to the west, across a wheat field, a peach orchard, etc., the ground rises again and forms quite a ridge running north and south, and along the crest of this ridge runs the Emmittsburg road.

Now, General Sickles thought that if the Confederates should come forward and occupy this ridge along the Emmittsburg road, it would be very bad for him. So he concluded to occupy it first. His Corps was not put in its first position until about daylight of the 2nd, and at noon he advanced it to the ridge mentioned. The Corps had two divisions, Humphreys' and Birney's, each with three large brigades.

Humphreys' Division formed on the Emmittsburg pike and Birney's Division was "refused," or bent backward through a low ground of woods, a wheat-field, and then another piece of woods, towards Little Round Top. The apex of the angle formed by these two Divisions, was Sherry's peach orchard on the Emmittsburg road, and from here Birney's "refused" line began to run back eastward toward Round Top, near which elevation and in front, in a rocky ravine, the left flank rested. The angle, apex, or "salient" at the peach orchard was the key to Sickles' position, and was exposed to an enemy's cross fire and correspondingly weak.

General Lee saw the weak salient of Sickles' position and determined to attack it; "for" as he says in his report, "it appeared that if the position held by it could be carried, its possession would give us facilities for assailing and carrying the more elevated ground and crest beyond."

It was the only weak point in the Union line, and when it was broken, the Union army—and perhaps the great Union cause—was saved from great

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disaster only by some of the bravest and best fighting ever done on a battle field. To the averting of this disaster the First Minnesota contributed its full share. Neither General Meade nor any other of the Corps generals knew of the bad break in the line until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when Meade came upon the ground. It was then too late to order Sickles back, for the Confederates had begun the attack; all that could be done was to support and re-enforce him. It is foreign to the purpose of this work to undertake a statement of the controversy between Sickles and Meade and their respective friends over the question of the propriety of this forward movement by General Sickles. They are both remembered as men of undoubtedly loyalty and posterity has no criticisms for either.

It was nearly 4 o'clock in the afternoon of July 2nd (Thursday) when General Lee had completed his dispositions for a formidable attack upon the Union line on Cemetery Ridge. By 7 o'clock of the evening of July 1st, it was evident that the Confederates would be the aggressors the next day.

Early in the morning it was apparent that Lee meant to use Ewell's Corps in the capture of Culp's Hill at the north end of the Union line. To defend those positions, there were the Eleventh and First Corps, both somewhat weakened by the previous day's fighting.

Lee contemplated that Ewell should attack, or at least, demonstrate, against the north end of the Union line, and thus prevent re-enforcements from being sent to the south end, where he proposed to make his main attack. Of course, if Ewell could carry the two hills and then roll back the right of the Second Corps, so much the better. Lee designed

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to have Longstreet make his main attack on the Union left wing.

General Ewell was not to make his attack until Longstreet, on the Confederate right, or south, should open his attack, but atmospheric conditions were such that Longstreet's cannon were not heard by Ewell, and so it was nearly 5 o'clock before Ewell's Divisions, Early's and Johnson's, began their assaults.

Meanwhile Sedgwick's Sixth Corps arrived, after a long, hard march from Manchester, 35 miles to the southeast, and this arrival was of great help to the Union line. The Fifth Corps (Sykes) had been in reserve on the Union right, but General Meade now took it and placed it on the left, in reserve, to help defend the Round Tops, and Sedgwick's Corps took its place to help defend the big hills. Thus the Union left was re-enforced without weakening the right. Of course all this while, the skirmishers of both sides, infantry, artillery, and cavalry, had been very busy.

About 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Longstreet's two divisions, those of Hood and McLaws, attacked the salient of Sickles' position in Sherfy's peach orchard, and soon met with success. Then the greater part of Hood's Division fell upon the left of Sickles' line, (Birney's Division), that part of his Corps line which stretched back eastward from the Peach Orchard to the Round Tops. Hood's line now faced northeast and began the demolition of Birney's Division; but at the same time he was thrusting his extreme right between Sickles' extreme left and Round Top.

The situation was of great peril to the Union line—and indeed to the Union cause. The Confederate possession of the Round Tops would have taken

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Meade's line in reverse—that is to say, in the rear—and ordinarily this would mean its destruction. Big Round Top had a small Union force upon it, but Little Round Top, about three hundred yards to the north, was unoccupied, save by a few men of the Union Signal Corps and Gen. G. K. Warren, the army's chief engineer. Had General Hood known the nakedness of this rocky hill at this time and pushed his whole division for it, breaking down the well-nigh shattered brigades of Sickles as he came, he would have almost ended the battle. Swinton says: "He would have grasped in his hand the key of the battle ground, and Gettysburg might have been one of those fields that decide the issues of wars."

General Warren saved Little Round Top; what else he saved cannot certainly be said. Seeing that Hood's men were fast advancing, and fearing that they would soon be surrounded, the signal men began to fold up their flags preparatory to leaving. But General Warren bade them continue the waving of the signals, as if the summit were occupied, while he sent his aide, Lieutenant McKenzie, to the Fifth Corps for help. That officer met the Corps not very far away, and obtained Vincent's Brigade and Hazlett's Battery and conducted them to Little Round Top.

He reached the little mount just in time. As Vincent's men ascended to its summit, Hood's Texans were coming against its rugged side on the west. Hazlett's Battery, guns, caissons and all, had to be dragged by hand to the crest; the horses left in the rear. Later O'Rorke's One Hundred and Fortieth New York arrived to re-enforce the Union troops, and finally all of Weed's Brigade. Then issued a most terrible and savage fight between Robertson's

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Brigade of three Texas and one Arkansas regiments and Law's five Alabama regiments that fought against Vincent's four (Sixteenth Michigan, Forty-fourth New York, Eighty-third Pennsylvania, and Twentieth Maine), though after a time Vincent's Brigade and the One Hundred and Fortieth New York of Weed's Brigade. The Confederates were re-enforced on their left or north by "Tige" Anderson's and Benning's Brigades.

In the end the main forces of the Confederates were driven back to the Emmittsburg road, where they remained, still keeping up a skirmish line until the evening of the 3d. General Weed, Colonel Vincent, Captain Hazlett, and Colonel O'Rorke were all killed; but Little Round Top was safe in Union hands. Losses on both sides were very heavy. General Hood had his right arm shot off, and a number of officers were killed.

When Hood's Division broke in the "salient" at Sherfy's Peach Orchard and pushed on for Little Round Top, a part of the division, aided by McLaws' Division, fell upon Humphreys' Division. Really this attack was made against the center and left (or south) of the Third Corps as well as upon the left of Humphreys' Division. Longstreet had extended his line too far to the south to cover the entire north front of Siekles' Corps and his extreme right lapped over Birney's extreme left and enabled the Confederates to hold the base of Big Round Top. Connecting with the left of Longstreet's line, and prolonging it to the north, was A. P. Hill's Corps, and Humphreys had a part of this Corps in his front.

When Hood and McLaws were crushing Ward's and De Trobriand's brigades of Birney's Division, Barnes' Division of Sykes' Fifth Corps came to their assistance, as did Burling's Brigade, sent by General

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Humphreys. All were defeated and driven by the Confederates. Burling's regiments were distributed among the other brigades.

And now the heaviest attack was made upon the Sherfy Peach Orchard, and upon Abraham Trostle's premises, just east of it. Here were Graham's Brigade of Birney and a portion of Humphreys' Division. They were assailed by Kershaw's and Semmes' brigades of McLaws and two brigades (Perry's and Wright's) of Anderson's Division of Hill's Corps. The Union troops fought well, but they did not have an equal chance, and were driven back. The entire salient was now smashed in and the confederates held and maintained the key point.

The original front of Birney's Division had disappeared. The Confederates burst through the center of the Third Corps and fairly rioted in assailing the disrupted wings of Sickles' Division. The brigades of Tilton and Sweitzer of Barnes (Fifth Corps), which had been sent to help Birney, were driven back.

Then General Hancock sent in General Caldwell's First Division (formerly Hancock's own) of the Second Corps to check the Confederates. It had four fine brigades, Colonel Cross', Colonel Kelly's, General Zook's and Colonel Brooke's. The division met the fate of its comrades. Colonel Brooke drove Kershaw's Brigade away from the base of the Round Tops and along Plum Run, which was a rocky stream, but he could not keep them away. General Ayres, with two brigades of regulars (of Sykes' Fifth Corps), was sent to check Hood's men who were occupying the ground originally held by the left of Birney, not far east of the Emmittsburg road.

But now Hood's and Anderson's Brigades—Wilcox's of Anderson having come up—had penetrated the wide interval made by the bursting open of

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Sickles' center at the Peach Orchard, thus dividing the Union forces, and had them at their mercy. They enveloped Caldwell's right and penetrated almost to his rear, and this soon forced him back after the awful sacrifice of one-half his division. General Zook and the intrepid Colonel Cross, of the Fifth New Hampshire, were killed and Colonel Brooke seriously wounded. Then Hood's men threw back Sweitzer's Brigade; and Ayres' two brigades of regulars, being struck on their right and rear, had to fight very hard to cut their way through the enemy to safety.

Graham's Brigade had been holding the Peach Orchard, but, as has been said, at the Confederate onset the orchard was captured and its defenders driven back. General Graham was seriously wounded simultaneously by a bullet and a piece of shell and fell into Confederate hands. Almost at the same time, or about 6 o'clock, General Sickles, while trying to encourage his shaken men, received a severe wound in his right leg and left the battlefield on a litter, and the command of the Third Corps now fell to General Birney.

Before he was attacked General Humphreys had called for re-enforcements and to support his flank General Hancock had sent from his Second Corps two regiments from Harrow's Brigade, the Fifteenth Massachusetts, under Colonel Ward, and the Eighty-second New York, under Colonel Huston. These regiments fought well, as they always did, but were pushed back with the regiments of Humphreys, though the Eighty-second rallied, came back and did most gallant work. Both colonels were mortally wounded, dying the next day. To cover a gap on the left of Humphreys' line, Hancock sent Willard's New York Brigade, of Hays' Third Division. Later he sent two regiments of Hall's Brigade, the Nine-

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teenth Massachusetts under Colonel Devereux and the Forty-second New York (Tammany) under Colonel Mallon. They hardly reached the field when they met Humphreys' men running in disorder to the rear. They formed a line and fought for ten minutes against overwhelming odds and then retired.

The Confederate advance in front of the Second Corps line continued. The Third Corps, since the wounding of Sickles, had been added to Hancock's command and General Gibbon now directly commanded the Second Corps. General Harrow commanded the division and Colonel Heath, of the Nineteenth Maine, was temporarily in command of the old Gorman Brigade.

The Confederates followed those they had driven from the field and soon began to beat against the walls of the main Union positions on Cemetery Ridge. In front of Gibbon's (or Harrow's) Division the attack was menacing. Hall and Webb and Willard straightened up their brigade lines, determined that the big ridge should fly as soon as they. Barksdale's Mississippi brigade confronted Hall's and a part of Willard's. Semmes' stood face to face with Webb's.

There was great fighting. The Confederates seemed determined to take the ridge. In waves of brigades, en echelon, they dashed up against the Union rocks and broke into sprays of disorganized squads. General Barksdale led his brigade square against Willard's and Hall's and when within 20 yards of the line of the Seventh Michigan was shot from his saddle and mortally wounded, dying on the third day. (See Colonel Hall's report.) His body was picked up, and near it two Confederate flags, and eventually was taken charge of by a former acquaintance, Col. C. E. Livingston, of General Doubleday's staff. "His dying speech and last messages for his family,

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together with the valuables about his person, were entrusted by him to Colonel Livingston." (Double-day's report.)

Colonel Willard bravely charged the enemy as they came towards him, but he too was killed and the brigade checked. General Hancock now rode along the line straightening it up and putting it in order. At one point (which, as near as can be now determined, was to the north of Willard's position, and the south of a part of Humphreys' disordered line) he saw an unprotected interval towards which the Confederates of Wilcox's Brigade were advancing, with Barksdale's Brigade on their south. The First Minnesota chanced to be near on the hillside, and, throwing it into the breach, the regiment made its celebrated charge by which the Confederate onset was checked, although at frightful loss to the little regiment. (See subsequent pages.) Other troops and batteries were rapidly brought up and the battle for that day victoriously closed.

In this final struggle Colonel McGilvery of the First Maine Light Artillery, massed thirty pieces on the crest of the ridge and administered the final blow to the Confederate hopes for that day.

In the meantime Ewell had succeeded in obtaining a lodgment on the extreme right of the Union line, which had been weakened by withdrawing troops to assist the Union left wing.

This advance the Confederates maintained until about noon the next day, when the Union troops retook the position and restored their line.

But no substantial Confederate success had been gained when the sun went down. Longstreet had failed to capture the Round Tops or to turn the south end of the Union line. Longstreet and A. P. Hill had failed to break the Union center or to gain

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the crest of Cemetery Ridge in that quarter. The only part of the Union line in real jeopardy was that part held by Stuart's Confederates at Culp's Hill.

But General Lee had the supremest confidence that next day he would win a great victory. He felt sure that he would carry Culp's Hill the next morning, assault and capture Cemetery Ridge during the forenoon, and ruin Meade's army by nightfall. However, that night Meade and his generals met in council and voted unanimously to await an attack.

The old First Brigade, to which the First Minnesota belonged, while nominally under command of General Harrow, had for some days, during the General's illness been commanded by Colonel Ward of the Fifteenth Massachusetts. But this morning, just as the brigade got into position on Cemetery Ridge, General Harrow resumed command and Colonel Ward went back to his regiment. The General was not a well man by any means, but he said he would not "play sick" in a fight. Colonel Ward went into the hottest of the fight later in the day and fell mortally wounded on the battlefield, while trying to help Sickles' men down by the Cordori house.

Harrow's Brigade was pulled to pieces that day in efforts to relieve different commands and portions of the Union line. In the afternoon Captain Berger's (formerly Russell's) Second Minnesota Sharpshooters (attached to the First Minnesota and often called Company L) was sent up to the north, near the cemetery, to support the old Ricketts-Kirby battery, now commanded by Lieut. Geo. A. Woodruff, who lost his noble life the third day of the battle. Later Company F, the Red Wing Company, under Capt. John Ball, was sent as a skirmishing force down in the vicinity of the Round Tops. Company C, under

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Capt. Wilson B. Farrell, was serving as Division provost guard, and so the regiment had three companies less than its ordinary strength and only eight companies in line of the regular organization.

The Brigade lay in reserve just over the east side of the ridge for several hours, being under an almost constant artillery fire. The shells of the enemy killed one man of the First Minnesota and severely wounded Sergt. O. M. Knight, Co. I, the Wabasha company. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon General Hancock pulled out the Fifteenth Massachusetts and Eighty-second New York and sent them westward to the right or north of Humphreys' Division, fronting the Emmitsburg pike. In the aggregate the two regiments had about 700 men. They formed a line, with the Eighty-second on the left, near the Cordori house, and the Fifteenth on the north or right of the Eighty-second. Then Hancock drew out the Nineteenth Maine and sent it to the left front in the bottom to support Lieut. Fred Bunn's battery, B, First Rhode Island. The First Minnesota was all that was left in line of the First Brigade, and at 5 p. m. it was sent to the center of the line (from north to south) to support Lieut. Evan Thomas' Battery, C, Fourth U. S.

Early in the morning, just after the First Minnesota reached the battlefield, Colonel Colville was released from arrest and resumed command of the regiment, relieving Lieut. Col. Adams.* In the support of Thomas' battery the regiment was on the high ground of Cemetery Ridge, a short distance to the left or south of Gibbon's Division line of battle.

The other regiments of the brigade fought in their respective positions. In the advance of the Confederates on the Third Corps, portions of the

*See the circumstances of Col. Colvill's arrest infra.

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brigades of Wright and Perry attacked the right of Humphreys' Division and fell upon the Fifteenth Massachusetts and Eighty-second New York. As has been said, these regiments were to the north and west of the First Minnesota, with the left or south of the Fifteenth connecting with the Cordori house, on the Emmittsburg road. The two regiments fought well, as usual, but the superior force against them and the fact that the right of the Eighty-second was "in the air," making a turning movement easy, caused them to be driven back with heavy loss.

The Fifteenth was not able to return to the fight, but the Eighty-second was. At the first line, half way up the ridge, it reformed under fire, charged down upon Wright's brigade. It captured the colors of the Forty-eighth Georgia. Wright's Georgia brigade fought against three regiments of the old Gorman Brigade, the Fifteenth, the Eighty-second and the Nineteenth Maine. General Wright says in his report that in his fighting that evening he lost 688 men. In this day's fight the Eighty-second New York lost 153 officers and men.

The Nineteenth Maine, Col. Francis E. Heath, went down to the left to support Brown's Rhode Island battery, which belonged to Hays' Division. At a little past 6 that evening the Twenty-second Georgia attacked Colonel Heath. After firing ten rounds on the defense, the regiment charged and drove back the Georgians.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE "CHARGE" THAT MADE MINNESOTA FAMOUS.

IT is now due to mention and imperfectly describe the memorable charge of the First Minnesota at Gettysburg, which made the regiment renowned and rendered the Union soldiery of the state famous.

At the dedication of the monument at Gettysburg on July 2nd, 1897, to commemorate the services of this regiment, on this 2nd day of July, 1863, Lieut. Wm. Lochren delivered an address, which being mainly historical, and a duplicate of matter included in this history, is not given in full, but we quote from that address the account given of the services rendered by the regiment on the second day of the battle. Lieutenant Lochren says:

“On July 1st, 1863, our army was seeking that of Lee, which had penetrated the beautiful and fertile region of this great state, levying contributions and threatening the capital of the nation and the commercial cities of the north. Our corps lay near Uniontown, Md., about fifteen miles south of this place when about noon the distant sound of artillery announced the beginning of the conflict, and under the leadership of Hancock we were quickly marching where that sound called us. Hancock, under orders, left us on the way and hurried to the battle. We bivouacked long after nightfall about three miles south of this place, and about sunrise the next morning, were in our assigned place, at the left of the cemetery, our regiment being placed in reserve.

“Company L, was detached to support Kirby's battery in front of the Cemetery. Company F was sent on skirmish duty in



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front or to the left of Sickles. Company C was at headquarters as Provost guard of the Division. About noon Sickles' third corps, which had occupied this part of the ridge, advanced across the swale to near the Emmitsburg road on yonder ridge, and our remaining eight companies consisting of two hundred and sixty-two men were sent to this spot to support Battery C of the Fourth U. S. Artillery.

“The other troops were then near us, and we stood by this battery in full view of Sickles' battle on the opposite ridge, and watched with eager anxiety the varying fortunes of that sanguinary conflict, until at length with gravest apprehension we saw Sickles' men give way before the heavier forces of Longstreet and Hill, and come back slowly at first and rallying at frequent intervals, but at length broken and in utter disorder, rushing down the slope by the Trostle house, across the low ground, up the slope on our side, and past our position to the rear, followed by a strong force—two Confederate brigades—in regular lines, moving steadily in the flush of victory and firing on the fugitives. They had reached the low ground, where there were then no trees, and but very low brush, which did not interrupt the view nor impede their advance, and in a few moments would be at our position, piercing our line which they could roll up as Jackson did that of the Eleventh Corps at Chancellorsville.

“There was no organized force here to oppose them; nothing but our handful of two hundred and sixty-two men. Most soldiers in the face of the near advance of such an over-powering force, which had just taken part in the defeat of an army corps, would have caught the panic and joined the retreating masses. But the First Minnesota had never yet deserted any post; had never

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retired without orders, and desperate as the situation seemed, and it was, the regiment stood firm against whatever might come.

“Just then Hancock with a single aide rode up at full speed, and for a moment vainly endeavored to rally Sickles’ retreating forces. Reserves had been sent for, but were too far away to reach this critical position before it would be occupied by the enemy, unless that enemy were stopped.

“Quickly leaving the fugitives, Hancock spurred to where we stood, calling out, “What regiment is this?” “First Minnesota,” replied Colvill. “Charge those lines,” commanded Hancock. Every man realized in an instant what that order meant. Death or wounds to us all—the sacrifice of the regiment to gain a few minutes’ time and save the position and probably the battlefield, and every man saw and accepted the necessity for that sacrifice, and responding to Colvill’s rapid orders the regiment in perfect line, with arms at right shoulder shift was in a moment down that slope directly upon the enemy’s center.

“There was no hesitation, no stopping to fire, though the men fell fast at every stride before the concentrated fire of the whole Confederate force directed upon us as soon as the movement was observed. Silently, without orders and almost from the start double quick had changed to utmost speed for in utmost speed lay the only hope that any of us would pass through that hurricane of lead and strike the enemy.

“Charge:” shouted Colvill, as we neared their first line, and with leveled bayonets at full speed rushed upon it, fortunately as it was slightly disordered in crossing a dry brook at the foot of the slope.

“No soldiers will stand against leveled bayonets coming with such momentum and

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evident desperation. The first line broke as we reached it and rushed back through the second line, stopping the whole advance. We then poured in our first fire, and availing ourselves of such slight shelter as the banks of the dry brook offered, held the entire force at bay for a considerable time and until our reserves appeared on the ridge. Had the enemy rallied quickly to a counter charge, its great numbers would have crushed us in an instant, and we would have made but a slight pause in its advance. But the ferocity of our onset seemed to paralyze them for the time, and although they poured upon us a terrible and continuous fire from the front and enveloping flanks, they kept away from our bayonets until before the added fire of our fresh reserves they began to retire, and we were ordered back.

“What Hancock had given us to do was done thoroughly. The regiment had stopped the enemy; held back its mighty force and saved the position. But at what sacrifice. Nearly every officer lay dead or wounded upon the ground; our gallant Colonel and every field officer among them. Of the two hundred and sixty-two men who made the charge, two hundred and fifteen lay upon the field. Forty-seven men were still in line and not a man was missing.”

Among the casualties of this day were Capt. Louis Muller, late of Co. B., then commanding Co. E., who was killed; Capt. Joseph Perrian, of Co. K, and Lieut. David B. Demerest were mortally wounded, and Col. Wm. Colvill, Lieut. Col. Charles P. Adams, Major Mark Downie, Adjt. Pell, Capt. Davis, and Capt. Thomas Sinclair, were wounded and well nigh 150 of their comrades were killed or seriously wounded. The greatest fatality to the officers resulted from an oblique fire from the enemy, on both flanks

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as they gradually worked past the position of the regiment. At last, after perhaps fifteen minutes of this terrible ordeal it became apparent that the regiment could no longer maintain its position, and Colonel Colvill ordered the remnant of his command to the rear, but owing to his wounded foot, was unable to accompany them, and Captain Messick took command as the senior officer and moved the regiment back to its former position. Forty-seven men were found to be in line. After Adjutant Pell was wounded, Lieutenant Lochren acted as Adjutant of the regiment, and he gives the strength of the eight companies making the charge at 262 officers and men. This shows a loss of 82 per cent, which is believed to be the highest ratio of loss of any single command in any one battle of the war.

By reason of its seniority, the position of the regiment in the brigade line was on the right, and in line of battle it was on the extreme right flank. And so at Fair Oaks, Antietam, and Fredericksburg, its three greatest battles before Gettysburg, it was out on the flank and had mostly an oblique fire on the enemy, while it was not within its main line of fire; therefore the losses were comparatively light. But in the charge at Gettysburg there was prominence of position and losses enough to satisfy the most exacting.

After nightfall very many of the men temporarily joined the ambulance corps to assist their wounded comrades. A beautiful full moon shone over the battlefield in the earliest part of the night, and it was comparatively easy to find the stricken heroes; the wounded were all found and gathered up but six and sent to the Leitner house and orchard and the other field hospitals east of Cemetery Ridge. The six men were reported by Captain Coates as missing,

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but they were finally found where they had crawled into thickets and other retreats and become unconscious or fallen asleep. Then their records were changed from “missing” to “wounded.” Nearly every dead man was left on the field where he fell until July 4; a few were buried by company comrades before morning

“Neath the struggling moonbeams’ misty light.”

And near where they fell, in the beautiful National cemetery, are still the last bivouacks of those of the First Minnesota, who, when the roll of the regiment was called on the morning of July 3, were recorded as

“Dead on the Field of Honor.”

During the night orders were sent out by Captain Messick, under instructions from the brigade commander, calling back to the regiment all out-serving detachments, except the company of sharpshooters. Those on extra duty were called in and furnished with muskets and cartridge boxes. Early the next morning Captain Ball brought Company F, the Red Wing company, back from down Little Round Top way, where it had been on skirmish line nearly all day of the 2nd and had three men badly wounded. Company C, the St. Paul Company, commanded by Capt. Wilson B. Farrell, was considered a “crack” company in point of drill, discipline, and general efficiency. For some time it had been on duty at division headquarters as provost guard, and Captain Farrell had been serving as Division Provost Marshal. It was brought back to the firing line the next day. Company L, the sharpshooters, was absent from the regiment until after the battle.

“This regiment was made a stop gap in a critical hour late Thursday afternoon by Hancock in person,

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in the attempt to arrest the charge of the Confederates against the Union line. The command was literally cut to pieces.” (Young, “The Battle of Gettysburg” 393, (1913) (Jesse Bowman Young.)

CHAPTER XLIII.

COLONEL COLVILL UNDER ARREST.

THREE hours out from Monocacy, the First Minnesota had a disagreeable adventure which the men afterward well remembered. Colonel Colvill was placed under arrest. Corps and division orders were that on the march the men should not break ranks or leave the line for any cause unless specially ordered and staff officers were continually riding back and forward to see that the orders were obeyed. At the time mentioned, the regiment came to a small creek called Linganore, a tributary of the Monocacy. The water was not much more than knee deep, but yet that depth was enough to soak the men's feet, and the hot day would scald and blister them when the march was continued. On one side of the crossing was thrown two big logs with a hewn surface, covered with plank, over which the footmen might cross the stream dry shod. This primitive bridge was called a foot-log.

At the ford, sitting on his horse, was Colonel Charles H. Morgan, General Hancock's inspector general, who was watching to see that the men plunged into and waded the Linganore without using the bridge. When the First Minnesota came up, Colvill at its head, Morgan called out: "Colonel, keep your files closed up and march through the water; don't let the men straggle." Leaving the ranks some of the men skipped nimbly over the foot-logs, rejoined the ranks on the other side of the stream with dry feet and footwear and without delaying the march a second or confusing the line a "bobble."

Colonel Morgan was a strict disciplinarian.

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Straightway he reported to General Harrow who was in command of the division at the time—and that officer placed Colonel Colvill under arrest.

Lochren says that Colonel Morgan was provoked at Colvill for another reason. The Fifteenth Massachusetts was marching just behind the Minnesotians. Morgan had trouble to make them “bulge” through the stream. Later the brigade halted and while the men were resting on either side of the road the irate staff officer trotted between the lines. The Massachusetts groaned him somewhat vociferously. He thought the groans came from the First Minnesota, and he galloped forward, indignant and mortified, had Colvill placed in arrest and deprived of command. Lieut. Col. Adams then assumed command of the regiment until the morning of July 2nd, when Colonel Colvill, at his own request, was restored to command of the regiment, and was in command during the battle of the 2nd, when he was wounded.



MONUMENT ERECTED ON GETTYSBURG BATTLE FIELD
TO COMMEMORATE THE "CHARGE" OF THE
REGIMENT ON JULY 2ND, 1863.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE THIRD DAY'S BATTLE.

SO FAR the battle had been indecisive. The Confederates had driven Sickles' Corps from its position at the Peach Orchard, but they had failed in attempting to turn the Union left flank, failed in their attempt to carry the Round Tops, failed to carry and hold any part of Cemetery Ridge proper, the position of the main Union line, and they had lost heavily, including some of their best generals.

But General Lee was still confident of victory. He knew that the Union losses had been heavy. General Ewell's troops had a good broad lodgment on Culp's Hill, which was the Union right. General Lee determined to capture the whole of Culp's Hill, and thus break the Union right and roll back the entire line. Gen. Edward Johnson's Confederate Division was holding the captured portion of the hill, and on the night of the 2d and early morning of the 3d Lee re-enforced it and demanded that it carry the uncaptured portion of the hill at daylight.

But Gen. Harry Slocum, with his two divisions of the Twelfth Corps, was looking after Culp's Hill for the Union side. He did not sleep a wink that night. He had returned from helping Sickles down on the left and prepared to help General Greene, one of his best brigade commanders, out of his perilous predicament. When the mist began to fall, he brought up 14 pieces of cannon and put Geary's Division in shape to assault, with Williams in support, and Shaler's Brigade of Sedgwick afterward came up. At 3:30 in the murky morning the artillery opened and at 4 Geary charged, and the fighting continued

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until 10:30. The result was that the Confederates were driven completely away and every effort made by them to re-occupy the ground was repulsed with great loss to them. So that at last General Slocum held tight hold of the curve of the fishhook, barb and all.

General Lee was greatly disappointed at the result of the fighting at Culp's Hill. He was confident that the hill would be carried by Ewell's men, and then he would quickly assault the Union center and break through it. Now, his first attempt failing, he at first thought of attacking the Union left (down by the Round Tops) and center, but soon gave over this idea and determined to attack the center—or rather the right center.

After about 11 A. M., when the fighting ceased at Culp's Hill, there was a deep silence on the Confederate side. And because it was deep, it was suspicious. The Union generals divined what it meant. Lee was preparing to charge the Union line on Cemetery Ridge, and before he charged he would cannonade heavily, and now he was getting his cannon ready. They thought they knew where that point was, and they prepared to protect it. And so when at noon General Alexander and General Pendleton had placed 145 guns in position on Seminary Ridge, a mile away, General Hunt, the Union chief of artillery, had 80 guns ready to answer them, and General Hancock had gathered up a lot of infantry and stationed them, some on either side and some behind the guns, to meet a charge when it should come.

At 1 o'clock the ominous silence was broken by a terrible outburst from the Confederate artillery, 180 guns, none less than a 12-pounder, all roaring at once. Imagine 180 peals of thunder from a storm

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cloud only a mile away! The line of fire was somewhat concentrated, the center of the objective being a point west of General Meade's headquarters (on the Taneytown road) a mile south of Gettysburg.

The firing was incessant, at least three guns per second, and nothing but shells, case shot and cannon balls was used. The effect was distressing. The gunners soon got the range and landed their death-dealing missiles fairly among the Union troops.

General Hunt's batteries replied immediately. While he had but 80 guns in battery, he had plenty more belonging to the Reserve Artillery, which was just to the rear, or under Cemetery Ridge. In the Cemetery itself, near the north end of the Ridge, he had six batteries; on the Ridge to the south of the Cemetery, he had five of the Second Corps batteries, Woodruff's, Arnold's, Cushing's, Brown's, and Rorty's. At about 1:30 General Hunt gave the signal and all his 80 guns opened with the explosion of a volcano. Then ensued an artillery combat such as was never before or since seen on the American continent. The solid hills seemed to shake; the air was filled with flashes of lurid and crimson fire and rolling clouds of smoke. The thundering and crashing of the engines of battle, and the bursting of the missiles they hurled were deafening and appalling.

During this frightful outburst the infantry of both sides crouched behind such cover as they could find; but every man tightly grasped his musket, for he knew what was coming—a less noisy but more deadly shock of men of his arm of the service. The Confederate knew that he must soon charge and the Union soldier knew that he must soon be charged upon.

General Lee determined to make the assault with fresh troops. Pickett's Division of Longstreet had

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just reached the battlefield that morning. Heth's old Division (now under General Pettigrew, for Heth was wounded) and Pender's old Division (now under General Trimble, for Pender was mortally wounded) both of A. P. Hill, had not been much hurt by the fighting of the preceding days, and the commander determined to send them with Pickett's men. Pickett's Division had three brigades and 5,000 men; each of the other two divisions had four brigades and at least 5,000 men in each division. In "Battles and Leaders," page 342, General Longstreet says that at 12 o'clock that day General Lee said to him:

"I want you to take Pickett's Division and make the attack. I will re-enforce you with two divisions, Heth's and Pender's, of the Third Corps." "That will give me 15,000 men," I replied. Then I continued: "I have been a soldier, I may say, from the ranks up to the position I now hold. I have been in pretty much all kinds of skirmishes, from those of two or three soldiers up to those of an Army Corps, and I think I can safely say there never was a body of 15,000 men who could make that attack successfully."

"The General seemed a little impatient at my remarks, so I said nothing more. As he showed no indication of changing his plan, I went to work at once to arrange the troops for the attack."

Subsequently Wilcox's Brigade, the First Minnesota's antagonist of the previous day, was ordered to support and assist in the charge, first as a support to the artillery, and afterward to participate in the assault proper.

The terrible incident of the third day's battle of Gettysburg, when the Confederate divisions of Pickett, Pettigrew and Trimble and the brigade of

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Wileox, assailed the Union position on Cemetery Ridge, is commonly known as "Pickett's Charge." The inference would naturally be that the charge was made by Pickett's Division alone. The truth is that the cold facts and unimpassioned records show that only about one-third of the bloody and disastrous work was performed by Pickett's Virginians, and only a little more than one-third of the loss was sustained by them. Pettigrew's North Carolinians went farthest and his division sustained within 36 the loss of as many men as Pickett's. The total loss of Pickett's Division was 2,863, and of the rest of the assaulting force 4,955, viz.: Pettigrew's, 2,827; Trimble's, 1,924, and Wileox's Brigade, 204. The total strength of the three divisions and one brigade in officers and men when they entered on the charge was about 16,500. Wileox says he took in 1,200 and lost 204. He lost July 2, 573, making his total loss in the battle 777 or 65 per cent of his force.

After nearly two hours of the terrific cannonading, when General Lee thought the Union lines were sufficiently shaken and unstable by the severe pounding they had received, and when his artillery ammunition had run very low, the Confederate fire slackened until finally it almost ceased. General Hunt found that his ammunition was nearly run out, save for what was in the Reserve, and he ordered his batteries to cease firing and some of them to be replaced from that reserve. While this was being done, the Confederates were seen forming for the charge in the edge of the woods on Seminary Ridge.

The great Confederate assault has been often described. As has been stated, the attacking force numbered (according to Confederate authorities) more than 16,000 men. The distance charged over was about three-fourths of a mile, from the east side

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of Seminary Ridge down to the level ground, across the valley to the foot of Cemetery Ridge, then up the western slope of that ridge to its crest. Intervening between the bases of the two ridges were stone walls, farm fences, little pastures, a corn field, a wheat field, and other enclosures, a little swale running down the valley, and some little ravines or "washes."

The charge began about 3 P. M. Pickett's and Pettigrew's Divisions were in the front, with Pettigrew's to the north or left of Pickett's. Behind them came Pender's Division, now Trimble's. Pickett had two Brigades (Garnett's and Kemper's) for his front line, with Armistead's in their center rear. Pettigrew had his old brigade of North Carolinians (now under Colonel Marshall) and Archer's (now under Colonel Fry) in his front line, with Broeckenbrough's Virginia behind Marshall's and Jo Davis' Mississippi behind Fry's Brigade. Trimble's command was only half a division and composed of Lane's and Seales' North Carolina brigades, which stretched across the entire rear of both Pickett and Pettigrew. The columns were well and compactly formed and the entire force was a magnificent battle array.

As the line advanced, it directed its center toward a clump of trees on the crest of Cemetery Ridge where Webb's Second and Hall's Third Brigade of Gibbon's Division were posted. Harrow's First Brigade, to which the Minnesotians belonged, was in line to the south. The whole length of the Union line charged upon was about half a mile. General Gibbon had been commanding the Corps, General Harrow the Division, and Colonel Heath, of the Nineteenth Maine, had temporary command of the Brigade, but at 1 o'clock General Hancock resumed

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command of the Second Corps, General Gibbon came back to the Second Division, and General Harrow to the First Brigade. Later in the day, when Hancock was wounded, the commanders again exchanged. The Confederate charging front covered the line of Gibbon's Second and Hays' Third Divisions of the Second Corps.

When the charging Confederates had come within easy reach of ease shot, the Union artillery opened on them a terrible volley which cut down the ranks fearfully but did not stop them. The survivors came on all the faster, but now they were obliquing to the left or north in an instinctive effort to avoid the fierce fire of McGilvray's eight batteries in front and Rottenhouse's guns on Round Top.

When the hostile lines were within 400 yards of each other, the infantry of Hays' and Gibbon's Divisions would no longer hold their fire, but delivered a volley upon the enemy that cut down the front lines as if by the sweep of great sabres; and this volley was repeated again and again. A charge in the face of such deadly volleys is a fire which tries every soldier's work "of what sort it is," and tests him whether he is iron or whether he is clay. The men composing the Confederate charging column that day proved to be iron.

When the half mile front of Hays' and Gibbon's Divisions burst into a sheet of fierce flame and the carnage among their assailants was redoubled, the desperate Southerners seemed to receive the new disaster as a signal and every man of them rushed forward.

It is probable that Pettigrew's North Carolina brigade first reached the Union position at Hays' Division line, where Hays had but two brigades.

