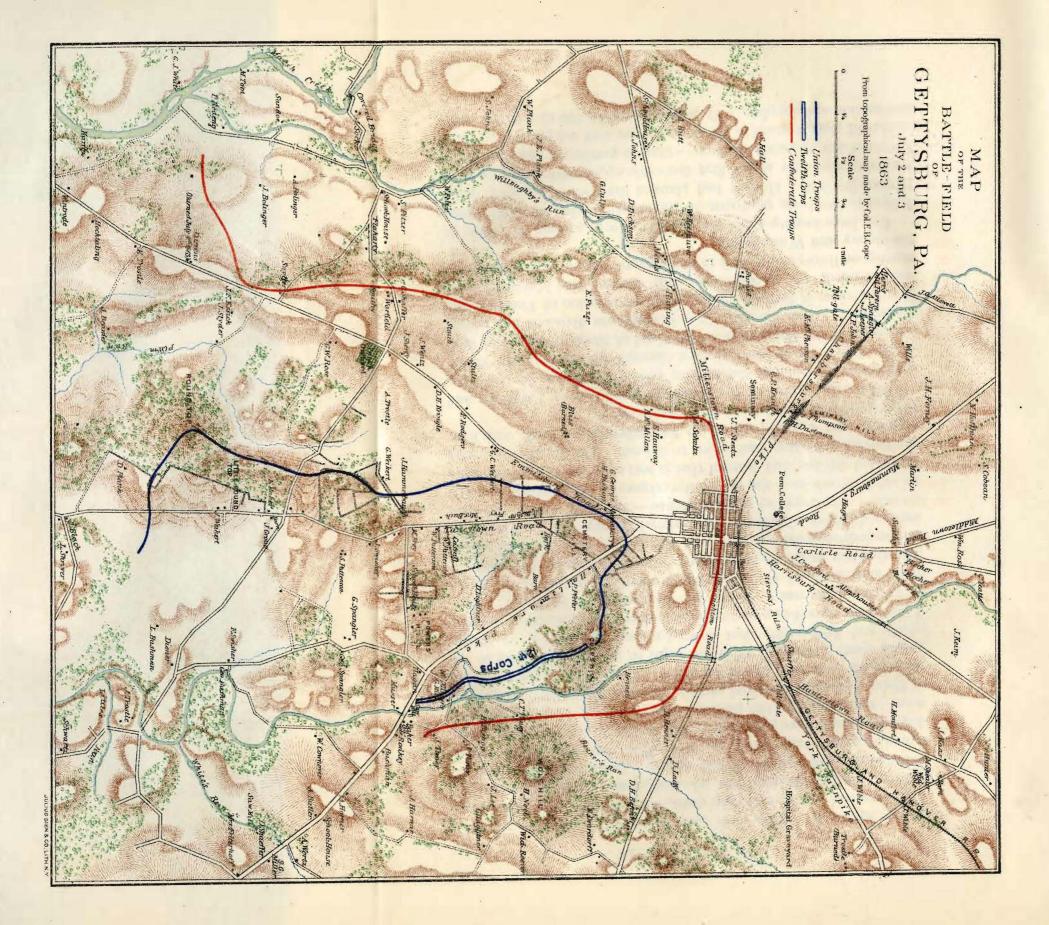
wood, as the Confederates call it — was the information gained and forwarded promptly to General Hooker: Longstreet's Corps was at Culpeper, while from the despatches captured in Stuart's camp effects it was learned that Lee's entire army had started or was under orders to move. Further than this Hooker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

Gettysburg.

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

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

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



hollow square in a large field near the camp. Generals Slocum, Williams, and Geary, with their staffs, were present. An ambulance, tightly closed, containing the criminals, made its appearance, surrounded and followed by a large guard. Immediately in front of it was an army wagon carrying the coffins which rattled a dismal dirge that must have grated painfully on the ears of the unfortunate On arriving at the place of execution they were helped out men. of the ambulance, conducted past their graves, blindfolded, and, with their hands pinioned, seated on their coffins. Three stout, robust young men, in the full flush and vigor of manhood, waiting to be coolly and deliberately shot down by their companions in arms. There were three firing parties, eight soldiers in each, with a reserve of twelve in the rear. They were marched up in front of the victims, and stationed at a distance of about three rods from them. The chaplain made an earnest and impressive prayer; the sentence of the court-martial was read, and the friends who had been standing beside them withdrew. At a signal twenty-four guns came to a ready — a moment of terrible silence — the sharp flash — the rattle of the muskets - the fall of the corpses on their coffins, and ten thousand soldiers had learned that it was a serious thing to forsake the Government they had sworn to defend. The division was then marched past the corpses, which had fallen stone dead, with five, seven and eight bullets in them respectively."

While the Army of the Potomac was lying at Leesburg and Centreville, or holding the eastern end of the passes in the Blue Ridge, Lee's forces were moving through the Shenandoah Valley and crossing the Potomac into Maryland at Shepardstown and Williamsport. When the last of the Confederate divisions had passed over the river it became evident that an invasion of Pennsylvania was intended, and so Hooker's army crossed into Maryland, and, moving on lines parallel with that of General Lee, kept itself between the enemy and Washington.

On June twenty-sixth the Twelfth Corps crossed the river at Edwards Ferry on pontoons, to the mouth of the Monocacy, near Poolesville, Md. Hooker had planned that, while his main army should engage Lee at the first favorable opportunity, Slocum with his corps and French's Division — then in garrison at Harpers Ferry — should place himself in the enemy's rear and cut his line of communication and supplies. French had over 10,000 men in his com-

mand, which, added to the Twelfth Corps, would have given Slocum an army of 20,000 strong. With this force he could have seized the river fords, taken an intrenched position in Lee's rear, and intercepted his retreat. It was a well-conceived movement, one which would have changed the character of the campaign and ensured better results. But General Halleck, Commander-in-Chief at Washington, refused Hooker's request for the use of the idle garrison at Harpers Ferry, and the Twelfth Corps, which had marched on the twenty-seventh via Point of Rocks to Knoxville, Md., in pursuance of this plan, was recalled.

General Hooker saw in this refusal something more than the mere question as to the best disposal of the forces at Harpers Ferry. He realized now that he could no longer rely on the friendly support and cordial co-operation of the War Department, so essential to his success, and asked to be relieved from command. His request was quickly granted, and on the twenty-eighth Maj. Gen. George G. Meade, of the Fifth Corps, was appointed in his place. This having been done, French's Division was immediately ordered to join Meade's army.

The Twelfth Corps, having been halted in its march to the Upper Potomac, turned its columns, and on the twenty-eighth marched to Frederick, crossing the Catoctin Range, with its beautiful scenery, on the way. In passing through Frederick the bands and field music played their liveliest tunes. At the first sound of the music the tired soldiers gave a cheer, braced up, and falling into step gave the citizens an idea of what a well-drilled corps could do in the way of fine marching.

The next day it moved to Bruceville and Taneytown, receiving at the latter place cheerful greetings from the men of the Third Corps, who were in bivouac there, and who had kindly feelings toward the red and white stars that had fought side by side with them at Chancellorsville.

On the thirtieth Slocum's two divisions crossed the Pennsylvania line and arrived at Littlestown about two o'clock. Here the dusty, hungry soldiers were refreshed by good food and drink that was freely and abundantly offered by the loyal, hospitable people. At this time a cavalry affair occurred in the outskirts of the village, and as the First Division, which had the lead that day, approached the place, skirmishers were thrown out. As "Battery M, First New York Light Artillery, came dashing down the road and into the town, the horses frothing at the mouth and the sweat streaming from every pore by their violent exercise, the prospect of a battle was greatly heightened. A good deal of amusement was afforded the troops by a crowd of citizens who fled from the town on hearing of the approach of the enemy, and took up a position on a rail fence along the road. They seemed to fear that the rebs would prove too much for Slocum's troops."* But Gregg's cavalry soon drove Stuart's troopers back, the firing died away in the distance, and the corps halted there for the rest of the day.

On July first Slocum moved his corps to Two Taverns, as directed by orders from army headquarters, the head of his column arriving there a little after eleven o'clock. Within an hour or so the entire corps was up. This place is five miles southeast of Gettysburg. About one o'clock, while the troops were resting in the fields along the roadside, a citizen came down the Baltimore Pike from Gettysburg and reported that a battle was being fought there. Slocum immediately sent Major Guindon of his staff, with an escort of mounted orderlies, to learn the truth of the story.

The report of this citizen was the first intimation Slocum received that there was any fighting "at the place called Gettysburg." A distant sound of artillery had been heard at times, but nothing to indicate that it was anything more than some cavalry affair such as had occurred the day before at Littlestown. The wind was blowing to the north, rendering the sound of the firing very indistinct; and, furthermore, the main battle of the First Day had not commenced as yet.