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Smith's and Willard's. Willard had been killed the day before, and Colonel Sherrill was in command that morning, but he, too, was killed a few minutes after Pettigrew's men came up, and Lieutenant Colonel Bull then commanded the brigade during the remainder of the battle. Colonel Smyth was wounded by Pettigrew's men and Colonel Pierce commanded the Second Brigade thereafter. Carroll's, the First Brigade of Hays, was still stationed about Culp's Hill. There were no better troops in the Second Corps than the Smith and Willard Brigades. Pettigrew's men had been told that they would have nothing but green Pennsylvania militia to fight when they reached the crest, but they soon saw Hays' seasoned veterans with their stars and stripes and trefoil badges. In a little while the two gallant brigades had routed Pettigrew's entire division of four brigades and sent it flying back down Cemetery Ridge, and held in their hands 2,000 Confederate prisoners and fifteen Confederate battle flags.

Now came Pickett's charging force, to the south of Hays' line and against the clump of trees. This force was a great battle-bolt, all of Virginia iron, which had been tempered in the fires of many battles until it was considered as invincible as a thunderbolt of Jupiter. It first struck Webb's Brigade of Gibbon, and Gibbon's Division was to be very prominent in this day's fight; but it had first aimed at the old Gorman Brigade (now Harrow's) lying to the south of Webb's men. It had been turned from its course by a flank fire of Stannard's Vermont brigade, which had changed front to the right and thus delivered a direct fire on Pickett's right flank.

Pickett's men struck Webb's head-on, and such was the momentum of the Virginians that they

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thrust themselves through the Union line. Webb's was the old Burns' Pennsylvania brigade and now had but three regiments, the Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania, and the California Regiment (Seventy-first) in the front line and Baxter's Fire Zouaves (Seventy-second) in reserve.

Garnett's and Kemper's brigades struck the two Pennsylvania regiments so hard that the Union line was broken; the two weak regiments were pushed back; Cushing's battery was taken after Cushing was killed; General Gibbon was down, badly wounded; but Hancock was there, for he was always where he ought to be, and Webb stood by, and the Pennsylvanians were doing well.

At this time the momentum of Pickett's front brigades had about spent itself. Two-thirds of them were killed and wounded; General Garnett was killed, and General Kemper was down. And so Armistead's Brigade came forward, and it was General Armistead with his cap on his sword and his men with their wild rebel yells that crossed the Union lines, on "the high tide of the Rebellion" and set up the Confederate flags and the Virginia State banners almost even with the colors planted by Pettigrew and his men. And dreadful and sickening had been the killing.

"A thousand fell with Garnett, dead;
A thousand fell where Kemper bled;
Through blinding flame and strangling smoke,
The remnants thro' the batteries broke,
And crossed the works with Armistead."

But just as they reached the goal for which they had striven so hard, General Armistead and scores of his men fell dead and mortally wounded and hundreds of their comrades were grievously wounded and became prisoners.

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General Pickett now threw in Trimble's (Pender's) Division of North Carolinians and a portion of Joe Davis' and Brockenbrough's Brigades that had not been engaged. He thought to hold the ground that Armistead had gained. Hancock sent Harrow's Brigade, which was to the south, and Hall's Brigade, which was to the north, to help Webb's three Pennsylvania regiments against half a dozen Confederate brigades.

Then there ensued some of the bravest and hardest fighting ever done by soldiers. It was any sort of fighting that would kill or disable an enemy. The American soldier always fights well, but never so well as when he meets his equal, a foeman worthy of his steel and proper for his prowess, and that was the situation that day on Gettysburg Heights. Even the officers fought. Every field officer in Pickett's Division had fallen except Maj. C. S. Peyton, Fifteenth Virginia.

The losses among the Confederates were very heavy, but they were not all on that side. While so many of them were going down, the Union ranks were bleeding. General Hancock was wounded, and at the close of the fighting turned over the command of the Second Corps to General Hayes. General Gibbon and General Webb were wounded. Of the five commanders of the Second Corps batteries, Woodruff, Cushing, and Rorty were killed, Brown was wounded, and Arnold alone was unhit.

But in a little time the fighting was nearly over. Gibbon's and Hays' Divisions, re-enforced by fresh batteries and other troops, fell upon the Confederates so fiercely that a majority of those not killed or wounded surrendered. Those who escaped death, disability or capture, fled wildly down the hill in an effort to regain their former position on Seminary Ridge.

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They were not permitted to retreat undisturbed. They were fired at by Hays' and Gibbon's men as long as they were in gunshot, and the Second Corps batteries, now re-enforced by Weir's, Wheeler's, and Kinzie's, rained case-shot and canister among their shattered and scattered ranks. Of the 15,000 that left Seminary Ridge on the charge, hardly 5,000 returned.

The two divisions of the Second Corps had something to show for their hard fighting and their victory. By actual count they took 33 flags (of which Gibbon's Division got 16) and 3,876 unwounded prisoners. But they had won something better, greater, nobler—imperishable renown in stemming the "high tide of the rebellion."

Under cover of night General Lee's army took a defensive line on Seminary Ridge, with its right or south flank retired westward behind Willoughby Run, a mile west of the Ridge. This bending back of Longstreet's Corps was to better defend the Confederate right flank in case of attack, and also to protect Lee's trains, which during the night were pushed back of the protecting brigades.

General Meade and most of his generals thought it best to let well enough alone, although General Hancock and General Butterfield advised an immediate assault on Lee's lines after Pickett's repulse.

Some military writers have criticised General Meade for not pressing Lee on the heels of his defeat on this afternoon, but Meade was to some extent, yet unfamiliar with his own strength, as well as the strength of the enemy, and he realized that if he should assume the aggressive there and lose the benefit of the victory already gained, it might prove fatal to the Union cause.

In weighing the importance of this victory of the Union arms, it must be remembered that on this

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field the strength of the two armies was about equal.

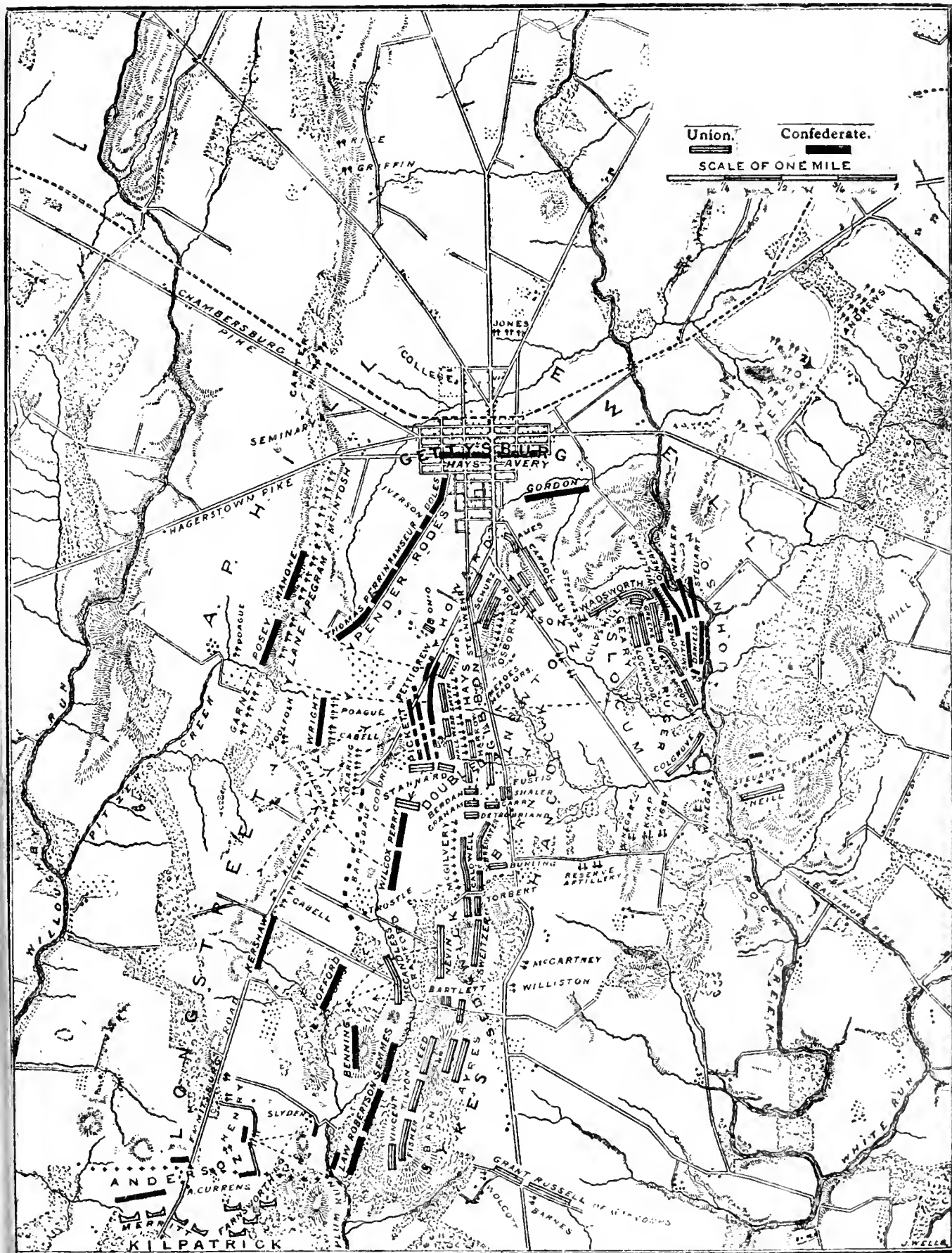
The time had not come, when, as under General Grant in his Eastern campaign against Lee, the strength of the Union army had increased and that of the Confederate army had decreased to such an extent that the Union commander had at command a marked superiority in men and material.

For the first time in its history the Union army was commanded by an officer who did not hesitate to use his reserves, and this may be said to have been the first field when both contending forces employed their full strength.

According to Colonel Livermore's recently published "Numbers and Losses in the Civil War," a work very carefully prepared and which has been accepted as authoritative and well nigh conclusive by both sides, the respective losses were: Union—Killed, 3,155; wounded, 14,529; captured, 5,365; total, 23,049. Confederate—Killed, 3,903; wounded, 18,735; captured, 5,425; total, 26,703.

On the retreat of the Confederates to the Potomac they had 316 killed and wounded and 1,360 captured; Union loss, 462 killed and wounded and 516 captured. These figures are not included here in the Gettysburg casualties, although they sometimes are by other writers.

The Union army had Maj. Gen. John F. Reynolds, Brigadier Generals Elon J. Farnsworth, Stephen H. Weed, and Samuel K. Zook killed and Brigadier General Strong Vincent mortally wounded. The Confederates had killed or mortally wounded Maj. Gen. Wm. D. Pender, Brig. Generals Lewis A. Armistead, R. B. Garnett, Wm. Barksdale, and Paul J. Semmes. Each side had a proportionate number killed of colonels commanding brigades, lieutenant colonels and majors commanding regiments, etc.



POSITIONS OF FEDERAL AND CONFEDERATE FORCES, JULY 3, ABOUT 4.30 P.M.
 (At the climax of the final charge)



CHAPTER XLV.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA ON THE THIRD DAY.

FROM under their bloody encounter with the Alabama brigade on July 2nd the remnants of the First Minnesota came out in fine form and fettle. Captain Messick soon had the men in a line which he called a regiment, but as a regiment it was a most melancholy sight.

The monthly report of the regiment for the month of May, still on file in the State Adjutant General's office, shows that on May 31st the Regiment had "present for duty" 24 officers and 318 men in the regular organizations; Captain Berger's company of sharpshooters had 3 officers and 28 men; total in the regiment and sharpshooters, 373. The report for June, when the regiment mustered for pay near Uniontown, showed that, excluding the sharpshooters, the regiment had "present for duty" the day before the battle began, 27 officers and 358 men, a total of 385. And yet in his report of the battle Captain Coates says the regiment had "less than 330 men and officers engaged." At the end of July there were present for duty 14 officers and 130 men, total 144 in the regiment proper. Captain Coates says there were 232 officers and men killed and wounded in the two days of battle and this number deducted from 385, the strength June 30, leaves 153, with but nine men unaccounted for; deducting the loss stated in the nominal list in the Adjutant General's office (237) leaves 148, or only four unaccounted for.

Early on the morning of Friday, July 3rd, Captain Messick mustered his little band, on what is now "Hancock Avenue," about 400 feet to the left of

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“high water mark” on Cemetery Ridge, ready for the work of the day. Company F, the Red Wing Company, returned from skirmishing down towards Round Top and some special duty men were called in and given muskets to handle; but with all these, the once formidable First Minnesota now had but about 140 officers and men. Company C, Captain Farrell’s St. Paul company, did not come from division headquarters until Pickett’s advance was within 400 yards of our position, and after the regiment had moved from its position to the right.

Soon after sunrise the little battalion called by courtesy the First Minnesota, was moved up to its place in Harrow’s Brigade line. In appearance it resembled one of the many skeleton Confederate regiments after the battle of Antietam. Gibbon’s Division was formed to the south of Hays’ along the ridge, with Webb’s Brigade next to Hays,’ Hall’s next to Webb’s and Harrow’s next to Hall’s. In Harrow’s Brigade the Nineteenth Maine was first, then in order to the left, the First Minnesota, the Fifteenth Massachusetts, and the Eighty-second New York.

The regiment’s position was on the crest of the ridge—the line running north and south—a little south of the clump of trees, the “high water mark” where the proud waves of the rebellion were stayed. Upon their arrival the men set to work to erect a little line of miniature breastworks behind which they might find some shelter from the storm which they knew would soon burst upon them. They had no regular intrenching tools, and made a slight barricade of loose stones and fence rails picked up nearby, and used tin plates as shovels in scooping up sand.

The fire of Stannard’s brigade, as previously stated, caused the Confederate force to give way or

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oblique to the north, so that instead of striking Harrow's Brigade as they set out to do, they fell against Webb's. Two regiments of Stannard, the Fourteenth and Sixteenth, drove back Wilcox's Brigade when it came up later.

General Hancock was wounded while instructing Colonel Randall about fighting his regiment. In his report Colonel Randall says:

“General Hancock was wounded while sitting on his horse giving me some directions. I was standing near him and assisted him from his horse. General Stannard was also wounded soon after and compelled reluctantly to leave the field, since which time I have been in command of the brigade.”

In Mrs. Hancock's "Reminiscences" it is stated by Gen. C. H. Morgan, that General Hancock was wounded by "a wrought-iron ten-penny nail bent double, which entered the leg near the groin. The surgeons extracted several pieces of wood splinters from the saddle which had been driven into the wound.

During the forenoon while the regiment lay behind the molehill line which passed for a barricade, there was skirmishing on the hillside to the front. Some scattered farm buildings, deserted by the owners, had been occupied by the Confederate skirmishers that were making it unpleasant for some of Hays' division. A charge upon the buildings by the Union skirmishers drove the Confederates away; the buildings were then burned, and the trouble they caused was not repeated. During the racket this incident created, most of the Minnesotians lay behind their frail little wall.

When the tremendous cannonading began at 1

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o'clock, the men thought they heard such cannonading at Antietam and Fredericksburg as they would never hear again, but that noise would have been smothered by the volume of sound created by Hunt's and Alexander's cannons at Gettysburg. It seemed that nothing four feet from the ground could live in the pathway of the rushing battle-bolts, the screaming shells, the hustling shot, the whirring grape. And yet the Lord of Battles put up His shield in front of many a man on the Union line and turned the deadly missiles aside. The men were somewhat discouraged when it was plain that the Confederate firing was the heavier, and when a Union caisson full of ammunition was struck and exploded with a frightful shock. But occasionally they heard to the west a great explosion and saw a big plume of smoke arise, and then they knew that caissons were being blown up on both sides.

After an hour or so the Union cannons stopped firing, while the Confederate batteries still flamed and roared. At last the Confederate batteries were silent, and then over to the west, on Seminary Ridge, regiments and brigades were seen aligning, gun barrels and bayonets gleaming, and red flags emblazoned with blue crosses waving over them, as Pickett's and Pettigrew's divisions with their supports formed for the charge.

Then the grey columns moved and soon debouched from the woods, three-fourths of a mile away, into the Valley of Death. The force had nearly half a mile of front and it was in fine order, notwithstanding it had to leap across ditches and climb over stone fences and pass rough ground. It certainly seemed very determined and very formidable.

As the Confederate column advanced it came under the terrible fire of the Union batteries on the

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crest,* which had been cooling their guns and saving their ammunition for just such an emergency. They rained case shot, shells and canister upon their assailants in a fiery shower that opened great gaps in their columns as if lava and thunderbolts were being hurled upon them. A few Confederate batteries having rifled guns and expert gunners kept up a fire on the Union position until the Confederates came close to it. The gunners had the range well and burst their shells squarely over the Union barricades.

Hays' Division (Smyth's and Willard's Brigades) took care of Pettigrew's force, notwithstanding it crossed the Union wall and that the North Carolinians came "farthest north."***

To repel the charge General Webb had placed the "California regiment" and three guns of Cushing's Battery at the stone wall, to the right or north of the Sixty-ninth, which was an Irish regiment. (Colonel Dennis O'Kane) and which lay behind an improvised fence like that built by the First Minnesota. The Fire Zouaves were held in reserve just over the crest of the hill.

Pickett's Division of Virginians now came up and drove against the wall behind which was the "California Regiment" and Cushing's three guns. General Armistead's Brigade now had the advance and Armistead led it.*** The other brigade commanders were

*The batteries of Gibbon's Division did the greater part of this firing. They were Woodruff's (formerly Kirby's) in Ziegler's Grove, at the north of the Corps line; Arnold's with Smyth's Brigade of Hays; Cushing's, with Webb's Brigade; Brown's with Hall's Brigade, and Rorty's (N. Y.) with Harrow's Brigade. At 2 p.m. Cowan's New York replaced Brown's.

**On the monument at Raleigh to the Confederate North Carolina troops is this inscription: "First at Big Bethel, farthest at Gettysburg, last at Appomattox."

***As a captain in the Tenth U. S. Infantry before the

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stretched on the hillside. Armistead had only about 500 men with him when he came up to the wall. He put his cap on his sword and held it up high as a sort of gonfalon for his men to follow.

Every man in the little battalion followed the colors and upon the enemy. O'Brien was soon prostrated with a grievous wound and Corporal W. N. Irvine, of the Minneapolis company, snatched the flag from his hands and bore it until victory came. This was the same gallant Corporal Irvine that had the perilous adventure at Fredericksburg.

Of course the Virginians fought bravely and desperately but without avail. Here the tide turned, definitely for the Union cause. Gibbon's and Hays' divisions captured 33 flags and with them 3,186 prisoners. Harrow's Brigade got four flags. Marshall Sherman, a St. Paul man, (Company C) took from its bearer the flag of the Twenty-eighth Virginia, of Garnett's Brigade of Pickett. General Garnett, commanding the brigade, and Col. R. C. Allen, commanding the regiment, were both killed. The flag is now in the Minnesota State Capitol building.

In a few seconds General Armistead had been mortally wounded and 42 of his 150 followers lay dead within the Union lines. Nearly all of the remainder of the 150 were wounded or prisoners. The Union loss was not so large, but it was large enough. This state of affairs could not last long. The work of death could not go on much longer, for the supply of material to work upon was fast being exhausted. The Confederates that had not cared to cross the war, Armistead served for some years in the Northwest. He was a member of the garrison of Fort Ridgely for about two years, and for a time was stationed at Fort Snelling. It is said that he had no real sympathy with the Southern rebellion, but fought because of regard for his family and his State, Virginia.

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walls but stood on the outside, soon stopped shooting. Many lay down dead or wounded and many others prostrated themselves and feigned death because they wanted to be taken prisoners.

The remainder of the assaulting force—probably one-third of that which started from Seminary Ridge—retreated hurriedly, and in great heart-sickness and distress, down the slope, across the valley, and back to Seminary Ridge. But one-third of this one-third never reached safety. Stormed at with shot and shell and musketry as they ran, hundreds of them were prostrated in death or by wounds; others, overcome by fear and horror, dropped in sheltered places and were as easily gathered up as if they had been children.

Nearing their former positions they came upon General Lee, sitting on his horse and reviewing them as they passed by him. For their comfort he kept calling out: "It is all my fault, men; you are not to blame. It is all my fault; but we will do better next time." He had persisted in ordering the assault. Longstreet and the other generals opposed it—except Pickett, who was a madeap sort of a fellow and delighted in daring deeds. But when he was ready to charge, Pickett asked Longstreet: "Shall I move forward now, sir?" and Longstreet could utter no word of reply, but only bowed his head slightly. Then Pickett called out cheerfully: "I shall move."

In the fighting on July 3, the First Minnesota had in all perhaps 150 men. Its loss was 3 officers (Captain Messick, Captain Farrell and Lieutenant Mason) and 23 men killed or mortally wounded; three officers. (Lieutenants Harmon, Heffelfinger and May) and 29 men wounded not mortally. Total killed and mortally wounded, 23; total wounded, 32; grand

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total killed and wounded, 55. This is what the nominal list shows, as it is still preserved and of record. Yet in his historical sketch Lochren says the total killed and wounded was but 17. He seems to have reached this conclusion after stating that the regiment's loss in both days was 232, and that 215 were lost July 2. He forgot that a few days after the battle he made a different report which is still on file in his own writing. One man of Company L (Sylvester Brown) was killed away from the regiment July 3. The Sharpshooters were generally accounted separately from the Regiment; but if their loss at Gettysburg is included, the Regiment had one officer, Captain Messick, and 11 men killed outright July 3.

Captain Farrell died in the evening of July 4. In the report dated July 5, written by Adjutant Lochren, but signed by Captain Coates, it is stated: "Capt. W. B. Farrell, Company C, was mortally wounded and died last night." Lieutenant Mason had his arm amputated and died from the shock at Harrisburg, August 18th. Both Captain Messick and Captain Farrell were members of General Gorman's Indiana regiment in the Mexican war.

The wounded were conveyed to the hospitals on the Baltimore pike the Taneytown road, and in the valley of Rock Creek. Afterward they were distributed among the great general hospitals at Harrisburg, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and some were sent to New York City.

Lieutenant Lochren's account of the regiment's participation in the third day's battle, as given in his Gettysburg address, is as follows:

• "The next morning the few survivors, reinforced by Company F, took our place in the line of the division near the Cemetery.

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The forenoon passed quietly with a little skirmishing and the burning of some buildings in our front. But suddenly about one o'clock a tremendous cannonade opened along Seminary Ridge, all converging on our position and speedily responded to by our artillery on the higher ground behind us. More than one hundred and fifty cannon on each side were firing rapidly, the missiles mostly passing over us. After about two hours our artillery ceased, and the enemy's soon ceased also. We knew well what was coming and strained our eyes toward the wood nearly a mile away where the Confederate infantry were emerging in heavy force and forming in two lines with flank supports. At the time we estimated the force as twenty thousand, as it moved for our position with firm step although our artillery had opened on them with telling effect, and we could not repress expressions of admiration at the steady stride with which they closed up their ranks and pressed forward. When they came within musketry range they got the fire of our whole corps and the slaughter was great, but the step was changed to double quick and they rushed to the charge.

“Here Hancock wheeled Stannard's brigade of Vermont troops at our left to enfilade them and their line parted. Perhaps one quarter deflecting to their right and soon overcome by the Vermonters. At the same time the rest defiled more to their left and passing from our front and that of Hall's brigade struck Webb's on the right of our division overrunning a battery in his front and pushing back his regiments. But our brigade had at the same time run by the right flank in rear of Webb, our regiment being just then joined by Company C and mingled with Webb's men, made a counter charge

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overcoming the Confederates in a hand to hand struggle in which bayonets and even stones were used. Here the regiment lost seventeen more men including two captains successively in command, who were killed and a Confederate flag was captured by one of our men. This ended the severe fighting on the field, turned back the invasion of the North, and turned forever the tide of victory.”

No sooner had the Confederates passed beyond musket shot on their retreat than the regiments were drawn up ready to follow them. Darkness fell while the troops were momentarily expecting the order to advance, and they lay down to sleep with accoutrements on, expecting to be called up to fight at any moment.

After nightfall there was still danger. The moon had changed and with it the weather. The sky soon became overcast. From Harrow's Brigade the entire Fifteenth Massachusetts was sent forward on picket duty, or rather on the skirmish line, for they and the "rebs" kept picking away at one another all night, and until noon of the next day.

Toward morning came on a terrible rain storm, another instance where rain followed a battle. In this case the downpour was proportioned to the tremendous cannonade of the previous afternoon. Only a very few of the troops were in tents and the soldiers were drenched in an instant. Sudden torrents swept over the hills and poured down the hillsides. The field hospital of Hays' Division was in a valley on a level with Rock Creek. It was flooded in a few minutes. Hundreds of Confederate wounded had been collected there, and some of them were really saved from drowning by being hastily carried to higher ground.

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Out on the battlefield lay hundreds of the dead, the downpour washing their bloody wounds and stark faces, as if preparing them for sepulture.

The morning of July 4 was still rainy. It was Independence Day. The Union soldiers celebrated it by caring for the dead and wounded and by gathering up the muskets and accoutrements left on the field, by the dead, the wounded and the prisoners. The bayonets were fixed on the muskets and then stuck in the ground, and in a little time there were acres of muskets as thick as young trees in a nursery. The First Minnesota, Fifteenth Massachusetts and Nineteenth Maine, gathered up 1,740 guns and 600 sets of accoutrements, according to General Harrow's report.

The Confederates over on Seminary Ridge observed the day by building good breastworks, which extended clear around the north end of the Ridge, and by preparing as best they knew how to resist a confidently expected attack from the Yankees. But the repulse of Pickett's and Pettigrew's charge virtually ended the three days' battle of Gettysburg. There was a little skirmishing and artillery firing on the 4th, but it amounted to nothing. Lee was busy all the afternoon in sending off his trains and prisoners and that night the army followed, taking the Cashtown and Fairfield roads towards Harper's Ferry.

NOTES ON THE REGIMENT AND THE BATTLE.

General Hancock made a singularly incorrect report of the conduct of the First Minnesota on July 2, and his statement has been made the basis of and the authority for many incorrect versions of the experience of the regiment on that day. The General dictated his official report some weeks after the

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battle, before his wound had entirely healed, and perhaps did not remember the incidents of the day very clearly. At all events, when he came to describe what the First Minnesota did, he wrote:

“Proceeding along the line, I met a regiment of the enemy, the head of whose column was about passing through an unprotected interval in our line. A fringe of undergrowth in front of the line offered facilities for it to approach very close to our lines without being observed. It was advancing firing and had already twice wounded my aide, Captain Miller. The First Minnesota regiment, coming up at this moment, charged the regiment in handsome style capturing its colors and driving it back in disorder. I cannot speak too highly of this regiment and its commander in its attack, as well as in its subsequent advance against the enemy, in which it lost three-fourths of the officers and men engaged. One of the regiments of the Vermont Brigade afterwards advanced upon its (the First Minnesota’s) right, and retook the guns of one of the reserve batteries, from which the cannoneers and supports had been driven.”*

General Hancock evidently did not see all of Wilcox’s Brigade which was “advancing firing,” or he would not have called it a “regiment.” The brigade numbered, according to General Wilcox, 1,200 men. The First Minnesota was not “coming up” when it prepared to charge; it had been “up” for

*After the war General Hancock was in Minneapolis and there met many of the survivors of the regiment, and he stated among other things, that his first report on the battle of Gettysburg never reached the War Department, and that in that report he had made special mention of the charge of the First Minnesota the second day. (C. B. Heffelfinger.)

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some time. It did not capture any colors at the time of its charge or on that day. Evidently General Hancock had in mind the work of the Regiment on July 3, when he mentions its "subsequent advance against the enemy," although it did not lose "three-fourths of the officers and men engaged" on that day, which was the day when it captured the flag. The General has given the Regiment deserved praise for the work it performed, even if his itemized statement as to when the work was done is lamentably confused.

Describing the engagement of his brigade after the defeat of Sickles' Corps, July 2nd, General Harrow, who commanded the old Gorman Brigade, reported:

"The Nineteenth Maine, Colonel Heath commanding, were moved to the left and front of the division line, and placed to the right of Lieutenant Brown's Battery. * * * As the enemy advanced, the first of the division to become engaged were the Eighty-second New York and the Fifteenth Massachusetts, in the aggregate not more than 700 strong and without support. * * *

"They were forced to retire after heavy losses, including their respective Colonels, Houston and Ward, both of whom were mortally wounded and each since dead; also many line officers killed and wounded. The enemy continued to advance until they attacked with great fury the commands of Colonels Colvill and Heath, endeavoring to take the batteries under their protection. In this assault Colonel Colvill, Lieutenant Adams and Major Downie of the First Minnesota, were shot down, the two former severely and I fear mortally, wounded; but the command main-

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tained its position until supplanted by the arrival of other troops.”

At an Old Settlers' Association banquet held in St. Paul some years since, J. J. Hill was present and being called on to speak, he said—among other things:

“Many do not know and perhaps many of you do not know that the First Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers holds the record for individual bravery in the history of the wars of the world since Thermopylae. They lost 83 per cent of their men in dead and wounded. Hancock sent them to stop the advance of a Confederate division, to attack the head of the column and capture the colors. And Colonel Colvill took this handful of men into that attack and literally cut off the head of the marching column, and did capture the colors. That charge has no parallel in the history of warfare.

“At Balaklava, in the charge of the Light Brigade, immortalized in poetry by Tennyson, the loss was only 36 per cent and there was no doubt that many of these were killed by running to get away.

“And in the German Guards at Gravelotte the mortality did not approach the percentage of our First Regiment. In Berlin about a year ago, a German general asked me why it was that the United States was entering on a war. ‘Why,’ he said, ‘you have no army.’ I quoted this charge to him, and he said it could not be possible. On my return I sent him a copy of ‘Fox’s Military Losses,’ and sent one also to the commander-in-chief of the British army in India. From the latter I received the reply: ‘Those figures were a revelation to me. Every man must have been a hero.’”

Maj. Edward Rice, Nineteenth Massachusetts, of Hall’s Brigade, and who was a friend of the lament-

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ed Captain Farrell, writes in "Battles and Leaders" (Vol. 3, p. 389) of the part taken by his regiment and the Forty-second New York (Tammany) in repelling Pickett's charge: "Our two regiments were ordered forward to the clump of trees. The advance was rapidly thinned by the hostile fire on the flank and in the clump of trees as we came to the line. Captain Farrell, of the First Minnesota, with the company, came in on my left. As we greeted each other, he received his death wound and fell in front of his men, who now began firing."

While lying under Confederate artillery fire just before the great charge on the 3rd, the Fifteenth Massachusetts was in line to the left of the First Minnesota. A Confederate shot passed just under a Fifteenth man, and in plain view of the Minnesotians threw him into the air and backward some ten feet. As he alighted an officer of the Fifteenth walked over where he lay and on his return sententiously remarked: "He has passed over." General Hunt, the Union Chief of Artillery, was riding along at the time, saw the incident and thus (in Battles and Leaders) narrates it:

"As I passed along, a bolt from a rifle-gun struck the ground just in front of a man of the front rank, penetrated the surface and passed under him, throwing him over and over. He fell behind the rear rank, apparently dead; a ridge of earth where he had been lying made the incident remind me of the backwoodsmen's practice of 'barking' squirrels."

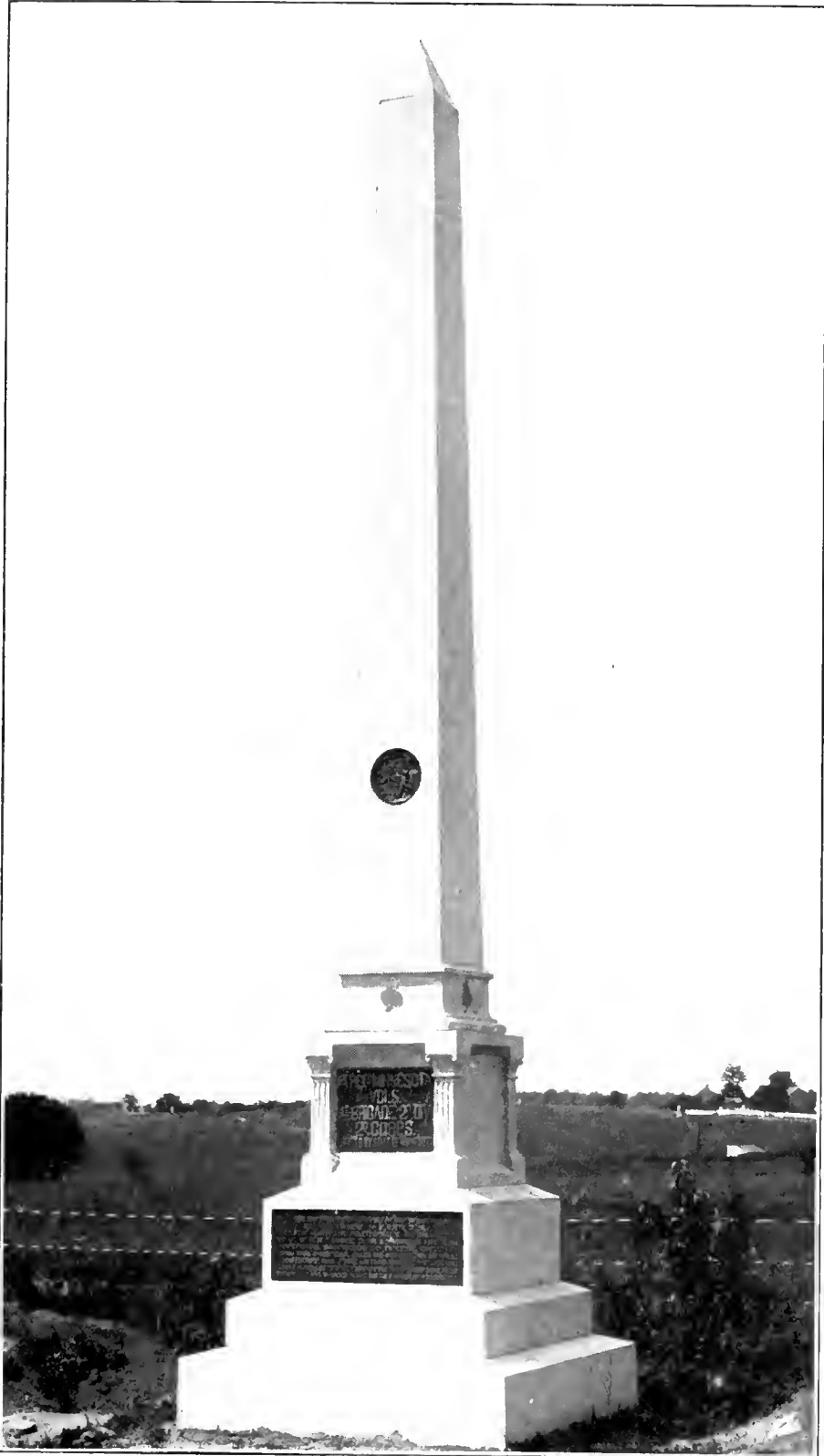
On the morning of July 4 the ranks of the shattered First Minnesota were straightened up and it was made ready for the next battle, which it was believed was only a day or so away. The first thing

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to do was to mend the shot-severed flag-staff and the color guard at once undertook the work of repair. The lower part had been lost, and the upper was only two feet long below the ragged, bullet-rent banner. Corp. Newell Irvine of Company D was now in charge of the flag, having received it on the battlefield from Harry O'Brien, then staggering under two cruel wounds. Somebody brought a piece of Confederate flagstaff that belonged to a captured flag, and Irvine said: "We can use this all right enough, for it has been captured from the 'rebs' and is now a Union stick." And so the Union piece and the Confederate piece were spliced and formed an indissoluble union, and thus united held aloft the Union colors thereafter, and still hold them in their place of honor in Minnesota's new Capitol. And this splicing of the pieces of flagstaff fore-shadowed the time when Union and Confederate should unite in upholding the colors of the old Union forever.

Then when the flagstaff was mended and ready to go forward again, there had to be an official re-organization of the regiment. Capt. Harry C. Coates, of one of the St. Paul companies (Company A) became, by virtue of the seniority of his commission, (dated Sept. 18, 1861) acting colonel of the First Minnesota. He appointed Lieut. Wm. Lochren adjutant, in place of Lieut. John Peller, who had also been wounded when so many others were, on July 2. On the 5th Captain Coates made his report to Governor Ramsey of the part taken by the regiment in the battle on both days, (See Minnesota in Civil and Indian Wars, Vol. 2, p. 372) signing himself "Captain Commanding First Regiment Minnesota Volunteers," though Lochren says that he, as adjutant, made out the document.

In his report of the services of the regiment in



MONUMENT ERECTED ON GETTYSBURG BATTLE FIELD
TO COMMEMORATE THE SERVICES OF THE
REGIMENT IN REPELLING "PICKETT'S
CHARGE" ON JULY 3RD, 1863.