General Meade's circular of instructions to corps commanders, dated July first and received by Slocum that morning, informed him that, "If the enemy assume the offensive, it was his (Meade's) intention . . . to withdraw the army from its present position, and form line of battle" at Pipe Creek; and that "for this purpose, General Reynolds, in command of the left will withdraw the force at present at Gettysburg;" and that "General Slocum will assume command of the two corps at Hanover and Two Taverns, and withdraw them, via Union Mills." Shortly before two o'clock Slocum received a despatch from Howard informing him of the fighting at Gettysburg. Exercising the discretion allowable under such circum-

^{*} The Thirteenth New Jersey. By Samuel Toombs. Orange: Journal. 1878.

stances, Slocum immediately ordered the Twelfth Corps forward,* although the instructions from General Meade—the only ones received from him up to this time that day—indicated a different course.

General Geary, whose division had the lead, states in his official report that his column started at two p. m. and advanced rapidly on the road to the town; and General Williams, in his report, says that when the information of the engagement was received his division moved rapidly up the pike. While on the road to the front Slocum met his staff officer who was returning. Major Guindon confirmed the citizen's story, and informed Slocum that he had met Generals Hancock and Howard, both of whom sent an urgent request that the Twelfth Corps push forward as fast as possible.[†] These calls were unnecessary, however, as Slocum's men were already swinging along the road to Gettysburg at a most rapid gait, and had been for some time. Just before reaching Rock Creek, in the southern vicinity of the town, Slocum sent the following despatch:

July 1, 1863 — 3:35 p.m.

GENERAL HANCOCK OR GENERAL HOWARD:

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

H. W. SLOCUM,

Major-General.

On arriving at Rock Creek, Slocum with the First Division turned off to the right and following a crossroad for over a mile formed line at the base of Wolf Hill, on top of which some Confederate mounted troops were visible in the woods. The Twentyseventh Indiana deployed skirmishers, before whose advance the enemy slowly retired. At this time information was received that the Union forces had withdrawn to the east side of the town, whereupon Slocum ordered Williams's Division back to the Baltimore Pike, and, going to Cemetery Hill himself, assumed command of the field by right of seniority. In the meanwhile the Second Divi-

^{*} In a conversation with Mr. Snyder, the man who kept the hotel at Two Taverns, he told the writer that Slocum and his staff were at dinner in the hotel when the orderly came in with Howard's despatch; that Slocum, as soon as he read it, left the table quickly without finishing his meal and "in ten minutes they were all gone."

[†] New York at Gettysburg. By Lieut. Col. William F. Fox. Albany: J. B. Lyon Company. 1900.



PORTION OF GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD,-SECOND DAY.

From front of statue looking northerly to village of Gettysburg. Part of Stevens' Battery in foreground; slope of East Cemetery Hill on extreme left in background, with monument of 41st New York on left of lane at foot of hill; outline of South Mountain in the horizon.

sion, which had the advance of the corps, arrived at Cemetery Hill at four p. m. at the time when the First and Eleventh Corps were falling back through the town and occupying this position. Geary reported to Hancock who ordered him to occupy with his division "the high ground to the right of and near Round Top Mountain." Geary's report states that "at five p. m. this movement was consummated," with two of his regiments — Fifth Ohio and One Hundred and Fortyseventh Pennsylvania — occupying Little Round Top; and that the cavalry were already skirmishing in front of his position. The entire division was not here at this time, Kane's Brigade having been detached by General Slocum and placed in reserve near the Baltimore Turnpike, at the rear of Cemetery Hill. The battle of the First Day had ended. All was quiet and the men of the Twelfth Corps slept upon their arms, ready for whatever might betide them on the morrow.

Friday, July second, and the second day of the battle of Gettysburg. At five a. m. Geary's Division, having been ordered to rejoin its corps, went into position in the woods on Culp's Hill, where this corps (the Twelfth) held the right of the army. Its line connected on the left with Wadsworth's Division of the First Corps, and extended thence to the right along the wooded ridge, then down into the swale near Rock Creek, and up onto McAllister's Hill, where it terminated at the point of the "fish hook," to which the shape of the Union line has been so often and aptly compared. The Second Division held the left, and the First Division the right of the corps. General Williams was in command, Slocum being in charge of the right wing of the army, with his headquarters on Powers Hill, in rear of the Baltimore Pike. The men immediately commenced the construction of breastworks, for which the woods and rocky condition of the ground furnished ample material. Profiting by their experience at Chancellorsville the troops constructed works of a substantial character.

Early in the day Lockwood's Brigade, composed of the One Hundred and Fiftieth New York, First Maryland (P. H. B.*), and First Maryland (E. S. \dagger), having joined the army, was assigned to Williams's Division, where it reported for duty.

General Meade, after examining a part of the field on the morn-

^{*} First Maryland, Potomac Home Brigade.

⁺ First Maryland, Eastern Shore. This regiment did not arrive until the morning of the third. 12 177

ing of the second, decided to take the offensive. He issued an order at nine-thirty a. m., directing General Slocum, who was in command of the Twelfth and Fifth Corps, to make arrangements to move forward with these troops and attack the enemy on his front. Meade's instructions were that this attack should be made by the Twelfth, supported by the Fifth, and that he would give the order to move as soon as he received definite information of the approach of the Sixth Corps, which would be ordered "to co-operate in the attack." But the topography of the field in Slocum's front, with its rocky, uneven surface, woods, hills and streams, was such that there was little promise of success for an assault in that quarter. General Slocum, after a careful examination of the ground, reported unfavorably on the plan, an opinion in which General Warren, the chief engineer of the army, concurred. The movement was abandoned.

The forenoon passed in comparative quiet, with no firing except that of the corps skirmishers, who were smartly engaged near the Bonaughtown road. In the afternoon the Confederate artillery of Ewell's Corps took a position on Benner's Hill, on the opposite side of Rock Creek, whence a heavy fire was directed against the Twelfth Corps line and Cemetery Hill. This met with a spirited and successful reply from the Union artillery, in which Knap's and Muhlenberg's batteries of the Twelfth Corps sustained a creditable part.

At six p. m. orders came from General Meade for the Twelfth Corps to vacate its position and move to the left of the army, where General Sickles, who was making a desperate fight against overpowering numbers, was calling for reinforcements. It was only upon "Slocum's resolute insistence" that Greene's Brigade was permitted to remain, a wise precaution that "prevented Meade's losing the battle of Gettysburg." *

The First Division having arrived at the scene of action near Little Round Top, Lockwood, whose brigade had the advance, deployed his line, occupied a piece of woods, from which the enemy retreated, and then pushing boldly to the front in fine style recaptured three pieces of artillery. General Ruger, now in command of the First Division temporarily, seized the woods on Lock-

^{*} Gen. O. O. Howard's Memorial Address before Rankin Post, No. 10, G. A. R., at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, April 29, 1894.



wood's left, the Confederates retiring before his advance and making but little resistance. The attack on the Union left having been successfully repulsed, Meade ordered the Twelfth Corps to return to its position on the right. But in the meantime events, the most astonishing and important on all that battlefield, had been occurring there.

When the Twelfth Corps filed out of its works that evening pursuant to Meade's order, a strong force of the enemy - Johnson's Division of Ewell's Corps — was moving forward at that very time through the woods on the opposite side of Rock Creek to attack this portion of the Union line. Greene's Brigade of five New York regiments, numbering 1,350, all told, alone remained, and on this small command devolved the task hitherto assigned to an army The left of their line connected with Wadsworth's Division. corps. First Corps, which held the intrenchments on the western slope of the hill; on the right was the long line of empty breastworks which had just been vacated. Greene had received orders to reoccupy these entire works with the brigade, by thinning and lengthening his line. The One Hundred and Thirty-seventh New York, Col. David Ireland, moved accordingly into the adjoining works, which had been held by Kane's Brigade, and formed in single line, "one man deep; " but before any further movement could be made Johnson's attack commenced along the entire front.

• From behind their works Greene's men delivered a deadly fire that forced their assailants to seek safety in the woods at the base of the hill. The Confederates made repeated efforts to carry the works, but without success. Nightfall added to the gloom of the thick forest which covered the hill from its base to the breastworks on its summit, where the blazing lines of musketry marked the position of the combatants.

The left of Johnson's line was held by Steuart's* Brigade, which, overlapping Greene's right, entered the deserted intrenchments of Williams's Division and occupied them without opposition. From this vantage ground Steuart delivered a flank fire that, combined with his attack in front, forced Ireland's regiment to vacate the works. But Ireland withdrew his right to the rear, and, under cover of the darkness, formed a line perpendicular to the breastworks he had been occupying. Greene received some reinforcements now — 350 men from Wadsworth and 475 from the Eleventh Corps — and was able to maintain his ground.

^{*}There were three Confederate generals of this name, but each spelled it differently, Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, the cavalry leader; Gen. Geo. H. Steuart, of Ewell's corps; and Gen. Alex. P. Stewart, a division commander in Johnston's army. 179

The sturdy defense of Culp's Hill by Greene's Brigade after the corps had gone was one of the most remarkable achievements at Gettysburg. The Sixtieth New York, Col. Abel Godard, captured two stands of colors; and some of the men, leaping the breastworks, took several of the enemy prisoners, together with their flags. Colonel Lane, of the One Hundred and Second, was wounded, after which the command devolved on Capt. Lewis R. Stegman. The heaviest loss fell on the One Hundred and Thirty-seventh, which, owing to its exposed flank, suffered severely, losing 137 of its number, including four officers killed. The flag of the One Hundred and Forty-ninth received eighty-one bullets through its folds and seven in its staff, the color sergeant splicing it and replacing it on the works as often as it fell; a Confederate soldier who attempted to seize it went down, riddled with bullets. The Seventy-eighth, under Lieutenant-Colonel von Hammerstein, was deployed on the skirmish line at the foot of the hill, where its sturdy resistance to Johnson's advance gave General Greene time to prepare for the impending assault.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock, Johnson's troops, wearied with their repeated assaults in the darkness, abandoned their task and waited until daylight. Greene still held his original line; but on his right the Confederates were in possession of the intrenchments thrown up by Kane's Brigade, and, farther on, the works constructed by Williams's Division. There was nothing to prevent Steuart's Confederate Brigade marching straight ahead through the woods to the Baltimore Pike, about 400 yards distant, where it would have been in the rear of the Union army, in possession of its supply trains and reserve artillery, and on its proper line of retreat.

It was past midnight when the tired, weary troops of the Twelfth Corps, returning from their expedition to the left of the army, approached Culp's Hill for the purpose of reoccupying their intrenchments. The First Division was still under command of General Ruger, and with creditable caution he ordered skirmishers thrown forward to ascertain whether the enemy held any part of his breastworks. The presence of the Confederates in the works was soon discovered. At Spangler's Spring some of the Twelfth Corps men, under cover of the darkness, filled their canteens in company with the Confederates, who thronged that spot for water and answered unsuspectingly the customary questions as to their respec-

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LINE OF GREENE'S BRIGADE, CULP'S HILL.

From position near Maryland Confederate monument on opposite rise of ground. Monument of 137th New York on the left; last monument on the right is that of the 78th-102d New York. Tower showing above trees on right center is at left of Greene's Brigade.

tive regiments. The works on the extreme right, which were separated from the southeast base of Culp's Hill by an open swale, were not occupied by the enemy, and so a part of Ruger's troops resumed possession of that part of the line.

Geary's two brigades — Kane's and Candy's — returned, also, soon after Ruger's arrival. On entering the woods Kane's advance encountered a brisk fire, which was, at first, supposed to come from Without returning the fire Geary formed his Greene's command. line in silence and secrecy at right angles to Greene's, and extending from Greene's right to the Baltimore Pike. Kane's Brigade connected with Greene and relieved the One Hundred and Thirtyseventh New York, which had been holding the refused part of the Ruger formed his three brigades in two lines, in the open line. fields between the Baltimore Pike and his breastworks. By midnight safety was restored, and Johnson's opportunity to seize the Baltimore Pike was gone. General Williams placed twenty-six cannon in position behind his infantry, within 600 to 800 yards of the woods which Johnson's troops were occupying, and then gave orders to attack at daylight, when, as General Williams phrased it, "From these hills back of us we will shell hell out of them." *

Promptly at daybreak, before the gray light of early morning had fairly displaced the shadows of the night, the artillery of the Twelfth Corps opened fire on Johnson's troops, who were within the cover of the woods. They were already in line and about to attack when this artillery fire anticipated their movement. For fifteen minutes the Union batteries sent their projectiles crashing through the woods and bursting in the enemy's lines. Johnson had no artillery with which to make reply. He was unable to bring any with him owing to the hills, valleys, woods, rocks and streams over which he passed. But the artillery fire was only a preliminary to the infantry attack of the Twelfth Corps, which immediately followed. Johnson opened fire and advanced at the same time, both sides assuming the offensive simultaneously.

Johnson had been reinforced during the night by three brigades of Ewell's Corps. He now had seven brigades, two of which had not been in action since they came upon the field. Opposed to him were the six brigades of the Twelfth Corps, and Shaler's Brigade of the Sixth, which reinforced Geary at eight forty-five a. m. John-

^{*} Brown's History of the Twenty-seventh Indiana.

son's forces numbered about 9,600; those opposed to him about 11,200, all told.

This infantry attack of the Twelfth Corps to regain possession of its intrenchments commenced at daylight, soon after the artillery opened, and was made by the three brigades of Geary's Division, supported by a strong demonstration on the part of Ruger's artillery and infantry. One of Geary's brigades — Greene's — as has been shown, had not lost possession of its works, and it joined in the fierce musketry fire that ensued. The fire was close and deadly, while the echoing of the woods increased the appalling roar.

At seven a. m., Lockwood's Brigade, of the First Division, was sent to Geary's support. The One Hundred and Fiftieth New York of this brigade fired 150 rounds per man, the large number of dead in their front attesting the effectiveness of their fire. Johnson's troops, unable to gain ground, redoubled their efforts, upon which, in answer to Geary's call for aid, Shaler's Brigade of the Sixth Corps came to his assistance. At the same time, the First Division was pressing Johnson's troops actively and preventing them from turning Geary's right. The corps artillery, firing over the heads of the infantry, forced the Confederates to keep well within the cover of the stolen intrenchments, while every attempt to advance Johnson's left was checked by the effective musketry of some regiments of McDougall's Brigade.

Colgrove's Brigade, of the First Division, held the extreme right of the Union line, occupying the works beyond the swale, which Johnson's troops, in the darkness of the previous night, failed to occupy. During the course of the fighting Colgrove made an attempt with two regiments to effect a lodgment on the opposite side of the swale, and ordered the Second Massachusetts and Twenty-seventh Indiana forward for that purpose. These veteran regiments charged on a double-quick in face of a terrible musketry fire. The Second secured a position in the opposite woods, where for awhile it delivered an effective fire; the Twenty-seventh, crossing the swale obliquely, advanced to a position in front of the woods and close to the enemy's line from which it commenced firing. Both regiments suffered severely in crossing this piece of open ground, and as it became apparent that they could accomplish nothing in the face of the strong force that hitherto had been concealed by the woods and rocks. Colgrove sent orders for them to retire to their original posi-182



SWALE NEAR SPANGLER'S SPRING.

From woods back of 2d Mass, monument, which appears in left foreground. The 27th Indiana monument is partly covered by leaning tree in center of picture; a marker of the 27th is shown in the swale, slightly to the right of the 2d Mass, monument and under branch of a tree. The stone wall on the opposite side of the field marks a portion of the hne held by Confederates.

tions, which was done in good order. The Confederates attempted to follow, but met with such a hot fire from the rest of the brigade that they fell back to cover. These two regiments together carried 659 officers and men into this action, of whom 246 were killed or wounded within a few minutes. They encountered troops belonging to Walker's and Smith's Virginia brigades, the Forty-ninth Virginia losing two-fifths of its number in the affair.

Before making the charge it was apparent to every officer and man in the two Union regiments that some one had blundered, and that there was some misunderstanding in the transmission of the order. Still, both regiments moved forward with cheers as promptly as if they were certain of success. When Colonel Mudge, of the Second Massachusetts, received the word he remarked to some of his officers, "It is murder; but it is the order."* He fell dead before he had gone ten rods. The Second lost five color bearers in the charge.

During the morning the Thirteenth New Jersey and Twentyseventh Indiana were annoyed by some Confederate sharpshooters who occupied the Taney house, an old stone building, on the farther side of Rock Creek. Battery M, First New York Light Artillery, which was in position near the Baltimore Pike, trained one of its rifled guns on the house. With a few well-aimed percussion shells it soon made the building untenable, killing and wounding some of the vedettes who occupied it.

About ten o'clock Johnson made a strong, determined attack, led by Steuart's Brigade. It was repulsed, mainly by Kane's Brigade, under Col. George A. Cobham, a small command numbering about 690, all told, but advantageously placed. The famous "Stonewall" Brigade recoiled also from the sheets of deadly flame that blazed from Greene's breastworks, many of the men displaying signals of surrender and crawling into the works to escape the terrible, pitiless fire. Greene's intrenchments at this time were held by Candy's (Union) Brigade, and in front of the Seventh Ohio seventy-eight of the enemy, including seven officers, advanced and surrendered. Maj. B. W. Leigh, General Johnson's chief of staff and adjutantgeneral, endeavored gallantly to stop this surrender and to rally his men; but he fell dead a short distance in front of the rifles of the

^{*} History of the Second Massachusetts. By Chaplain A. H. Quint. Boston: James P. Walker. 1867.

Seventh Ohio. This gallant regiment, later in the battle, captured the flag of the Fourth Virginia.*

The men of Geary's Division, who, during all these hours, had been bravely fighting and watching for the proper opportunity, noted eagerly the failure of this last assault, and springing forward with loud cheers followed up their advantage. The whole line pushed ahead and drove the Confederates out of the lost works. The "Red Stars" of the First Division swept forward at the same time, and McDougall's Brigade recovered the line of intrenchments in its front which its men had labored so industriously to build, but which had sheltered the enemy instead of themselves. At eleven a. m., the Twelfth Corps was in full possession of its original line. Johnson's troops withdrew to Rock Creek, leaving a strong picket line in their front.