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the two days' fighting at Gettysburg, Captain Coates says it lost 4 commissioned officers and 47 men killed, 13 officers and 162 men wounded, and 6 missing, a total loss of 232, which he says was "out of less than 330 men and officers engaged;" this report was made July 5. The nominal list made out August 31 to accompany the monthly report shows however that there were 7 officers and 88 men killed and mortally wounded and 9 officers and 141 men wounded not mortally, a total of killed, mortally wounded and wounded of 245; missing none.

CHAPTER XLVI.

MEADE FOLLOWS LEE ACROSS THE POTOMAC.

ON July 6 a large part of the army moved from Gettysburg toward Emmittsburg, and the remainder followed the next day, July 7. Meade's headquarters were at Frederick, on the 8th at Middleton, on the 9th at the South Mountain House, and on the 10th at Antietam Creek, three miles north of the battleground. On the 11th a new bridge was put over Antietam Creek, and on the 13th General Meade had his forces in front of the position taken up by Lee at Williamsport to cover his passage over the Potomac.

But in the meantime Lee's army had reached Williamsport on the evening of the 7th, had been there six days waiting for the high water in the river to fall, having in the meantime fortified himself with a strong line of breastworks.

General Lee fortified himself behind good breastworks in the southern angle formed by the confluence of the Conococheague and the Potomac, the south end of his line resting on the Potomac near Downsville covering Falling Waters, three miles below Williamsport. The position was a strong one.

General Meade arrayed his army in front of Lee's breastworks on July 12, and the next morning called a council of his generals to decide whether or not the enemy should be attacked. A majority of Meade's generals voted that it was better not to attack. Owing to the nature of the ground in their front, an attack on Lee's breastworks at Williamsport would probably have resulted as did Burnside's assaults on the Confederate leader's works at Marye's Heights. (See Meade's report, War Rees.)

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Both Lochren and Captain Coates reported one man missing at Gettysburg, but this was a mistake. The man they named was Michael Devlin, a plucky young Irishman of St. Paul in Company A. He was badly wounded on the 3d and reached another division hospital and so was lost for some time. He re-joined his company as soon as he could, and when his time was about up, he re-enlisted in the First Battalion for three years more, and finally died in a St. Louis hospital a few days before Lee surrendered.

The Second Corps started with the rest of the army in pursuit of Lee on the afternoon of July 5 while the trail was fresh, Brig. Gen. Wm. Hays, of the Third Division, in command of the Corps; he was senior to General Caldwell, whom Hancock had selected. General Harrow took command of the division. The only colonel in the Gorman Brigade was Colonel Francis E. Heath, of the Nineteenth Maine, and he assumed its command. Two captains were regimental commanders now in the brigade. Capt. Harry Coates led the First Minnesota and Capt. John Darrow commanded the Eighty-second New York.

The First Minnesota marched out of Gettysburg on the pursuit of Lee's army with about 150 officers and men equipped and ready to fight. It was a small regiment, yet a proud one, for two strenuous trials in the hot, red fires of battle had demonstrated that it was all good steel, without a particle of dross—not a man "captured or missing in action."

The evening of the first day's march, a place called the Two Taverns was reached, and here the troops spent the 6th; the next day they marched to Taneytown, Md., 15 miles southeast of Gettysburg. The next day, however, the distance compassed was 24 miles from Taneytown southwest to Frederick.

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Lochren notes that on this day's march they passed the aristocratic Seventh New York militia regiment resting by the side of the road. Its officers and men were of the wealthy classes of New York City. It was said that the wealth owned by one company alone aggregated \$20,000,000. The regiment was of the New York militia and only sent out of the state on extraordinary occasions such as the big scare caused by Lee's invasion. Lochren says the dandy soldiers had to undergo all manner of jibes and jeers from the lines of the dusty and rough-and-ready veterans that marched by them.

On the 9th the command marched through the South Mountains to Rohrersville and Keedysville, near the Antietam battle-ground, and on the 10th to the hamlet of Tighlmanton. It was now near Lee's army at Williamsport. On the 11th the Corps made a short march and took position on the left or south of the Fifth Corps. During the 12th slight changes of position were made in expectation of the anticipated assault on Lee's breastworks.

When on the 14th the skirmishers went out to open the way for the proposed grand charge, they found that the Confederates had skedaddled without a fight. Caldwell's Division of the Second Corps was sent in pursuit and followed Custer's cavalry to the pontoon bridge at Falling Waters. Lee made a very clean retreat. The Confederates did not have much property to spare and they did not leave much. Perhaps 250 muskets, two pieces of artillery, two ambulances stalled in the mud and one wagon broken down were gathered up. A singular thing was that about 350 prisoners, asleep in barns and other out-buildings and in the woods, were made. The poor "rebs" were tired and played out from digging breastworks and almost incessant guard and picket duty for three days.

CHAPTER XLVII.

BACK TO THE RAPPAHANNOCK.

ON re-crossing the Potomac, General Lee fell back into that well-known Confederate harbor of refuge, the Shenandoah Valley, placing his army on the line of Oquequan Creek. This was the same position his forces had occupied after their retreat from Antietam the previous year. Here he soon re-equipped his men and secured for them other supplies, so that in a short time they were comparatively comfortable. He also added to his army several thousand volunteers and conscripts. The latter class were proving brave soldiers.

The army crossed the Potomac on pontoon bridges at Harper's Ferry and Berlin, July 17 and 18, and followed southward, skirting the Blue Ridge on the eastern side. Lee, conforming to this movement, fell back still further up the Shenandoah, passing Winchester and Kernstown, and sending Longstreet on ahead with his Corps to Culpeper. Mindful of Lincoln's advice, General Meade was now "stimulated to an active pursuit" of Lee. By the 22d he had reached the Manassas Gap in the Blue Ridge when the long Confederate column was passing on the other side of the mountain range. The two armies had been acting somewhat like two hostile dogs trotting along on either side of a fence, glaring and growling at each other and occasionally stopping to snap and bite. Now here was an opening in the fence!

General Meade acted promptly. Longstreet had sent a small force into Manassas Gap to hold it; but Meade's skirmishers soon attacked this force. On

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the 22d Meade sent Sickles' Third Corps, now under General French, into the Gap to clean it out. General Meade had determined to attack the Confederates. He directed all five of his Corps upon Manassas Gap, intending to use them all if necessary. General French, with his Third Corps, was to have the advance and bring on the fight. The Confederates, a part of Longstreet's Corps, were known to be in position on the west side of the Gap, near Front Royal, a little town on the Shenandoah, a few miles west of Manassas Gap. It must be borne in mind that Manassas Gap is 50 miles westward from Manassas Station, near Bull Run.

But when morning came it was found that during the night the Confederates had slipped away and were then moving for Culpeper!

By August 3 all three of the Confederate Corps were strung out along the south side of the Rapidan from Orange Court House on the west to Germania Ford on the east, in the vicinity of Chancellorsville. Meade's army was on the Rappahannock, a few miles north of Lee's.

July 15, the next day after the Confederates crossed the Potomac, the Second Corps marched to Sandy Hook, near Harper's Ferry. This was familiar ground to the First Minnesota. The Regiment had first visited it two years before, when the war was new, and it had repeated the visit in the fall of 1862, after Antietam. Now it was here for the third time. On the 16th the march was continued five miles through Sandy Hook into Pleasant Valley, and here the command rested for two days and drew new clothing, which was badly needed.

On the 18th the Regiment crossed the Potomac over a pontoon bridge to Harper's Ferry, but without stopping went on and crossed the Shenandoah on

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a new wire bridge, and kept on up the Loudoun Valley for about eight miles. The next day it marched eight miles to near Wood Grove. On the 20th it went about 12 miles to near Snicker's Gap and Bloomfield and then halted for another two days' rest.

The men always remembered the Snicker's Gap district and the others on the line of this march for the abundance and lusciousness of the blackberries, now ripe and to be found almost anywhere. The weather was hot, and the roads dusty. Diarrhoea broke out among the men and promised to become a serious matter, when the blackberry patches were encountered. In a few days there was no diarrhoea. The berries, sweetened with the army's brown sugar, constituted a cordial which was a sovereign remedy. The manna and the quails were not more heartily welcomed by the Israelites when they were traveling through the wilderness than was this luscious fruit by men of the Army of the Potomac when they were toiling through the Loudoun Valley in July, 1863.

On the 22d the command marched from the Snicker's Gap, where it had served in November, 1862. The next day it marched in all 17 miles. It first reached Markham Station, on the Manassas Gap Railroad (running between the Shenandoah Valley and Manassas Junction, near Bull Run), and after a brief halt was ordered on to Manassas Gap, preparatory to being engaged in General Meade's anticipated battle with Longstreet. The road was rough and it was midnight before the Gap was reached. The men made coffee and bivouacked. The next evening occurred the action at Wapping Heights. The command expected to be ordered through the Gap the next morning and take part in a great battle, but Longstreet retreated the night of the 23d

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and the next day the division returned to Markham Station, five miles from the Gap. On the 25th the march was resumed for 20 miles to White Plains, and on the 26th it was continued for 20 miles to Warrenton. At Warrenton, a town well known to the Army of the Potomac, the Regiment remained in camp until July 30.

July 31 the Second Corps marched from its camp on Elk Run to Morrisville, which is 18 miles south of Warrenton, a few miles north of the North Fork of the Rappahannock, and 20 miles northeast of Fredericksburg. Here in camp, which was moved a few times hither and thither in the woods, the First Minnesota remained until August 15.

The Regimental monthly returns for July (made on the 31st) showed "present for duty equipped" 14 officers and 130 men in the Regiment proper, a total of 144. The company of Sharpshooters attached to the Regiment numbered 2 officers and 22 men, making a total of the Regiment's strength of 168. Captain Coates was still in command.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

ENFORCING THE DRAFT IN NEW YORK CITY.

AFTER Gettysburg both the Union and the Confederate authorities were very active in enforcing their respective conscript laws and orders and drafting men for their armies. The Confederates had been making conscripts since the early spring of 1862, and by the summer of 1863 had a most sweeping drafting system. By this means, largely, they were able to replenish their depleted ranks; there were very few volunteers.

The Union authorities avoided this harsh method of raising soldiers for a long time after the Confederates had adopted it. They substituted the offer of liberal bounties and other inducements, but at last they had to resort to drafting. Lists of able-bodied males over 18 and under 45 residing in the delinquent districts were made out and the names, written on slips, put into boxes. Then a number of slips corresponding to the number of men required were drawn out, and the men whose names were on the list, if found eligible, were required to report for duty as soldiers. Each man so drafted, however, was allowed to furnish an altogether acceptable substitute in his stead.

The draft was generally well enforced throughout the northern states except in a few of the large cities. Boston and New York were notable exceptions. In these cities, especially in New York, there were many foreign-born citizens, who were generally willing enough to vote and hold office, but did not want to fight. They had been naturalized almost solely by the influence of politicians who wanted

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their votes. They were without any real love for America and republican institutions, and in the great war then raging hardly cared which side should win; at least they did not care enough to go out and fight and turn the scale in favor of the Union.

These men were out of all sympathy with the war for the Union; some were opposed to disunion and justified the war but wanted it stopped at the earliest period possible by negotiations and compromise with the Confederates. Another sub-element, composed largely of lawyers, reprobated and condemned secession and the establishment of the Southern Confederacy, but objected to the war. They were great sticklers for the forms of law and seemed to want the Confederates suppressed by the force of the civil law.

The men in the cities that objected most strenuously to being drafted were, nine-tenths of them, foreign-born and most of them lived by their daily labor. They were opposed to the abolition of slavery, because they believed that the freed negroes would come up north and take their jobs. They were told that the negroes caused the war and they hated the poor black people intensely. These misguided men finally declared in mass meetings and otherwise that they would "not fight to free the niggers," that they would not be "dragged off into the nigger war," etc., and that they would fight to the death against conscription.

On Monday, July 13, the drawing was resumed and a great riot broke out in New York City. The rioters included most of the scum of the city and the undesirable citizens, nearly all foreigners. The most desperate characters joined and came from their dens armed for fire, pillage, and murder. The conscription offices were attacked, sacked and burned,

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and those in charge beaten up and a few killed. The rioters seemed transformed into savages. They swarmed through the streets, beating or murdering every negro they caught, assaulting and chasing the conscript officers and others, and went on from bad to worse. They broke open and plundered fine mansions and houses and also robbed many stores. They burned some public buildings, among which was an asylum for colored orphan children. For three days the city was given over to a terrible condition of things, a series of riots in which at last women and some children engaged in every disorderly crime from thieving to murder.

The police of the city charged the rioters everywhere and as far as was possible protected deserving persons and their property. At the inception of the riots the militia organizations of the city were absent in Pennsylvania and Maryland, being sent thither to resist Lee's invasion. They were sent for and hurried back to the city, and soon after their arrival the rioting and the rioters were suppressed. Col. Robert Nugent, formerly colonel of the Tammany Regiment, and a "War Democrat," was provost marshal of the city and knew how to handle troops. In two days, by the killing and wounding of 1,000 or 1,200 rioters, order was restored. Only a few of the militia were killed. The most prominent victim of the insanity of the rioters was a Colonel O'Brien who was knocked down in the street and beaten and trampled to death; a priest administered the last sacrament of the church to him as he lay dying on the sidewalk. A company of U. S. marines was set upon, their arms taken from them, and several of them killed.

One provision of the first conscription law exempted a drafted man from service upon pay-

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ment of \$300. This provision was borrowed from the Confederate law, which exempted a conscript who could pay \$200. It caused great dissatisfaction among the poor men who were drafted and were unable to pay the exemption fee. In the South the poor men said: "This is a rich man's war but a poor man's fight," and the Northern poor men endorsed the sentiment. Finally the draft was suspended and the City Council agreed to pay the \$300 exemption fee for every drafted man unable to pay it. The city also had to pay afterwards about \$1,500,000 for the property destroyed by the rioters. In time the cash exemption was abolished. A drafted man then in a loyal state must either serve himself or furnish an acceptable substitute at his own expense. In the South every fighting man—at last from 16 to 60—was forced out and made to enter the military service; no substitute and no bounties.

The draft worked real hardship in many instances, especially in the Eastern states. When the drawing in New York was ordered resumed, August 19, there was apprehension of further trouble. The New York militia, and even the New York regiments in the army, were believed to be in such sympathy with the drafted men that they could hardly be depended upon to fire on their fellow citizens that should resist the conscription. Regiments from the Army of the Potomac, but from other states, were to be used to keep the peace and enforce the law if necessary.

July 30 General Halleck ordered General Meade to send four regiments of infantry—emphasizing the fact that they must be "not New York or Pennsylvania"—to New York to report to General Canby, to help enforce the draft.

Later, on August 15, while the Second Corps was

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in its camps north of the Rappahannock, near Morrisville and Elk Run, three additional regiments were ordered sent to New York. These were the First Minnesota, Seventh Michigan, and the Eighth Ohio. The regiments named marched the same afternoon to Bealeton Station, on the Orange & Alexandria Railroad, took the cars after nightfall, and reached Alexandria very early on the morning of the 16th. Col. S. S. Carroll, of the Eighth Ohio, was in command of the three regiments; for some time he had commanded a brigade in the Third (Hays') Division. Lieut. Myron Shepard, then of the Hastings company (H), was a member of Colonel Carroll's staff.

The First lay at Alexandria, with its comrade regiments, until August 20, when the draft had begun. It then went on board the ocean steamer "Atlantic," and the next morning sailed for New York. During the night, in some unknown manner, Lieut. August Kreuger, of Company A, of St. Paul, fell from the ship into the Potomac and was drowned. The ship was greatly crowded, and the officer was not missed until the vessel was well under way. The body was recovered, easily identified, and subsequently cared for by Chaplain Conwell, who was sent back from New York City on that duty.

On the 22d the Regiment was sailing on the Atlantic. The sea was rolling and the ship rolled with it, and nearly every land-lubber was seasick. To the great relief of everybody, the transport entered New York harbor on the morning of the 23d. The First Minnesota was landed and encamped on Governor's Island, and here it remained for five enjoyable days. Truly its lines had fallen in pleasant places. It was not called out to shoot anybody, for the draft proceeded quietly; and it had fine quarters, the boys had a little money to spend, and

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Captain Coates, the regimental commander, was very liberal in the matter of passes allowing the boys to go out and "see the town." On the 28th the Regiment crossed over Buttermilk Channel to Brooklyn and encamped in Fort Greene Park. Companies C and D, under command of Lieutenant Heffelfinger, were detailed to guard the drawing at the City Hall, and reported to the Provost Marshal.

The good record of the Regiment seemed to be known to many people in Brooklyn. Its frightful but gallant experience at Gettysburg was fresh in their minds, for the newspapers had told of it. They showed the Minnesotians many flattering attentions. September 4 the ladies of Carlton Avenue M. E. church gave them a sumptuous temperance banquet and feasted and feted them in admirable style.

September 6 the command crossed on the ferry to New York City proper, but only marched through a part of the city to a ship wharf. Here it embarked on the steamship "Empire City" for its return to old Virginia and the field of duty and glory. After a very pleasant little ocean voyage the First Minnesota returned to Alexandria and disembarked on the 8th. Here it remained until the 12th, when it set out for its proper place in the old Gorman Brigade, which it found in camp west of Culpeper Court House, on the Orange & Alexandria Railroad. It joined the brigade on the 16th and went into camp about 12 miles west of its former station. Its excursion to New York had been practically a pleasant picnic from start to finish.



STATUE OF COL. WILLIAM COLVILLE ERECTED AT
CANNON FALLS, MINN., WHERE HE IS BURIED,
AND A REPLICIA OF WHICH STANDS IN
THE CAPITOL, IN ST. PAUL, MINN.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE CAMPAIGN OF MANEUVERS.

THE First Minnesota returned to its place in the Army of the Potomac September 16. Captain Coates continued in command of the First Minnesota until October 4, when Maj. Mark W. Downie returned from the hospital and relieved him. October 3d General Harrow's resignation from the service was accepted, and General Alexander S. Webb, of the Second Brigade, assumed command of the division.

The campaign that followed the occupation of the upper Rappahannock country by the armies of General Meade and General Lee was practically a series of manuevers by each army. General Lee soon realized that in General Meade he had a foeman worthy of his steel. The Southern commander frankly told his generals, when they were planning the Mine Run campaign, that of all the Federal commanders that had led the Army of the Potomac, General Meade was the ablest. As the Southern writers quote him (see Major Stiles' "Four Years Under Marse Robert," p. 228; Geo. C. Eggleston's "Rebel's Recollections," etc.) General Lee said:

"General Meade is the most troublesome Federal commander we have yet met. He is not only a general of courage, intelligence, and ability, but conscientious and careful. He is not afraid to fight upon an equal chance, and is constantly looking for an opportunity. If we make any mistake in his front, he will be certain to take advantage of it."

General Longstreet says that, before Grant came, General Lee, in referring to the Union generals he

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had contended against, said: "Meade gives me more trouble and uneasiness than any of them." To Prof. Dobney, Lee said of Meade: "He was the ablest commander of the Army of the Potomac."

Lee and Meade now sat down to watch each other. A considerable period of repose followed. Scouts were sent slyly out, but no important movements were made for some time. Each army was soon largely recruited by conscripts. On the Union side a majority of this element made good, brave and faithful soldiers. A few, however, were only "food for powder." Of the worthless element, half deserted within twenty days after they reached the army. This evil of desertion grew so great that to check it several offenders, when arrested, were sentenced by courts martial to be shot, and the sentences carried out. Others were sent to the Dry Tortugas, etc. The Fifteenth Massachusetts had one deserting conscript shot October 30, and the whole brigade was called out to witness the unpleasant spectacle.

September 13 the cavalry, supported by the Second Corps, crossed the Rappahannock and attacked Lee's cavalry, driving it to the Rapidan and capturing three cannons and a lot of prisoners. The Second Corps occupied Culpeper Court House, taking no part in the fighting, but ready to advance the moment the cavalry cleared the fords over the Rapidan. It must be remembered that the Rapidan is virtually the south fork of the Rappahannock, uniting with the north fork about 12 or 15 miles west of Fredericksburg. Culpeper is on the peninsula between the two streams and seven or eight miles north of the Rapidan. The cavalry could not clear the Rapidan fords.

Then September 16 General Meade crossed his entire army to the south side of the Rappahannock

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and took up positions around Culpeper Court House, with two Corps (the First and Sixth) advanced to the Rapidan. He meant to cross the latter stream and attack Lee, whose army was strung along the south bank, but he found that all crossings were commanded from Lee's side of the river by higher ground and by fortifications, and were impassable; the works were being made stronger every hour. General Meade then planned a great flanking movement to the west part of the stream where the crossings were practicable; but just as he was about to put this movement into execution the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps were taken away from him, and he feared to undertake it with his diminished force.

General Meade on October 10 sent General Buford with his cavalry division to the westward to uncover the upper fords of the Rapidan. He then expected to move a large force across these fords and attack the enemy in the rear, when the First and Sixth Corps would force the passages in their fronts.

But General Meade discovered, when General Buford reached those upper fords, that General Lee, with his army, had already passed them on his way north with the intention of turning Meade's right or north flank! The advance of the Confederates was well across Robinson's River, a northern tributary of the Rapidan, flowing southeastwardly through Madison county, and indeed was driving Meade's cavalry from Madison Court House, which is 18 miles west of Culpeper.

To meet this new danger, General Meade, October 11, hastily withdrew his army north of the Rappahannock, abandoning the town of Culpeper. The next day, however, learning that the Confederates were in Culpeper, General Meade determined to go back and attack them. Accordingly he took the

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Second, Fifth, and Sixth Corps and re-crossed the Rappahannock, en route for Culpeper. The infantry got as far as Brandy Station (which is in Culpeper county, on the Orange & Alexandria Railroad, five miles southwest of the north fork and ten miles northeast of Culpeper) and Buford's cavalry drove the cavalry scouts of the enemy back into Culpeper. Meade intended moving to the attack the next morning; but during the night he received a dispatch from General Gregg, commanding a cavalry division which had been guarding the upper fords of the Rappahannock and Hazel Rivers, and this dispatch said that Gregg and his division had been "forced back" early in the morning from Hazel River, and in the afternoon from the Rappahannock (North Fork) and that the Confederates were crossing the latter stream at Farquier, Sulphur Springs, and Waterloo, 15 miles north of Culpeper.

The Union commander now realized that his right flank had been turned by General Lee, for Culpeper is only 60 miles southwest of Washington, and Lee, having escaped Meade's forces, and continuing to escape them, could easily reach the capital city in three days. General Meade also realized that General Lee would beat him to Warrenton, northeast of Culpeper, if he attempted to march for that important point.

On the 13th General Meade blew up the railroad bridge over the North Fork, withdrew his army along and broke the railroad, burning bridges and depots, to Catlett's Station, 20 miles northeast of Brandy Station and 15 miles southwest of Manassas Junction, near the Bull Run battle-ground. The next day the advance of the army reached Centerville, 20 miles from Washington. On the morning of that day, near the hamlet of Auburn, Jeb Stuart's cavalry

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skirmished with Caldwell's Division, of the Second Corps, suddenly firing shells among Caldwell's men when they had halted and were making coffee for breakfast; they had made a night march.

CHAPTER L.

THE BRISTOE CAMPAIGN.

ON October 14, A. P. Hill threw Heth's Division and Cook's Brigade against the line of Webb's and Hays' Divisions at Bristoe Station. This station, on the Orange & Alexandria Railroad, is in Prince William County, eight miles southwest of Manassas Junction and 35 miles southwest of Washington. The Second Corps alone was on the rear in the vicinity of Broad Run and Bristoe, the Third was near Bull Run, and the Fifth was a few miles in advance and both were hurrying on towards Centerville. General Hill reports that this day he picked up as visitors 150 men of the Third Corps.

The object of the Confederate attack on Bristoe Station was the destruction of Warren's Second Corps, and this great peril was avoided only by the intelligent and brave conduct of General Warren and his officers and men of the three brigades that did the fighting under him. The First, Third, Fifth and Sixth Corps of Meade's army were in front, to the north, and the extreme advance was nearing Washington. The Second Corps was bringing up the rear. If it got into trouble, it was too far behind to be helped by the other Corps. The Confederate line of march was parallel with but to the north or left of the Union route, but only a few miles away.

Stuart's cavalry had reported the situation to Lee. The Southern commander now thought he had a fine opportunity to cut Meade's line in two and capture the historic Second Corps with its "three-leafed clover" badges—and the opportunity really was present. The reports for October 10 showed that the

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whole strength of the Corps present for duty was 8,830 infantry, 553 artillerymen, a total of 9,383, with 32 pieces of artillery, "and no cavalry." (See Warren's report, War Recs.)

Hill's Confederate Corps had, October 1, present for duty, 16,297 infantry. On the 14th, at Bristoe, he must have had 16,000 of these, and he also had in his movement Cooke's independent North Carolina brigade of 2,300, or 18,300 infantry and McIntosh's and Poague's battalions of artillery, eight batteries, with at least 500 more men. Then to help him he had Fitz Hugh Lee's Division of cavalry. (See vol. 29, part 1, War Recs.) In all A. P. Hill had more than 20,000 fighting men to General Warren's 9,000.

The First Minnesota was with the Second Corps every step during the first maneuver of General Meade on the Bristoe campaign. It was in the Virginia-reel movement of "forward and back," when General Meade crossed the Rapidan October 11 and went northward to the Rappahannock, then the next day turned about and went to Culpeper, and then the next day, on the 13th, turned about again and again went northward, crossing the North Fork of the Rappahannock.

On the 13th the Regiment marched with the Division to Bealeton, a station on the Orange & Alexandria Railroad, a few miles northeast of the North Fork. After resting an hour it fell in again and tramped steadily but slowly the rest of the day along the railroad in a northeasterly direction towards Washington. It could not move very fast because the road was fairly blocked ahead with the trains and the rear guard of General Sykes' Fifth Corps. The Second Corps was the smallest in the army, and on this march it was the rear guard. Caldwell's Division was in the advance, Webb's was in the

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center, and Hays' was rear guard.

Baxter's (the old Burns') Brigade, of Webb's Division, was now guarding the long wagon train, and General Webb had but two brigades for fighting. The First brigade (the old Gorman) was now commanded by Col. Francis E. Heath, of the Nineteenth Maine, and the Third brigade (the old Dana) by Col. James E. Mallon, of the Forty-second New York, the Tammany regiment. So that on the 14th General Webb's fighting strength, including that of two batteries, was only about 2,000 men. Heath's Brigade had probably 1,000 men.

The division marched slowly but protractedly. It did not go into bivouac until 9 o'clock the night of October 13. General Meade was marching now as a general that means business should march. He roused up Webb's men at 3 o'clock the next morning, having allowed them but six hours' rest and repose. They went several miles through a dense, chilly fog before daylight. They were marching along the railway to cross Cedar Run—and pass successively Catlett's, Bristoe, and Manassas Junction, and so reach Blackburn's Ford of Bull Run. The marching order for the Second Corps, issued by General Meade the night before, read:

6. General Warren, Second Corps, will move to the railroad, passing by Catlett's house; keep on the south side of the railroad; cross Bull Run at Blackburn Ford, and mass in rear of Centerville, looking towards Warrenton.

The divisions had now changed places. Hays' was in advance, Caldwell's in the center, and Webb's to the rear. But just across Cedar Run, north of the railroad, occurred the affair near Auburn between Stuart's cavalry and Caldwell's men. The

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divisions were so disposed that Stuart's shot and shells passed over the heads of Hays' men and landed among Caldwell's. Hays' Division was the nearer to Stuart, but the morning was so foggy that the Confederates did not see it. Hays instantly sent two regiments against them. These were received by Col. Thos. Ruffin and his First North Carolina cavalry. In the skirmish that resulted, the cavalry were driven off and Colonel Ruffin mortally wounded and made prisoner.

No sooner did Hays report the way clear than Webb, with the Second Division, took the advance to Catlett's; Hays fell in behind; Caldwell brought up the rear with his division "en potence"—which is to say that it was in the form of a gibbet, or rather a capital letter T, with the shaft representing a column of fours marching up the road and the arms of the top cross-bar representing a regiment marching in line on either side of the road and in the rear so as to be ready for attack. Gregg's two cavalry brigades were with the cross-bar regiments and one on each side of the road to guard the flanks.

General Meade was proving not only a sagacious commander, but a wide-awake one. The head of his column, by hard marching, had passed Lee's. He knew it was the military thing to do for Lee to march swiftly across and cut the Army of the Potomac in two, and he knew that Lee had a habit of doing military things. So Meade, on the morning of the 14th, sent a dispatch to General Warren, then commanding the Second Corps, and besides other directions and information the dispatch contained this warning instruction: "Move forward as rapidly as you can, as they may send out a column from Gainesville to Bristoe."

General Warren was also instructed that General

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Sykes would wait his arrival at Bristoe before moving forward with the Fifth Corps. But General Sykes was impatient to move, because he was determined to reach Centerville with his Corps that night. He was half a mile east of Broad Run where, at the railroad crossing of that stream, was what had been the station called Bristoe, but which was now a small area of fire-blackened chimneys, monuments to perpetuate the memories of the horrors of civil war. Sykes had an aide-de-camp on Broad Run heights, with instructions to let him know the moment the head of Warren's Corps came in sight. A company of Massachusetts cavalry, riding miles ahead of Warren, deceived the aid, and he told General Sykes that he had sighted the Second Corps. Thereupon Sykes abandoned Bristoe and set out for Centerville as fast as his men could march.

At Catlett's the Corps line of march was reformed. Webb's Division, with two batteries, was put on the northwest side of the railroad. Hays' took the southeast side (the railroad running northeast), the ambulances and artillery and Gregg's cavalry followed, and Caldwell's Division brought up the rear, still "en potence" in formation. The Corps trains and Gregg's wagons had passed on for Centerville via Wolf Run Shoals and guarded by Colonel Baxter's Second Brigade. As soon as Caldwell came up, the whole Corps set out for Bristoe.

The greater part of the Corps had crossed Kettle Run, a mile and a half west of Bristoe, the men trudging along at a good gait, though footsore and very leg weary, when cannonading was heard apparently two miles to the front. Generals Warren and Webb at once galloped forward to see what the trouble was, feeling certain that General Sykes had been attacked in position while waiting for the

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Second Corps to come up.

The trouble was this: General Lee had sent A. P. Hill across to cut Meade's column in two, and Hill was trying to obey his orders. He sent forward Heth's Division to do the work.

Heth came into the big gap in Meade's line at Bristoe and saw a mile to the northeast the rear guard of Sykes' Fifth Corps. He at once concluded that he was too late on the ground—the Second Corps had escaped; that was its rear he could see a mile to the east. Disappointed and angry, Heth brought up Major Poague's four batteries and began bombarding Sykes' rear, thinking he was firing into the Second Corps. As Meade feared he would do, Lee had "sent out a column from Gainesville to Bristoe."

General Heth had deployed his infantry, three brigades (Kirkland's, Cooke's and Walker's.) with Joe Davis' in the rear, and was advancing toward the southeast on the fire-blackened chimneys and Dodd's empty house, which constituted Bristoe. Walker's Brigade was on the north flank nearest Broad Run. Heth waited for a few minutes and then General Hill ordered him to rush the retiring Union forces, jump on their rear, and hold them until he (Hill) could bring the rest of his corps upon their flank. Heth's skirmish line was near the railroad track, and Walker's Brigade was hastening to cross Broad Run, when fire was opened on the south end of his skirmish line.

Webb's Division, by the absence of Baxter's, now reduced to two brigades—Heath's and Mallon's—was crossing Kettle Run, a mile and a half back, when Poague's batteries opened. The men, weighed down with unusually heavy baggage (five days' rations included) sadly worn from toilsome marching,

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loss of sleep, and the almost total lack of cooked food for two days, were laboring along in good temper and spirits, and when they heard the firing, sprang forward like athletes. General Webb hurried back from the front and at once sent out the First Minnesota, under Maj. Mark Downie, as skirmishers to the north side of the road in a scrub-pine thicket, and at the same time turned both his brigades to the road on the south side of the railroad, so that they could have the advantage of the railroad embankment in case of a fight. Hays' Division had been pursuing the route on the south side, and now Webb's men were in front of Hays'.

The woods and pine thickets into which the First Minnesota entered came clear down to the roadway on the north side of the railroad track, but did not extend very far eastward. When the remainder of Heath's Brigade cleared the woods to the east, one of McIntosh's batteries came into position on the left or north and commanded the open ground about Bristoe.

Just as the Rockbridge battery came into position, the sharp rattle of musketry in the pine woods was heard. The First Minnesota had struck General Kirkland's skirmishers and the two parties were "at it." At once General Heth recalled Walker's Brigade and directed Cooke's and Kirkland's to advance in line.

General Warren was now on the field, but he told General Webb to "hurry up and fight." Webb hurried Heath's three regiments by the double-quick into position behind the railroad track, facing north. The First Minnesota was out in front skirmishing when the brigade first took position, but it soon came back.

Webb first decided to put his two brigades be-

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hind a ridge a few yards south of the railroad track, but soon saw that behind the track was a better position and he hurried them to it. Hays was ordered by General Warren to double-quick his division to a railroad cut to the left of Webb, and at once sent General Owen's Brigade, which came up and occupied the cut, which in effect was a great ditch with walls from two to ten feet high.

Webb's preparations were not made too soon. It was well that before they were completed Fred Brown, whose Gettysburg wound was hardly healed, dashed up with his battery (B, First Rhode Island, four 12-lb. howitzers) splashed across Broad Run, and went upon an elevation into a position from which he could hit any portion of Hill's army, and as soon as his guns were "in battery" they were in action.

Mark Downie had his Minnesotians lying down in a sort of dead furrow peppering away at Kirkland's skirmishers for about five minutes, when he saw behind them General Kirkland's formidable line of battle advancing directly upon him. The major saw, too, on the right of Kirkland's men, General Cooke's North Carolina brigade, of four heavy regiments, also in motion toward the Union troops at Bristoe. He immediately gave the order for the regiment to fall back, keeping its skirmish formation, to its comrade regiments behind the railroad track. The movement was made under a heavy fire, which prevented the formation of the regiment in a compact line, and it took its position on the firing line in skirmishing order, the men a few feet apart, so that they stretched along the greater part of Webb's Division and of Owen's Brigade, and Major Downie reports that the men fought in that position during the rest of the battle.

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Just before the heavy firing began, Capt. R. B. Ricketts' First Pennsylvania Battery, of six 3-inch rifles, came lumbering up and plunged through Webb's line to the ridge mentioned as south of the railroad track, and went into "battery." It was on an elevation high enough so that it could overshoot Webb's recumbent infantry and at the same time smash the North Carolinians in their faces with case-shot and percussion shells, and if necessary could deluge them with projectiles. A few minutes later Arnold's Battery (A First Rhode Island), the horses covered with sweat and foam from a long run, broke through a pine thicket to the west and came into position and with six 3-inch rifles went into action behind Owen's Brigade, to the left of Mallon's.

The Union batteries were hard at work. Brown's battery flung case-shot and canister among the charging ranks of the brave North Carolinians and sent dozens of them to eternity. Ricketts' battery in the rear of Heath's Brigade, showered them with shells. Captain Arnold, behind Owen's Brigade, made it terrible for Kirkland's men. There was no sign of breaking ranks except on one occasion in only one part of the line.

When the Confederates of Cooke's Brigade had come within thirty yards of the railroad embankment, the Union fire was too much for them and they turned and fled. On the left of Mallon's and Hays' brigades, fronting the cut in the railway line, Kirkland's men were being killed and wounded at a frightful rate, and the unhurt felt that they could not return the way they had come without the greatest peril. The railroad cut before them, filled with Owen's Third Division men, seemed a volcanic fissure vomiting hot bullets into them. Brown's battery and two guns of Ricketts' had them in direct

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range and opened dreadful volleys upon them. The poor fellows were soon being slaughtered in a horrible manner. They were in a death trap from which they could not escape. They called out as loud as they could: "We surrender!"

Many of Kirkland's men threw themselves on the ground and lay till they were picked up as prisoners, but the majority soon fled to the rear. As stated, Cooke's men turned back when within 40 yards of the railroad, though a few came farther forward and mounted the embankment of the Nineteenth Maine; Sergeant Small, Company I of the Nineteenth, shot one bold Confederate who was trying to cross the embankment. They came close up to the First Minnesota, too—close enough to stick a bayonet into Sam Pitkin, of Company A, St. Paul. Capt. John Ball, of the Red Wing Company (F), was wounded as he was standing on the embankment, firing his revolver in the faces of the enemy. Many of Cooke's command threw down their guns and surrendered.

The First Minnesota captured and carried away 322 unwounded prisoners, including two field officers and five line officers and men of Company G brought in two guns of a Confederate battery.

The prisoners were divided into three companies and each company placed in charge of a Minnesota lieutenant. Lieutenant Loehren (author of the Regiment's historical sketch) was one of these lieutenants.

Two Confederate regiment flags were captured, one by the Nineteenth Maine and one by the Eighty-second. Both colors were taken in front of the respective capturing regiments.

Colonel Heath, the brigade commander, says, in his report: "The First Minnesota Volunteers were deployed as skirmishers in our front and during the engagement captured and brought off two guns."

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With the retreat of the North Carolinians the battle of Bristoe Station ended.

When darkness came General Warren buried his 31 dead, loaded up all of his 192 wounded able to be moved, took his prisoners and captured cannon, and set out to join his comrade generals at Bull Run.

The casualties of the regiment in this battle were as follows: Capt. John Ball, of Company F, severely wounded in the groin; Lieut. James De Gray, of Company G was wounded and transferred to Invalid Corps; Samuel J. Pitkin, Company A, bayonet thrust; Fred L. Bernds, Company B; Henry Ghostly, Company G; Leonard B. Carter and August A. Goepfinger, Company D; Edwin B. Lowell and John W. Pride, Company E; Chas. A. Berdan and Edrick J. Frary, Company F; Charles Leathers and Henry A. Low, Company H; Balthasar Best and John Thrope, Company K, all wounded. The soldier who had the glorious distinction of being killed on the field was Hans Peterson of the Red Wing company.

As soon as darkness protected his movement General Warren began leading his men out of their perilous position. Utmost silence observed; the troops moved by the flank across the enemy's long front, within plain sight of their twinkling camp fires, within 300 yards of their skirmishers, and within half cannon range of their artillery in position. The captured guns were not left or forgotten. Colonel Morgan, Inspector General, furnished horses for them and they were hauled away with Hazzard's artillery battalion.

Crossing Broad Run, partly by the ford and partly by the railroad, the infantry regiments of Warren's Corps made their way over the great sterile plain stretching from Bristoe to Manassas. At between 2 and 4 o'clock on the morning of the 15th the

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wearied and jaded men threw themselves on the ground on a part of the battlefield of Bull Run, near Blackburn's Ford, and at once fell asleep. Of the 69 hours which had elapsed since they left Bealeton, on the 12th, they had been 60 hours either in column marching in the road, or in line of battle, or skirmishing with the enemy—only 9 hours for rest and sleep in three days. And when they marched, General Walker says, "they carried the heaviest loads I have ever known troops to carry on a campaign."

The First Minnesota never forgot that march. But the men did not whine or whimper over it. They were proud of it.

The tired and exhausted men were encamped on the left bank or east side of Bull Run, near enough to General Meade's fortified line. They were here but four days, during which time nothing very eventful happened. On the day of their arrival, the 15th, Stuart's cavalry made some showy demonstrations from the west side of Bull Run. A battery came up within cannon shot and threw some infernal Hotchkiss shells into the Second Corps camps, but did no particular damage.

The old Gorman Brigade was getting rather feeble in point of numbers, and while it was in camp it received another regiment, the One Hundred and Fifty-second New York.

Here the old brigade lost its time-tried and fire-tested battery—the old Ricketts' Battery, which first fought with the First Minnesota at Bull Run. A number of men from the First Minnesota and other regiments of the brigade had been transferred to Kirby's Battery, and the Minnesotians had a strong affection for it.

October 19, in a drenching rain, Meade took his army out of its intrenchments and hurried after Lee,

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who had left the day before, declining to fight on either side of Bull Run. The regiment marched by way of Manassas Junction to a point back near Bristoe Station, and bivouacked for the night. The morning of the 20th the Regiment moved over its recent battlefield, crossed Broad Run twice and Kettle Run once and then marched westward towards Warrenton, passing through the hamlet of Greenwich and encamping that night near the other hamlet of Auburn. Here the regiment rested three days.

On the 23d it broke camp at 7 a. m. and went five miles westward to the "plug" or branch railroad (of the Orange & Alexandria) running between Warrenton Junction and Warrenton Court House, and camped near the bridge over Turkey Run. Here the report became current that the army was going into winter quarters. Many of the men began the construction of little log cabins in which they expected to pass the winter in comfort, and some of them completed their houses in quite elaborate fashion. But alas! the rumor was false and baseless.

CHAPTER LI.

THE MINE RUN CAMPAIGN.

THE "Mine Run Campaign" need not here be noted, except in a general way, inasmuch as it was productive of no important result.

General Meade attempted to cross the Rapidan and turn General Lee's right wing and attack him when a portion of the latter's wing—Ewell's Corps and A. P. Hill's scattered brigades—were too far south to afford him effective assistance.

The movement failed through want of co-ordination of General Meade's various corps. The fault was generally attributed to the failure of General French's Corps and led to his being replaced by another officer. But the limits of this work do not permit any detailed account, except so far as this regiment participated.

In this campaign, the last military expedition in which the First Minnesota Regiment was engaged, it followed the movements of the old Gorman First Brigade, the Sedgwick's Second Division, and the Sumner's Second Corps, now commanded respectively by Col. D. C. Baxter, Gen. Alex S. Webb and General G. K. Warren.

Major Mark W. Downie commanded the regiment on this campaign, but unfortunately no report can be found from him detailing its experiences. It is of record, however, that on November 24, when General Meade was getting ready for the movement, Baxter's Brigade, to which the First Minnesota belonged, reported in front of General Webb's headquarters at dawn November 25, ready for orders and any duty. The movement not being fully prepared,

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the brigade countermarched to its camp. The next morning, with the corps, it marched to the Germanna Ford of the Rapidan. The morning was quite cold and the ground frozen. While waiting for the laying of the pontoon bridge, the brigade was formed in two lines of battle in the woods to the left of the road. When the bridge was finished the command crossed at 2:30 P. M., marched four miles and bivouacked that night on Flat Run. The Corps was clearly on time.

At 8 o'clock on the morning of the 27th, the division marched with Baxter's Brigade in the rear, and continued southward to Robertson's Tavern and farm on the Fredericksburg and Orange turnpike. Within a mile of the pike the division skirmishers met the enemy's, Stuart's dismounted cavalry, and drove them back to the woods north of the tavern. Webb's and Hays' divisions were drawn up in line of battle with skirmishers deployed. Baxter's Brigade, being in the rear, was formed in two lines, deployed and held in reserve.

At 2 o'clock skirmishing began on the right (it had previously been on the left) and continued until after dark. At 3, the First Minnesota, under Major Downie, and the Eighty-second New York, under Colonel Hudson, were deployed on the Fifteenth Massachusetts which was menaced by a large force. The brigade's new regiment, the One Hundred and Fifty-second New York, under Major O'Brien, was taken away from Baxter's and sent to Colonel Devroux's Second Brigade; the Nineteenth Maine, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cunningham, was held in reserve. At this time the skirmishers of Caldwell's First Division joined on the right of Webb's and completed the right of the line.

At 5 o'clock, when it was dark, the direction of

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Baxter's skirmish line was changed to the left by throwing forward the right of the line. Just when this movement began the right came upon a bunch of Confederates on the opposite side of the swamp, and at once they fired a volley and then fell back. The swamp was not more than 100 feet wide, but very miry, and in the darkness it would be hard to cross. Yet the skirmishers were about to cross it, when orders came to return to the original line. At 9 o'clock the Nineteenth Maine relieved the First Minnesota, the Eighty-second and the Fifteenth as pickets. The casualties in the brigade this day were: First Minnesota, none; Fifteenth Massachusetts, ten men wounded, Adjutant Newberry mortally, and Colonel Joslin and four men taken prisoners. Each of the other three regiments lost three wounded.

At 4 o'clock on the morning of Saturday, the 28th, orders were received to prepare to move against the enemy. At 5 Colonel Baxter was ordered to withdraw the three regiments that were acting as supports to the picket line, and form them in battle line on the right of the division. This was done quickly, and a general advance was made.

The line advanced as soon as formed in a direction south of the Orange pike a mile or more, or from Robertson's Tavern to the head of Mine Run. It was hoped that this head was well below Lee's line, but on reaching it, as previously stated, plenty of Confederates were there in position, on a range of hills on the west side and parallel with the Run. The Sixth Corps soon came up, joined on the north or right end of the Second Corp's line and relieved the skirmishers of the Nineteenth Maine. At 4 o'clock in the evening the First Minnesota was placed on the picket line nearer the enemy.

At daybreak on the 29th Baxter's Brigade, which

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included the First Minnesota, took up the march with Webb's Division and was the second in the column. It went westward on the old plank road to Orange C. H. about two miles west of old Verdierville, or six miles southwest of Robertson's Tavern. Here it halted and at night bivouacked. The next day was to occur the grand assault on the enemy's lines.

At 3 o'clock the next morning the brigade moved forward expecting to go into battle. It did not march far until it went into position and waited for the order to charge. As General Warren had formed his line from north to south, it faced west and was about a mile and a half in length. It extended south below the Orange plank road, below the railroad grade, and below the Catharpin Run road. The Confederates' ran still farther. In front of Warren's 26,000 men were the Confederates of A. P. Hill's Corps and a great part of Stuart's cavalry, more than 23,000 officers and men, and 42 pieces of artillery in position. (War Rees. Vol. 29, part 1, p. 823.) They were behind breastworks, commandingly situated and as formidable as any they had on Mine Run, and they could be seen digging and placing abatis and making them still more formidable and dangerous.

Baxter's Brigade was formed to charge in two lines. The Fifteenth Massachusetts and Nineteenth Maine were in the first line and the One Hundred and Fifty-second and the Eighty-second New York in the second. The First Minnesota was deployed to the front as skirmishers, so that when the charge came across Reynolds' pastures it would not be discriminated against, but would undergo its full experience of danger, and receive its full share of the work to do. Skirmishers, handling guns as cold as icicles, with stiffened fingers which ought to be limber and nimble so as to pull a trigger quick as

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lightning. The men realized their peril, but not a man offered to shirk it. Gen. C. H. Morgan, who was still Corps Inspector General, relates this incident:

“While on the picket line reconnoitering, my uniform concealed by a soldier’s overcoat, I asked an old veteran of the noble First Minnesota, on picket, what he thought of the prospect. Not recognizing me as an officer, he expressed himself very freely, declaring it, “a damned sight worse than Fredericksburg,” and adding, “I am going as far as we can travel, but we can’t get more than two-thirds of the way up that hill.”

To add to the general uncomfortable feeling, the cold, which had been increasing for hours, had now become intense and almost intolerable. The Union soldiers could not help thinking of what had occurred at Fredericksburg just a year before, when so many of their comrades were slaughtered in a foolish movement.

The trouble was to begin at 8 o’clock that morning, just when it was light enough for the Confederates to see to shoot well. The firing of a cannon was to be the signal for the Second Corps to advance. After it had become well involved Sedgwick, far to the north, was to charge that end of the line. Eight o’clock came, but no signal gun was fired. Then from Sedgwick’s position, more than a mile away, came the boom of a cannon—then another—then another—to let everybody know that he was ready and waiting. But no gun from the Second Corps. Lochren says:

“As the gun was heard on our right, many scanned the sun, the sky and the landscape as for a last survey. We were nerved up for the rush and the sacrifice and the

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suspense was almost painful. Soon curiosity was aroused as to the cause of the delay, and after a half hour of intense expectation of instant signal to move came the rumor, soon confirmed, that Warren had decided that the assault could not succeed, and that he would not order the slaughter.* This was relief indeed and every man commended the decision.

“We at once cast about to make ourselves as comfortable as might be. In the garden of a large house (Reynolds’) on our line we found abundance of nice potatoes covered lightly in piles to protect them from the frost. We found kettles in the house (the family had left) and dry oak bark at a tannery (also Reynolds’) close by, and were soon feasting on the potatoes and basking in the heat of the fires. So we spent the rest of the cold day very comfortable, while our friends, the Confederates in the rifle pits—so near that we could have thrown potatoes to them—looked on curiously, but showed no disposition to disturb our comfort. At night we were relieved and marched back a couple of miles.”

The Nineteenth Maine relieved the First Minnesota, and it was 8 P. M. when Baxter’s Brigade went to the rear and bivouacked. The next day, Tuesday, December 1, the brigade moved south of the railroad grade, in prolongation of the division line, and here it remained all day. General Meade greatly disliked to retire without a battle, and he hoped either to discover a vulnerable place in Lee’s line where an assault could be made, or that Lee and Hill and

*It was not General Warren that decided against the assault, he had not the authority. General Meade had ordered the assault, and he alone could forbid it. General Warren called Meade’s attention to the great dangers involved in the charge; Meade came up, saw for himself, and forbade it.

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Ewell would come out from behind their works and attack him. But neither alternative appeared.

In the forenoon of Wednesday, December 2, Baxter's Brigade, with the First Minnesota, re-crossed the Rapidan, this time at Culpeper Ford, according to Colonel Baxter, following Morehead's (formerly Mallon's) Third Brigade. That evening the First Minnesota, after a hard march through a cold rain and deep mud, reached its former camp, near Brandy Station, half way between the north fork and Culpeper C. H. When the regiment started to Mine Run, it left behind good comfortable cabins which it expected to re-occupy on its return. What was its disappointment, disgust and indignation when on its return that cold, rainy evening it found that its cosy little houses had been burned by some worthless, unregenerate stragglers, who had doubtless set them on fire out of pure recklessness and depravity. It was representatives of this class of scallawags that did most of the burning of dwellings and other private buildings in Virginia during the war.

The First Minnesota, and other regiments whose cabin quarters had been burned while they were on the Mine Run expedition, soon built other quarters and again settled down. This housebuilding proved, however, to be a waste of labor. On the 5th of December the Brigade was ordered to remove its camp about four miles to a site a mile north of the little village of Stevensburg, which is still in existence, with a population of 75, in Culpeper county. The new camp was about five miles southeast of Culpeper C. H. and the same distance north of Rapidan. Again the men built cabin quarters and were fortunate in being permitted to occupy them for some months.

December 7 Lieut. Col. C. P. Adams, who had been

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absent from the regiment by reason of his Gettysburg wounds, returned to the command, relieving Major Downie. For two months during the winter the regiment performed only ordinary camp duties; no hostile movements were undertaken. The ground was being prepared for a base of operations in the spring against Lee's army, which was only a few miles away, south of the Rapidan. Roads leading to various fords of that river were constructed from Culpeper and other railroad stations on the Orange & Alexandria, and in the spring Grant's immense hosts marched over them.

The First Minnesota built and corduroyed roads and performed ordinary guard and fatigue duties during the remainder of its stay. A particular service was picket duty along the Rapidan, a few miles to the southward. The Confederate cavalry and some infantry were strung along the south bank of the river for twenty miles, and it was well to keep an eye on them. They were keenly watching the Yankees, and the Yankees were as keenly watching them. Neither Meade nor Lee proposed to be surprised or caught unawares by the other.

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at Harrisburg, Pa., the headquarters of the recruiting service of the Second Corps. The Governor and the General were soon in correspondence. January 16 General Hancock wrote that he was authorized to fill up the Second Corps to 50,000 men, and had been instructed to correspond with the governors of the states to which the regiments of the corps belonged. "The First Minnesota of your state," wrote General Hancock, "is in the Second Corps, and I am anxious to do all I can to fill it up."

Governor Miller replied that he would do all he could in the premises, "but the great difficulty is," said he, "that as I am informed, the regiment will not re-enlist unless they be permitted to return to the state as a body and are furloughed for 60 or 90 days, instead of the period now established by the Department." The period referred to was only 30 days. It was now the middle of January; ninety days would carry the men forward until the middle of April; the regiment's three years' term expired April 29; if it were furloughed for 90 days, it could not be returned to the field for duty before its term would be out.

General Hancock, February 2, called attention to this feature of the regiment's proposition, and said: "The time of the regiment is so near out that it is now too late to expect the 60 or 90 days' leave to be granted." At the same time, he said he had "tried hard to get the First Minnesota home, believing it to be the only way of insuring the filling up of this distinguished regiment." General Hancock urged the Governor and the other friends of the regiment to make a hearty effort to fill it up, at least to its minimum, so that its organization would be saved and the name of the First Regiment Minnesota Volunteers be perpetuated. Members of the Reg-

THE TALK OF RE-ENLISTING

iment promised to re-enlist if the 90 days' furlough was granted, and Governor Miller assured General Hancock that if the men were allowed to come home for that length of time there would be "such a state of enthusiasm" as would insure the filling of the Regiment.

A thirty days' furlough was granted and the Regiment came home, but out of its 571 members only 43 re-enlisted, and only enough new recruits were secured in the spring of 1864 to make two companies; so the name of First Minnesota Volunteers was lost and the title "First Battalion Minnesota Infantry Volunteers" given to the new organization. In March and April, 1865, seven new companies joined the Battalion, but the war was over two weeks later, and in July they were mustered out after a brief but honorable service.

Unless the men had re-enlisted (in which case they would have been furloughed for thirty days and then returned to duty), the Regiment was as well off, for itself and for the good of the service, in Minnesota as in Virginia. The campaign of 1864 did not open before May 1, and by that time the Regiment's time expired by limitation. In the meanwhile there were no military movements made by the Division to which the First Minnesota belonged. All that would have been required of it, had it remained with the Army of the Potomac, would have been the routine duties of camp life, to keep its quarters clean, to perform guard and fatigue duty, and to draw and eat its rations. It was mainly owing to the presentation of the facts by General Hancock, that no important military movements were imminent, that the First Minnesota's term of enlistment had nearly expired, that its record of service was brilliant with splendid achievements, and that the only hope of

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securing its further services was its furlough, that the Regiment was allowed to leave the field.

Lieutenant Shepard's diary has this notation:

“February 4, 1864—Am relieved from duty as aide de camp on Colonel Carroll's staff, to go to Minnesota with the First Regiment to be mustered out. One Lieut. William McKinley* of the Twenty-third Ohio, was assigned to take my place. I was his senior in rank at the time, but never since!”

*Afterwards President McKinley.

CHAPTER LIII.

HOME—HONORABLE DISCHARGE.

ON the 5th of February, 1864, the Regiment, pursuant to the orders of the War Department, left its camp near Stevensville and set out for Minnesota. The other regiments of the old First Brigade turned out in its honor and to bid it God-speed. At this time the veterans of the First Minnesota, Nineteenth Maine, Fifteenth Massachusetts, and Eighty-second New York regarded one another as brethren dwelling in unity and with fond memories.

That brigade, the old Gorman brigade, was a noble organization. The Thirty-fourth New York and Kirby's Battery should have been with it all the way through, but it was a grand phalanx all the same. It did a great deal for the Union cause.

From its camp near Stevensville the Regiment marched to Brandy Station, on the Orange & Alexandria Railroad, where so much cavalry fighting was done. Here it embarked on the cars, in a few hours was in Washington, and before dark was snugly quartered in the "Soldiers Rest," an institution where Union soldiers passing through the city were given food and shelter.

Honors were showered upon the Regiment from start to finish of its journey homeward. On the evening of February 6 it was given a grand and sumptuous banquet at the National Hotel in Washington. This mark of honor and distinction was bestowed by prominent men of the city and nation who knew the reputation of the First Minnesota and thought nothing too good for the men that had made it. The most distinguished men of the country sat

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at the table with the 309 members of the Regiment who were present.

Colonel Colvill, still lame and sore from his Gettysburg wounds, could not stand upon his feet, and was carried into the banquet hall by Capt. Thos. Sinclair, of the Stillwater Company (B) and Sergt. John G. Merritt, of the Winona Company (K), and was greeted with hearty cheers. The leading notables present were Hon. William Windom, of Winona, then Representative in Congress from the First Minnesota District, and who presided; Ignatius Donnelly, the other Representative; Cyrus Aldrich and J. W. Taylor, then prominent officials; Hannibal Hamlin, the Vice President, representing President Lincoln; Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War; John P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior; James M. Edmunds, Commissioner of the General Land Office; Mr. Morton, the Commissioner of Agriculture; Senators Zach Chandler of Michigan, James Harlan of Iowa, and James H. Lane of Kansas; John W. Forney, Secretary of the Senate; George A. Brackett and Wm. S. King, postmaster of the House of Representatives. The last two, Geo. A. Brackett and Bill King, as they were familiarly known, were warm friends of the Regiment. They always went out of their way to honor it and to befriend a member of it. On this occasion, too, they were largely instrumental in arranging the striking testimonial.

At the heads of the tables were the tattered battle flags of the Regiment, with so much of history within their ragged folds. These were saluted and toasted, as were the men who had borne them and defended them. Fervently patriotic and highly laudatory speeches of the record of the Regiment were delivered by nearly every one of the distinguished guests, and letters full of praise and good words for the men of

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the First Minnesota were read from Secretaries Wm. H. Seward and Salmon P. Chase and from Postmaster General Montgomery Blair. Of course the men were feasted sumptuously and praised almost extravagantly, and bidden a hearty God-speed to their homes.

From Washington the Regiment came by railroad, via Chicago, to La Crosse. En route the loyal people gave it enthusiastic greetings at every station where cars were changed or a lengthy stop made. La Crosse was then the nearest railroad station to Minnesota of any outside of the state. So far as Minnesota was concerned, there were no inter-state railroads then. The only road it had was intra-state, running between St. Paul and a little beyond Minneapolis. (Anoka.) La Crosse was the ne plus ultra of railroad transportation to the Northwest.

But at La Crosse the foresight and patriotism of Capt. Russell Blakely, then superintendent of the great Northwestern Transportation Company, had prepared for the emergency of conveying the soldiers to their homes. He had a sufficient number of his company's large, comfortable and well-appointed sleighs, staunch and swift-running, to carry every soldier in comfort and by fast time back to Minnesota. There were plenty of buffalo robes and blankets, and no danger of freezing. The air was only sharp and crisp enough to make it inspiring and blood-tingling to the boys who had stood picket at Mine Run in zero weather. Col. Alveron Allen, the well known prince of hosts in the Northwest, and so long identified with the Merchants Hotel, St. Paul, had charge of the joyous caravan.

The way was over the ice of the Mississippi, smooth and easy as if it had been shaven with a scythe and leveled with a roller. The ice was three feet thick, and would have borne up a railroad

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train. And how joyous the Minnesota people were "when Johnnie came marching home." The horses that drew the sleighs seemed to know that it was up to them to break the time record between La Crosse and St. Paul, and they ran as if in a chariot race.

The Regiment was rapturously welcomed and bountifully feasted at Winona and Hastings, each of which towns had a company in it, and it was also royally received en route at all the other towns where it halted. Its reception at St. Paul amounted to a magnificent ovation. It was re-quartered in the comfortable barracks at Fort Snelling, and for weeks, notwithstanding the cold weather, the men were visited and entertained by their admiring friends until they were fairly indulged and petted. The ordinary camp duties were made as light as possible, and there was little else for the men to do in a military sense but to rest on the laurels which they had so fairly but so hardly won. About 45 of the men re-enlisted; the remainder were to be discharged April 29, three years from the time of their enlistment.

April 28 there was a grand review of the Regiment at Fort Snelling by Gov. Stephen Miller, the former lieutenant colonel, who addressed the men in a speech which Lochren has preserved in his history. Lieutenant Colonel Adams, in active command of the organization during Colonel Colvill's disability, made a most befitting response to the governor's address. Colonel Colvill was present, reclining in a carriage, and was affectionately greeted.

On May 3d, 4th and 5th, 1864, those whose terms had expired and who had not re-enlisted were honorably mustered out of the service. A few days later followed the discharge of those who had filled up the ranks when the First Minnesota had changed from a

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three months' to a three years' regiment. And here ends the history of the First Regiment of Minnesota Volunteer Infantry. Its members had fought a good fight, they had finished their course, they had kept the faith, and they had made a record that will be glorified by the loyal people of Minnesota as long as heroism is admired and patriotism is cherished and honored.

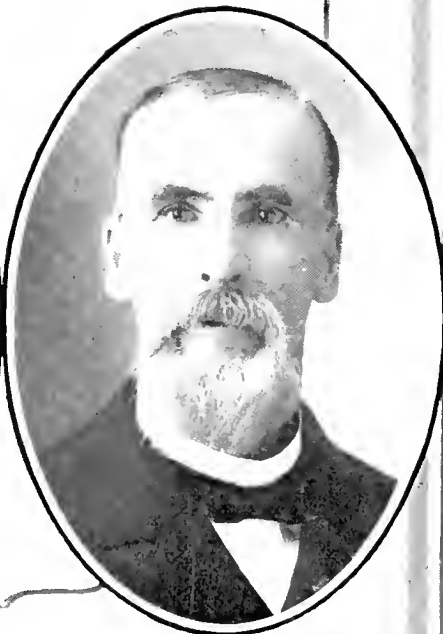




Capt. C. B. HEFFELFINGER



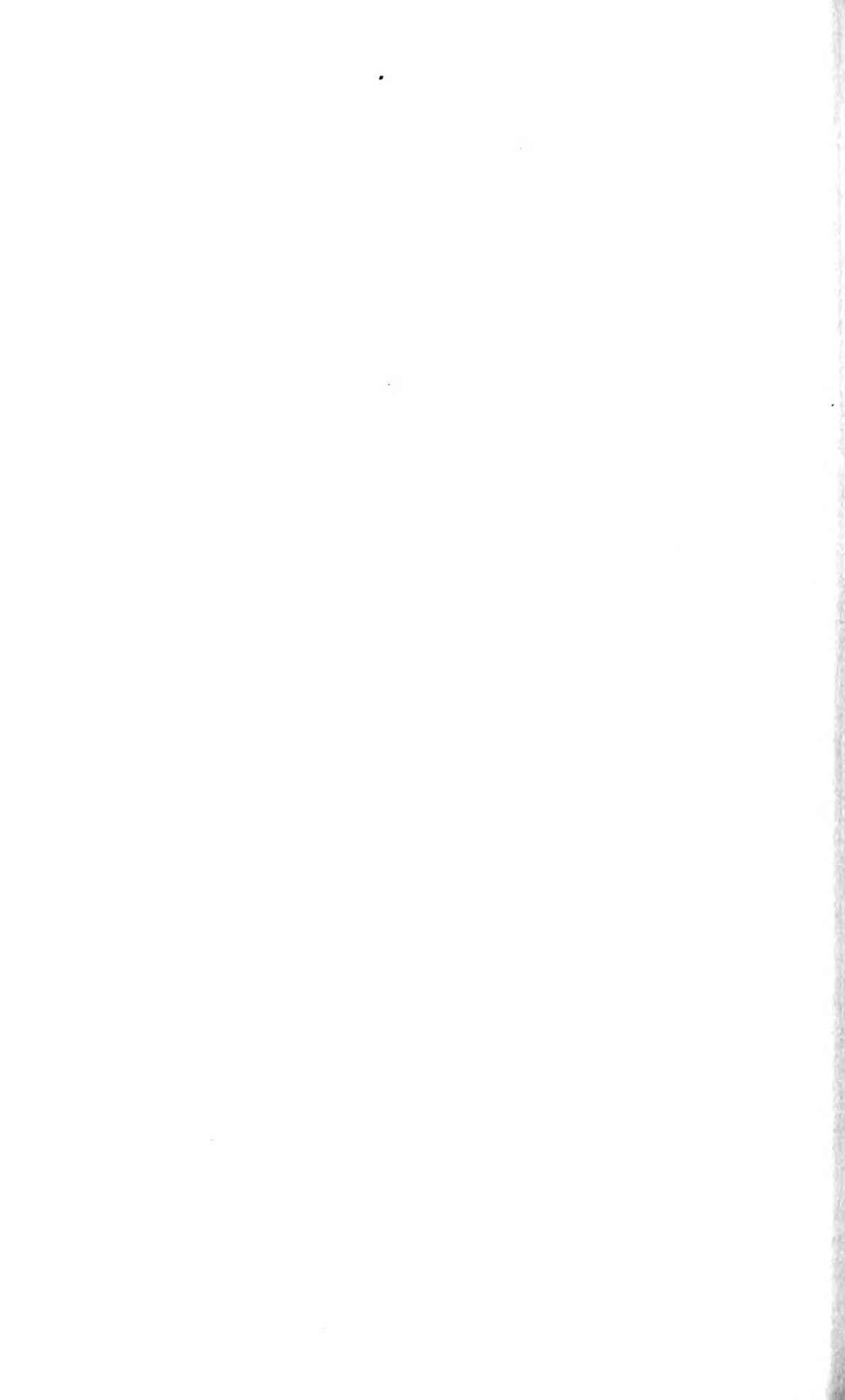
Capt. J. N. SEARLES



Corp. M. F. TAYLOR

CAPT. C. B. HEFFELFINGER, CAPT. J. N. SEARLES AND
CORP. M. F. TAYLOR ARE THE MEMBERS OF THE
"COLVILL COMMISSION" WHO HAD CHARGE
OF THE PREPARATION OF THIS HISTORY.

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WHEN this work was undertaken it was expected to include a short account of the regimental reunions that the survivors have held since soon after the war; also a number of addresses delivered by distinguished men on those and other occasions.

Economical considerations have compelled an abandonment of most of those expectations. There follow, however, certain addresses that it has been possible to preserve in this history.

While it may be said that none of these addresses have anything to do with the organization—as a then active body of soldiers—and hence could have been omitted with propriety, still they are so connected with occasions, either intimate or official, where the survivors were present, that we feel no hesitation in giving them space.

It is more difficult to explain why many addresses not here found, have been omitted.

The situation finally led the compilers to confine their selection to the more important addresses given on OFFICIAL OCCASIONS, except in one instance, where the address was given at a camp-fire.

Had the financial situation warranted it, the compilers would have most gladly included addresses given by Major Maginnis, Hon. Dan Lawler at the reunion in St. Paul where the citizens of that city organized a grand reception and program, and Hon. Loren Fletcher at Gettysburg, as well as Hon. Wm. Lochren at the same place.

They were all worthy of preservation, and the survivors of the regiment hold those gentlemen in grateful remembrance for their generous treatment on those occasions.

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APPENDIX I.

Address of Hon. Cushman K. Davis (U. S. Senator from Minnesota) delivered at Gettysburg battlefield on July 2, 1897, at the ceremonies attending the unveiling of the monument erected to commemorate and identify the place of the immortal "charge" made by the regiment on July 2, 1863.

HOW lovingly Peace, enrobed in her imperial mantle of golden harvests, reigns over this delicious landscape! The refulgent armor of war now rusts beneath our feet. The cannon that we see here in position among the ranks which sleep in the invincible array of death, are silent forever. Peace now holds an unbroken sway over our dear land. And yet thirty-four years ago today she fled affrighted from this scene. The fiery chariots of War were reaping here her fields and were gathering a harvest of men into that tabernacle of never-ending rest, wherein all grains and fruits and flowers and men and all living things must be garnered at last.

And you, the gray survivors of one of the most glorious deeds of arms ever wrought by men, have come to this field of your glory and your country's renown, with your wives, your children and your children's children to post upon an everlasting station the bronze soldier, in whom the genius of Fjelde has commemorated your valor in that headlong charge of oh! so few and yet so brave, which stopped, and confused the serried ranks of thousands of valiant men of your own blood, which broke against the bulwarks of the Union like a long and foaming wave from an irresistible and exasperated sea. They numbered thousands; you but two hundred and sixty-two. When you completed that awful bayonet charge two hundred and fifteen of you lay bleeding on the ground; only forty-seven were unhurt, but they stood in line, and not one man was missing.

Nearly 160,000 men fronted each other here. Neither waged a war of foreign invasion. They were brothers, deeply angered. But that brotherhood was an assurance of fraternal reunion at some time when war should cease and the resistless forces of recon-

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ciliation should assert themselves, as they have done, thanks be to Him who has guided and protected this nation.

These armies were undoubtedly the best the world has ever known. They were commanded with consummate skill. The individual intelligence of the rank and file was never surpassed. The result was an intelligent valor of the soldier obeying and executing with the force of co-operative knowledge the trained and instructed genius of his commanders.

Neither army was fighting for a monarchy or to establish one. Each was pouring out its blood for its own constitutional government—for the right of man to govern himself in a republic. This fact is ever to be remembered in considering the philosophy of that great war. The irritating cause which produced it never for a moment seduced the men of either side from allegiance to the constitutional conception of their forefathers that governments exist only by the consent of the governed, and this right can be most efficaciously established and preserved by an elective republic. That supreme allegiance bound even rebellion by its higher law. And it was this transcendental fealty which so soon reunited us in one family by the combined efforts of men in whom hostility has been appeased, and closed that awful chasm which our evil-wishers abroad predicted would always divide us by a fixed and impassable gulf. The same earthquake force which opened that abyss closed it again, and we stand now, here and everywhere, upon solid ground,—holy ground here, because it is a tomb where the hosts of valor and patriotism have “set up their everlasting rest.” It is also a field of resurrection whence has risen the Genius of a restored Union.

The request that I should speak here today was sudden and unexpected. It was made only last evening. I had intended to be merely a reverent spectator of this impressive ceremonial. To make my task more difficult I was asked to indicate some of the general bearings of this battle upon our history and destiny. I was entitled to time to prepare

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for such a task. Even then it would be difficult to generalize upon an occasion which by its appeals to the feelings and the imagination almost disables one from any attempt at dispassionate speculation.

Most battlefields are mere slaughter-places. A few, and they are very few, in the long tract of history, have been the sources of human right and political regeneration. Herein is the difference between mere dynastic massacre and holy sacrifice. It is the difference between the Coliseum and the Temple. We revere Marathon, where the Oriental polity embodied in Persia was forever prohibited from extending its sway over Europe. We see that our present civilization, and, perhaps, Christianity itself, were contended for and there triumphed, although they then existed only in the designs of Providence. Pericles at Marathon and Lincoln at Gettysburg are separated by two thousand five hundred years; yet, nevertheless, their matchless orations on those consecrated battlefields are understood in all ages and by all men as the sacred utterances of the great primates of national independence and individual liberty. Over the dead of Thermopylae were inscribed the lines: "Go, stranger, and tell it in Lacedaemon that we died here in obedience to her laws." The same epitaph and message could rightfully be cut in every monument upon this field.

We know that religious freedom and personal liberty triumphed at Lutzen by the sacrificial atonement of the battle wherein the great Swedish king gave up his life. At Yorktown, where the stars of America shone through the lilies of France, republican institutions upon this hemisphere were assured forever, and the foundations of the present French Republic were laid invisibly to the builders. Here and at Vicksburg, on nearly the same day, Justice weighed in her golden scales, which impended over either army, the recompense and trophies of righteous victories by which were confirmed to this people much that had been won in the other fields of which I have spoken.

The Fourth of July depended here. Should it

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ever be observed again was a militant question on that day. The fight was whether such a republic as the United States could endure anywhere upon the earth. The Constitution of the United States was set in the cloudless sky of that July day like the Cross that stood in the heavens over the army of Constantine. Every beneficent and indispensable element of self-government was at stake in that great wager of battle. For, although I have said, and said truly, that each army fought for constitutional self-government as a republic, it is none the less true that the division of this Union into two republics would have been the precursor of not only their downfall, but of the impossibility of such a form of government anywhere. I regret that the limitations of this occasion restrict me to mere assertion of this opinion. I will merely say that this is true, or all history is false, that the Northern and Southern republics would in time have exterminated each other with the assistance of those Powers, which, since our Civil War, have made Europe a fortified camp in a time of peace, have created navies that bridge the seas, have appropriated every island in every ocean, Hawaii excepted, have invaded Mexico, have partitioned Africa, have subjugated Madagascar, have diminished China, have threatened South America, and of whose hopes and designs your victory on this field was a defeat.

Slavery came to an end. It was necessary that it should. Nobody now regrets its extinction. Lincoln's emancipation proclamation was confirmed and made valid here by blood. Every cannon-shot, every musket-ball, every saber-stroke fell upon four millions of shackles. There was not a slave from the James river to the everglades of Florida and the canefields of Louisiana who did not feel that those blows were shattering the fetters that bound him. The cause of all our woes was nullified and secession seceded from all function in our institutions or our destiny.

The full industrial development of our people was fought for and achieved in this battle. The North and the South were distracted as to each other by

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contentious social and industrial organizations, which arrested that development in the South and impeded it in the North. Necessarily slavery confined production to primary articles from the soil. There was and could be, within the area which it cultivated, little or no change of form in the products of the earth before they reached the market. Slaves could not be safely trained up to the degree necessary to effect the transformation of the primary product into its ultimate manufactured forms. The result was a changeless simplicity of social and industrial structure. Increase of complexity is an indispensable condition and result of progressive and higher civilization. This is true throughout nature—the greater the complexity, the higher the type. It was lacking with us.

Another result of these antagonistic elements was a primeval simplicity of commercial exchanges by which the products of the South were marketed. They were exchanged in distant markets and by a system equivalent to barter, wasteful and almost barbaric. It necessarily so resulted. It is so no longer and can never be so again. This nation is now one producing unit and the South is rapidly taking her place as the manufacturer of her own primary products up through all degrees of change in form.

With this abolition of contentious and dissociating forces our population has increased to more than twice that of both North and South in 1860. Our physical power has been multiplied much more. As to resources, nothing before the war affords any standard of comparison. It is merely contrast. Intelligence has increased diffusively, and Wisdom has come with it. Inventions that save labor, make common life luxurious, preserve health, extirpate disease, utilize the waste things of other times, and impress the most occult, subtle and powerful forces of Nature into a disciplined service, have added their puissant might to this great development of a people everywhere fitted to receive and use them.