It was a remarkable fight. For seven hours the unremitting roar of the rifles continued along the front of the Twelfth Corps, varied at times by heavier crashes where some fresh regiment relieving another opened with a full volley. As fast as regiments expended their ammunition they were relieved, went to the rear, cleaned their rifles, refilled their cartridge boxes, and then resumed their place in line with loud cheers. It was the longest continuous fight of any made at Gettysburg. General Meade after listening to the incessant musketry around Culp's Hill thought that Geary was expending ammunition unnecessarily, and notified General Slocum to that effect. Meade, however, expressed satisfaction when Slocum explained the situation. Some of Geary's regiments fired 160 rounds. There were 3,702 enlisted men of this division on the field; they expended in this particular fight on July third 277,000 rounds of ammunition.

But the best evidence that there was no waste of powder was the ground itself when the fight was over. At no place on the field of Gettysburg did the dead lie thicker than along the front of Geary's Division. Johnson sustained a loss of 2,015, not including the casualties in Daniel's and O'Neal's brigades. These two commands

^{*} Col. Creighton (7th Ohio), in his report, says that his regiment captured the flag of the 14th Virginia,— evidently an error, as that regiment was not on that part of the field. It was in Pickett's Division, and its flag was captured by the 14th Conn. during Longstreet's assault the next day. Maj. Ellis of the 14th Conn., in his official report, makes an error, a curious one in this case, by describing the captured flag as that of the 4th Va., the regiment which fought at Culp's Hill.

lost 1,612 at Gettysburg; but they were engaged in the battle of the first day, also, and the casualties are not reported separately.

In remarkable contrast are the comparatively small losses of the Twelfth Corps, whose casualties are reported at 1,156, of which seventy-four occurred in Shaler's Brigade; and the Twelfth Corps was the attacking line, aside from Greene's position. But in previous battles — at Cedar Mountain, Antietam, and Chancellorsville — it had gone on record as inflicting a greater loss than it received.

The effect of the musketry on the forest was visible for many years in the dead and dying trees, few of which survived the countless scars inflicted during this storm of bullets and cannon shots.

In this fight on Culp's Hill the First Maryland (Confederate) of Steuart's Brigade, fought with the First Maryland of Lockwood's Brigade. Kinsmen and neighbors were arrayed against each other, and their mingled dead strewed the ground thickly where this bloody scene of civil war was enacted.

The battle on Culp's Hill had now practically ended, and quiet prevailed along that portion of the lines. Neither was there any sound of activity from the left or centre. But at one o'clock the silence was broken by the memorable cannonade which opened at that time. In this fierce artillery duel the Confederates employed 138 guns, to which General Hunt, the Union chief of artillery, replied with seventy-seven, that being all he could use on his interior line. Owing to the sharp curve in Meade's line of battle the position of the Twelfth Corps was now hazardous in the extreme, as most of the Confederate shot that overreached Cemetery Hill struck it in reverse and came crashing into its works, inflicting serious losses among these troops despite the woods, breastworks, and huge rocks among which the men sought protection from the bursting This prolonged artillery fire, with its trying scenes, was shells. followed by the grand infantry assault of Pettigrew and Pickett's divisions, during which the men of the Twelfth Corps listened in almost breathless suspense to the terrible uproar, for they realized full well what defeat would mean to them. Then came the sound of prolonged Union cheers, coming nearer and nearer, as regiment after regiment raised the shout of victory, and the men with the star badges sent back an echoing cry in loud acknowledgment of the good work that had been done by the brave fellows who wore the ace of clubs upon their caps.

near Saint James's College. Began the construction of breastworks. Advanced the picket line, which resulted in some slight skirmishing. Enemy held a strong intrenched position. The men of the Twelfth Corps expecting and all ready to make an assault.

July 13.— Still awaiting the order to attack the enemy's works and drive him into the river. Lively skirmishing by the corps pickets about five p. m.

July 14.— A reconnaissance in force ordered for seven a. m. by General Meade, all the troops to be "under arms in readiness for a general engagement." Williams's Division advanced to open the fight. The enemy's intrenchments were deserted. Lee's army had crossed the river. The Gettysburg campaign was ended.

Strength and Losses.

The effective strength of Meade's army at Gettysburg was 85,000. Lee's army numbered 71,000, present on the field, including all arms of the service. The losses were:

	Killed.		Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Total.						
Union, -				_		-	1	3,155	14,529	5,365	23,049
Confederate,	-		4		-		-	2,592	12,709	5,150	20,351

But the Confederate casualty lists did not include the slightly wounded; and the returns from some commands were only partial or missing entirely.

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The roster of the Twelfth Corps at Gettysburg, with the losses in each regiment, was officially reported as follows:

Battle of Gettysburg, July 1–3, 1863.

TWELFTH ARMY CORPS.

MAJ. GEN. HENRY W. SLOCUM.

First Division.

BRIG. GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Aggregate.	
First Brigade.					
Col. Archibald L. MacDougall.			L	Sec. 2	
5th Connecticut,		2	5	7	
20th Connecticut,	- 5	22	1	28	
3rd Maryland,	1	7		8	
123rd New York,	3	10	1	14	
145th New York,	1	9	1.1.7-1.1.19	10	
46th Pennsylvania,	2	10	1	13	
Second Brigade.		1			
Brig. Gen. Henry H. Lockwood.		1			
1st Maryland, P. H. B., -	23	80	1	104	
1st Maryland, E. S., -	5	18	2	25	
150th New York,	7	23	15	45	
Third Brigade.					
Brig. Gen. Thomas H. Ruger.					
27th Indiana,	23	86	1	110	
2nd Massachusetts,	23	109	4	136	
13th New Jersey,	1	20		21	
107th New York,		2	-	2	
3rd Wisconsin,	2	8		10	

Second Division.

BRIG. GEN. JOHN W. GEARY.

First Brigad Col. Charles Candy.	le.					1				I	
5th Ohio,		2		-		2	16	-		- 1	18
7th Ohio, -	-		-			1	17		-		18
29th Ohio,		-				7	81	-			38
66th Ohio, -	-		-		-	_	17		-		17
28th Pennsylvania, -		-		-		3	23			2	28
147th Pennsylvania,	-		-			5	15	-		-	20
										189	

	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Aggregate.	
				the second s	
Second Brigade.					
Brig. Gen. Thomas L. Kane.		1.11.11.11.11			
29th Pennsylvania,	15	43	8	66	
109th Pennsylvania,	3	6	1	10	
111th Pennsylvania,	5	17		22	
and a set of the set o		100	-C-3		
Third Brigade.					
Brig. Gen. George S. Greene.			and the second second		
60th New York,	11	41		52	
78th New York,	6	21	3	30	
102nd New York,	4	17	8	29	
137th New York,	40	87	10	137	
149th New York,	6	46	. 3	55	
Artillery Brigade,		9	-	9	
Total,	204	812	66	1,082	

The Tenth Maine battalion of four companies, on duty as a provost guard at corps headquarters, reported no casualties. The number carried into action by each regiment, so far as officially reported, was:

5th	Connecticut,		-		-		-		-		-		-		-	221
20th	Connecticut,			-		-		-		-		-		-		321
3rd	Maryland,		-		-		1		-		-		-		-	290
123rd	New York,	-		-		-		-		-		•		-		495
145th	New York,		-		-		-		-		-		-		-	245
46th	Pennsylvania	4		-		-		-		-		-		-		262
107th	New York,		-		-		-		-		-		-		-	319
3rd	Wisconsin,	2		-		-		-		-		-		-		246
7th	Ohio, -		-		-		-		-		-		-		-	278
109th	Pennsylvania	l,		-		-		-		-		•		-		149
60th	New York,		-		-		-		-		-		-		-	271
78th	New York,	-		-		-		-		-		-		-		200
150th	New York,		-		-		-		-		-		-		-	579
27th	Indiana,	-		-		-		-		-		-		-		339
2nd	Massachuset	ts,	-		-		-		-		-		-		-	320
13th	New Jersey,	-		-		-		-		-		-		-		347
102nd	New York,		-		-		-		-						-	248
137th	New York,	-		-		-		-		-		-		-		456
149th	New York,		4		-		•		-		-		•		-	319
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The comparatively small loss in most of the regiments was due to the small number of men in their depleted ranks; also, to the protection of the breastworks, the heavy tree growth under cover of which they fought, and the superior discipline of the corps. If heroic figures are wanted they will be found in the casualty lists of their opponents.

Geary's Division captured three stands of colors, one of them the battle flag of the famous "Stonewall" Brigade, and over 500 prisoners, not including 600 wounded who were left lying in front of the works. Geary turned over to his division ordnance officer 2,000 small arms which Johnson's troops had left upon the field.

The Return to Virginia.

Lee's army having escaped, General Meade moved his forces down the river to Harpers Ferry and Berlin, where there were better facilities for crossing; and because, as he stated, of "the difficulty of supplying the army in the Valley of the Shenandoah, owing to the destruction of railroad."

The Twelfth Corps left its intrenchments at Williamsport on July fifteenth, and moved, via Sharpsburg and the Antietam Iron Works, to Pleasant Valley, near Sandy Hook, where it encamped the next two days. On the nineteenth the corps crossed the Potomac on a pontoon bridge at Harpers Ferry, some of the regiments singing the John Brown song, and started on a march which lasted several days, ending at the Rappahannock River on the thirty-first.

The route lay through Loudoun Valley, Thoroughfare Gap, and the little villages of Hillsborough, Snickersville, Upperville, Somerset Mills, Markham, Piedmont, Linden, Rectortown, White Plains, Hay Market, Greenwich, Catlett's Station, and Warrenton Junction. The men traveled 226 miles after leaving Gettysburg, the roads in places being in bad condition, and the weather at times excessively warm. Excepting a halt of two days near Snicker's Gap — twenty-first and twenty-second — and five days at Warrenton Junction, the column covered from twenty-one to twenty-three miles each day. Still, the march was not a severe one, as the corps broke camp each morning at sunrise, which enabled them to travel much of the distance in the cool of the day. The route, for the greater

part, lay through a fertile, pleasant country with fine mountain scenery at times, while the profusion of berries and other fruit that grew along the road furnished a healthful and grateful addition to the plain rations of salt pork and hardtack. During the halt at noon some of the generals did not disdain to go berry picking, and many of the soldiers took this opportunity to fill their tin cups with large ripe blackberries to supplement their evening meal.

As the troops neared Manassas Gap and other passes in the Blue Ridge there were sounds of fighting ahead, and forming line of battle at such times the men nerved themselves in expectation of going into battle; but no general engagement occurred, and the corps resumed its march on each occasion without firing a shot. There was no straggling or disorder. At one place a complaint was made to General Geary that two soldiers of his division had entered a woman's house and carried off bed quilts, wearing apparel, and other articles not recognized in the regulations for foraging, an infraction of corps discipline which was promptly punished by drumming the offenders out of camp to the tune of the Rogue's March, and dismissing them from the service in disgrace.*

On arriving at the Rappahannock the corps crossed at Kelly's Ford, going into camp on the south side of the river. The next day — August first — the cavalry of both armies were engaged near by, and the Twelfth Corps was ordered under arms in expectation of a battle, as the Army of the Potomac had again reached the enemy's line of defense. But on the second the troops withdrew to the north side, the pontoon bridge was taken up, and the corps went into camp near the ford, with a part of the Second Division stationed at Ellis's Ford, farther down the stream.

On August thirteenth Slocum received the following despatch from General Humphreys, Meade's chief of staff: "I am instructed by the major-general commanding to inform you that he is called to Washington, and that he deems it advisable that you should be at these headquarters until he returns. He leaves at twelve m." As Slocum was the senior general in the Army of the Potomac this despatch placed him virtually in temporary command, although nothing happened in the meanwhile that made it necessary for him to exercise the duties of that position. This incident need not be

^{*} Memoirs of the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York Volunteers. By Capt. George K. Collins. Syracuse, N. Y. 1891.

mentioned here, were it not for its significance in relation to events and appointments which followed soon after in connection with the history of his corps, when he was forced to serve in a subordinate position incompatible with his rank and previous service.

The enforcement of the military draft in New York had been suspended by the riotous opposition of a mob which held possession of the city for several days in July. The War Department having decided to proceed with the conscription made secret arrangements to send 10,000 veteran troops from the Army of the Potomac to the assistance of the provost marshals in New York and other cities of that State. On August 15, 1863, Slocum received an order from Meade containing, with other instructions in the matter, the following paragraph:

"The commanding general directs that the following regiments of your command proceed to Alexandria to-morrow, under the command of Brig. Gen. T. H. Ruger, for service, with the nature of which you are acquainted, viz.: Second Massachusetts, Third Wisconsin, Twenty-seventh Indiana, and Fifth, Seventh, Twenty-ninth, and Sixty-sixth Ohio regiments. You will please also send the One Hundred and Seventh New York regiment if you think it advisable to do so."

But no New York troops were sent on this expedition, although they would have gladly done all that any other regiments could do to punish the rioters whose acts had cast a stain on the loyal record of the Empire State. Ten regiments and a battery from other corps were also ordered to report to General Ruger for this same duty. Another provisional command under General Ayres, composed of regular troops and the Vermont Brigade, with some cavalry and artillery, was sent to New York at this time.

The regiments designated marched to Rappahannock Station the next day, whence they proceeded by rail to Alexandria, all of them in utter ignorance of their destination and the peculiar service for which they had been detached. After a delay of two days they embarked on ocean transports, where they received some information regarding the movement and the duties they were expected to perform. After a short sea voyage the advance arrived in New York on the twenty-second, encamping in City Hall Park, on the Battery, at Governor's Island and in Brooklyn, while some regiments were sent to Albany, Troy, and other cities on the Hudson.

The riotous element, overawed by the presence of these battletried veterans, made no hostile demonstration, and the conscription having been completed the troops returned to their camp grounds on the Rappahannock. Their stay in New York had lasted two weeks or more, varying some according to the arrival and departure of the different regiments. It proved to be a pleasant excursion in which the soldiers took keen delight, many of them seeing for the first time the ocean and the attractions of the great metropolis. The returning regiments of the Twelfth Corps arrived at Kelly's Ford on the evening of September twelfth, some of them having been absent twenty-seven days.

The Confederate army had retired to the south side of the Rapidan, where it now occupied intrenched positions commanding the various fords. General Meade, on August fifteenth, ordered his forces across the Rappahannock and occupied the territory between these two rivers. On the sixteenth the Twelfth Corps crossed at Kelly's Ford and marched to Stevensburg, a half-deserted village about four miles from Brandy Station, the main army encamping at Culpeper and in its vicinity. The next day the corps moved to Raccoon Ford, on the Rapidan, relieving the cavalry pickets on duty there, after which Slocum's troops picketed the river from Somerville Ford to Stringfellow's Ford. The greater part of the corps, however, remained at Raccoon Ford.

The Rapidan at these upper fords is narrow, not over eighty yards The Confederates held their side in strong force, each crossing wide. being covered by lines of rifle pits, and, at some points, by earthworks in which artillery was placed. While the Union cavalry held the north bank the picket firing was continuous, with considerable cannonading, the troopers using their carbines freely, to which the enemy made energetic reply. This interchange of shots was kept up for a time after the Twelfth Corps occupied the line. But veteran infantrymen always deprecated this noisy, ineffective style of fighting, and after two days or so the corps pickets succeeded in arranging a truce with their opponents in which it was agreed that all unnecessary firing should be discountenanced by both sides. better feeling soon prevailed; good-natured banter or conversation was indulged in; newspapers were exchanged; tea or coffee was traded for tobacco; and on one occasion the Johnnies went so far in their humorous courtesy as to turn out their guard and salute the 194

Union commander of the picket when he appeared on the opposite bank. Unfortunately this arrangement did not prevail at all the fords, and at some points the continuous firing resulted in unnecessary casualties.

While here the troops in each division were ordered out repeatedly to witness the execution of deserters. Two men in Geary's Division, belonging to the Seventy-eighth New York, were "shot to death by musketry" for the crime of desertion. This execution was described as a sickening spectacle, because of the poor aim and nervous bungling of the firing party. The unfortunate men were not killed by the volley, whereupon the reserve had to be brought forward to finish the gruesome work. Williams's Division was paraded on the eighteenth to attend the execution of a soldier in the Third Maryland, a mere lad, twenty years old; and again on the twenty-fifth, when a man from the One Hundred and Forty-fifth New York was marched out to meet the same fate.

The prolonged inactivity * of the Army of the Potomac enabled General Lee to send Hood's and McLaws's divisions of Longstreet's Corps to Tennessee, where they joined Bragg's army in time to render effective service in the battle of Chickamauga, and Pickett's Division to the defenses of Richmond. General Meade's army now outnumbered Lee's so greatly that the War Department decided to transfer a portion of this superfluous force to Chattanooga as a reinforcement to Rosecrans's beleaguered forces.† As the Army of the Cumberland was the only one of the Union armies that displayed any activity at this time, it seemed advisable to send there some of the troops that were idling away their time on the Rappahannock.

The Eleventh and Twelfth Corps were selected for this purpose, and placed under command of General Hooker with orders to proceed immediately to the seat of war in Tennessee. As Slocum's

^{*} President Lincoln's desire that the army should undertake some offensive movement at this time is evident from his letters to Halleck, which were forwarded to Meade. He sent, also, urgent requests to that effect. [See Official Records, Vol. XXIX, part II, pp. 187 and 207.]

In reply to Meade's explanations that he had no information as to the location and numbers of the enemy, Halleck sent a despatch — "When King Joseph wrote to Napoleon that he could not ascertain the position and strength of the enemy's army the Emperor replied: 'Attack him and you will soon find out.'" [Official Records, Vol. XXIX, part II, p. 278.]

[†] The strength of Meade's army on October tenth, after the withdrawal of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, was officially reported by him as 80,789, present for duty. Lee's army, in the absence of Longstreet's Corps, was officially reported at 48,067, present for duty.

relations with Hooker had been far from cordial since the battle of Chancellorsville, he now felt impelled to address the following letter to the President:

HIS EXCELLENCY ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

President of the United States:

SIR.—I have just been informed that I have been placed under command of Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker. My opinion of General Hooker, both as an officer and a gentleman, is too well known to make it necessary for me to refer to it in this communication. The public service cannot be promoted by placing under his command an officer who has so little confidence in his ability as I have. Our relations are such that it would be degrading in me to accept any position under him. I have therefore to respectfully tender the resignation of my commission as major-general of volunteers.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,

Major-General of Volunteers.