Nothing remains that can produce schism as

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slavery did. There is an aggressive patriotism in the South that delights me, a belief in the power of the United States, a confidence in its expansive destiny, alacrity in maintaining the interests, honor and dignity of the nation. I shall never forget when riot was developing by evolution into treason in Chicago and elsewhere three years ago that there was no dissonance in the universal voice that went up from every part of this nation for the supremacy of the Constitution and the enforcement of the laws, and that after a Northern senator, and Senator Gordon, whose sword fell heavily upon you here, had denounced the violators of public order, an eminent Confederate, who fought on this very field—it was Senator Daniel, of Virginia—rose in his place in the Senate, and offered the resolution which strengthened the hands of the President in repressing the most dangerous attack (excepting one) upon law, order and public and private stability that was ever made in our history.

But I must bring these desultory remarks to a close. (Cries: Don't stop; go on.) Well, I will go on briefly upon this same line. I am anxious to impress upon the minds of this audience that civil dissension must end some time if the nation is to endure. We can leave censure to the jurisdiction of history. Recrimination and reconciliation cannot co-exist. The victor does not need to recriminate, least of all on this spot. All civil wars end and must end in forbearing reconciliation. It was so in England. It was so in France. So it must be with us. Facing me across the table of the committee on military affairs were Coekrell, vigilant in peace as in war; Bate, who was grievously wounded at Nashville. I think; Walthall, who stood between us and the retreating army of Bragg at Chickamauga like a wall of iron. These patriotic statesmen, soldiers, gentlemen, concurred most heartily in the proposition that the United States should buy and adorn this and other historic fields whereon their cause was lost.

I mention these facts because this is an appropri-

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ate occasion to recognize the accomplished result that this is a reconciled people, a reunited nation. Teach every listener to whom you speak that that is what you fought for here thirty-four years ago and that it has come to pass. It is the greatest of your victories.

We stand in the vestibule of the twentieth century. The last one hundred years measure a human development more vastly expansive than any preceding century. The greater part of this has been accomplished since 1865. The entire world has moved forward and upward in this advancing movement. The United States has unquestionably led in this great evolution. That it has done so is largely due to the valor of the Union army, the wisdom of her statesmen, and more than all else combined, to the intelligence and patriotism of a reunited people. The passion and partisanship of politics are no longer sectional. The century into which we are about to enter (and long may you survive to witness its wonders), will bring to man as an individual, greater personal benefits than he has ever yet enjoyed. The efforts of our forefathers were necessarily restricted to securing political independence, and to confirm their glorious success the exertions of their descendants have been in the main directed. Everything in that respect is now secure beyond attack, beyond dispute, if not beyond envy. The twentieth century will concern itself more with the personal well-being of man in his industrial and social relations. In the meantime this nation will grow in power even beyond the precedent of its own example. As that century shall progress men, women and children will stand on this sacred spot among these hallowed graves and speak reverently to each other of the deeds of their fathers here performed, by which human liberty was secured and the Union made perpetual and indivisible.

APPENDIX II.

Address of Hon. J. B. Gilfillan of Minneapolis, at a regimental camp-fire held by the survivors, at Minneapolis, Minn., 1906

MAJOR MAGINNIS: I take pleasure in now introducing another member of the First Minnesota—one whose name is known to you all. I have the honor of introducing Judge Gilfillan.

John B. Gilfillan then spoke as follows:
Ladies and Gentlemen, Old Soldiers, and Veterans:

It is always with feeling of profound reverence that I come to speak of or to the veterans of our Civil War, and I shall not expect, in what I say, in any eulogium I can pronounce—to add one iota to the luster and glory which they have already achieved by their own valor and patriotism.

It is over two-score years since the pronouncement of war fell upon us like a clap of thunder from a clear sky. Threats had been made, but no one believed that the action would follow. No sooner was Sumter fired upon, however, than we found at once a cordon of citizen soldiery stretching from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi river and beyond, one-half clad in blue, the other half in gray. And whether you speak of the deeds and valor of the one or the other, it matters not; the whole world looked on and wondered at the achievements which they made.

The Federal army had no mean enemy to face. The two armies were of one blood, of one people, of one education, of one civilization, and they both fought as armies never fought before. The splendid moral courage that actuated the Union forces was a spectacle to behold. The task they sought to achieve was declared, by the nations of the earth, impossible of achievement. But the same God of nations that ruled in the days of the Patriarchs is still ruling, and it had been decreed in the wisdom and providence and mercy of the Almighty that the foul blot

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which had rested upon our nation's history, and upon its escutcheon, should be wiped out, even if it must be wiped out in blood. This was not thought of in our limited vision at the beginning of the war, but it became an incident in the progress of events. The integrity of the Union, the entity of the nation, was, to those who administered its affairs, the object and end of the war, but its absorbing incident, became, seemingly, a necessary means to that end. However, it was decreed that those who fought for freedom and liberty, and this noble government of ours, should win. And their deeds and their valor were ultimately rewarded with victory, and this great nation was saved a union to us and to our posterity.

But we are here tonight to do honor to one single regiment—the regiment of all the regiments that stands nearest to us all in Minnesota, a regiment to which I myself belonged for two months, but the condition of my health at that time forbade enlistment for the term of three years, and so I can claim none of the glory which was achieved by those who went to the front. Well do I remember the day that that first regiment rallied at Fort Snelling, the 29th of April, 1861—a bright clear day, like the one today, and our companies gathered at Fort Snelling, ten in number, composing a full regiment. The members of that regiment who had volunteered were near to the hearts, not only of the speaker who preceded me, but of everybody. Everybody was determined to do what they could to save this Union from annihilation. Some had been Republicans, some had been Democrats; but we knew no such distinction, for there wasn't any. My friend in the chair (Major Maginnis) was a Democrat, I was a Republican. But we didn't know any difference then, and I don't know as there is much difference now, because I have come to the conclusion that about all there is to politics is the question of good government. (Applause.)

The regiment went forward as has been described to you, and I will not take the time to go any further into the details of that; but it went forward and it fought on over twenty battle-fields, and

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its blood was shed. You see the names of those battles emblazoned upon the walls of this hall tonight. It served through the whole Army of the Potomac, sharing in all the hardships and battles during those three long years to '64, a service which reached its highest culmination, perhaps, at Gettysburg—a service there which astonished the world. As that Spartan band at Thermopylae glorified the history of Greece and the character of her people, so did that matchless charge at Gettysburg glorify the name of Minnesota and the Minnesota First Regiment. (Applause.) The regiment went out with 1,042 men, supplemented later by 243 recruits, and going into that charge with less than 300, it came out of it with less than a tenth of that number. We have reason to believe and claim that their part in that charge was the pivot upon which the success or failure of the battle of Gettysburg was determined, and the determination of that battle virtually determined the Civil War. There was the pivot upon which the whole clash of arms turned, and from that day forward the Union Army was as a rule successful.

Few of the First Minnesota are left to share in the joy of this reunion. The gladness of this occasion is chastened by the numerous vacancies by battle and the years since the war, and it will be but a few more years that we can have the privilege of meeting in any number, these old veterans, our choice friends and neighbors. They have won a fame to which none can add. Their history and their glories are written in that four years' service, and it will stand as a beacon light in the history of the wars of the world. We cannot add to it, or detract from it, but we can realize this: That they accomplished a greater work, if possible, than they who achieved our independence at the beginning, when they saved to us this united government, our great nation, which has expanded and which will still expand until it shall become the glory of the whole world. (Applause.)

We have, thank God, a few of the survivors of

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the old First with us here tonight, and to them I wish to say, the country owes you and your comrades in arms, more than tongue can tell, and as a final word to you on this occasion I wish to say, all hail, and God bless you, all hail and God bless you, one and all.

APPENDIX III.

Presentation address of Capt. J. N. Searles, in behalf of the Colvill Monument Commission, at the unveiling of the Colvill statue in the capitol, Feb. 25, 1909.

YOUR Excellency the Governor, Mr. Speaker,
Comrades and Ladies and Gentlemen:

A little over fifty years ago the people of the Territory of Minnesota adopted a state constitution and were admitted, by Congress, into full fellowship with sister states of the Union.

Scarcely had the young commonwealth become accustomed to its new relationship, when it was called upon to contribute its quota of men to defend the integrity of that Union, by the outbreak of the Civil War.

So rapidly did that contest extend in point of territory and so prolonged was the conflict, that it was found, on the successful termination of the struggle, that this state had furnished over 22,000 men to swell the armies of the Union.

It has been the delight of every people, in every age, to recall, for themselves and their posterity, the recollection of any event that reflected honor upon their race or nation.

This desire has mainly found expression in the erection of memorials commemorating services of distinguished citizens, or preserving the location or historical significance of important events.

In response to this sentiment, the various states contributing, in that critical period of our national history, to the preservation of the national government, have erected monuments on all the more important battlefields of the rebellion.

This state has thus honored itself and dutifully memorialized the sacrifices made by its citizen soldiers on the battlefields of Shiloh, Chickamauga, Vicksburg, Gettysburg and Mission Ridge.

So far, however, little, if anything, has been done within the limits of our state, to perpetuate the

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memories of the Minnesota Volunteers who so gallantly sustained the honor of the state in all the decisive conflicts of that momentous struggle.

During the period which has elapsed since those eventful days, the state has rapidly developed its natural resources and population to such an extent that longer delay in discharging the laudable duty is no longer necessary.

Accordingly, when it was known, upon the completion of this beautiful capitol, that provision had been made for installing therein monuments commemorating the glorious acts of its citizens, it was considered eminently proper for the survivors of the First Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers to inaugurate a movement to install in this building a monument commemorating the services of that organization.

It seemed fit that such movement should be started by the first regiment, for it was the first organization sent out of the state to the support of the Union; it was the first regiment tendered to President Lincoln on the outbreak of the Civil War, and its service, during three years in the Army of the Potomac was such as to reflect great credit upon itself and the state.

Without assuming any pre-eminence over other gallant organizations that gloriously sustained the honor of the state during that critical period of the national life, the Regimental Association of the First Regiment, at its meeting in 1906, appointed a committee to solicit, from the legislature, an appropriation sufficient to erect a monument in memory of the regiment.

This monument, it was thought, should be a statue of its commanding officer on the second day of the battle of Gettysburg—Col. William Colvill. There was no invidious distinction in this selection, for, although the regiment had, during its service, other distinguished commanding officers, yet this officer was considered the nearest ideal to a Minnesota Volunteer.

Without military training when he entered the service, he applied himself so conscientiously to the

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study of his duties, and proved himself on all occasions so fit to do the work assigned to him and uniformly conducted himself so free from reproach or fear, that it was the general consensus of opinion that the monument should perform the double function of memorializing the regiment and its most characteristic commander.

In response to the request made by the committee thus appointed, the legislature, most promptly and generously, appropriated the sum of ten thousand dollars, to be expended in installing such a monument in this beautiful capitol and another at the grave of Colonel Colvill at Cannon Falls, and authorized the governor of the state to appoint a commission to carry into effect this plan.

This commission was, at the outset, confronted with the problem of determining who should prepare the model for this work. They communicated with artists in the East who had established reputations for successful work of this character, but, when it was disclosed that the monument was to possess portrait characteristics, and the amount of the appropriation was limited as stated, it was found impossible to interest any of them in the undertaking.

Accordingly the commission turned their attention to artists nearer home, and with such success that they finally awarded to Mrs. Geo. J. Backus, of Minneapolis, the task of preparing this model.

This lady has, in the judgment of the commission—in which they are supported by the opinion of experts more competent to judge—most successfully discharged this task, and her work now stands in one of the niches on this second floor of this building.

We regard her work as a most satisfactory example of portraiture in plastic art, and worthy to stand forth in the future as a memorial of a glorious past and an incentive to posterity to emulate, in its standard of citizenship, the example of the men, who, through the great strife to maintain the Union, on every field of battle, from every loyal state, immortalized the citizen soldiery of the Union.

APPENDIX IV.

Address of Mr. James J. Hill, read at the ceremonies for unveiling a statue of the late William Colvill, Colonel of the First Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers, in the state capitol at St. Paul, Minnesota, March 31, 1909.

WE have met today to honor the memory of one of our country's modest heroes, to commemorate the deeds of his gallant comrades in arms, to recall once more that great occasion which gave to him and those who fought side by side with him, enduring fame. A nation or a state is at its best upon occasions such as this. The strife of party and of persons ceases. Selfish interests stand aside. For the moment the things that occupy our days of action are hushed.

The patriot whose name this memorial bears was one of those direct and simple men who rise so often to the level of great acts. Outside of his military record, the life of Colonel Colvill reads as modestly as even he would have desired. He was born at Forestville, New York, in 1830. He came to Minnesota in the early fifties, and settled at Red Wing in 1854. He was a quiet, scholarly, unpretentious man filled with the faith of patriotic duty. Nowhere did the flame of devotion burn more brightly or more steadily than among the scattered people of the frontier. Minnesota was one of the newest and most sparsely peopled of all the States. Yet the first offer of help in the dark days of 1861, the first definite proposal by a State to put men in the field in defense of the Union and of human freedom, was made by our war governor, Alexander Ramsey. And among the first to respond was this unknown young lawyer of Red Wing, who raised there a body of recruits, constituting Company F of the immortal First Minnesota, and he became their captain.

The details of his life thereafter are known to you all; part of a proud and grave inheritance. Captain Colvill became Colonel Colvill in 1863. From first to

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last he took part in more than thirty battles. First wounded in the fiery baptism with which the war opened at Bull Run, he commanded his regiment from the first battle of Fredericksburg until that bloody charge at Gettysburg left him wounded on the field. After his days of service were over, he returned quietly to the simple life he loved. When the battle flags were about to be removed from the old capitol to the new, the veterans of the First Minnesota came to escort that tattered ensign to its home in this stately pile. Their old leader met with them, spent the evening with comrades at the Soldiers' Home and when the morning came he had answered another and a final call.

His virtues need no other commemoration than this simple statement of facts, and the tried and lasting affection of those who were near to him in life. It was characteristic of him, of his sanity and largeness of mind, that he coveted no public recognition. He declared, when a brevet brigadier generalship was offered to him, that he would rather die as Colonel of the old First Minnesota. It is thus that he lives in history and in the hearts of his fellow men. It is this indissoluble association with the little troop of heroes whose fame can never die, that he chose as his chief title to distinction. This is the proudest word written upon the monument which attests the appreciation and gratitude of another generation, knowing only by tradition the stern days through which he lived. His life touched its high tide when he shouted the "Charge" that sent the First Minnesota to death and glory where the Nation's future was wavering in the balance.

Today's ceremonies would lose meaning and fail in justice if they did not make that one historic event their center; if they did not reunite the dead and the living by joining in honor and praise the commander in whose name this monument is reared and the men who followed him; a few of whom, in ranks more fatally thinned by time than by the bullets of the enemy, are still with us to live again that day of unfading glory. Time has detracted nothing from the achievement of the First Minnesota. The

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further we recede from the moment when they threw themselves without wavering into the jaws of death—the more we compare it with other feats of arms that have been celebrated in song and story—the more distinguished and incomparable it appears. It is unique not only in the history of our nation but in the records of all warfare in modern history. It is not our personal pride, or the disposition to exalt our own, but the official record that gives to the regiment which shares with its old leader today the affection and reverence of all, its station in the hall of earthly fame.

The day was the crisis of the War of the Rebellion, and the hour was the crisis of a memorable attempt to strike a swift, straight blow through the living body of the Union that should leave it helplessly dissevered. The whole country thrilled with comprehension of what this battle meant; of what must follow should Gettysburg have the same ending as Bull Run. Not then would victory have found the forces of the South incapable of utilizing it to the full. Because of the danger of this supreme effort to reach the heart of the nation, Gettysburg is one of the decisive names that these four years of strife wrote indelibly into our history.

Equally significant and fateful was the moment that flashes into every man's thought and fills his heart with pride as he realizes the significance of the monument which we are here to dedicate. Like all great things, it and all that it involved were very simple. The corps of Sickles had been defeated and forced backward. To this point of disaster reinforcements were hurrying, but they would arrive too late unless the oncoming legions could be checked. Were this not done, the Union line would be practically cut in two, the army's flank turned and the day's ending could hardly be doubtful. To save it must be the work of a moment. To hold back the whole body of the enemy, supported by their batteries and wild with success and the desire of victory, only the handful of men of the First Minnesota were available. On that single chance these men staked their

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lives, accomplished the seemingly impossible, and decided the fortunes not only of that day but perhaps of years of war.

The glory of it is that they went down into the valley of death not doggedly but bravely; holding life cheap in comparison with their duty and their cause. Because of the great courage with which they faced their fate, they accomplished results out of all proportion to their numbers. There was a mental shock from the possibility of such a charge, as effective as the impact of bullet or bayonet. And so moral and physical heroism joined forces and kept the field until the critical moment had passed, the reinforcements appeared and the day was saved. Then not broken or swallowed up, not yielding themselves prisoners, when their work was done, the small remnant of survivors, only forty-seven in all, with their colors still in their possession and their spirit unsubdued, retired because they were ordered back and their task accomplished. On that bloody field they left their colonel and every field officer either dead or wounded. There they left 215 of the 262 men who had followed the command to charge. Not a man was unaccounted for. Not one had flinched upon that terrible day.

When we place their act upon a pedestal so high and decorate it with unstinted praise we do not exaggerate the bare fact. It has been called "a feat of arms unparalleled in the annals of modern warfare;" and such it is not only to the partial eye of friends but by the test of actual comparison. The total loss of the First Minnesota at Gettysburg was 82 per cent. The charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava has stood for most of the English-speaking world as the supreme effort of human valor in a forlorn hope. The "Six Hundred" of Tennyson's poem lost 37 per cent of their number, more being taken prisoners than were killed or wounded. The Imperial Prussian Guards at Gravelotte lost 50 per cent; the Garde-Schuetzen 46 per cent at Metz. But never since Thermopylae has there been in a successful action such a percentage of loss as the First Minnesota

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sustained; never, by the most generous estimate of all the brave deeds of the past, has human courage more completely triumphed. In the procession of the heroes of all ages, the First Minnesota will march at the head of the line.

Who were these men who wrought a deed so fine and lasting? Most were American-born, but the other nationalities that have contributed most to the strength of our composite race were also represented on this roll of fame. They were men who had learned to labor and to endure. Their virtues were large, simple and candid. They saw things straight and the struggle for existence in their daily life has taught them to do things quickly and well. There was no better making of a soldier. The members of the First Minnesota represented the furthest advance of civilization in the Northwest.

For untold generations it will bring pleasure and pride to our descendents as it does to us all to tell this story that cannot grow old. There is no blood so cold, no heart so immersed in the world's cares that does not thrill to it. But to none can it bring the personal touch contributed here and now by the gray hairs, the bent forms, the symbols of honorable age that greet our eyes in the survivors of what was both an age of heroes and an age of chivalry. As long as the nation lives, the memory of that great sacrifice must lend seriousness of purpose and loftiness of aim to the daily work of those who have entered into an inheritance bought with blood and self-sacrifice. As the strength and beauty of the tree grows out of the root, so from the graves of our heroes, from such memories as we are met today to revive, from such honor as we pay to the leader before whose memorial our heads are bared, arise new civic ideals and a will to serve the Republic and keep it for the blessing of our people and the hope of all the earth.

Remembering them and their achievements, we may well be modest. We may well cultivate the qualities of simplicity and sincerity, without which men or nations may be successful but can scarcely be called great. These carried to its triumphant close

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the struggle that convulsed this nation. These especially marked the mightiest leader of them all, who paid to the event this day commemorates, upon the field of Gettysburg, his tribute in words so lofty in their thought and feeling that they must always remain our model. With another of the great, simple thoughts of Abraham Lincoln we may conclude this day's ceremony, taking them with us as we turn again from the past to the present, confronting the day's work, short or long, that awaits us all: "And, having thus chosen our course, without guile and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear and with manly hearts!"

APPENDIX V.

GENERAL SANFORD'S BATTERY.

IN February, 1862, Maj. Gen. H. S. Sanford, our Minister to Belgium, presented through Gov. Alex. Ramsey to the state "for the First Minnesota Volunteers" a small battery consisting of three steel rifled cannon, six-pound caliber, with suitable ammunition.

At that time no other Minnesota troops had been under fire, and no other troops could be mentioned in the presentation.

These guns bear the legend "To the First Minnesota Regiment Volunteers, tribute to patriotism and valor. Brussels, 1861." They are now located on the grounds of the (old) capitol, at St. Paul, Minnesota.

In his letter of presentation General Sanford said:

"The efficiency and discipline of that regiment, as detailed in the public prints and the conspicuous valor displayed by it in the field at Bull Run and Ball's Bluff, won my admiration, and my pride was heightened here in a foreign land by encomiums which its conduct elicited from strangers.

"In our country we have no titles or decorations to bestow as in monarchies. Merit looks for its reward to an appreciating people, and this tribute to patriotism and valor from a fellow citizen may serve to those brave men as an evidence of appreciation, as an encouragement in this great struggle in which they are engaged, and as a lasting testimonial in after times of the admiration which I doubt not is shared by a large majority of our countrymen."

ROSTER

ERRATA

On pages 464 and 480 the heading "Out Mustered" should read, "Mustered Out." On page 468 the heading "Mustered In" in the fourth column of roster should read "Mustered Out."

ROSTER OF THE FIRST REGIMENT OF MINNESOTA VOLUNTEER INFANTRY

THE following roster is taken from the records of the Adjutant General's office at the capitol, St. Paul, Minnesota, and is believed to be as complete as can now be made.

Captain Hummiston, who has had charge of the military records for the various military organizations of the state, has labored faithfully for years in compiling information of this character for all the Minnesota troops and is entitled to great credit for his industry and perseverance. Owing to names having been spelled, at times, in different ways, the particular spelling here adopted represents his best judgment.

At the burning of the old capitol many original records were lost, but from those preserved and other sources, the following is believed to be substantially correct, and in some respects will be found to vary from Lieutenant Lochren's roster of the regiment published in "Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars."

It will be observed that this roster does not, in some instances, make note of services rendered by some officers assigned to staff duty or to some other command not connected with the regiment, but it is hoped that such instances will be found noted in the body of the work.

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ROSTER OF FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS OF THE FIRST REGIMENT.

Note—Under "Mustered In," in case of officers, dates given are in many cases those of their last commission.

Names.	No.	Mustered		Mustered		REMARKS.
		In.	Out.	In.	Out.	
Colonels—						
Willis A. Gorman.....	46	Apr. 29, '61	Oct. 1, '61	Brig. Gen. 1st Brig., 2d Div., 2d Corps.		
Napoleon J. T. Dana....	39	Oct. 2, '61	Feb. 3, '62	Col.; Brig. Gen.; Maj. Gen. Resigned.		
Alfred Sully.....	.....	Feb. 3, '62	Sept. 26, '62	Brig. Gen. 1st Brig., 2d Div., 2d Corps, Brevet Maj. Gen. Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A.		
George N. Morgan.....	.....	Sept. 26, '62	May 5, '65	Capt. Co. E, Maj., Lieut. Col.; resigned; Brevet Brig. Gen.		
William Colvill.....	.....	May 6, '63	May 4, '64	Capt. Co. F, Maj., Lt. Col.; wnd Glendale and Gettysburg; Bvt. Brig. Gen.		
Lieutenant Colonels—						
Stephen Miller.....	45	Apr. 29, '61	Jan. 18, '61	Col. 7th Minn. Vols., Brig. Gen., Gov. of Minnesota.		
Charles Powell Adams.....	.....	Sept. 26, '62	May 4, '64	Capt. Co. H, Maj.; wnd Bull Run, Malvern, Antietam, Gettysburg; Brevet Brig. Gen.		
Majors—						
William H. Dike.....	47	Apr. 29, '61	Oct. 22, '61	Resigned.		
Mark W. Downie.....	25	May 6, '63	May 4, '64	Q. M., 1st Lt. and Capt. Co. B; wnd. Gettysburg; Lt. Col. 1st Batt.		
Adjutants—						
William B. Leach.....	27	Apr. 29, '61	Feb. 23, '62	1st Lt. Co. H, Capt. and A. A. G. Dana's Brigade.		
John N. Chase.....	26	Oct. 22, '61	.....	1st Serg. and 1st Lieut. Co. E, Capt. Co. H.		
Josias R. King.....	29	July 10, '62	.....	1st Serg.; 2d and 1st Lieut. Co. A, Capt. Co. G.; wnd. Savage Station.		
John Peller.....	31	Jan. 14, '63	May 4, '64	Serg. Maj., 2d Lieut. Co. A; 1st Lieut.; wnd. Gettysburg.		
Quartermasters—						
George H. Woods.....	.....	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 13, '61	Pro. Capt. and C. S. U. S. A., Lieut. Col. and Chief C. S. Sheridan's Corps.		
Mark A. Hoyt.....	.....	Jan. 1, '62	.....	Resigned.		
Francis Faasen.....	.....	July 10, '62	May 4, '64	.....	
Surgeons—						
Jacob H. Stewart.....	.....	Apr. 29, '61	Jan. 23, '62	Captured at Bull; Exam. Surg. at St. Paul.		
William H. Morton.....	.....	Feb. 1, '62	June 23, '63	Med. Director 2d Div., 2d Corps; resigned from dis.		
John B. Le Blond.....	37	Aug. 7, '63	May 4, '64	Asst. Surg., Surg. 1st Battalion.		
Assistant Surgeons—						
Chas. W. Le Boutillier.....	34	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Captured at Bull Run; Surg. 9th Minn. Volunteers.		
Daniel W. Hand.....	.....	July 23, '61	Dec., '65	Brigade Surgeon, charge of general hospitals.		
Edmund J. Pugsley.....	.....	Aug. 29, '62	Aug. 15, '63	Cashiered.		
Peter Gabrielson.....	.....	Feb. 17, '63	May 4, '64	.....	

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS OF THE FIRST REGIMENT—Continued.

Names.	No. of A	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Chaplain—				
Edward D. Neill.....	37	Apl. 29, '61	July 13, '62	Resigned; private sec. to Pres. Lincoln and Johnson.
F. A. Conwell.....	48	Oct. 15, '62	May 4, '61	
Sergeant Majors—				
C. Edward Davis.....		Apl. 29, '61	May 4, '64	2d Lieut. Co. I, 1st Lieut. Co. A; Capt. Co. E.
Edward S. Past.....		Apl. 29, '61		Wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability.
David A. Coffin.....		Apl. 29, '61		1st Lieut. Co. A Oct. 7, '63.
Albert S. Davis.....		Apl. 29, '61		1st Lieut. Co. A Mch 4, '64.
John W. Pvide.....		Apl. 29, '61	May 4, '64	Re-enlisted in 1st Battalion.
Quartermaster Serg'ts—				
William Smith.....		Apl. 29, '61	Nov. 17, '61	Discharged.
Aaron Greenwald.....		Apl. 29, '61		Resigned and trans. to Co. C; killed at Gettysburg.
T. A. Wood.....		Apl. 29, '61	May 4, '64	Company F.
Commissary Sergeants—				
J. Mahoney.....		Apl. 29, '61	Feb. 3, '63	Discharged.
Mathew M. Standish.....		Apl. 29, '61		Resigned and transferred to Co. D May 8, '63.
Jacob Marty.....		Apl. 29, '61		Promoted 1st Lieut. Oct. 3, '63.
Frank Dickinson.....		Apl. 29, '61	May 4, '64	Corp Co. G.
Hospital Stewards—				
James Kirkman.....		Apl. 29, '61		Company C.
G. F. Marble.....		Apl. 29, '61		Appointed Hospital Steward U. S. A.
C. A. Brooks.....	22	June	June 12, '63	Co. L, or 2d Co. Sharpshooters.
Chas. H. Spear.....		Apl. 29, '61	May 4, '64	
Principal Musicians—				
Henry O. Fifield.....		Aug. 16, '63		Company C.
Ezra D. Haskins.....		Aug. 16, '63		Company G.
MUSICIANS.				
Atkinson, Geo.....	23	Apl. 29, '61	Aug. 31, '61	
Collins, Geo. H.....	31	Apl. 29, '61	Aug. 31, '61	Band Leader.
Colling, W. H.....	42	Apl. 29, '61	Aug. 31, '61	General Orders.
Durand, Chas.....	39	June 8,	'61 Aug. 31, '61	General Orders.
Edson, Wm.....	38	Apl. 29, '61	Aug. 31, '61	General Orders.
Graham, Oliver.....	21	Apl. 29, '61	Aug. 31, '61	General Orders.
Hazen, Benj.....	25	May 22,	'61 Aug. 31, '61	General Orders.
Hoffman, C. C.....	32	May 20,	'61 Aug. 31, '61	General Orders.

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ROSTER OF FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS OF THE FIRST REGIMENT—Continued.

Names.	5 60 7	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Hoffman, Peter	24	May 31, '61	Aug. 31, '61	General Orders.
Huntley, Edgar	25	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 31, '61	General Orders.
Ingalls, A. P.	38	May 23, '61	Aug. 31, '61	General Orders.
Jones, J. H.	46	May 29, '61	Aug. 31, '61	General Orders.
Kellogg, M. S.	34	May 29, '61	Jan. 1, '62	General Orders.
Lovejoy, Geo.	23	July 29, '61	Aug. 31, '61	General Orders.
Morgan, Augustus G.	34	May 21, '61	Aug. 31, '61	General Orders.
Meyer, Ernest	30	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 21, '61	General Orders.
Powell, Fletcher B.	42	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 7, '61	General Orders.
Sherman, Stephen A.	25	May 18, '61	Aug. 21, '61	Drum Major.
Stimson, Montcalm J.	26	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 21, '61	General Orders.
Tyner, Haman	19	May 10, '61	Aug. 21, '61	General Orders.
Woodman, Wm. T.	20	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 21, '61	General Orders.

ROSTER OF COMPANY A.

Names.	5 60 7	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
OFFICERS				
Captains—				
Alexander Wilkin	29	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Pro. Major 2d Minn. Sept. 18, '61.
Coates, Henry C.	28	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	1st Lieut.; Capt., commanded regiment after battle of Gettysburg.
First Lieutenants—				
Charles Zierenberg	28	Sept. 18, '61	.....	2d Lieut.; died Sept. 13, '62, of wnds, at Vienna, Va.
Josias R. King	29	Sept. 14, '62	.....	1st Serg., 2d Lieut., Capt. Co. G; on Gen. Sully's staff, wounded at Savage Station.
C. Edward Davis .....	.....	7, '62	.....	Serg. Major, 2d Lieut.; Co. I, Capt. Co. E.
David A. Coffin	28	Oct. 7, '63	.....	Corp. Co. I, Serg. Major; transferred to Co. K.
Albert S. Davis .....	.....	Apr. 29, '61	Mch. 5, '64	Priv. Co. I, Corp. Co. B, Serg. Maj.; wnd at Bull Run.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY A—Continued.

Names.	d No	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Second Lieutenants—				
John Peller	31	July 19, '62		Serg., Serg. Major, Adjutant; wounded at Gettysburg; transferred to Co. F Oct. '62.
Joseph H. Spencer	29			Serg., drowned Aug. 20, '63, at Alexandria, Va.
August Kruger	29	Apl. 15, '63		
ENLISTED MEN.				
Adams, Hiram	24	May 27, '61		Killed June 29, '62, at Savage Station.
Adams, Lucius A.	27	May 27, '61		Wnd. at Savage Sta.; absent sick on discharge of Regt. Musician.
Asnew, Edward C.	34	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	
Alpers, J. H. A.	24	May 22, '61	June 28, '65	Com. Serg. Wnd. Antietam; enlisted in 1st Battalion.
Becher, William	26	Apl. 29, '61	Mch. 12, '63	Discharged for disability; wounded at Bull Run. Prisoner at Richmond.
Biddle, Abel	25	Apl. 29, '61	Mch. 12, '63	Discharged for disability.
Biest, John	32	Apl. 29, '61		Transferred to V. R. C. Nov. 16, '63
Brown, Frederick A.	37	Apl. 29, '61	Mch. 25, '63	Wounded at Bull Run; taken prisoner.
Brandt, Clark	25	Apl. 29, '61		Died July 21, '63 of wounds at Gettysburg.
Canfield, Lucien F.	21	May 21, '61		Transferred to U. S. Cavalry Oct. 23, '63.
Clark, George B.	20	May 17, '61	July 27, '65	Corp.; wnd. at Bristow; re-enlisted in 1st Battalion.
Clark, Charles F.	24	May 28, '61		Wounded at Bull Run; killed July 21, '61.
Crawley, Timothy	26	Apl. 29, '61		Corp.; wounded at Antietam; killed at Gettysburg.
Dehn, John	25	Apl. 29, '61		Corp.; discharged for wounds at Gettysburg.
Devlin, Mike	21	Sept. 27, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg; re-enlisted 1st Battalion; died April 2, '65.
Dooley, Wm. H. H.	30	Apl. 29, '61		Serg.; wounded at Bull Run.
Doran, Nelson	25	Apl. 26, '61		Re-enlisted in 1st Battalion; died Salisbury prison.
Drake, Charles S.	21	Apl. 29, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg; prisoner Antietam.
Drescher, Ernest	26	May 22, '61		Musician; killed at Bull Run.
Drysdall, Henry C.	20	Apl. 29, '61	July 29, '61	
Edler, Julius	19	Apl. 29, '61		Corp.; killed at Gettysburg.
Eichler, Charles	38	Apl. 29, '61	Feb. 3, '63	Discharged for disability.
Farwell, James C.	28	Apl. 17, '61	Feb. 25, '64	Re-enlisted; Capt. Co. A 1st Battalion.
Farquhar, Daniel H.	27	Apl. 29, '61	May 4, '64	Wounded at Antietam and Gettysburg.
Farquhar, John	30	Oct. 22, '62	June 8, '65	Wnd. at Antietam and Gettysburg; trans. 1st Batt.
Fegar, Jacob	31	Apl. 29, '61	May 4, '64	
Foss, Jay B.	21	Sept. 3, '61	May 10, '63	Discharged for disability.
Freer, Richard W.	20	Apl. 29, '61		Corp.; transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 23, '62.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY A—Continued.

Names.	No. of V.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Fuller, Melville	21	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Hospital nurse.
Gallman, John J.	29	Apr. 29, '61	May 3, '64	Wagoner; re-enlisted in 1st Battalion.
Gibbs, Gates	22	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Geiser, Frederick	31	Sept. 3, '61	.....	Died May 11, '63 of wounds received at Gettysburg.
Glave, Frederick	23	May 22, '61	.....	Wnd. at Gettysburg; absent on discharge of Regt.
Guntzer, Nicholas	26	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Dis. for Disa. from wnd. at Bull Run; pris. Bull Run.
Halsted, John T.	41	Apr. 29, '61	Sept. 1, '62	Killed at Gettysburg.
Hauser, John	30	May 15, '61	.....	.....
Hedapp, George	32	Apr. 29, '61	May 3, '64	Regiment postmaster, Aug. 16, '61.
Hines, Henry C.	23	July 20, '61	.....	Died Oct. 14, '62, of wounds near Vienna, Va.
Hoff, Edward C.	29	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Corp., Serg., 1st. Serg., Lieut. Col, 1st Battalion;
Hausdorf, Charles F.	20	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	wounded at Gettysburg.
Irvine, Javan B.	30	Sept. 3, '61	.....	1st Lieut. in 13th U. S. Infantry, Dec. 15, '61.
Jeniesch, William	24	May 15, '61	May 3, '64	.....
Keyes, James N.	28	Me. 28, '62	.....	Corp.; killed at Gettysburg.
Kiefer, Louis	29	May 18, '61	.....	Discharged for wounds at Savage station, '62.
King, Charles H.	19	Apr. 29, '61	Feb. 4, '62	Discharged per order; Corp.
Klingel, Jacob	34	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 23, '62.
Kraemer, William	27	Apr. 29, '61	Feb. 4, '62	Corp. discharged per order.
Kratka, Chas. A.	19	May 17, '61	.....	Trans. to U. S. Cav. Oct. 23, '62; killed at Gettysburg.
Latta, Simon E.	23	May 17, '61	May 3, '64	.....
Levering, Andrew	33	May 17, '61	.....	1st and 2d Lieut. Co. C; died March 27, '63.
Lemmer, Peter	31	Feb. 24, '64	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Lichtenberg, August	30	Feb. 20, '64	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Loomis, Chas. C.	19	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Killed at Gettysburg.
Lyons, Stephen	22	Apr. 29, '61	May 3, '64	Corp. and Serg.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Lyons, Harrison	19	May 25, '61	.....	Wnd. Gettysburg; absent sick on discharge of Regt.
Maloy, James	23	Apr. 29, '61	May 3, '64	Corp.; wounded at Bull Run.
Marks, Peter	29	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Corp.; died July 8, '63 from wounds at Gettysburg.
Mathies, Nicholas	20	May 22, '61	May 3, '64	Wounded at Antietam.
Marshall, John J.	19	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Transferred to Inv. Corps Nov., 1863.
Marshall, James	29	Feb. 11, '62	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Magnussen, Engel A.	30	Sept. 3, '61	Aug. 20, '62	Discharged for disability.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY A—Continued.