That the same unfriendly feelings were entertained by Hooker towards Slocum is evident from despatches that will be given farther on in their proper place. But the War Department refused to accept Slocum's resignation, and so he was forced to take orders from Hooker until such time as he could be provided with an appointment better suited to his rank.

On September twenty-fourth the Twelfth Corps was relieved by the First and ordered to march to the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, where cars were in waiting to convey the troops on their long ride to Southern Tennessee. The orders required that the withdrawal of the two corps should be made without attracting the attention of the enemy on the opposite side of the Rapidan. It may be interesting to note here how thoroughly Lee kept himself informed as to the movements of his opponent. He immediately sent a despatch to Jefferson Davis notifying him, "that on the twenty-fourth the Twelfth Corps, the one commanded by General Slocum, was reviewed by Sir Henry Holland and Assistant Adjutant-General Townsend. The review of a corps was noticed on that day by our lookout, and the disappearance of the large encampment east of Culpeper Court House."* On the twenty-eighth he informs Davis

* The First Army Corps, which moved to Raccoon Ford to relieve the Twelfth. 196

that "It has been reported to me that Slocum's and Howard's Corps, Twelfth and Eleventh, under General Hooker, are to re-enforce General Rosecrans, and that the movement of those corps was to have commenced on the evening of the twenty-fifth." Three days later he sends a despatch saying, "I consider it certain that two corps have been withdrawn from General Meade's army to re-enforce General Rosecrans. One of the scouts saw General Howard take the cars at Catlett's Station, and saw other troops marching toward Manassas which he believes to have been the Twelfth Corps."

The Transfer to The Army of the Cumberland.

September 24, 1863.— The Twelfth Corps, leaving its camp on the Rapidan, marched to Brandy Station; but, owing to a lack of railroad sidings at this point, most of the regiments, after waiting two days here, marched to Bealeton, where they boarded the cars on the twenty-sixth, for their journey west. Well-defined rumors were now in circulation as to their destination, and the men began to realize regretfully that they were severing their connection with the Army of the Potomac and leaving the battle grounds of Virginia where so many of their comrades lay buried.

The rolling stock provided for the accommodation of the troops consisted of the ordinary box cars used for hauling freight, in which plain seats had been constructed of boards. From thirty-five to forty-five men were placed in a car, according to its size. The route lay through Alexandria and Washington, and thence over the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, through Harpers Ferry, Martinsburg, and Hancock to Benwood, on the Ohio River.

The cars furnished for the first part of the journey had several square openings in each, sawed out of the sides, which afforded proper ventilation and enabled the soldiers to see the country through which they traveled. But at the first change of trains the men were transferred to close, dark cars, where they suffered for lack of air and light. They soon remedied this difficulty, however; for with the butts of their muskets or axes of their camp equipment they quickly made whatever windows were necessary. Many of the soldiers, in order to get a better view, rode on top of the cars, where they could enjoy the picturesque scenery of West Virginia, its mountains,

wild ravines, and forests which were then glowing with autumnal colors.

At Benwood the troops left the cars and, crossing the Ohio River on pontoons, boarded the trains of the Central Ohio Railroad in which they traveled via Cambridge, Zanesville, Columbus, Xenia, Dayton, Indianapolis, and Jeffersonville, crossing the river again on ferry boats to Louisville.

The ride through Ohio and Indiana was a memorable one. The former State was in the heat of a political campaign in which one of the candidates for governor had become conspicuous for his disloyalty and opposition to the continuance of the war. The loyal people turned out in crowds at each railway station, where they cheered the Union veterans and gave substantial evidence of their kindly feelings in the abundance of food and drink given to them, hot coffee, lemonade, cold boiled hams, roast meats and fowls, cake, fruit, and various dainties. The hungry boys, just from the front with its plain fare, relished this bountiful supply of choice eatables, and talked of home and how it reminded them of mother's cooking.

But more than all, they enjoyed the sight of the loyal, brighteyed girls, whose smiling faces and friendly advances greeted them at each stopping place. It was so long since they had seen any of the fair sex, or perhaps because of the facts in the case, they were sure that the Ohio and Indiana girls were the prettiest and nicest in The boys wrote saucy love notes on cards, old envelopes, the world. or any scrap of paper they could find, with the name and address of the sender added, and tossed them to the fair ones. In many instances some reckless lad, unable to find anything else to write on, took off his paper collar, wrote on it his address, and tying it to an apple threw it into the blushing, laughing crowd. Rev. Leonard G. Jordan, in his history of the Tenth Maine Battalion, says that "At Centreville, Indiana, where there was a young ladies' seminary, a bevy of the fair pupils stood on the platform of the station and sang many songs, or cheered us by pleasant words, and even in some cases by much warmer testimonials of their affection (perhaps for their brothers' sakes!)." As a result of all this the Ohio mails for months afterward carried hundreds of dainty missives southward to Slocum's camps, in reply to which many a soldier boy, seated at a cracker box, took his "pen in hand" to indite a becoming answer to his particular correspondent. And to-day there is more than one

veteran of the war whose gray-haired wife "used to live in Ohio when she was a girl" and who "got acquainted" with her husband "when the Twelfth Corps went West."

From Louisville the railroad journey was continued to Nashville, where the troops changed cars again and proceeded to Stevenson and Bridgeport, Alabama. The greater part of the corps arrived here, their present destination, on October fourth. Greene's Brigade, of Geary's Division, had left the cars the same day at Murfreesborough, Tennessee, where they were stationed temporarily, while Candy's Brigade, going on to Tullahoma, were unloaded The Eleventh Corps, which had preceded the Twelfth from there. Virginia, had gone as far as Bridgeport also, where it encamped for The journey had occupied seven days, in which the troops awhile. had traveled 1,192 miles. The transfer of these two corps -23,000 men, with their artillery, baggage, and horses - from Virginia to Tennessee, without loss or accident, was one of the notable events of the war, reflecting high credit on all connected with its management.

In sending this reinforcement to Tennessee it was not the intention of the War Department that these troops should join Rosecrans's army immediately; for he already had more men in his command than he could provide rations for, owing to the frequent interruption of the long line of communication that lay between him and Nashville, his base of supplies. The primary object was to protect the railroad from cavalry raids; and, subsequently, to restore the broken line between Bridgeport and Chattanooga, which, upon Rosecrans's retreat from Chickamauga was seized by the Confederates.

The arrival of Hooker's troops was opportune. A large force of Confederate cavalry under command of Gen. Joseph Wheeler was even then moving against the line of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. The road was raided at various places. Bridges were burned at Stone's River, at Garrison's Fork of the Duck River, and other points. The track was torn up, telegraph wires cut, and the long tunnel near Cowan was obstructed. The garrisons at Stone's River and Christiana were captured; the towns of Wartrace and Shelbyville were plundered.

Williams's Division had left the cars at Stevenson and Bridgeport but a few hours when orders came to put the men on the trains

again and move northward in pursuit of the raiders. The first stop was at Decherd, thirty miles distant, where a branch railway runs to McMinnville, which with its garrison and military stores, had just been captured by Wheeler. The next day the division moved to Elk River Bridge; and then, for lack of cars, it marched to Tullahoma. Then the route taken by the enemy's cavalry necessitated a movement — part of the division on cars and part on foot — to Duck River, and thence to Shelbyville; and from there to Bellbuckle and Christiana. A part of Candy's Brigade joined in this latter movement.

By the ninth Wheeler had disappeared, driven away by Crook's and Mitchell's Union cavalry, and then Williams's Division, in disconnected bodies, moved southward again to Elk River Bridge and Decherd, where some of the regiments remained twelve days or more. Here, at Estill Springs, the men were greatly interested in a regiment of colored troops stationed there — the first they had seen — whose drills, parades, and peculiar demeanor while on picket or guard duty furnished plenty of amusement, together with a supply of funny camp stories. The white soldiers near by were especially edified when some of their officers, who strolled into this camp, were arrested because they did not have the countersign.

Under orders of October eleventh the Eleventh Corps was directed to guard the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad from Bridgeport northward to Tantalon, and the Twelfth Corps from Tantalon to Murfreesborough. From the latter station to Nashville the road was protected by some western troops under Gen. R. S. Granger.

On October thirteenth the Twelfth Corps had been distributed along its portion of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad at the following points:

Slocum's Headquarters, -		-		-		-	Wartrace.
10th Maine Battalion,	-		-		-		Wartrace.
Williams's Headquarters,		-		-		-	Decherd.
20th Connecticut, -	-		-		-		Cowan.
3rd Maryland,		-		-		-	Tunnel.
46th Pennsylvania, -	-		1		-		Decherd.
123rd New York,		-		-		-	Decherd.
145th New York, -	-		-		-		Decherd.
4th United States Artille	ery-		F,	-		-	Decherd.
200							

1st New York Light Artillery - M	,	Decherd.
3rd Wisconsin,	-	Elk River.
2nd Massachusetts,	-	Elk River.
107th New York - 8 companies, -	~	Elk River.
107th New York - 2 companies, -	-	Estill Springs.
27th Indiana,	-	Tullahoma.
13th New Jersey,	-	Tullahoma.
150th New York - 7 companies, -	-	Tullahoma.
150th New York - 3 companies, -	-	R. R. Trestle.
Geary's Headquarters,		Murfreesborough.
7th Ohio,	-	Garrison's Bridge.
66th Ohio,		Wartrace.
28th Pennsylvania,	-	Duck River.
147th Pennsylvania,	-	Duck River.
5th Ohio,	-	Normandy.
29th Ohio,	-	Normandy.
111th Pennsylvania,		Murfreesborough.
109th Pennsylvania,		Columbus X Roads.
29th Pennsylvania — 8 companies,	-	Fosterville.
29th Pennsylvania - 2 companies, -		Shelbyville.
78th New York,	-	Stone's River.
60th New York,		Murfreesborough.
102nd New York,	-	Murfreesborough.
149th New York		Murfreesborough.
137th New York,	1	Train Guards.
Pennsylvania Battery - E, (Knap's,) -	_	Murfreesborough.

On October nineteenth General Rosecrans was relieved from command, and Gen. George H. Thomas was appointed in his place. As the Twelfth Corps was now in the Army of the Cumberland the men heard the news with expressions of satisfaction, for they were proud to serve under the "Hero of Chickamauga."

On the twenty-fourth Hooker received the following order from Thomas's headquarters:

You will leave General Slocum with one division of the Twelfth Corps to guard the railroad from Murfreesborough to Bridgeport. The Eleventh Corps and one division of the Twelfth will be concentrated at or in the vicinity of Bridgeport, preparatory to crossing the Tennessee River and moving up the south side to take possession of Rankin's Ferry. . . . The object of the movement is to hold the road and gain possession of the river as far as Brown's Ferry.

.

In transmitting this order to Slocum, General Butterfield, Hooker's chief of staff, added: "The general desires the division that can be quickest at Bridgeport be placed there." The condition stipulated in this request seems to have determined the selection of Geary's Division for the important and glorious movement then pending, and enabled the White Stars to win further laurels at Wauhatchie and Lookout Mountain.

The reason why General Slocum was left behind is clear in view of his claim that "when he came here it was under promise that he should not have to serve under Hooker."* Some such arrangement became necessary, for Hooker naturally entertained resentful feelings against Slocum when the outspoken opinions of the latter came to his ears. On October twelfth he wrote to President Lincoln, from Stevenson, Alabama, suggesting that Slocum should be tendered a command in Missouri or elsewhere, and in which he says:

Unless he gives more satisfaction in the discharge of his duties he will soon find himself in deeper water than he has been wading in. I shall act very deliberately with him. I will incur reproach if I allow the public interest to suffer by his contumacy. He now appears to be swayed entirely by passion in the exercise of his office.

Slocum continued in his headquarters at Tullahoma, Tennessee, where he had been most of the time since the arrival of his corps in the West. Geary's Division, which had been stationed at different points along the railroad between Murfreesborough and Tullahoma, was placed on railroad trains and moved to Bridgeport, his advance reaching there on the twenty-fifth.

The Midnight Battle of Waubatchie.

Bridgeport, on the Tennessee River, was practically the terminus at this time of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. The trains could not run any farther, because the line between this point and Chattanooga was in the possession of the enemy. The river was not available as a route for supplies, for the northern slope of Lookout Mountain, then held by a portion of Longstreet's Corps, descended

^{*} See letter of C. A. Dana to Secretary of War, dated Chattanooga, October 29, 1863. Official Records, Vol. XXXI, Part I, p. 73.



WAUHATCHIE VALLEY AND BATTLEFIELD.

View from Sunset Rock on Lookout Mountain where Generals Bragg and Longstreet stood when they watched the troops of Geary's Division, Twelfth Corps, in their advance to Wauhatchie. The railroad and highway run from right to left, through the center of the picture. The fighting occurred near the point where the fence line intersects the highway.

steeply to the shore, enabling the Confederate forces at that point to command the channel.

Chattanooga was so closely besieged on its southern front and on its flanks by Bragg's army that the Union forces there were obliged to obtain their subsistence and other supplies from Bridgeport. The latter place was only twenty-six miles distant, but owing to the obstructed communication all rations and forage had to be hauled on wagon trains by a circuitous mountainous country over roads that were well nigh impassable. The wagon trains were inadequate to the duty, and the road was lined with the bodies of horses and mules that had died of exhaustion and hunger on the route. The Union troops at Chattanooga were already on short rations, and the artillery teams were destitute of forage. Unless communication could be opened with Bridgeport by driving the enemy out of Lookout Valley, Chattanooga must be evacuated, and all the advantages of Rosecrans's campaign lost.

The Nashville Railroad was now safely held by Williams's Division, leaving Hooker free to undertake the movement intrusted to him for restoring direct connection with Bridgeport. To assist him in this undertaking, a force of 1,500 men from the Army of the Cumberland came down the river in pontoon boats on the night of October twenty-seventh, and under cover of the darkness effected a landing at Brown's Ferry, near the lower end of Lookout Valley. A bridge was laid immediately, over which the remainder of the two brigades to which these men belonged crossed and took up an intrenched position.

On the morning of October twenty-seventh Geary's Division, preceded by the Eleventh Corps, left Bridgeport, and crossing the Tennessee River on pontoons commenced the movement to Chattanooga. Geary was unable to concentrate his entire command at Bridgeport in time for this advance, and so marched away without Candy's Brigade and the One Hundred and Second New York of Greene's Brigade. The division moved this day as far as Shellmound, where it arrived at two p. m. Heavy fatigue details were made here to assist in the construction of a pontoon bridge at this place, the men being kept on this work until after midnight. Resuming the march at daylight the column moved by way of Running Water and Whitesides to Wauhatchie, six miles from Chattanooga, encamping here at five p. m. On passing Whitesides the

Sixtieth New York was detached, with orders to hold the pass leading from that place to Trenton.

When General Hooker halted Geary's command at Wauhatchie he ordered the Eleventh Corps on to Brown's Ferry, three miles farther, leaving Geary in the valley, where his unsupported and isolated position naturally invited attack. General Hazen, commanding one of the brigades from Chattanooga, "went to General Hooker and endeavored to get him to take up a compact line across the valley, and to bring all his forces together. But being confident the enemy would not disturb him, Hooker refused to change his dispositions."* General Hooker in his report of the battle of Wauhatchie says that, "The commands were too small to keep up a substantial communication that distance," and that he "deemed it more prudent to hold the men well in hand than to have a feeble one;" also, that in his judgment, it was essential to retain possession of both approaches to Kelly's Ferry.

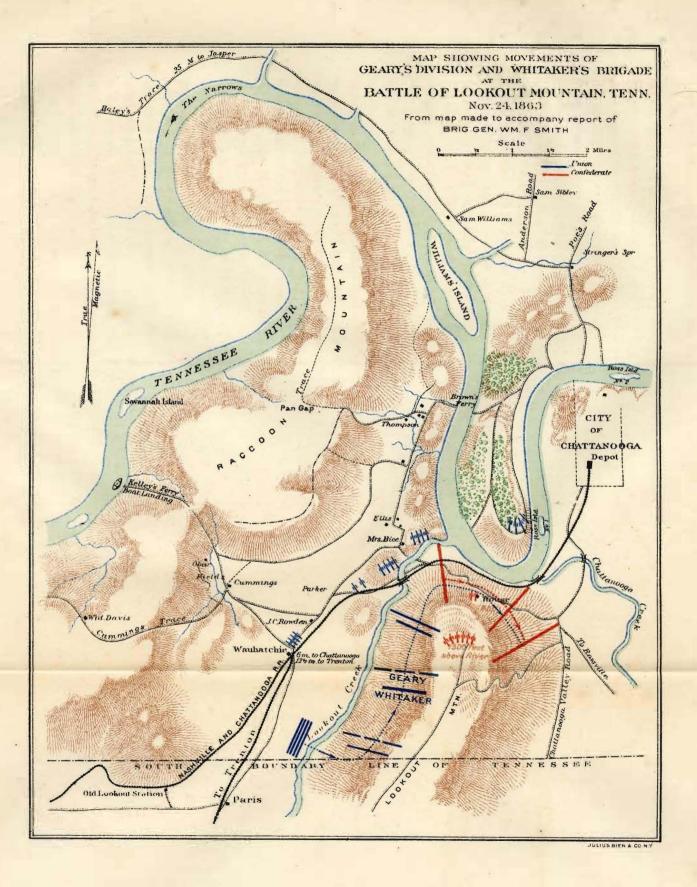
On October twenty-eighth, the day of Geary's arrival at Wauhatchie, Generals Bragg and Longstreet were on Lookout Mountain, from where they saw the Eleventh Corps march down Lookout Valley and unite with the force at Brown's Ferry. Longstreet says in his report, "The rear guard of this command † (about 1,500, with a battery of artillery) came up in about an hour and halted three miles from the main force. The road between the two commands ran along the western base of a series of heights and parallel to them." He says further: "As soon as the rear guard halted I sent orders to General Jenkins[‡] to concentrate at the base of the mountain his three brigades. . . . I also ordered General Law to advance his brigade as soon as it was dark, and occupy the height in his immediate front which commanded the road between the enemy's forces. General Jenkins reported in time to see the positions occupied by the enemy. He was ordered to hold the point designated for General Law with a sufficient force, while a portion of his command moved up the road and captured or dispersed the rear guard. . . . This was the force which I hoped to be able to cut off, surprise and capture."