Names.	No. of V.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
McEwen, John	21	Apr. 29, '61		Corp. Sergt.; killed at Antietam.
McWilliam, David	25	Apr. 29, '61		Re-enlisted in 1st Battalion.
McLean, Maxwell A.	19	May 27, '61	Aug. 20, '62	Wounded at Antietam.
Miller, Wm. F.	25	May 17, '61		Killed at Gettysburg.
Mowry, Kascellas S.	20	May 25, '61	May 3, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Morrison, John T.	23	Apr. 29, '61	Apr. 29, '61	Corp.; discharged for disability.
Mockwitz, Charles	23	Apr. 29, '61	Jan. 29, '61	Discharged for disability.
Muller, Charles	29	Apr. 29, '61	May 3, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Nelson, Nels E.	28	May 17, '61	Nov. 6, '62	Serg.; discharged for disability.
Nelson, Ole	25	Apr. 29, '61		Died Sept. 8, '62 at Fort Monroe.
Nickell, Henry	22	Apr. 29, '61		Killed at Gettysburg.
Nixon, William	18	Apr. 29, '61	May 3, '64	Musician.
Olson, Andrew	35	Apr. 29, '61	Feb. 3, '63	Discharged for disability.
Palmer, Eli J.	42	Apr. 29, '61	May 3, '64	
Parker, Geo. H.	32	Apr. 29, '61		
Fayher, Frank	..	Feb. 27, '64		
Pfeffer, George	24	May 21, '61	Feb. 15, '63	Transferred to 3d U. S. Cav., 1862.
Pitkin, Samuel J.	23	May 18, '61	May 3, '64	Wnd. Bull Run; Prisoner at Bull Run; Dis. for Disa.
Rathmann, Hans	36	May 27, '61	Jan. 24, '62	Bayonet wound at Bristow.
Rayher, Frank	..	Feb. 27, '64		Wnd.; prisoner at Bull Run; discharged for Disa.
Robbins, John	19	May 22, '61		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Sanders, Benjamin F.	21	May 22, '61	May 3, '64	Killed near Warrenton, Va.
Sattler, Louis	21	May 22, '61		Transferred to U. S. Light Artillery, Oct. 27, '62.
Schooley, David	35	May 22, '61		Wounded at Bull Run.
Schmucker, Joseph	27	Apr. 29, '61		Killed at Gettysburg.
Schmidter, William	22	Apr. 29, '61	May 3, '64	
Simonson, Hans M.	21	May 26, '61		Died of wounds at Gettysburg.
Smoot, George W.	21	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 1, '61	Discharged per order.
Sonderman, John G.	31	Apr. 29, '61	May 3, '64	Corporal.
Sorocut, Edgar L.	28	Apr. 29, '61	July 31, '63	Pro. 1st Lieut. and Q. M. 2d N. Y.
Stevens, Robert	28	Apr. 29, '61		Wounded at Bull Run; arm amputated.
Stoll, Andrew	32	Apr. 29, '61	Sept. 20, '62	Discharged for disability.
Stoll, Jacob	30	Apr. 29, '61	Feb. 7, '63	Discharged for disability.
Stansbury, Howard	22	Apr. 29, '61	June, '61	Color Sergt.; appointed 1st Lieut. in U. S. Army.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY A—Continued.

Names.	♁ ♂ ✓	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Steffes, Mathias	27	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Corp. Serg.; wounded at Antietam.
Steen, Charles	23	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Corp.; Serg.; 1st Serg.; lost leg at Gettysburg.
Streit, Nicholas	29	May 15, '61	Feb. 3, '63	Discharged for disability.
Theissen, Mathias	27	Apl. 29, '61	May 3, '64	.....
Theim, Joseph	30	May 21, '61	May 3, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Tinker, Herbert E.	25	May 23, '61	.....	Discharged for disability.
Van Woert, Wm. T.	23	May 21, '61	.....	Discharged for disability.
Vogelsang, Detrich	31	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Wounded at Antietam; leg amputated; discharged.
Wagner, Warren	21	May 27, '61	.....	Killed at Gettysburg.
Weld, Charles P.	37	Apl. 29, '61	May 3, '64	Corporal.
Wells, George A.	40	May 18, '61	.....	Died Oct., '62.
Wentworth, Hiram.	32	Aug. 21, '61	.....	Discharged for disability.
Wilson, John	21	Sept. 25, '61	.....	Killed at Gettysburg.
Wright, Henry C.	29	May 17, '61	.....	Serg.; wounded at Bull Run; killed at Gettysburg.

ROSTER OF COMPANY B.

Names.	♁ ♂ ✓	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
OFFICERS.				
Captains—				
Carlisle A. Bromley.....	31	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Resigned July 15, '62.
Mark W. Downie.....	25	July 16, '61	.....	1st Lieut.; pro. Maj. May 6, '63; wnd. Bull Run and Gettysburg; commissioned Lt. Col. 1st Battalion.
Thomas Sinclair.....	29	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Serg., 2d and 1st Lieut.; wounded at Bull Run, Gettysburg and Bristow.
First Lieutenants—				
Minor T. Thomas.....	30	July 16, '61	.....	2d Lieut.; wounded at Bull Run; pro. Lieut. Colonel Eighth Minn. Oct. 18, '61.
Louis Muller	26	Nov. 18, '61	.....	Serg., 1st Serg., 2d Lieut.; pro. Capt. Co E Sept. 17, '62; wnd. at Bull Run; killed at Gettysburg.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY B—Continued.

Names.	No. of V	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
William M. May.....	30	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Serg., 1st Serg., 2d Lieut.; wounded at Gettysburg.
ENLISTED MEN.				
Allen, Lorenzo D.	30	May 20, '61		Wagoner.
Anderson, John	27	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Arnold, George	23	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Aucker, v. m. H.	21	Feb. 28, '61		Killed at Gettysburg.
Bates, Wm. F.	38	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Bernds, Frederick L.	33	Apr. 29, '61	Jan. 17, '62	Serg.; wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disa.
Binns, Zebulon F.	26	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Blanchard, Rufus G.	25	Apr. 29, '61		Promoted Capt. 9th N. H. Vols. Aug. 26, '62.
Boswell, Daniel C.	25	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 4, '63	Discharged for disability.
Brown, Thomas	22	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 6, '62	Corp. Color Serg.; wnd. at Bull Run, Antietam; discharged, loss of leg.
Bloomer, Samuel				On detached service, probably dis. at headquarters.
Batler, Daniel	31	May 28, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg.
Caplazi, Albert	33	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run.
Catheman, Louis	29	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred from Co. I; wounded at Gettysburg.
Carriegiet, Bartholomew ..	28	Apr. 29, '61		Serg.; wounded at Bull Run.
Capron, Alonzo A.	18	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Musician.
Clearcy, James	18	May 17, '61	May 5, '64	Corp; killed at Antietam.
Connolly, Andrew	20	Apr. 29, '61		Corp. and Serg.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Corman, Oscar L.	24	May 20, '61	May 5, '64	Serg. Maj., 1st Lieut. Co. A.
Crome, Frederick				Wounded at Fredericksburg; discharged for Lisa.
Davis, Albert S.	44	Apr. 29, '61	May 8, '63	Corp. Serg.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Darms, John M.	19	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Discharged per order.
Darms, John N.	20	May 22, '61		Corporal.
Deusmore, John D.	26	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 9, '61	Discharged per order.
Dittmer, August	22	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Dotts, Charles J.	37	Apr. 29, '61	Oct. 13, '61	Discharged for disability.
Durich, William	18	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. '62	Discharged for disability.
Ehrhardt, Moritz	40	Apr. 29, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg.
Eppenberger, Adam	24	May 20, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg.
Everson, Peter	30	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corporal.
Fallhee, Patrick				

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY B—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Out. Mustered	REMARKS.
Foreman, Noah	25	Apl. 29, '61	Jan. 8, '62	Discharged for disability.
French, Henry C.	20	Apl. 29, '61	Nov. 19, '62	Discharged for disability.
Gundry, John E.	24	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Killed at Antietam.
Goff, John S.	18	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Savage Station.
Gove, Charles H.	22	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Died of wounds received at Gettysburg.
Goodman, Henry	28	May 20, '61	May 5, '64	.....
Grandstrand, Gustave A.	23	Apl. 29, '61	June 9, '62	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Graf, Emil	22	Apl. 29, '61	Jan. 9, '62	Wounded by accident.
Gruseman, Jacob	28	May 20, '61	Feb. 9, '63	Discharged for disability.
Hall, Peter	23	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	.....
Hammann, Charles	22	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Harvey, James	21	Apl. 29, '61	July, '62	Discharged for disability.
Henry, Martin J.	26	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Herrin, Edwin E.	30	Apl. 29, '61	Jan. 29, '63	Discharged for disability.
Hebenstreit, Nicholas	25	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Transferred to Inv. Corps Nov. 18, '63.
Hooker, George	22	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	.....
Hospes, Adolphus C.	20	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; captured at Antietam.
Johnson, Swen	24	May 20, '61	Dec. 14, '62	Wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability.
Johnson, David	22	Apl. 29, '61	Sept. 29, '63	Wounded at Gettysburg; discharged.
Johnson, Samuel	24	Apl. 29, '61	Nov. 17, '61	Discharged for disability.
Johnson, Andrew	22	May 4, '61	Apr. 30, '63	Transferred from Co. I; discharged for disability.
Kelly, William	18	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	.....
Klasi, Thomas	26	Apl. 29, '61	Sept. 26, '62	Discharged for disability.
Krone, Augustus	29	May 20, '61	.....	Wnd. at Bull Run; killed July 2, '63, at Gettysburg.
Krone, Henry W.	37	Apr. 29, '61	May 24, '62	Wounded and captured at Bull Run.
Kunzelman, John	28	May 20, '61	Aug., '62	Discharged for disability.
Lockwood, Charles M.	19	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Corp., Serg., 2d Lieut. 24th Wis. Vols., Aug. 28, '62.
Lord, David	26	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp., Serg. and 1st Serg.; wnd. at Gettysburg.
Marty, Jacob	28	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Com. Serg., 1st Lieut. Co. E., transferred from Co. D.
May, John S.	22	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; re-enlisted 1st Battalion.
Marty, Adam	24	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Marty, Fridolin	18	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Wounded at Gettysburg.
McLaughlin, Almond C.	21	Apl. 29, '61	Feb. 16, '63	Discharged for disability.
McIntyre, Harlow	30	May 23, '61	Jan. 7, '63	Discharged for disability.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY B—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
McKusick, Freeman L.	19	May 20, '61	May 5, '64	
McNeil, Geo. C.	30	Apr. 29, '61	Apr. 30, '63	Discharged for disability.
Meyers, Wm. J.	23	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred to Signal Corps August, '63.
Mead, Frank J.	22	May 24, '61	Dec., '62	Transferred from Co. H; discharged for disability.
Morgan, Wm. A.	18	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Captured at Antietam.
Nelson, Chas. L.	26	May 29, '61	Aug. 2, '61	Discharged per order.
Nickerson, Samuel B.	30	Apr. 29, '61		Serg.; killed at Gettysburg.
Nytsedt, Erick	30	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Olson, Hocken	35	Apr. 29, '61	Nov. 8, '61	Discharged for disability.
Older, Joseph	19	Apr. 29, '61		Died of disease April 23, '62.
Oliver, George A.	25	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp., Serg. and 1st Serg.; wounded at Antietam and Gettysburg.
Peterson, Andrew	25	Apr. 29, '61	Nov. 24, '61	Discharged for disability.
Pierson, Wm. S.	20	Apr. 29, '61		Corp., died of wnd. at Bull Run while prisoner.
Pooler, Albert P.	21	Feb. 11, '62	Feb. 25, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg; discharged for disability.
Quist, Andrew P.	19	Apr. 29, '61		Wounded at Antietam and killed at Gettysburg.
Ricketts, Charles F.	20	May 20, '61	Aug. 14, '62	Wounded at Bull Run; arm amputated.
Reichard, Adolph L.	27	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 21, '61	Corp.; wnd. at Bull Run; 2d Lieut. 98th Penn. Vols.
Robinson, Ebenezer B.	30	Apr. 29, '61		Trans. to Inv. Corps for wnd. at Fredericksburg.
Rowley, Charles	39	Apr. 29, '61		
Sawtell, John M.	22	May 23, '61		Died Dec. 8, '62 at Washington, D. C.
Schoenbeck, John P.	35	Apr. 29, '61	Feb. 9, '64	Transferred to U. S. Light Artillery July 16, '62
Schroeder, Wm. F.	22	Apr. 29, '61	Jan. 7, '63	Wounded at Antietam and Gettysburg; disability.
Seaman, Henry S.	22	Apr. 29, '61		Discharged for disability.
Shepard, Myron	29	July 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Savage Station.
Seibers, Albert W.	18	Feb. 4, '62		Serg., 2d Lieut. Co. H, and 1st Lieut. Co. F, and Co. H; A. D. C. Carroll's Staff.
Smith, Ralph W.	21	Apr. 29, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Snow, Lafayette W.	30	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 6, '62	Corp.; discharged for disability.
Stevens, John B.	25	Apr. 29, '61		Re-enlisted in 1st Battalion.
Steinacker, Frederick	30	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp., Serg.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Stevens, Edward A.	23	Apr. 29, '61	Jan. 14, '63	Discharged per order.
Staples, Chas. A.	20	May 23, '61	Jan. 3, '63	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged per order.
Stirnemann, Frederick	27	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 7, '61	Musician, discharged for disability.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY B—Continued.

Names.	Mustered		REMARKS.
	In.	Out.	
Tanner, Chas. G.	23 23	Sept. 26, '62	Wounded and captured at Bull Run; dis. for disa.
Tanner, Joseph A.	21 23	'61	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Thompson, Ole	31 29	'61	Wnd. Bull Run; died of wnds. received Gettysburg.
Van Vorhes, Henry A.	22 29	'61 Aug. 14, '62	Corp.; discharged for disability.
Van Kuster, Oscar	21 29	'61 Dec. 19, '61	Discharged for disability.
Valentine, Chas.	31 23	'61 Sept. 8, '62	Discharged for wound at Savage Station.
Walsh, Joseph	23 29	'61	Wounded at Haymarket; re-enlisted in 1st Battalion.
Wells, Edwin,	19 29	'61	Corp.; wounded at Gettysburg.

ROSTER OF COMPANY C.

Names.	Mustered		REMARKS.
	In.	Out.	
Captains—			
William H. Acker	26 29	'61	Wnd. at Bull Run; Capt. 16th U.S. Inf., Aug. 8, '61; killed at Shiloh.
Wilson B. Farrell.	31 8	'61	1st. Lieut; killed at Gettysburg.
Jasper N. Searles.	20 7	'63 May 4, '64	Pro. from 1st Lieut. Co. K.
First Lieutenants—			
Samuel T. Raguet	23 8	'61	2d. Lieut.; wnd. at Bull Run; transferred to Co. I.
Wilbur F. Duffy.	23 29	'61	1st Serg., Capt. Co. I, March 26, '63.
William Harmon.	25 26	'63 May 4, '64	2d Lieut. Co. D; wounded at Gettysburg.
Second Lieutenants—			
Wm. C. Larned	44 8	'61	Corp.; wnd. at Bull Run; trans. Dec. '62, to Sig. Corps.
Chas. H. Mason.	25		Transferred from Co. D; 1st Lieut.; died Aug. 18, '63, of wounds at Gettysburg.
Andrew Levering			Died Dec. 16, '63, at Sioux City, Ia.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY C—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
ENLISTED MEN.				
Abell, John	21	Jan. 20, '62	Dec. 31, '64	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Arnsdorf, Henry	24	Apl. 29, '61		Killed June 1, '62, on picket at Fair Oaks.
Atherton, Minor	19	Apl. 29, '61		Wnd. at Gettysburg; trans. to Inv. Corps Dec. 3, '63.
Barnes, Andrew J.	22	May 21, '61	May 5, '64	
Barton, Wm. H.	26	Sept. 11, '61	Mch. 27, '63	Discharged for disability.
Baldwin, Jerome	18	Mch. 14, '64		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Blanquest, Charles	30	Apl. 29, '61		Absent as paroled prisoner on discharge of Regt.
Bleaser, Michael	34	May 23, '61	Oct. 6, '62	Discharged for disability.
Blanchard, Chas. C.	22	Nov. 25, '61	Nov. 26, '64	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Boyce, Henry W.	25	May 17, '61	May 5, '64	Corporal.
Brisette, Edmund	44	May 21, '61	Feb. 7, '63	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Brack, Wm. A.	20	May 17, '61	May 5, '64	Serg.; wounded at Savage Station.
Brown, Henry J. W.	33	Sept. 30, '61	Oct. 31, '64	Wnd. at Savage Station; trans. to 1st Battalion.
Buck, Geo. W.	21	Apl. 29, '61		Wnd. Bull Run and Antietam, absent (prisoner) on discharge of regiment.
Burt, Geo.	32	May 26, '61		Wnd. Bull Run; re-enlisted Jan. 1, '64; died Mch. 24, '64.
Carpenter, Robert A.	41	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	
Chamberlain, Wesley	21	Apl. 29, '61		Wnd. Antietam; transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Clark, Joseph M.	41	Apl. 29, '61		Transferred to Inv. Corps Sept. 1, '63.
Clark, Chas. I.	30	June 2, '61		Wnd. Bull Run; trans. to 1st Batt.; killed June 18, '64.
Clancy, Daniel	27	Oct. 2, '61		Wnd. at Gettysburg; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Coombs, Charles C.	19	May 22, '61		Wnd. Bull Run; trans. to Inv. Corps Oct. 31, '62.
Coombs, William	29	Dec. 30, '61	July 27, '65	Re-enlisted; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Colls, John W.	25	Nov. 25, '61		Corp. Serg.; wnd. at Antietam.
Collins, Jeremiah	28	Dec. 9, '61	July 27, '65	Re-enlisted; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Cunningham, Wm. C.	24	Apl. 29, '61		Wnd. at Bull Run, supposed to be mortal.
Demarest, Daniel B.	27	Apl. 29, '61		Serg., 1st Serg., 2nd Lieut. Co. E; 1st Lieut., died of wounds received at Gettysburg.
Dorathy, Charles H.	22	May 21, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run.
Dubois, Garrett N.	24	Apl. 29, '61	Aug. 13, '61	Discharged for disability.
Eastman, Rufus M.	28	Dec. 16, '61		Missing at Savage Station.
Echoldt, August T.	18	Oct. 2, '61		Wnd. Savage Station; trans. U. S. Cavalry, Oct. '62.
Ellsworth, John	20	May 22, '61		Wounded at Savage Station; died July '63 of wnds. at Gettysburg.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY C—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered In.	REMARKS.
Ellingson, Henry	19	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Musician, Drum Major.
Fifield, Henry O.	21	May 20, '61		Wounded at Savage Station.
Finical, Benjamin F.	25	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Transferred to U. S. Cavalry Oct. 24, '62.
Finical, Chas. A.	18	Dec. 23, '61		Corp.; discharged for pro. in 4th Minn. Infantry.
Foster, Edward H.	18	Apl. 29, '61	Nov. 6, '61	Discharged for disability.
Gard, Samuel D.	23	May 23, '61	Feb. 8, '62	Wounded at Bull Run; Corp; trans. to 1st. Batt.
George, Jacob	29	June 1, '61	May 5, '64	Corp; wounded at Bull Run.
Gilman, James B.	29	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp; wounded at Bull Run; trans. to 1st Battalion.
Ghostly, Henry	19	Dec. 25, '61	Dec. 29, '64	Corp; wounded at Bristolow; trans. to 1st Battalion.
Gay, Gustave W.	33	Apl. 29, '61	Aug. 6, '61	Discharged for disability.
Groat, James W.	37	May 23, '61		Transferred to U. S. Cavalry Oct. 24, '62.
Greenwald, Aaron	28	Apl. 29, '61		Corp., Q. M. Serg.; killed at Gettysburg.
Hastie, James	26	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run.
Haskell, John S.	26	Apl. 29, '61		Wounded at Bull Run, supposed mortally.
Haskell, Chas. W.	21	Apl. 29, '61		Wounded at Glendale; died in hospital Mch. 8, '63.
Harvey, Julius	19	Nov. 11, '62		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Hamilton, Melon	27	Sept. 14, '61		Died Sept. 1, '62, Point Lookout, Md.
Hayford, Faxon	19	Dec. 16, '61		Re-enlisted; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Henderson, Thos. D.	40	Feb. 23, '64		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Howard, Henry H.	23	Apl. 29, '61		Corp. Serg., 1st Serg.; died of wnds. at Gettysburg.
Hough, Chas. J.	24	Apl. 29, '61		Killed at Bull Run.
Hotchkiss, Chas. J.	32	May 26, '61	May 5, '64	Corp and Serg.
Irvine, Theodore A.	18	Dec. 23, '61	Sept. 3, '61	Corp.; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Kennedy, Chas. W.	18	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	Discharged per order for non-age.
Klein, Herman	23	Apl. 29, '61		
Kramer, Sigismond O.	24	May 23, '61		Re-enlisted; transferred to 1st Minn. Battalion.
Krueger, Andrew F.	22	Apl. 29, '61		Corp., Serg.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Ladd, Austin N.	29	Apl. 29, '61		Wounded at Bull Run; died of wounds Oct., '61.
Leonard, Maurice F.	21	Nov. 18, '61		Re-enlisted; transferred to First Battalion.
Little, David M.	22	May 21, '61	June 12, '62	Discharged for disability.
Lloyd, Edward S.	24	Apl. 29, '61	Feb. 6, '63	Discharged for disability.
Lindberg, John	18	May 20, '61	May 5, '64	
Lonquist, John	30	May 20, '61		Re-enlisted; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Lufkin, Wade	25	May 20, '61		Serg.; killed at Gettysburg.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY C—Continued.

Names.	Age	Mustered		REMARKS.
		In.	Out.	
Marr, Christopher C.	19	Apl. 29, '61	Feb. 6, '63	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for wounds.
Mayncee, John B.	23	Apl. 29, '61	Feb. 6, '63	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for wounds.
Marble, Geo. F.	20	May 23, '61	Mich. 23, '63	Musician, Hospital Steward; discharged for disa. '63.
McDonald, Joseph	25	Apl. 29, '61	Apr. 23, '63	Corp.; wnd. Savage Sta.; re-enlisted in 1st Battalion.
McNelly, James T.	22	Apl. 29, '61	Sept. 3, '61	Wounded three times at Bull Run; dis. for disa.
McMullen, Nathan	19	May 21, '61	May 5, '64	Discharged per order for non-age.
McLean, David	29	May 26, '61	May 5, '64	
McCray, Samuel C.	35	May 28, '61	May 5, '64	
McCausland, Andrew	42	Nov. 18, '61	Jan. 8, '63	Wounded at Savage Station; discharged for disa.
McMullen, George	21	Apl. 29, '61	Apr. 29, '61	Corp.; killed at Bull Run.
McConkey, John	37	Apl. 29, '61	Feb. 16, '63	Corp.; discharged for disability.
Miller, Samuel L.	22	May 21, '61	.....	Died Nov. 28, '61.
Morton, Albert B.	18	May 21, '61	Jan. 8, '63	Wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability.
Mortimer, George F.	23	Sept. 29, '61	Sept. 8, '64	Corp.; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Murphy, James A.	21	May 17, '61	Sept. 17, '62	Wounded at Glendale; discharged for disability.
Navarre, Joseph B. F.	21	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Corp.; transferred to U. S. Cavalry Oct. 24, '62.
Newell, Phocian P.	23	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Corp.; Serg.; transf. to Kirby's Battery July 16, '62.
Odell, Joseph H.	22	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	
Oermann, Wilhelm	20	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	
Owch, Robert P.	30	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp., Serg. and 1st Serg.
Parsons, Tansor S.	20	May 17, '61	.....	Transferred to U. S. Cavalry, Oct. 24, '62.
Pethybridge, Joshua	24	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	
Perkins, Andrew F.	27	Dec. 16, '61	.....	Transferred to U. S. Cavalry.
Perkins, Daniel A.	28	Dec. 16, '61	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Pressnell, Thos. H.	18	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Corp.; Capt. in 1st Battalion.
Pribble, Turner	24	Nov. 25, '61	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Randolph, Wareham G.	43	Apl. 29, '61	Jan. 7, '62	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Reynolds, Wm. M.	22	May 21, '61	.....	Absent in confinement on discharge of regiment.
Richardson, Richmond	23	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Serg.; wounded at Bull Run; died of wounds.
Richards, John C.	24	May 17, '61	Sept. 27, '62	Wounded at Bull Run.
Roberts, Gustave A.	20	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Wounded at Savage Station; transferred to U. S. Cav.
Robertson, Daniel M.	19	May 22, '61	.....	Wounded at Bull Run, supposed to be mortal.
Roach, Wm. C.	20	May 22, '61	Oct. 21, '62	Discharged to enlist in U. S. service.
Rosemeyer, George	31	Aug. 22, '62	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY C—Continued.

Names.	♠ 56 7	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Sernau, John	29	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Took rebel flag at Gettysburg; re-enlisted 1st Batt.
Sherman, Marshall	37	Apr. 29, '61		Killed at Antietam.
Simpson, Robert C.	33	Nov. 25, '61		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Sias, G.	21	Mch. 14, '64		Wounded at Bull Run and Antietam.
Smith, Julius	41	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wnd. at Bull Run and missing; fell into hands of enemy.
Smith, Cyrus	29	May 21, '61		Mortally wounded at Savage Station.
Smith, Geo. L.	26	May 26, '61		Wounded at Savage Station, discharged for disa.
Snow, Leonard	25	Nov. 25, '61	Feb. 17, '63	Discharged for disability.
Sohns, Charles	41	May 23, '61	Mch. 24, '63	Corp.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Squires, Gideon L.	29	May 26, '61		
Staats, Isaac	25	May 22, '61		
Taylor, Edward	23	Aug. 21, '61		Mortally wounded June 29, '62, at Savage Station.
Thompson, Joseph H.	19	Apr. 29, '61		Killed at Bull Run.
Tirrell, Cheslev B.	23	May 22, '61		Serg.; Lieut. in 1st Battalion.
Townsend, Geo. W.	21	Jan. 20, '62	Apr. 18, '62	Discharged for disability.
Townsend, Perry C.	22	Dec. 30, '61		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Tripp, Thomas T.	29	May 17, '61		Missing, probably killed at Bull Run.
Treadway, Calvin	23	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wagoner.
Twitchell, Isaac L.	30	May 23, '61		Wounded at Bull Run, left on field.
Van Solen, George L.	26	Sept. 9, '61	Apr. 18, '62	Discharged for disability.
Victory, James	35	Apr. 29, '61		Serg.; re-enlisted; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Watkins, Wm.	30	Sept. 7, '61		Transferred to Kirby's Battery June 16, '62.
Waterhouse, Sewell N.	26	Apr. 29, '61		Corp.; killed at Bull Run.
Waltz, William	26	Aug. 21, '61	Nov. 1, '62	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Westlake, Reuben M.	23	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp. and Serg.
Whetstone, Thos. N.	27	Apr. 29, '61		Re-enlisted; Capt. in 1st Battalion.
Willey, George	17	Feb. 24, '61		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Willey, Warner	28	Nov. 18, '61	May 11, '62	Discharged for disability.
Williams, Henry H.	23	May 21, '61	Oct. 20, '62	Discharged for disability; captured at Bull Run.
Wilmer, Eugene	26	Apr. 29, '61		Serg. wounded at Bull Run; died April, '62.
Wren, Nicholas	21	Dec. 9, '61		Mortally wounded at Savage Station; prisoner, died June 30, '62.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY D.

Names.	Co No	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
OFFICERS.				
Captains--				
Henry R. Putham.....	29	Apl. 29, '61		Wounded at Bull Run; Capt. 12th U. S. Inf.
Dewitt C. Smith.....	35	Aug. 8, '61		2d Lieut.; wounded at Antietam; transferred to Co. G.; Paymaster; killed by guerrillas.
Chris. B. Heffelfinger	26	July 4, '63	May 4, '64	Serg., 1st Serg., 2d and 1st Lieut.; wounded at Gettysburg; Major 1st Heavy Artillery.
First Lieutenants--				
Geo. H. Woods.....	29	Apl. 29, '61	Nov. 28, '61	Pro. Capt. and C. S., Lieut. Col. and Chief C. S. Cav. Corps, '64.
Seth L. Hammond.....	26	Nov. 26, '61	Sept., '62	1st Serg., 2d Lieut.; resigned.
Jacob Marty.....				Transferred to Co. E.
Ellet P. Perkins.....	24		May 5, '64	Corp., Serg., Color Serg.; wounded at Gettysburg; Capt. 1st Battalion.
Second Lieutenants--				
Wm. Harmon.....	25	Sept. 13, '62	May 5, '64	Serg., 1st Serg.; pro. 1st Lieut. Co. C; wounded at Gettysburg; 2d Lieut. Co.
Chas. H. Mason.....	25	Sept. 27, '62		Serg.; transferred to Co. C; pro. 1st Lieut.; died Aug. 18, '63, of wounds at Gettysburg.
ENLISTED MEN.				
Abraham, Geo. W. F....	17	Feb. 20, '64		Trans. to Battalion; died Andersonville Nov. 12, '64.
Allen, William R.....	24	May 16, '61		Killed at Gettysburg.
Ames, Orville.....	34	Feb. 25, '64		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Anderson, Charles.....	26	May 20, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Ball, Edward W.....	19	May 20, '61	May 5, '64	Killed July 2, '63, at Gettysburg.
Bartlett, George W.....	19	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Transferred from Co. F; discharged for disability.
Baker, Chas. E.....	19	May 29, '61		
Bartlett, Ransom A.....	24	Apr. 29, '61	Oct. 7, '62	
Bingenheimer, Henry.....	19	May 16, '61	May 5, '64	
Blake, Horace K.....	23	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	
Bryant, Adelbert.....	20	May 19, '61	Jan. 26, '63	Enlisted Hatch's Cav., Co. B.
Bryant, James.....	18	Apl. 29, '61	July 14, '65	Corp., Serg.; enlisted 1st Battalion.
Brown, John.....	21	May 16, '61	May 5, '64	
Brown, Theodore.....		July 20, '61	July 11, '64	Prisoner at Bull Run; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Carter, Leonard B.....	26	May 22, '61		Wounded at Antietam and Bristol.
Carpenter, Edson B.....	21	Feb. 30, '64	July 24, '65	Trans. 1st Batt.; cap. June 22, '64, Petersburg, Va.
Chaffee, Jacob W.....	18	Apl. 29, '61	Alp. 17, '63	Discharged for disability.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY D—Continued.

Names.	No. of V	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Chandler, Enoch H.	22	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Antietam; discharged.
Chase, Henry B.	18	Nov. 11, '61	Feb. 2, '63	
Cifford, Carroll H.	18	May 21, '61	May 5, '64	
Clater, John 31	31	May 22, '61	Feb. 7, '63	
Crown, Henry W.	21	May 17, '61	.....	Wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability.
Curtis, Francis I.	21	May 26, '61	Dec. 29, '61	Transferred to Inv. Corps, Jan. 17, '64.
Curtis, Archibald	21	Oct. 11, '61	July 21, '65	Discharged for disability.
Darling, Azariah W.	24	May 21, '61	Oct. 16, '62	Re-enlisted in 1st Battalion; Serg.
Devergill, Franklin	35	May 21, '61	.....	Discharged for disability.
Dean, Henry A.	24	May 16, '61	.....	Transferred to gunboat service Nov. 16, '63.
Dunsmore, S.	24	Feb. 27, '61	.....	Killed at Bull Run.
Donnelly, Stephen	23	May 20, '61	Jan. 7, '62	Died Nov. 24, '64.
Drew, Nathaniel	21	May 21, '61	.....	Discharged for disability.
Dunsmore, James F.	23	May 23, '61	Aug. 1, '61	Transferred to gunboat service Nov. 16, '63.
Eddy, Cyrus E.	23	May 17, '61	.....	Discharged for disability.
Ferguson, Ami R.	18	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Transferred to Inv. Corps Jan. 16, '64.
Fletcher, Levi	18	Apr. 31, '61	Oct. 25, '61	
French, John O.	18	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Discharged for disability.
Fullet, Geo. F.	23	May 21, '61	May 5, '64	Corporal.
Garvey, Wm. H.	20	May 16, '61	Apr. 10, '63	Musician; promoted Corporal.
Geer, Lewis B.	21	May 21, '61	May 5, '64	Discharged for disability.
Geer, Chas. W.	19	May 21, '61	May 5, '64	Promoted Corporal; wounded at Gettysburg.
Goepfinger, August A.	25	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Gordon, Wm. A.	21	Apr. 29, '61	May 2, '62	Wounded at Gettysburg and Bristow.
Gordon, Hanford L.	24	May 21, '61	Oct. 1, '61	Discharged for disability.
Grandy, George	22	Nov. 25, '61	.....	Corp.; discharged for disability.
Hayden, Alonzo C.	22	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Corp.; died July 4, '63, of wnds rec'd at Gettysburg.
Hamilton, Emsley I.	20	Apr. 29, '61	Nov. 27, '61	Killed at Gettysburg.
Hammond, Seth L.	26	Apr. 29, '61	Sept. 5, '62	Discharged for disability.
Hatch, Cyrus M.	28	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 2, '62	Resigned; 1st Serg., 2d Lieut., 1st Lieut.
Haner, John H.	23	May 21, '61	Dec. 2, '62	Wounded at Antietam; discharged.
Hamilton, E. J.	22	Feb. 27, '61	June 25, '65	Wounded at Antietam; discharged.
Hawks, James	30	Feb. 29, '61	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Hamilton, E. M. C.	30	Feb. 29, '61	June 19, '65	Transferred to 1st Battalion.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY D—Continued.

Names.	Age	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Hoblitt, John T.	21	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Corp.; died Nov. 20, '61.
Howe, Archibald E.	20	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Howe, Wm. H.	23	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	
Howe, David M.	18	Oct. 21, '61	Jan. 6, '63	Discharged for disability.
Hoblitt, Isaac N.	20	Apr. 29, '61	July, '61	Discharged for disability.
Holt, Joseph B.	20	Nov. 11, '61	Jan. 9, '62	Corp.; discharged for disability.
Hughes, Chas. W.	23	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	
Hutchins, Charles A.	18	Apr. 29, '61	Feb. 20, '63	Discharged for disability.
Hughes, Thomas A.	26	Sept. 3, '61	Dec. 20, '61	Discharged for disability.
Hyatt, Alexander H.	24	May 21, '61	June 14, '62	Corp.; discharged for disability.
Irvine, William N.	22	May 21, '61	.....	Corp.; re-enlisted in 1st Battalion.
Jenkins, David	19	Nov. 11, '61	Aug. 20, '63	Discharged for disability.
Jordan, Amos C.	19	Apr. 11, '61	.....	Trans. to Signal Corps Aug. 1, '63; promoted Serg.
Kelly, Thomas W.	24	Oct. 11, '61	Dec. 18, '62	Wounded at Fredericksburg; discharged.
Kendall, James W.	24	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	
King, Orange S.	23	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Wounded and captured at Bull Run; trans. skeleton Regiment Jan. 5, '62.
Kouts, Jacob W.	19	May 20, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Lawrence, Irving	21	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Wounded at Antietam; killed at Gettysburg.
Lafin, George A.	24	May 17, '61	Mch. 25, '63	Wounded at Antietam; discharged.
Lafin, Adin A.	20	May 17, '61	May 5, '64	
Lambdin, Edwin	28	.....	Dec. 2, '62	Wounded at Antietam; discharged.
Lancaster, Wm. H.	22	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	Wagoner.
Legg, Daniel B.	31	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Savage Station.
Leonard, Webster G.	23	Dec. 23, '61	Feb. 4, '63	Discharged for disability.
Longfellow, Henry W.	23	Apr. 29, '61	May 11, '62	Serg.; discharged for disability.
Martin, Horace M.	23	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Serg.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Maddock, George	21	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run and left on field.
McAlhister, Henry A.	23	Apr. 29, '61	Feb. 3, '63	Corp.; discharged for disability.
Markham, Charles S.	34	May 22, '61	Feb. 27, '63	Discharged for disability.
Meeker, Lewis C.	26	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	
Messer, Edward D.	19	Oct. 2, '61	Dec. 29, '61	Discharged for disability.
Miller, Wesley F.	20	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 7, '61	Lieut. 7th U. S. Inf.; killed at Gettysburg.
Morgan, David L.	21	Mch. 30, '64	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion; Q. M. Serg. Apr. 1, '64.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY D—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Nason, Thos. B.	18	May 28, '61	5, '64	Corp.; wounded at Antietam and Gettysburg.
Nason, Eben S.	23	Sept. 18, '61	15, '63	Discharged for disability.
Newton, Wm. J.	21	May 22, '61	2, '62	Discharged for disability.
Newton, Francis H.	18	May 22, '61	1, '62	Absent sick on discharge of regiment.
Noel, Benjamin F.	18	May 22, '61	5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Over, William	19	May 20, '61	1, '63	Enlisted in regular army.
Patten, Geo. W.	20	May 21, '61	7, '63	Wounded at Antietam; died of wuds at Gettysburg.
Past, Marcus A.	20	Nov. 11, '61	.....	Serg., Serg., Serg. Maj.; dis. for wounds at Antietam.
Past, Edward S.	20	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Sergeant, 1st Sergeant.
Parker, Raymond J.	25	Apr. 29, '61	5, '64	Corporal, Sergeant.
Plummer, Robt. A.	19	Apr. 29, '61	5, '64	Discharged for disability.
Plummer, John W.	21	Apr. 29, '61	5, '64	Killed July 2, '63, at Gettysburg.
Plummer, Henry C.	24	Apr. 20, '61	14, '62	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Prime, Joseph H.	22	Aug. 30, '61	.....	Died April, '64, of smallpox.
Pratt, Job.	23	Feb. 29, '64	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Pratt, M. G.	42	Feb. 30, '61	.....	Musician.
Rimes, Charles H.	19	May 21, '61	5, '64	Died Aug. 2, '63, of wounds at Gettysburg.
Robinson, Calvin D.	23	Apr. 29, '61	5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg; transferred to Battalion.
Robinson, S. Morton.	18	June 6, '61	5, '64	Wounded at Antietam; discharged.
Rollins, Frank.	18	Aug. 18, '62	.....	Discharged for disability.
Sullivan, Daniel.	19	Nov. 1, '61	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Sampson, Leroy F.	18	May 17, '61	10, '63	Discharged for disability.
Scherfenberg, Frederick	22	May 20, '61	17, '62	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Six, Gilbert E.	35	Mch. 1, '64	.....	Discharged for disability.
Smith, Geo. W.	39	Nov. 11, '61	13, '63	Wounded at Gettysburg; transferred to Battalion.
Smith, Wm. C.	39	Aug. 14, '62	.....	Corp., Serg.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Smith, Chas. W.	21	Apr. 17, '61	5, '64	Corporal.
Smithyman, Joseph.	32	Apr. 29, '61	5, '64	Serg., Com. Serg. Feb. 11, '63.
Spaulding, Norris H.	21	May 21, '61	5, '63	Corp., Serg.; wounded at Fredericksburg.
Standish, Mathew M.	28	May 21, '61	.....	Discharged for disability.
Savage, Charles W.	28	Nov. 11, '61	8, '62	Corporal.
Taunt, Alvin B.	21	Apr. 20, '61	5, '64	Wounded at Antietam and Gettysburg.
Titus, Platt S.	24	May 21, '61	.....
Walsh, James W.	24	Apr. 29, '61	5, '64	

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY D—Continued.

Names.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Walker, Edward A.	May 21, '61	May 5, '64	Corporal.
Wetmur, David G.	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	
Welsh, Henry P.	May 20, '61	May 11, '62	
Whittemore, John D.	May 23, '61		Discharged for disability.
Wilgus, Henry N.	Apr. 29, '61		Died of wounds, near Vienna, Va., Sept. 9, '62.
Woodworth, Chas. M.	May 21, '61		Transferred to gunboat service Nov. 16, '63.
Young, Joseph J.	Apr. 29, '61	Jan. 3, '63	Died Sept. 28, '61, at Camp Stone, Corp.; wounded at Antietam; discharged.

ROSTER OF COMPANY E.

Names.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
OFFICERS.			
Captains—			
George N. Morgan.....	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '63	Major, Lieut. Colonel, Colonel, Brev. Brig. General.
George Pomeroy	Oct. 22, '61	Sept. 19, '62	2d Lieut.; wounded at Antietam; Lieut. Col. 146th N. Y.; Paymaster U. S. A.
Louis Muller	Sept., July 3, '63	May 4, '64	1st Lieut. Co. B; killed at Gettysburg.
C. Edward Davis.....	July 3, '63	May 4, '64	1st Lieut. Co. A, 2d Lieut. Co. I, Serg. Maj.
First Lieutenants—			
James Hollister	Apr. 29, '61	Oct. 22, '61	Resigned.
John N. Chase	Oct. 22, '61	May 5, '64	Serg., 1st Lieut., Capt. Co. H.
Samuel T. Raguet	Aug. 8, '61		Transferred from Co. I, A. D. C., to Gen. Gorman.
David B. Demerest.....	Sept. 26, '62		1st Serg. Co. C., 2d Lieut. Co. E; died July 39, '63 of wounds at Gettysburg.
Wm. Lochren	July 3, '63	Dec. 30, '63	Serg. Co. E, 2d Lieut. Co. K; resigned on certificate of disability.
Jacob Marty	Oct. 7, '63	May 4, '64	Transferred from Co. D Jan. '64.
Second Lieutenants—			
James H. Shepley	Oct. 22, '61	Jan. 13, '63	Serg.; wnd at Antietam; 1st Lieut. Co. G, July 19, '62.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY E—Continued.

Names.	♂ No ✓	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
George Boyd	30	July 29, '62	May 5, '64	Serg., 1st Serg., 2d Lieut. Co. H, 1st Lieut. Co. I; transferred Co. E.
ENLISTED MEN.				
Abbott, Asa T.	20	Apl. 29, '61	Sept. 4, '63	Com. 2d Lt. Sig. Corps; wnd; on staff Gen. Thomas
Adams, Daniel	21	May 23, '61	May 3, '64	as Signal Officer; Lieut. Regular Army.
Adams, George M.	19	May 23, '61	May 3, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Aldrich, Bradley B.	26	May 23, '61	May 3, '64	Corporal.
Austin, Edward A.	22	May 26, '61	May 3, '64	Corporal; wounded at Gettysburg.
Barnard, John F.	25	Apl. 29, '61	July 31, '61	Discharged for disability.
Bassett, Wm. H.	20	Apl. 29, '61	July 3, '64	Corporal.
Berry, Amos O.	27	May 23, '61	May 3, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Berry, Charles A.	19	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Wounded at Antietam and Gettysburg.
Brower, James S.	22	May 26, '61	May 3, '64	Corporal; wounded at Gettysburg.
Brakey, James	22	May 20, '61	May 3, '64	
Boefferding, Wm.	21	Feb. 18, '64	Feb. 20, '64	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Bradley, Henry C.	28	May 23, '61	May 3, '64	Corp.; wnd at Savage Station and Gettysburg.
Brenchley, Joseph	22	Feb. 18, '64	Dec. 27, '64	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Brown, Edward F.	16	Feb. 20, '64	July 27, '65	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Butler, David	26	May 24, '61	.....
Burgan, John M.	25	May 26, '61	.....	Discharged for disability, '62.
Buck, Philip A.	18	Feb. 5, '64	July 14, '65	Corp.; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Cassedy, Hugh G.	30	May 23, '63	.....	Serg.; died of wounds at Savage Station.
Carlton, David	28	Feb. 26, '63	July 27, '65	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Carter, John H.	28	May 20, '61	.....	Died Sept. 10, '62.
Camp, Abner W.	25	May 23, '61	Dec. 5, '61	Discharged for disability.
Churchill, Henry	22	Apl. 29, '61	Nov. 29, '61	Wounded at Antietam.
Connick, Bryce	29	May 23, '61	Jan. 20, '63	Wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability.
Cook, Charles H.	20	Apl. 29, '61	Dec. 29, '62	Discharged for disability.
Coombs, Albert B.	18	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Transferred to U. S. Engineers Oct. 24, '62.
Curry, John	25	May 26, '61	May 3, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Cundy, Wm. E.	22	May 23, '61	May 3, '64	
Davenport, Wm. H.	19	Apl. 29, '61	Sept. 26, '61	Musician; discharged per order.
Day, Henry M.	21	Apl. 29, '61	July 27, '63	Discharged for promotion in colored regiment.
Davis, John W.	23	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Killed at Gettysburg.
Dow, Lloyd U.	26	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability, '63.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY E—Continued.

Names.	Age.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Doble, Thomas L.	28	May 26, '61	May 3, '64	Wounded.
Drake, Hiram	24	May 18, '61	May 3, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Elliot, John	22	May 23, '61		Wounded at Bull Run and Malvern Hill; transferred to Fourth U. S. Cavalry.
Evart, James T.	22	May 23, '61		
Farrington, William	18	Feb. 19, '64	July 27, '65	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Fenton, Benjamin	22	May 29, '61	May 3, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Fleetham, John	22	May 23, '61	Mch. 25, '63	Wund at Bull Run and Antietam; dis. for disability.
Fisher, Henry I.	21	May 23, '61	July 14, '65	Wounded at Gettysburg; re-enlisted in 1st Battalion.
Ford, Lucius	31	May 26, '61	May 3, '64	
Fowler, Norman	26	Apr. 29, '61		Killed at Gettysburg.
Fullerton, William E.	18	May 20, '61		Transferred to gunboat service Nov. 16, '63.
Goulding, George W.	20	May 24, '61	May 3, '64	Corporal, Sergeant.
Goundry, Wm. W.	25	May 23, '61		Absent sick on discharge of regiment.
Holden, Wm. W.	23	Feb. 26, '63	July 27, '65	Wounded at Gettysburg; transferred to Battalion.
Hollister, Geo. N.	18	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred to 4th U. S. Cav., Oct. 27, '62.
Hanscome, James	27	May 23, '61		Died of wounds, Nov. 17, '62.
Harrington, John	27	May 23, '61		Wounded at Bull Run; transferred to 4th U. S. Cav.
Hanley, John	23	May 26, '61		Wounded at Bull Run.
Hill, Jonas R.	30	Sept. 14, '61	Dec. 12, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg; transferred to Battalion.
Hill, Elvin G.	28	May 23, '61		Corporal.
Hobson, Albion T.	29	Apr. 29, '61		Corporal; killed at Bull Run.
Jacksons, Israel	18	Apr. 29, '61		Killed at Gettysburg.
Jewett, Chas. H.	17	May 23, '61		Corp., Serg.; discharged for promotion Sept. 21, '63.
Jefferson, Ernest	18	May 23, '61	Dec. 9, '63	Lost leg by wound at Gettysburg.
Johnson, Wm. R.	22	May 23, '61	Mch. 25, '63	Wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability.
Jefferson, Rufus H.	21	June		Wounded at Bull Run; transferred to 4th U. S. Cav.
Keen, Edwin	18	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred to gunboat service Nov. 16, '63.
Kelsey, George B.	20	May 23, '61		Wounded at Bull Run; transferred to 4th U. S. Cav.
Kittel, Francis	37	Apr. 29, '61		Corp., Serg.; transferred to 4th U. S. Cav.
Knowlton, Geo. W.	18	Feb. 13, '64	Dec. 21, '63	Drum Major; discharged for disability.
Leide, Samuel F.	30	May 23, '61		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Leighton, Ephraim F. ....	...	Oct. 7, '61	Dec. 20, '62	Wounded at Bull Run; trans. to gunboat service.
Lowell, Edwin B.	28	May 23, '61	May 3, '64	Wounded at Antietam.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY E—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Losee, Wm. H.	25	May 23, '61	July 7, '63	Wnd at Bull Run and Gettysburg; trans. to Inv. Cor. Wounded at Vienna.
Mayo, Reuben M.	26	May 23, '61		Died Aug. 4, '63, from wounds at Gettysburg.
McKenzie, John	24	May 23, '61		Transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 26, '62.
McDonald, Chas.	44	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred to 4th U. S. Cav. Oct. 27, '62.
McDonald, Chas., Jr.	19	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred to Inv. Corps Nov., '63.
Mitchell, Wm. D.	25	May 23, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg.
Middlestadt, Vincent	20	May 24, '61		Killed July, Bull Run.
Moss, James R.	27	May 18, '61		Corp.; discharged for disability.
Mulvy, Booth C.	28	Apr. 29, '61	Mch. 28, '62	Transferred to 6th U. S. Cav. Oct. 27, '62.
Northrup, Geo. W.	18	Apr. 29, '61		Wagonmaster.
Northrup, Charles	20	Apr. 29, '61	May 3, '64	Corp.; wnd at Gettysburg; Major in 1st Battalion.
O'Brien, Henry D.	22	Sept. 28, '61	Oct. 30, '62	Wnd at Savage Station; discharged for disability.
Patterson, Murdock	27	May 26, '61		
Patterson, James	26	May 23, '61		Serg., Serg. Maj.; wnd at Bristow; trans. to Batt.
Pride, John W.	22	Apr. 29, '61		Musician.
Randall, Horace	23	May 23, '61		
Ray, Francis	28	May 24, '61	May 3, '64	
Russell, Obed	27	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 31, '62	Discharged for disability.
Schumacher, Wm. E.	26	Apr. 29, '61		Wounded at Bull Run; re-enlisted in 1st Battalion.
Scott, Harvey E.	34	May 20, '61		Wounded at Savage Station; trans. to Inv. Corps.
Sears, Oscar Wilson	20	Apr. 29, '61		Captured at Bull Run; transferred to Inv. Corps.
Sherbrook, Calvin	25	Sept. 9, '61	Oct. 15, '62	Wounded at Savage Station.
Sherman, Henry	25	May 20, '61	Oct. 26, '63	Wounded at Gettysburg and Antietam; discharged for disability.
Smith, Martin	21	Apr. 29, '61	Jan. 7, '63	Wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability.
Smiley, Wm. W.	26	May 23, '61		Corp.; transferred to gunboat service Nov. 16, '61.
Stites, Samuel B.	24	Apr. 29, '61	May 3, '64	Corp., Serg.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Staples, Benjamin F.	25	May 30, '61	May 3, '64	Corp., Serg.; wounded at Antietam and Gettysburg.
Stealson, Thomas	23	Apr. 29, '61	Feb. 16, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg; discharged for disability.
Stites, Adam C.	18	Sept. 28, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg; transferred to Battalion.
Stewart, Geo. E.	33	May 23, '61	May 3, '64	
Sutton, Stephen B.	25	Apr. 29, '61	May 3, '64	
Taylor, Patrick H.	22	May 24, '61	May 3, '64	Corp., Serg., 1st Serg.; wounded at Savage Station.
Taylor, Mathew F.	25	May 26, '61	May 3, '64	Corp.; wounded at Gettysburg.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY E—Continued.

Names.	♁ ♂ ♀	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Taylor, W. O.	22	Sept. 12, '61	Killed at Antietam. Killed July 2, '63, at Gettysburg. Corp.; wounded at Bull Run. Corp.; killed July 2, '63, at Gettysburg. Serg.; discharged for disability. Discharged for disability. Wounded at Gettysburg.
Taylor, Isaac L.	22	Aug. 21, '61	.....
Thatcher, Orville D.	27	Apr. 29, '61	May 3, '64	
Trevor, Joseph G.	27	Apr. 29, '61	.....
Wakefield, Wm. L.	28	May 23, '61	Jan. 4, '64	
Wardwell, John	23	May 13, '61	Aug. 7, '61	
Waite, Daniel H.	23	May 26, '61	May 3, '64	
Weaver, Joseph	18	.....	.....
Weaver, James E.	20	Sept. 7, '61	.....
Weaver, Elijah	31	May 23, '61	May 3, '64	
Welln, Peter	30	May 23, '61	.....
White, John D.	23	May 26, '61	Jan. 9, '62	Re-enlisted in 1st Battalion. Wounded at Gettysburg. Wounded at Bull Run; died July 29, '63, of wounds at Gettysburg. Discharged for disability. Discharged for disability. Corp.; discharged for disability.
Winants, George H.	18	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 25, '61	
Wilson, Wm. W.	25	Apr. 29, '61	July 23, '62	
.....	25	.....	.....

ROSTER OF COMPANY F.

Names.	♁ ♂ ♀	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
OFFICERS.				
Captains—				
Wm. Collvill	30	Apr. 29, '61	May 4, '64	Capt., Maj., Lt. Col., Col., Bvt. Brig. Gen.; wnd at Glendale and Gettys.; appt. Col. 1st Minn. Hy Art. Serg. & 1st Lieut. Co. G; wnd at Fredericksburg; transferred to Inv. Corps.
John J. McCallum	40	Aug. 29, '61	.....
John Ball .....	.....	May 6, '63	May 4, '64	1st Lieut., 1st Serg. and 2nd Lieut. Co. K; wounded at Bristow.
First Lieutenants—				
A. Edward Welch	22	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Wounded and cap. at Bull Run; Maj. 4th Minn. Vols. 2nd Lieut.; resigned. Transferred from and to Co. H. Serg., 1st Serg., 2d Lieut., 1st Lieut. July 28, '63.
Mark A. Hoyt	23	Jan. 8, '62	July 18, '62	
Myron Shepard .....	.....	.....	May 4, '64	
Hezekiah Bruce	27	Sept. 26, '61	May 4, '64	

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY F—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Out. Mustered	REMARKS.
Second Lieutenants—				
Martin Maginnis	20	Jan. 8, '62		1st Serg. Co. F, 1st Lieut. Co. H, Capt. Co. K.
Joseph H. Spencer	21	Aug., '61		1st Serg. and 2d Lt. Co. G; trans. to Sig. Corps; Maj.
ENLISTED MEN.				
Abbott, Marion	25	Apr. 29, '61	Nov. 1, '63	Wounded at Gettysburg; discharged for disability.
Abbott, David P.	23	May 18, '61		Killed at Antietam.
Adams, Charles E.	18	Apr. 29, '61		Died May 27, '62, at Washington, D. C.
Alley, John .....	...	Feb. 11, '61		Transferred to Inv. Corps Nov. 2, '63.
Barrow, John	30	Apr. 29, '61	Feb. 14, '63	Corp.; wnd at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Baker, Abraham P.	25	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Bambor, Archibald	18	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Barber, Horatio N.	30	May 24, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Antietam.
Bachelor, James F.	22	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; wounded at Antietam.
Barnes, Rudolph C.	24	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; wounded at Antietam.
Bayer, Andrew	29	May 15, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; wounded at Antietam.
Borgh, Peter	19	Feb. 11, '62		Re-enlisted 1st Battalion; pris. Andersonville, 8 mo.
Bevans, Henry T.	22	Apr. 29, '61	Sept. 9, '63	Serg.; discharged for promotion.
Bennett, Wm. D.	19	Apr. 29, '61	Feb. 4, '63	Corp.; discharged for disability.
Bevans, Milton L.	18	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	Musician.
Berdan, Charles A.	24	Oct. 29, '61	Nov. 17, '64	Wnd at Bristow & Fredericksburg; trans. 1st Batt.
Blackwell, Henry	32	Feb. 28, '64		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Poffording, Peter G.	32	Feb. 18, '64	June 28, '65	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Bonner, Jefferson	26	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; re-enlisted Co. E, Hatch's Battalion.
Bond, Daniel	19	Aug. 22, '61	July 24, '65	Wounded at Fredericksburg; transferred to 1st Batt.
Rondurant, Cyrus S.	21	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred from Co. G.
Bond, Hezekiah	27	Aug. 14, '62		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Broffee, James	22	May 24, '61		Transferred to Kirby's Battery July 16, '62.
Brooks, Cyrus A.	29	May, '61	July 12, '63	Hospital steward; trans. non-com. staff; appt. Ass't Surgeon 10th Minn.
Burritt, Henry	21	Apr. 29, '61		Trans. to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62; killed in Wilderness.
Burgtorf, Henry	19	May 13, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run and Gettysburg.
Brown, John H.	20	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wagoner; wounded at Bull Run; wagonmaster.
Cannon, Lewis	35	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 18, '61	Discharged for disability.
Childs, Henry R.	24	May 31, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; wounded at Bull Run.
Clark, Calvin P.	24	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Serg.; wounded and captured at Savage Station.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY F—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Clausen, John	27	May 15, '61	Feb. 10, '63	Discharged for disability.
Cifton, Edward	29	Feb. 26, '61	Aug. 2, '65	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Clark, John	33	Feb. 29, '61	June 11, '65	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Cox, Edwin	19	May 22, '61	" " " " " "	Corp.; killed at Antietam.
Devis, Edward E.	25	May 24, '61	" " " " " "	Died Aug. 31, '62, of wounds at Savage Station.
Davis, Edward L.	23	Apr. 29, '61	July 6, '62	Discharged for disability.
Davis, Jonas P.	21	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded and captured at Savage Station.
Davis, Almeron	18	May 22, '61	" " " " " "	Wounded at Fredericksburg; Flint Hill and Gettysburg; absent at discharge.
Daucher, George F.	35	May 15, '61	" " " " " "	Corp.; transferred to Inv. Corps Dec. 1, '63.
Decker, Artemus L. M.	21	Sept. 16, '61	June 1, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg; trans. to 1st Battalion.
Duling, William	23	Apr. 29, '61	" " " " " "	Transferred to Kirby's Battery.
Eastman, Christopher	25	Apr. 29, '61	" " " " " "	Transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Eastman, Alva H.	13	May 29, '61	June 19, '62	Discharged for disability.
Early, Eubrick J.	28	Dec. 17, '61	Feb. 29, '65	Wounded at Bristol; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Flynn, Jonathan	45	Sept. 12, '61	" " " " " "	Transferred to Inv. Corps, June, '64.
Garrison, Wm. H.	23	May 16, '61	" " " " " "	Died Aug. 10, '61, of wounds at Bull Run.
Garrison, Joseph P.	25	May 16, '61	May 5, '64	Re-enlisted in 1st Battalion.
Giberson, Ole	28	Apr. 29, '61	" " " " " "	Discharged for disability.
Glazier, Aaron	43	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 20, '62	Transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Gordon, Wm.	21	Apr. 24, '61	" " " " " "	Corp.; wounded at Savage Station.
Grinnell, Geo. W.	18	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; wmd at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Grow, Thos. F.	22	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 5, '62	Corp., Serg.; killed at Gettysburg.
Harris, Charles N.	20	Apr. 29, '61	" " " " " "	Corp., Serg.; discharged for disability.
Hambin, Philip	25	Apr. 29, '61	" " " " " "	Corp.; captured at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Halsted, Hans	31	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 31, '62	Killed at Fair Oaks.
Hammer, Nicholas	21	May 15, '61	" " " " " "	Wmd Fredericksburg; trans. to Inv. Cor. Dec. 19, '63.
Herbert, Wm. M.	23	May 22, '61	" " " " " "	Wounded at Bull Run and Gettysburg.
Howe, Asa	19	Apr. 26, '61	" " " " " "	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Hoffstetter, John W.	18	May 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run.
Hobbs, Charles L.	20	Apr. 29, '61	" " " " " "	Wounded at Bull Run.
Hoyt, William H.	22	Apr. 29, '61	" " " " " "	Captured at Bull Run; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Hudson, Charles E.	18	June 20, '61	" " " " " "	

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY F—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Jackson, Elisha O.	19	Apl. 29, '61	Aug. 1, '61	Discharged for disability.
Jacobs, Romulus E.	21	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Jenkins, Erastus	29	Mch 28, '64	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Johnson, Ole	24	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	.....
Johnson, Ferris	26	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Corp.; killed June 29, '62, at Savage Station.
King, Levi	24	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Wounded at Gettysburg; transferred to Inv. Corps.
Leeson, Robert W.	23	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Killed at Glendale.
Leighton, Gardner D.	30	Apl. 29, '61	Mch. 10, '63	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Lee, John M.	18	May 24, '61	.....	Wounded at Bull Run; trans. to skeleton regiment.
Lewis, Geo. L.	20	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Transferred to Signal Corps Aug. 18, '63.
Leamans, David H.	26	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Discharged for disability.
Lindquist, John	26	Apl. 29, '61	Aug. 31, '62	Discharged for disability.
Lindgren, John	19	.....	Aug. 31, '62	Discharged for disability.
Ludden, Otis W.	22	Apl. 29, '61	Aug. 1, '61	Musician; discharged for disability.
Marshall, David	22	Apl. 29, '61	July 6, '62	Discharged for disability.
McLenathan, Ira C.	32	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Transferred to gunboat service Nov. 16, '61.
McGee, Richard	18	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Re-enlisted and transferred to 1st Battalion.
McKinley, George	23	May 23, '61	.....	Mortally wounded at Bull Run.
McGuire, Hugh G.	32	Mch. 24, '61	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Metselder, Dirk	22	June 22, '61	.....	Wounded at Savage Station.
Merritt, Charles W.	23	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Musician; Corp.; wounded at Bull Run.
Miller, Frederick E.	18	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; cap. at Bull Run; officer of colored regiment.
Milliken, Marcello B.	21	Apl. 29, '61	Dec. 28, '63	Killed at Antietam.
Mills, Charles W.	28	Apl. 29, '61	Feb. 20, '63	Discharged for disability.
Mott, Ransom	21	May 27, '61	Feb. 17, '63	Dis. for disability; wnd at Sav. Sta.; arm amputated.
Nelson Paul	28	June 14, '61	.....	.....
Olsen, Butler	21	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Oscar, Ole	25	May 29, '61	May 12, '63	Wounded at Savage Sta.; discharged for disability.
Parker, Edmond F.	26	Sept. 26, '61	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Peterson, Thomas	36	May 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Savage Station.
Peterson, Hans	.....	Feb. 14, '62	.....	Wounded at Savage Station; killed at Bristow.
Pitcher, Eli F.	21	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Wounded; transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Richardson, Josiah	31	May 24, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Fredericksburg.
Riddle, Wm. C.	19	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Re-enlisted in 1st Battalion.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY F—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Rush, Hiram I.	23	Apl. 29, '61		Killed at Bull Run.
Sallee, James F.	25	May 22, '61		Killed at Bull Run.
Season, Edwin	23	May 25, '61	Dec. 20, '62	Discharged for disability.
Schweiger, David	18	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	
Seamans, Daniel H.	18	Sept. 21, '61	Jan., '63	Discharged for disability.
Scofield, Amos G.	24	Apl. 29, '61		Corp.; died Aug. 10, '61, of wounds at Bull Run.
Scurry, James	25	May 24, '61		Re-enlisted in 1st Battalion.
Shay, Michael	18	May 24, '61		Transferred to Cavalry; re-enlisted in 1st Battalion.
Shadinger, Wm.	25	June, '61	Mch. 25, '63	Discharged for wounds at Vienna.
Skinner, Hiram A.	19	May 29, '61		Died at Fair Oaks, June, '62.
Skinner, Wm. J.	21	Apl. 29, '61	Oct. 2, '61	Died July 5, '62, of disease.
Smith, John H.	27	Apl. 29, '61		Discharged for disability.
Smith, Francis	24	Mich. 30, '64		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Squire, Leonard J.	24	Apl. 29, '61		Killed at Gettysburg.
Standish, Merritt G.	50	Aug. 26, '61		Corp.; transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Steinberg, Adam	38	Mch. 29, '64		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Syverson, Amos	21	May 17, '61		Wnd at Savage Sta.; trans. to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Smith, Josiah R.	39	Jan. 1, '62		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Thomas, Elijah F.	21	Apl. 29, '61		Died in prison Sept. 6, '61, from wounds at Bull Run.
Underwood, James M.	22	Apl. 29, '61		Killed at Bull Run.
Webb, Lester A.	18	May 15, '61		Transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Williams, John	27	Apl. 29, '61		Corp.; wnd at Antietam; dis. from general hospital.
Williams, Martin	30	May 15, '61		Corp.; killed June 29, '62, at Savage Station.
Williams, E. Oscar	18	Apl. 29, '61		Serg.; transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Wood, Theodore A.	25	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp., Serg.; detailed with Division Quartermaster.
Wright, James A.	22	Apl. 29, '61		Corp., Serg., 1st Serg.; wnd Gettysburg; Lt. 1st Batt.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY G.

Names.	Entered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
OFFICERS.			
Captains—			
Lewis McKim	Apr. 29, '61		Killed July 21, '61, at Bull Run.
Nathan S. Messick	July 29, '61		1st Lieut.; killed July 3, '63, at Gettysburg.
Dewitt C. Smith	Aug. 8, '61		Trans. from Co. D; resigned Oct. 7, '63; Paymaster; killed by guerrillas.
Josias R. King	Oct. 19, '63	May 4, '64	1st Lieut. Co. A and G.
First Lieutenants—			
John J. McCallum	July 29, '61		Serg. Capt. Co. F; wounded at Fredericksburg; trans. Inv. Corps; Brevet Major.
James H. Shepley	July 29, '61	Jan. 13, '63	2d Lieut. Co. E; resigned.
James DeGray	April 29, '61		Corp. Serg. 2d Lieut., 1st Lieut.; wounded at Gettysburg and Bristow; transferred to Inv. Corps.
Second Lieutenants—			
William E. Smith	Apr. 29, '61	July 31, '61	Resigned.
John H. Spencer	July 31, '61		1st Serg.; transferred to Co. F and Co. E; trans. to Signal Corps.
ENLISTED MEN.			
Areman, Adam	May 15, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Andrew, Marvin D.	May 23, '61	Oct. 29, '62	Discharged for disability.
Bassett, Edward H.	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	
Barlow, Dana S.	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	
Barrow, Norman B.	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	
Baker, Jefferson G.	May 23, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg.
Balcock, James M.	Feb. 24, '64	July 27, '65	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Belote, James	May 23, '61		Transferred to 1st Battalion; Corp.
Benson, Chas. M.	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	Transferred to 6th U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Bemis, Joseph G.	May 23, '61		Corp.; wounded at Bristow.
Bennett, Wm. D.	Feb. 4, '65		Transferred to 6th U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Borchert, Henry	Apr. 29, '61		Discharged for disability.
Boll, Eyedeln	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 25, '62.
Bondurant, Cyrus S.	Apr. 29, '61		Trans. Sept. 10, '61 to Co. F; wnd. at Gettysburg.
Brook, Wm. A.	Feb. 4, '63		Discharged for disability.
Brown, Wm. W.	Sept. 13, '64		Trans. to 1st Battalion; wounded at Gettysburg.
Buckman, George R.	May 5, '64		Cornet, Sergeant.
Case, Merritt B.	May 23, '61	Dec. 22, '63	Wnd. Bull Run; dis. for prom. Maj. of colored Regt.
Carney, James H.	Mar. 21, '63	Oct. 1, '65	Wnd. at Gettysburg; 1st Lieut. Heavy Artillery.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY G—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Card, William	18	May 23, '61		Died June 2, '62, at Fair Oaks.
Coombs, Charles A.	35	Dec. 16, '62		Wounded at Gettysburg.
Coen, Wm. G.	21	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Antietam and Gettysburg.
Crooker, Geo. W.	20	May 23, '61	Aug. 8, '61	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Curtis, M. M.	25	Aug. 22, '61	Jan. 25, '62	Discharged for disability.
Davison, Charles E.	27	Apr. 29, '61		Serg. wnd at Bull Run; died Nov. 6, '62, at New York.
Davis, Chas. C.	26	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; Com. Serg.
Dickinson, Frank	18	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Killed at Gettysburg.
Dunham, Phineas L.	20	Apr. 29, '61		Wnd. at Bull Run; discharged for disa. July 6, '63.
Dubois, James L.	24	Apr. 29, '61	Feb. 6, '63	Discharged at Gettysburg.
Ernst, Anthony W.	22	May 23, '61		Died Aug. 5, '63, of wounds at Gettysburg.
Farnsworth, Jerome	18	May 23, '61		Died July 23, '63, of wounds at Gettysburg.
Ferguson, Stephen E.	28	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run.
Gatzke, John	22	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Antietam and Gettysburg.
Gibson, Francis	25	May 23, '61	June 19, '61	Wagoner; discharged for disability.
Gifford, Samuel S.	22	Feb. 30, '64		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Goodrich, Jonathan	21	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Gregg, Robert	21	May 13, '61	May 5, '64	
Gross, Oscar	25	May 23, '61	July 21, '61	Discharged; wounded at Gettysburg.
Graves, David	18	Aug. 26, '61	Jan. 20, '63	Discharged for disability.
Hall, Philo	19	Feb. 23, '61	May 5, '61	Corp.; Serg.; 1st Serg.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Haskell, Merritt	20	Feb. 20, '64		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Hanneman, Louis E.	20	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 23, '61	Musician; discharged.
Haskins, Ezra D.	20	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Bugler and Principal Musician.
Hausauer, Michael	19	May 28, '61	May 5, '64	
Healey, Martin	38	May 28, '61	Aug. 3, '61	Discharged for disability.
Hess, Charles E.	23	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 3, '61	Corp.; wnd. at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Hollister, Edward	28	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 3, '61	Corp.; wnd. at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
House, Joseph L.	26	Apr. 29, '61	Apr. 2, '63	Discharged for disability.
Holther, John	20	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred to U. S. Artillery.
Hopkins, George J.	18	May 28, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg.
Jackson, Caleb B.	19	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corporal.
Jewell, Benjamin H.	19	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred to 6th U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Johnson, Albert	19	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corporal.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY G—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Jones, Anthony	25	May 15, '61	Jan. 4, '64	Wnd. at Bull Run and Gettysburg; dis. for disa.
Johnson, Stephen H.	23	May 23, '61	Dec. 8, '61	Discharged for disability.
Joy, Wm. A.	22	Mich. 15, '61		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Kenney, George A.	23	Apl. 23, '61		Wnd. Haymarket and Antietam; trans. to Inv. Corps.
Knight, Edwin M.	18	Dec. 17, '61	Jan. 14, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg; discharged for disability.
Laird, Samuel	22	May 18, '61		Died August 22, '62.
Livingston, Francis F.	24	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Division Wagonmaster.
Lilly, Samuel	20	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Logan, John D.	22	Apl. 29, '61		Corp.; wounded on picket.
Magee, George	21	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
McKinstry, John	21	May 23, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg.
McCulloch, Jonas G.	18	Mich. 22, '64		Died Aug. 22, '63, wounds at Gettysburg.
Meyers, William	26	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Miller, Asa	22	Apl. 29, '61		Killed at Bull Run.
Mosher, Ludwell J.	22	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Antietam and Gettysburg.
Mollison, Allen	23	May 23, '61		Corp.; transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Morford, Samuel D.	19	May 23, '61		Wnd. at Gettysburg; absent, sick on dis. of regt.
Needham, Edward Z.	18	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corporal.
Nichols, James L.	19	Apl. 29, '61		Absent, paroled prisoner, at discharge of regiment.
Northrup, Irvine W.	23	May 23, '61		Serg.; died July 14, '62, of disease.
Olmsted, Geo. W.	20	May 23, '61		Transferred to U. S. Engineers Oct. 25, '62.
Parker, Chas. C.	24	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Serg.; Capt. in 1st Battalion.
Patterson, Merritt B.	25	May 23, '61		Killed at Bull Run.
Patterson, Martin	27	Aug. 22, '61	Jan. 7, '63	Discharged for disability.
Pearl, S. J.	23	Sept. 10, '61		Died Aug. 21, '62.
Peasley, Joseph W.	18	Mich. 24, '64		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Phelps, Alvin	19	May 22, '61	Jan. 10, '63	Discharged for disability.
Phillips, Edward P.	21	May 22, '61		Corporal.
Potter, Edward	23	Apl. 29, '61	Aug. 3, '61	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Potter, William	20	Apl. 29, '61	Aug. 13, '61	Discharged for wounds at Bull Run.
Ramsey, William	22	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Corporal.
Ramsdell, Peter W.	41	Apl. 29, '61	Jan. 26, '62	Discharged for disability.
Reed, Walter S.	22	May 23, '61		Wnd. Bull Run and Gettysburg; re-enlisted 1st Batt.
Reed, Neri	21	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY G—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Beed, Nathaniel	21	May 20, '61	.....	Re-listed 1st Battalion.
Thorner, John M.	20	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg and Bull Run.
Reynolds, Samuel	21	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	
Reynolds, Lewis G.	20	Apl. 29, '61	Feb. 6, '63	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Roberts, Benjamin	19	May 23, '61	.....	Re-enlisted 1st Battalion.
Rooks, Wm. A.	19	Apl. 29, '61	Jan. 19, '63	Discharged for disability.
Russell, James E.	22	Apl. 29, '61	Feb. 14, '63	Wnd. at Fredericksburg; discharged for disability.
Sawyer, George P.	22	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Killed at Gettysburg.
Sawyer, James T.	25	May 23, '61	.....	Wounded at Antietam.
Schultz, Julius	29	Apl. 29, '61	Jan. 10, '62	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Sissler, Joseph	28	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Killed at Gettysburg.
Soule, Battus K.	31	Apl. 29, '61	Feb. 17, '63	Wnd. at Fredericksburg and Antietam; dis. for disa.
Squiers, Chauncey	25	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run.
Strickland, Almond C.	23	May 23, '61	Aug. 3, '61	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Strothman, John E.	28	May 15, '61	.....	Musician, corp.; killed at Gettysburg.
Taylor, Charles E.	36	Feb. 28, '64	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Tiffany, Edgar	27	May 23, '64	May 5, '64	Musician.
Thom, George	24	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	
Tuman, Edward	27	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corporal, Sergeant.
Wattles, Richard M.	20	Apl. 29, '61	Jan. 3, '63	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Wattles, Leander	18	Aug. 26, '61	Jan. 15, '63	Discharged for disability.
Welles, Henry G.	22	Apl. 29, '61	Nov. 28, '62	Wounded at Savage Station; discharged for disa.
Webster, Chas. E.	21	May 23, '61	Dec. 1, '62	Wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability.
Whitney, Henry Clay	23	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Sergeant, 1st Sergeant.
Williams, Theodore	22	May 23, '61	.....	Died Sept. 24, '62.
Winchell, Nathaniel	20	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	
Williams, Geo. A.	24	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Sergeant.
Wood, Luman S.	23	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Corporal.
Wood, David	26	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	
Verplank, Edward E.	25	Apl. 29, '61	July 31, '61	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY H.

Names.	No. of Men	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
OFFICERS.				
Captains—				
Chas. P. Adams	30	Apr. 30, '61	May 4, '64	Adj. Lt. Col. Bvt. Brig. Gen., wmd. Bull Run, Malvern Hill, Antietam and Gettysburg; Maj. Hatch's Expedition Cavalry, Lt. Col.
John N. Chase				
John N. Chase	26	Sept. 26, '62	May 4, '61	1st Lieut. and 1st Serg. Company E.
First Lieutenants—				
Orrin T. Hayes	33	Apr. 30, '61	July 29, '61	designed.
Wm. B. Leach	27	July 29, '61	Feb. 7, '64	2d Lieut., Adjut., Capt. and A. A. G. to Gen. Dana, Feb. 23, '62.
Francis Bausen	31	Feb. 24, '62	May 4, '64	Priv., appointed Q. M. July 10, '62.
Martin Maginuis	20	Sept. 14, '62	.....	2d Lieut. Co. F; Capt. Co. K July 28, '63.
Myron Shepard .....	.....	July 4, '63	.....	Serg. Co. E; 2 Lieut. Co. H.; trans. to and from Co. F.
Second Lieutenants—				
Henry Hooyer	30	July 29, '61	Jan. 8, '62	1st Serg.; resigned.
Jasper N. Scamlos	20	Jan. 19, '62	.....	Priv.; 1st Lieut. Co. K; Capt. Co. C, Com. Amb. Corps.
George Boyd .....	.....	.....	.....	Transferred to Co. B Jan. 23, '63; 1st Lieut. Co. J.
ENLISTED MEN.				
Ackers, James	24	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Serg.; killed at Gettysburg.
Arnason, Albert	23	Apr. 29, '61	.....	.....
Bates, William	27	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 21, '62	Discharged for disability.
Baker, Allen	19	May 22, '61	Aug. 5, '61	Discharged for disability.
Bauman, Franklin	18	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	wounded at Bull Run.
Perkman, William	22	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 23, '62	Discharged for disability.
Birke, Christian	36	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run.
Boyer, Geo. B. .....	.....	Nov. 5, '61	.....	Killed at Antietam.
Bradbury, Geo. W.	25	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	.....
Brusch, Lewis	19	Feb. 20, '62	July 27, '65	Returns for Jan. '61 says sick in Hospital, enlisted in 1st Battalion.
Brown, David W.	21	May 15, '61	.....	Transferred to Inv. Corps Aug. '63.
Brock, Andrew J.	18	May 23, '61	.....	Transferred to U. S. Cav. Aug. '63.
Brock, Columbus	19	May 23, '61	.....	Killed at Bull Run.
Brown, Newton	18	May 23, '61	Dec. 21, '61	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Bunker, Stephen F.	18	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 15, '61	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Cady, Henry C.	19	Apr. 29, '61	Nov. 22, '62	Disability.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY H—Continued.

Names.	Age.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Canfield, Mortimer	23	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '61	
Casper, Wilson	26	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '61	
Caniff, J.	25	Apr. 24, '61	July 11, '65	Killed at Antietam.
Cassidy, James	21	Dec. 18, '61	Apr. 1, '63	Corp.; transferred to 1st Battalion. Captured at Savage Station.
Catsey, Andrew J.	21	Dec. 26, '61	Nov. 18, '62	Discharged for disability.
Chaugen, John	22	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run and Gettysburg.
Church, David P.	23	May 23, '61	Nov. 2, '63	Discharged for disability.
Clifford, Jeremiah	19	Nov. 6, '61	Nov. 6, '61	Transferred to U. S. Cavalry Oct. 24, '62.
Conley, Wm. I.	18	May 23, '61	Nov. 6, '61	Killed at Bull Run.
Collins, Peter	35	Apr. 24, '61	Nov. 6, '61	Transferred to 1st Battalion; killed Aug. 14, '64.
Crandall, Dennis	28	May 15, '61	Feb. 3, '63	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Cronkite, Samuel S.	29	May 22, '61	Nov. 6, '61	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Cross, David C.	31	May 23, '61	Jan. 6, '62	Discharged for disability.
Cummings, Wm. W.	26	Apr. 29, '61	Nov. 6, '61	Serg.; wounded at Bull Run; killed Oct. 27, '61, accidental discharge of gun.
Dayton, Samuel	43	May 23, '61	Aug. 12, '61	Wagoner; discharged for disability.
Dewey, Benjamin P.	26	May 23, '61	May 1, '63	Discharged for promotion in regular army.
Diehl, Frederick	27	July 29, '61	Nov. 6, '61	Serg.; died of wounds at Gettysburg.
Downs, Thomas	30	May 23, '61	Sept. 6, '62	Discharged for disability.
Driggle, Christian	39	July 29, '61	Oct. 16, '62	
Ducken, J. H.	27	Feb. 11, '61	Feb. 24, '65	
Drondt, Keziban	26	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '61	Wounded at Bull Run.
Dyer, Joshua	22	Nov. 5, '61	May 5, '61	Corp. and Serg.; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Eaton, William	18	May 23, '61	Nov. 6, '61	Transferred to U. S. Cavalry Oct. 24, '62.
Ellison, Seagr	46	May 23, '61	Nov. 6, '61	Killed at Bull Run.
Ellis, Aaron G.	22	May 23, '61	Nov. 6, '61	Discharged for disability.
Fedman, Geo. A.	29	Apr. 29, '61	Jan. 23, '63	Corp.; wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disa.
Festes, Israel H.	24	Apr. 29, '61	Feb. 14, '63	Transferred to U. S. Cavalry Oct. 24, '62.
Fessner, John H.	26	Apr. 29, '61	Nov. 6, '61	Wounded at Antietam; killed at Gettysburg.
Everets, Wm. W.	23	Apr. 29, '61	Nov. 6, '61	Wound at Antietam; trans. to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Farnsworth, Allen C.	12	Nov. 5, '61	Jan. 9, '62	Discharged for disability.
Fannagan, John	18	May 22, '61	Nov. 6, '61	
Fritz, Alvis	39	May 22, '61	Nov. 6, '61	
Galvin, Thomas	23	Apr. 29, '61	Nov. 6, '61	

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY H—Continued.

Names.	Rank	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Geering, Robert	32	Apl. 29, '61	Nov. 2, '62	Discharged for disability.
Getchell, Daniel W.	18	Apl. 29, '61	Jan. 2, '62	Discharged for disability.
Ghostly, James T.	22	June 2, '64	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run.
Giles, James A.	26	Feb. 27, '64	June 17, '65	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Gilman, John	...	Feb. 20, '62	.....	.....
Harris, John	19	Apl. 29, '61	Jan. 26, '62	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Harrow, Geo. T.	18	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Transferred to U. S. Cavalry Oct. 24, '62.
Harrison, John E.	37	May 23, '61	Mch. 17, '63	Discharged for disability.
Harmon, Ransom	27	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run.
Hainlin, Ernst	21	Apl. 29, '61	July 5, '62	Discharged for disability.
Henry, James T.	22	Apl. 29, '61	.....	Died July 6, '62, of disease.
Helmel, Jeremiah	19	Apl. 29, '61	Feb. 20, '63	Wounded at Bull Run and Antietam, dis. for disa.
Hess, Greenhalt	26	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Antietam.
Heard, Alonzo R.	22	May 15, '61	.....	Transferred to Signal Corps Aug. 12, '63.
Hoag, Charles M.	26	Apl. 29, '61	Nov. 2, '62	Corp.; discharged for disability.
Hoag, F. W.	18	Mch. 28, '64	July 27, '65	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Howard, Geo. W.	20	Apl. 29, '61	.....	The muster roll for July and August says—on duty since enlistment but not sworn in.
Hunbybun, Thomas	43	Apl. 29, '61	Dec. 17, '61	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Hubbard, Henry A.	20	Apl. 29, '61	Dec. 15, '61	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Johnson, Samuel	18	Mch. 10, '64	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Keating, Robert	18	Apl. 29, '61	June 19, '61	Discharged by writ of habeas corpus.
Kendall, Julien	20	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corporal.
Keating, Lawrence	28	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Antietam.
Keely, John K.	24	May 23, '61	Mch. 26, '62	Discharged for disability.
Kretler, John	35	Nov. 5, '61	.....	Transferred to Inv. Corps. Sept. 11, '63.
Lawton, Wesley	20	May 22, '61	June 21, '61	Musician; disability.
Lawson, John	...	Mch. 31, '64	.....	.....
Leathers, Charles	24	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bristow.
Lindergreen, H. W.	25	Apl. 29, '61	July 23, '62	Discharged for disability.
Lowe, Henry A.	29	Apl. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; Serg.; wounded at Bristow.
Mahoney, James	35	Apl. 29, '61	June, '63	Discharged for disability.
Mathews, Adolph	38	May 18, '61	Aug. 5, '61	Discharged for disability.
Macar, John	31	May 23, '61	.....	.....

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY H—Continued.

Names.	Age	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Mansfield, Charles	32	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run.
Mars, John R.	27	May 16, '61	May 5, '64	Corporal, 1st Sergeant.
Marks, Peter	29	Apr. 29, '61		Corp., died of wounds received at Gettysburg.
Mead, Frank J.	22	May 24, '61		Corp.; transferred to Company B May 17, '62.
Meyer, John	31	May 23, '61		Transferred to Inv. Corps July, '63.
Mosburger, Jacob	19	May 15, '61	Feb. 14, '63	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Munson, M. C.	26	Feb. 29, '64		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Myers, Frederick	19	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred to U. S. Cavalry Oct. 24, '62.
Nelson, John	35	Feb. 14, '62		Slightly wounded at Bull Run.
Noble, Chas.	20	Apr. 29, '61		Discharged for disability.
O'Neil, Chas C.	20	May 23, '61	Dec. 3, '62	Discharged for disability.
Owen, Apollus E.	19	Apr. 29, '61	Nov. 5, '62	Wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability.
Owen, Earl P.	25	Oct. 11, '61	Mch. 21, '63	Corp.; wnd. at Bull Run and Antietam; dis. for disa.
Panehalt, Geo. F.	21	May 23, '61		Killed at Antietam.
Peterson, Peter	28	Feb. 11, '62		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Preston, Wallace M.	18	Nov. 5, '62	Nov. 10, '63	Discharged for disability.
Puscy, Joseph F.	27	May 23, '61	Dec. 1, '62	Discharged for disability.
Raymond, Frederick W.	19	Apr. 29, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg, died Oct. 19, '63.
Ratch, William	34	Apr. 29, '61		Absent, sick on dis. of regt.; prisoner Savage Station.
Ragey, Robert	38	Apr. 29, '61		Died Sept. 18, 1862, at Alexandria, Va.
Ridge, Joseph	23	May 20, '61	May 5, '64	Transferred to U. S. Artillery, Oct. 24, '61.
Roundtree, James	29	Apr. 29, '61		
Ryan, Patrick	19	May 31, '61	May 5, '64	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Rye, Charles	35	Feb. 27, '61		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Sastrow, Walter	24	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Schultz, Peter	25	Feb. 19, '64		Corp.; transferred to U. S. Cavalry Oct. 24, '62.
Shetts, Charles	22	Apr. 29, '61		
Shafer, John C.	18	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Killed at Antietam.
Sholl, John G.	32	Nov. 5, '61		Wounded at Bull Run and Antietam.
Simons, Edwin B.	24	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Smith, Beni. J.	18	Mch. 21, '62		Killed at Bull Run.
Smitsinger, Jabez	22	May 23, '61		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Starekloff, Herman	29	Mch. 28, '64		
Sunbay, G. G.	27	Feb. 27, '64		

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY H—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
TRUAX, Robt. J.	18	Apr. 29, '61	June 17, '61	Prisoner Savage Station.
Tucker, Charles M.	23	Apr. 29, '61	8, '62	Corp.; Serg.; wnd. Fair Oaks; discharged for disa.;
Twiggs, David	25	May 20, '61	Aug. 5, '61	Discharged for disability.
Twitchell, Newton H.	18	May 20, '61	25, '62	Discharged for disability.
Vace, H. P.	18	.....	Feb. 11, '63	Discharged for disability.
Van Valkenburgh, Noah ..	18	May 18, '61	Dec. 9, '61	Musician; discharged for disability.
Webster, Solon	33	May 22, '61	Aug. 9, '62	Discharged for disability.
White, John	29	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Absent, sick, on discharge of regiment.
Whalen, Martin S.	37	Feb. 25, '61	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Wicoff, Wm. H.	36	May 23, '61	.....	Serg.; killed at Gettysburg.
Wilson, John W.	21	May 22, '61	Aug. 8, '62	Discharged for disability.
Wingett, Oliver	21	Feb. 21, '62	.....	Died Aug. 5, '62 of disease in Virginia.
Wingett, Chas. W.	21	Mch 4, '62	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Wood, Edward L.	18	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Sergeant.
Young, Alonzo I.	36	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Serg.; discharged for disability.
Younans, Michael	19	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Killed at Bull Run.

ROSTER OF COMPANY I.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
OFFICERS.				
Captains—				
John H. Fell	30	Apr. 29, '61	Mch. 26, '63	Resigned; taken prisoner Oct. 14, '62.
Wilbur F. Duffy	23	Mch. 26, '63	May 4, '61	1st Lieutenant Co. C.
First Lieutenants—				
Joseph Harley	35	Apr. 30, '61	.....	Wounded at Bull Run; resigned July 31, '63.
Samuel T. Raguet .....	.....	Aug. 8, '61	.....	Transferred from Co. C and to Co. B.
George Boyd .....	.....	.....	May 4, '61	2d Lieut Cos. E and H.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY I—Continued.

Names.	Co.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Second Lieutenants—				
Charles B. Halsey	24	Apr. 30, '61	Nov. 15, '61	Resigned.
C. Edward Davis	25	Nov. 18, '61	.....	Promoted Capt. Co. E. July 3, '63.
Waldo Farrar	25	Apr. 29, '61	.....	1st Serg.; killed at Gettysburg.
ENLISTED MEN.				
Ablett, Henry	18	May 22, '61	May 5, '61	Discharged for disability.
Baker, Nabum C.	18	May 26, '61	Aug. 1, '61	Transferred to Co. D.
Bartlett, Ransom A.	24	Apr. 29, '61	Oct. 1, '63	Absent, sick on discharge of company.
Bennett, Theodore A.	18	Sept. 14, '61	.....	Transferred to 4th U. S. Cav. Oct. 23, '62.
Blodin, Nathan S.	26	May 24, '61	Oct. 23, '62	.....
Boyd, Jehial W.	18	May 24, '61	.....	Discharged for disability.
Brown, Frank S.	18	Sept. 28, '61	Dec. 16, '61	.....
Burham, Rollin M.	18	May 26, '61	.....	.....
Coffin, David A.	35	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '61	Corp. Sergs., Major, 1st Lieut. in Co. A.
Carlson, Carl M.	30	May 28, '61	May 25, '64	Musician.
Campfield, Wm. O.	23	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corporal.
Cannon, James	42	Apr. 29, '61	Nov. 27, '62	And, and taken prisoner at Bull Run and Fair Oaks.
Carroll, Thomas	20	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 15, '63	Commissioned 2d Lieut. 11th Minn. Inf.
Carucci, Bartholomew	29	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Discharged per order.
Chaffed, Amos	33	Apr. 29, '61	July 15, '63	Transferred to Co. B, Feb. 21, '62.
Churchill, John M.	25	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '61	Discharged for disability.
Clark, Levi	30	Sept. 10, '61	Sept. 21, '64	Corporal.
Coker, Andrew H.	18	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion; wnd. June 18, '64.
Coleman, James	24	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Killed at Bull Run.
Comer, Thomas	23	Sept. 14, '61	.....	Transferred to 4th U. S. Cav. Oct. 23, '62.
Coleman, Henry	35	Feb. 29, '61	July 23, '65	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Cropper, John	40	Feb. 29, '61	July 27, '65	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Crandall, Dennis	18	Apr. 29, '61	Feb. 1, '63	Discharged for disability.
Cureoff, Patrick S.	27	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Killed at Bull Run.
Davis, Albert S.	27	May 24, '61	.....	And, at Bull Run; trans. to Co. F; Corp. and Serg. Major; 1st Lieut. Co. A.
Dechante, Alfred	22	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	.....
Billy, Stephen B.	22	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Serg. discharged for disability.
Boncyah, Jeremiah	18	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run and Gettysburg.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY I—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Dwelle, Thomas M.	21	Sept. 10, '61	Feb. 7, '63	Discharged for disability.
Ellison, Augustus	22	Apr. 29, '61		Wid. at Bull Run; killed June 13, '62 near Fair Oaks.
Ellis, Philander C.	28	Apr. 29, '61		Wounded at Bull Run; killed at Gettysburg.
Eney, Levi	27	May 26, '61	Apr. 18, '62	Discharged for wounds at Bull Run.
Erwin, Alexander	19	Dec. 18, '61	Jan. 27, '63	Discharged for disability.
Ferris, Myron J.	23	May 26, '61		Transferred to 4th U. S. Cav. Oct. 23, '62.
Fisher, Chas. K.	21	Sept. 28, '61		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Fisk, Van H.	21	Sept. 14, '61		Discharged for disability.
Fox, John	28	May 30, '61	Feb. 16, '63	
Fernirod, Francis	33	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; wounded at Bull Run.
Freeze, Jacob F.	23	Apr. 29, '61		Died Aug. 2, '63, of wounds at Gettysburg.
Frey, Joseph	32	May 30, '61		Wounded at Bull Run; killed at Gettysburg.
Gorman, Richard L.	24	Apr. 29, '61	June 20, '63	Discharged for promotion 1st Lieut. 34th N. Y. Vols.
Green, J. W.	18	Sept. 17, '61		Discharged for disability.
Hancock, Allen H.	18	Apr. 29, '61		Wounded at Bull Run; died at Libby Prison.
Harris, Wesley	18	May 24, '61		Died April, '64.
Hayden, Anson R.	25	May 24, '61	May 5, '64	Corp., Serg.; wounded at Bull Run.
Hale, Edward P.	22	Sept. 28, '61		Died of wounds received at Gettysburg, Sept. 12, '63.
Hendricks, Marcus L.	21	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred to 4th U. S. Cav. Oct. 23, '62.
Heberington, James W.	19	May 24, '61		
Hendricks, F. M.	24	Dec. 27, '61		Lied July 22, '62.
Hickey, John	29	May 22, '61		
Hitt, Thaddeus N.	43	Dec. 17, '61	May 16, '63	Discharged for disability.
Howell, Wm. D.	22	May 24, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg.
Hutchins, Daniel	26	May 30, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg.
Jackson, Benjamin	29	Sept. 28, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg, transferred to 1st Batt.
Johnson, Andrew	22	June 4, '61		Transferred to Co. H Feb. 1, '62.
Johnson, Nelson	21	May 23, '61		Transferred to 4th U. S. Cav. Oct. 23, '62.
Johnson, John A.	19	May 31, '61		Transferred to 4th U. S. Cav. Dec. 25, '62.
Jones, Ambrose	28	Sept. 28, '61		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Keeler, George S.	18	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	
Kies, Daniel	15	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Kerrott, Edwin M.	18	May 24, '61	Dec. 3, '61	
Kenney, Mark	19	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded and prisoner at Bull Run.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY I—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Ketchum, George W.	23	Sept. 28, '61	. . . . .	Wounded at Antietam; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Kline, George	22	May 24, '61	Feb. 7, '63	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Knight, Oliver M.	23	Apr. 29, '61	Oct. 2, '63	Serg.; wounded at Gettysburg; dis. for pro. Prov. Marshal 1st Div., 25th Corps.
Lawson, Herman	20	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; wounded at Bull Run and Gettysburg.
Lavercombe, John	29	Feb. 30, '64	. . . . .	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Lessing, Ferdinand	24	Apr. 29, '61	. . . . .	Absent on detached service on discharge of regiment.
Lent, Benjamin	23	Apr. 29, '61	Nov. 16, '63	Wounded; discharged per order.
Mason, Charles F.	19	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run.
McKay, John H.	18	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run.
McClay, John	24	Feb. 26, '64	. . . . .	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Miller, George	20	Apr. 29, '61	. . . . .	Transferred to 4th U. S. Cav. Oct. 23, '62.
Miller, Frederick	18	May 24, '61	Dec. 28, '63	Discharged; promotion.
Milliken, George A.	19	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 15, '63	Wounded at Gettysburg; discharged for disability.
Miller, Ernst L. F.	27	May 30, '61	. . . . .	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Milne, John O.	23	June 1, '61	Dec. 16, '61	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Mitchell, Lewis F.	27	June 2, '61	. . . . .	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Murray, John W.	31	June 3, '61	. . . . .	Killed Oct. 22, '61, on skirmish at Edward's Ferry.
Nassig, Charles	38	May 29, '61	Jan. 7, '61	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Noonan, Patrick	35	Apr. 14, '64	. . . . .	Wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability.
O'Neil, James	21	Apr. 29, '61	. . . . .	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Orentt, Henry C.	20	May 26, '61	May 5, '64	Corp., Serg., 1st Serg.; wnd. at Bull Run and Gettysburg.
Orentt, Freeman	26	May 26, '61	. . . . .	Absent on detached service.
Orsan, George A.	26	May 30, '61	. . . . .	Corp., Serg.; died Feb. 3, '63, of disease.
Paul, Wm. L.	19	Apr. 29, '61	. . . . .	Transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 23, '62.
Paul, Edwin	21	May 26, '61	. . . . .	Died July 4, '63, of wounds at Gettysburg.
Parsons, Henry	21	May 24, '61	. . . . .	Transferred to 4th U. S. Cav. Oct. 23, '62.
Peck, Wm. N.	21	May 29, '61	. . . . .	Died July 4, '63, of wounds at Gettysburg.
Pendergast, Lloyd G.	19	May 4, '61	. . . . .	Transferred to 4th U. S. Cav. Oct. 23, '62.
Phillbrook, Wm. B.	20	May 24, '61	May 5, '64	Transferred to 4th U. S. Cav. Oct. 23, '62.
Pickett, Corwin	21	Apr. 29, '61	. . . . .	Died June 13, '62.
Pittenger, James Q.	19	May 22, '61	. . . . .	Wnd. Bull Run; died Nov. 4, '62, at Harper's Ferry.
Pickett, Thomas C.	19	May 22, '61	. . . . .	Died July 22, '62.
Priece, Edward B.	41	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	Serg.; wounded at Gettysburg.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY I—Continued.

Names.	No. of Co.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Putnam, Wm. A.	27	Apr. 29, '61	Mech. 27, '63	Discharged for disability.
Rabaca, Herman	21	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wnd. at White Oak Swamp.
Richards, Wm. K.	27	June 3, '61	May 5, '64	Corp., Serg.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Roe, Wm. J.	31	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Corp., Serg.; died of wounds received at Gettysburg.
Schweizer, Michael	27	May 30, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded.
Schmuck, Anton E.	33	May 24, '61	.....	Killed at Bull Run.
Seunry, James	37	Feb. 27, '61	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Schweigert, William	37	Mech. 23, '61	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Seymour, Samuel O. K.	38	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run and Gettysburg.
Shook, Norman	19	Mech. 20, '61	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Smith, George M.	43	May 21, '61	.....	Discharged for disability.
Soper, Fabmer	18	May 26, '61	Dec. 15, '61	Discharged for disability.
Soper, Edmund	25	May 31, '61	May 5, '64	Discharged for disability.
Strault, Sylvert	21	May 22, '61	Feb. 10, '63	Transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 23, '62.
Stull, William	24	May 21, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Sullivan, Omar H.	41	May 28, '61	May 5, '64	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Veon, Edmund	23	Sept. 28, '61	.....	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Weaver, Daniel S.	26	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corporal.
Wells, Henry G.	22	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Corp.; transferred to Co. G.
Welch, Byron	23	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Wagoner; killed at Gettysburg.
Weaver, George	28	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability.
Whitecomb, Milo S.	23	May 23, '61	Feb. 11, '63	Discharged for disability.
Widger, Henry	23	May 22, '61	Jan. 20, '61	Absent on detached service.
Winkelman, Edward E.	38	Apr. 29, '61	.....	Killed at Gettysburg.
Woodard, Oscar	18	May 21, '61	.....	Serg.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Worthington, Wm. H.	41	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Died August 27, '63, of wounds at Gettysburg.
Wellman, William F.	18	May 26, '61	.....

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY K.

Names.	No. of Men	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
OFFICERS.				
Captains ---				
Henry G. Lester	29	Apr. 30, '61	Nov. 15, '61	Pro. Col. 3d Minn. Inf.
Gustavus A. Holtzborn	32	Nov. 15, '61		1st Lieut.; killed Sept. 17, '62, at Antietam.
Joseph Periam	30	Sept. 17, '62		1st and 2d Lieut.; died July 7, '63, at Gettysburg, of wounds.
Martin Maginnis		July 8, '63	May 4, '64	1st Lieut. Co. H., 2d Lieut. and 1st Serg. Co. F.
First Lieutenants ---				
Jasper N. Searles			May 4, '64	2d Lieut. and Priv. Co. H; Capt. Co. G.
David A. Coffin				Transferred from Co. A.
Second Lieutenants ---				
John Ball	25	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	1st Serg. 2d Lieut. Co. K, 1st Co. F., wnd. at Bris- tow; Maj. Lt. 11th Minn.
William Lochren	29	Sept. 22, '62		Serg. and 1st Lieut. Co. E.
ENLISTED MEN.				
Abell, William H.	21	May 22, '61	July 14, '65	Re-enlisted in 1st Battalion.
Alderson, John	21	May 22, '61	Feb. 26, '62	Wnd. and captured at Bull Run; discharged for disa.
Allred, Levi J.	31	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp., Serg., Heavy Artillery.
Andrus, Charles H.	26	May 22, '61	Aug. 10, '61	Discharged for disability.
Badgely, John J.	21	May 22, '61	Nov. 25, '61	Discharged for disability.
Cabeock, James M.	23	May 22, '61		Transferred to Inv. Corps Dec. 1, '63.
Carson, Wm. J.	18	Apr. 29, '61		Wounded at Bull Run.
Cast, Baltasar	23	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bristow.
Chas.	23	Apr. 29, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg.
Beals, William	24	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	
Berry, Noah F.	23	May 22, '61		Transferred to Inv. Corps Dec. 1, '63.
Bingham, Horatio S.	23	Apr. 29, '61	Oct. 2, '62	Serg.; discharged per order; Capt. 2d Cav.
Boyson, Henry	23	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	
Bourne, Chardon	27	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Peardman, Chas. B.	26	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Brockway, Stephen R.	22	May 22, '61	Nov. 10, '61	Serg.; re-enlisted in 1st Battalion.
Brink, Hiram A.	31	Apr. 29, '61		Corp.; Color Serg.; killed at Savage Station.
Burgess, George N.	24	Apr. 29, '61		Killed at Bull Run.
Burton, Ephraim P.	22	Apr. 29, '61		Wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability.
Burgess, Samuel M.	21	Nov. 4, '61	Jan. 27, '63	

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY K—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Carpenter, Alfred P.	24	May 23, '61	Sept. 24, '63	Corp., Serg.; wounded at Antietam and Gettysburg; Lt.; in colored regiment.
Casey, Edward	20	May 23, '61		Transferred to U. S. Light Art., Oct. 24, '62.
Caulkin, Gavin E.	36	Feb. 27, '61	June 15, '65	Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Chapman, Edgar	23	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Sergeant.
Chase, Wm. B.	22	May 23, '61		Transferred to U. S. Light Art., Oct. 24, '62.
Churchill, Wm. H.	20	Oct. 24, '61	July 14, '65	Captured; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Chandler, Joseph C.	28	Jan. 6, '62	July 27, '65	Wounded at Gettysburg; trans. to 1st Battalion.
Countryman, Chas. C.	22	May 22, '61		Wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability.
Coy, Wm. A.	21	May 22, '61	Feb. 18, '63	Wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability.
Colburn, Alfred	27	Nov. 4, '61	Aug. 23, '62	Discharged for disability.
Crippen, Joseph M.	24	May 22, '61		Transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Day, John	29	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Dribblebiss, John	33	Apr. 29, '61	Apr. 10, '63	Wagoner; discharged for disability.
Drayne, Daniel	24	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp., Sergs.; 1st Sergs.; died Oct. 6, '62, of wounds at Antietam.
Dudley, David B.	23	Apr. 29, '61		
Durfee, George H.	22	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	
Durfee, Jason	20	May 23, '61		
Durfee, Chester H.	18	Aug. 26, '61	Mch. 9, '65	Wounded at Bull Run; died at Richmond; prisoner.
Durr, Israel	21	Jan. 25, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg; transferred to 1st Batt.
Eaton, Joseph S.	29	May 22, '61		Died of wounds at Gettysburg.
Einfeldt, John	23	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run and Gettysburg.
Ely, Charles E.	18	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp., Serg.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Evans, John J.	24	Apr. 29, '61	Nov. 28, '62	Serg.; discharged for disability.
Fajans, Julius	24	May 22, '61	May 23, '64	Corp.; discharged for pro. as Hospital Steward.
Flemming, W. H.	22	May 22, '61	July 13, '61	Discharged for disability.
French, James H.	21	Apr. 29, '61		supposed to have been disc. Gen. Hos., June '62.
George Andrew	23	May 20, '61		Killed at Gettysburg.
Geisreiter, Jacob	23	May 20, '61		Corp.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Goddard, Charles E.	18	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; killed at Gettysburg.
Gore, Leslie P.	19	May 20, '61		Killed at Bull Run.
Grimm, Fritz	22	Apr. 29, '61		Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for promotion.
Harding, Hiram	23	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 2, '61	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Hanson, Lewis	21	Dec. 16, '61		
Hill, Joseph S.	22	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Holland, Alonzo	23	Nov. 18, '61		Transferred to 1st Battalion.

ROSTER OF THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY K—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Iverson, Erick	21	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	Musician.
Johnson, Geo. F.	20	Jan. 18, '64		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Keiley, Timothy	21	Apr. 29, '61		Corp.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Kennedy, Mack J.	28	Apr. 29, '61	Nov. 13, '62	Discharged per order.
Kenniston, Alfred	34	Nov. 26, '61	Aug. 14, '62	Discharged for disability.
Ketchum, Cornelius	23	Nov. 18, '61		Sent to general hospital March 28, '62.
Kinnon, Mathias	24	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	Musician.
Kinyon, Wm. H.	21	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Gettysburg.
Knapp, Byron C.	21	May 22, '61	Nov. 27, '64	Discharged for disability.
Laey, Origen R.	20	Apr. 29, '61		Sent to gen. hos. Meh. 8, '62; trans. to 9th Minn. Vols.
Lincoln, Chas. F.	21	Apr. 29, '61	May 24, '62	Sent to skeleton regiment.
Lincoln, Joseph	23	Nov. 18, '61	Sept. 6, '62	Discharged for disability.
Lynn, John	28	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred to U. S. Cavalry Oct. 21, '62.
Marth, Wm. A.	21	May 22, '61		Killed at Antietam.
Manning, John	20	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Antietam.
Marvin, Mathew	22	Apr. 29, '61		Corp., Serg., 1st Serg.; wounded at Bull Run, Harri- son's Landing and Gettysburg.
Martin, Stephen E.	19	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	Corporal.
McIntyre, Malcolm	29	Apr. 26, '61	May 5, '64	
McDonnell, Allen	22	May 23, '61	Jan. 8, '64	Discharged per order.
Merritt, John G.	23	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Serg.; wounded at Bull Run.
Moore, Zaar E.	26	Apr. 29, '61		Serg.; killed at Bull Run.
Moore, Oliver W.	30	May 22, '61		Corp.; transferred to U. S. Light Art. Oct. 24, '62.
Moore, John	22	May 22, '61	Feb. 7, '63	Discharged for disability.
Morton, Henry	18	May 23, '61		Killed at Bull Run.
Nieklm, Samuel	25	May 23, '61	Dec. 18, '62	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
North, Charles	21	Apr. 29, '61		Corp., Serg., 1st Serg.; wounded at Gettysburg.
Palmer, John W.	19	Apr. 29, '61	Apr. 5, '64	Discharged per order.
Patton, William	22	May 22, '61		Wounded at Bull Run; sent to gen. hospital Oct. '62.
Pfund, William	29	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 25, '61	Discharged for disability.
Pickle, Alonzo	19	Aug. 14, '62		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Raymond, George	22	Apr. 29, '61	Aug. 1, '61	Discharged for disability; gunshot wound in arm.
Rais, W. R.	18	Feb. 9, '64		
Reynolds, James J.	19	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. '62.
Remore, Elijah	25	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred to Inv. Corps.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA

ROSTER OF COMPANY K—Continued.

Names.	No.	Mustered In.	Mustered Out.	REMARKS.
Richardson, James O.	21	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded and captured at Bull Run.
Rowley, Edward A.	19	May 22, '61		Corp.; discharged per order.
Sargent, Wm. G.	18	May 22, '61	May 5, '64	Corp.; trans. to U. S. Light Artillery Oct. 24, '62.
Seeley, James A.	23	Apr. 29, '61		Wounded at Fair Oaks and Fredericksburg.
Shaw, Alexander	20	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	
Sheeks, Franklin	20	May 23, '61	May 5, '64	
Sherman, Wm. M.	18	Dec. 2, '61		Wnd at Antietam; trans. to U. S. Cav. Oct. 27, '62.
Smith, Elbridge	19	Apr. 29, '61	Jan. 15, '63	Discharged for promotion U. S. Top. Eng. Corps.
Smith, Geo. C.	29	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 21, '61	Discharged for disability.
Smith, Samuel	21	Apr. 29, '61	Dec. 22, '61	Wounded at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Smith, Augustus H.	22	Nov. 25, '61		Killed at Gettysburg.
Smith, Wm.	25	Apr. 29, '61		Corp.; killed at Antietam.
Southmayd, John A.	24	May 23, '61		Discharged in hospital.
Stebbins, Samuel E.	31	Apr. 29, '61	Nov. 28, '62	Corp.; wnd at Bull Run; discharged for disability.
Sully, John W.	18	Jan. 30, '62		Transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Taylor, David	24	May 23, '61		Killed at Gettysburg.
Tallman, S. F.	21	Mch. 30, '64		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Tecter, Moses J.	24	Apr. 29, '61		Discharged per order.
Terril, Israel M.	28	May 23, '61	Aug. 3, '61	Discharged for disability.
Tennison, Reuben	21	Dec. 16, '61		Discharged from hospital.
Thompson, Aaron J.	18	Apr. 29, '61		Transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Thorp, John	21	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bristol.
Tolby, Ed	21	Mch. 31, '64		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Tennev, Samuel S.	17	Dec. 24, '61		Wounded at Gettysburg; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Truesdale, Andrew J.	23	Dec. 24, '61		Wounded at Fair Oaks; discharged for disability.
Towner, James	21	Jan. 30, '62	Nov. 28, '62	Wounded at Gettysburg; transferred to 1st Battalion.
Vosz, Peter	23	May 22, '61		Killed at Gettysburg.
Warner, Warren	38	May 22, '61		Wounded at Vienna; discharged for disability.
Walden, Lucius F.	27	May 22, '61	Oct. 14, '63	Corp.; transferred to U. S. Cav. Oct. 24, '62.
Wentworth, W.	20	Feb. 15, '61		Transferred to 1st Battalion.
Winchell, Wm. B.	23	May 29, '61		Killed Sept. 1, '62, in action near Flint Hill.
Winters, Henry C.	29	Apr. 29, '61		Wounded at Antietam; killed at Gettysburg.
Woodward, Frank	30	Apr. 29, '61	Nov. 27, '61	Discharged for disability.
Wright, Randolph	20	Apr. 29, '61		Corp.; killed at Gettysburg.
Zimmerman, Chris	20	Apr. 29, '61	May 5, '64	Wounded at Bull Run.

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