^{*} See letter of C. A. Dana to Secretary Stanton, sent from Chattanooga, October 29, 1863. Official Records, Vol. XXXI, Part I, p. 72.

⁺ Geary's Division.

[‡] General Jenkins was then in command of Hood's Division.

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A well-laid plan, indeed! But the White Star Division was composed of troops that never allowed themselves to be surprised; nor could they be captured by any such force as Longstreet, in this case, deemed sufficient for that purpose.

As soon as the night was far enough advanced to conceal the movement the Confederate leader placed Law's and Robertson's brigades on the hill commanding the road, with the intention of intercepting any reinforcements from Brown's Ferry, and then sent Bratton's South Carolina brigade on its mission to "cut off, surprise and capture" Geary's command. Benning's Brigade was placed on Law's left, where it was in position to reinforce Bratton. These four brigades, constituting Hood's Division, "should have mustered" 5,000 men, according to Longstreet's statement.

Geary had with him at this time two brigades — Greene's and Cobham's — of which there were six regiments present altogether, with one battery (Knap's) of four guns. The regiments were small. One of them, the One Hundred and Ninth Pennsylvania, reported only 110 men, all told, as present in the engagement. Geary says that his infantry carried 93 officers and 1,499 enlisted men into action at Wauhatchie. Longstreet made a very close estimate as to the strength of that rear guard. The force sent to surprise Geary was Kershaw's Brigade of Gettysburg fame, containing six regiments, under command of Col. John Bratton.

As night came on, Geary, realizing the dangerous situation which he occupied, ordered his men to "bivouac upon their arms, with cartridge boxes on," and placed his four pieces of artillery in position on a knoll near the Rowden house. The Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania, Colonel Rickards, was sent out on picket.

Shortly after midnight Bratton's advance encountered the pickets of the Twenty-ninth, whose vigilance and steady resistance gave Geary ample notice of the impending attack and time to get his troops in line. In the engagement which followed, the fighting was desperate and prolonged. The South Carolinians attacked in front and flank, but the White Stars changed front to rear, or refused their right and left regiments whenever it became necessary in conforming to the movements of the enemy.

There was a moon that night, but it was overclouded much of the time, and in the darkness the soldiers could aim only at the flashes of the rifles or in the direction indicated by the cries and

cheers of their opponents. The Confederates directed an effective fire against the battery, the flame from the cannon affording a tempting mark. So many of the gunners were disabled that two of the pieces were silenced, and an infantry detail became necessary in working the other guns. The shouts of the Confederates to pick off the artillerists could be plainly heard. Lieutenant Geary of the battery, a son of the general, was killed. He had sighted a gun, and as he gave the command to fire he fell dead with a bullet through his forehead. Captain Atwell fell mortally wounded soon after; but the heroic gunners stuck to their work.

The fiercest attack was made against the One Hundred and Thirty-seventh New York and One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania, and the steadiness of these veteran regiments contributed materially to the defeat of the enemy. Toward the close of the action there was a scarcity of ammunition in these regiments, and many of the soldiers were obliged to get cartridges from the boxes of their fallen comrades. The four guns of the battery fired in all 224 rounds. At three a. m., after two hours or more of continuous fighting, the Confederates abandoned the attack and disappeared in the darkness, leaving many of their dead and wounded on the field.

		an Al-					Killed.	Wo	unded.	M	issing.	Aggregate.
Staff,		-		-		-			4	-	_	4
78th New York,	-		-		-				2		-	2
137th New York, -		-		-		-	15		75	-	~	90
149th New York,	-		-		-		1		11		-	12
29th Pennsylvania, -		-		-		-	1		6		2	9
109th Pennsylvania,	-		-		-		5	10	23		4	32
111th Pennsylvania, -		-		-		-	9		34		2	45
Knap's (Pennsylvania)	Ba	tte	ry,		-		3	1	19	-	-	22
Total,		-		1		-	34		174		8	216

The Union losses were:

Major Boyle, of the One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania, was killed, and General Greene was seriously wounded by a bullet that passed through his upper jaw, disabling him completely.

The casualties in the Confederate troops, as officially reported by regiments, amounted to 31 killed, 286 wounded, and 39 captured

or missing; total, 356. Colonel Kilpatrick, of the First South Carolina, was killed, "shot through the heart early in the engagement."

The battle over, the soldiers busied themselves until morning searching in the darkness for their wounded comrades, and in fortifying their position against further attack. Captain Collins, in his history of the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York, says: "When the rays of the rising sun came over Lookout Mountain they fell with a mellow light upon the tall and portly form of General Geary, standing with bowed head on the summit of the knoll, while before him lay the lifeless form of a lieutenant of artillery. Scattered about were cannon, battered and bullet-marked caissons and limbers, and many teams of horses dead in harness. There were many other dead, but none attracted his attention save this one, for he was his son. The men, respecting his sorrow, stood at a distance in silence, while he communed with his grief."*

When General Hooker heard the firing at Wauhatchie he ordered the Eleventh Corps under arms, and directed a portion of it to march to Geary's relief. Two brigades moved up the valley road to Wauhatchie, but they did not arrive there until five-thirty a. m., two hours after the fight had ended. In the meantime Col. Orland Smith's Brigade of the Eleventh Corps attacked the hill near the Ellis house, which was held by Law and Robertson, and drove the Confederates from this position.

The casualties in the fighting on the night of October twentyeighth were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
Eleventh Corps,	45 33	150 177	9 6	204 216
Total,	78	327	15	420

In addition, the Western troops in their operations at Brown's Ferry, October twenty-seventh, lost four killed and seventeen wounded.

^{*}Gen. John White Geary was born in Westmoreland Co., Pa., Dec. 30, 1819. Served in Mexican war as colonel, 2d Pa. Vols. Wounded at Chapultepec. First mayor of San Francisco (1850), and territorial governor of Kansas in 1856. At the outbreak of the CivilWar he raised the 28th Pa. Vols. and went to the front as its colonel. Commissioned brig. gen. April 25, 1862; brevetted maj. gen. in 1865. Elected governor of Pa. in 1866. Died at Harrisburg, Pa., Feb. 8, 1873.

The failure of General Bragg to drive Hooker out of Lookout Valley enabled Thomas to maintain communication with Bridgeport, and relieve his starving army. The "cracker line," as his soldiers called it, was open again. The Confederates still held Lookout Mountain in force, and hence the railroad and highway at its northern point remained in the enemy's hands. But, owing to the loop in the river, Brown's Ferry was only four miles from Chattanooga, and steamboats could ascend the stream to this point unmolested, while the wagon road by way of this ferry was now free all the way to Bridgeport.

The battle of Wauhatchie was a brilliant affair, to say nothing of the important results gained by it. General Thomas was a man of few words, not given to flattery, or the bestowal of unmerited praise. Hence, it is well to note the strong words in his General Order, No. 265, wherein he describes the fighting done by the commands of Geary and Smith, and adds that it " will rank among the most distinguished feats of arms of this war."

Lookout Mountain.

In October, 1863, the War Department issued an order creating the Military Division of the Mississippi, composed of the Department of the Ohio, the Cumberland and the Tennessee, the command of which was given to General Grant. On receiving notice of this appointment he proceeded immediately to Chattanooga to acquaint himself with the condition of affairs in that Department, and after a few days he established his headquarters there. The battle of Wauhatchie having solved the question of supplies he decided on an offensive movement, planning a battle that would either destroy Bragg's army or drive it southward into Georgia, and, at the same time, relieve Burnside, who was besieged at Knoxville. To this end he ordered the Army of the Tennessee, under General Sherman, to move from Memphis to Chattanooga to reinforce the Army of the Cumberland. Sherman, with three divisions of the Fifteenth Corps and one of the Seventeenth, arrived at Lookout Valley on November twenty-second, where the Confederates, from their eyrie on Point Lookout, could watch the long columns and wagon trains as they moved on toward Chattanooga.

The Fourth and Fourteenth corps, of the Army of the Cumber-208



LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN FROM WAUHATCHIE VALLEY.

Geary's Division and Whitaker's Brigade advanced from the ground on the extreme right, in two lines reaching from the base of the palisades transversely down the slope, and, wheeling around the point of the mountain, carried the Confederate works on the ridge at the left.

land — the troops that fought under Rosecrans at Chickamauga were encamped on the southern outskirts of Chattanooga, in the valley bounded by Missionary Ridge on the east and Lookout Mountain on the west. Beyond the latter range, to the west, is situated Lookout Valley, in which Hooker's army was stationed.

General Grant's first plan did not contemplate the storming of Lookout Mountain, his intention being to drive Bragg's forces off Missionary Ridge, combined with an attack on the Confederate lines that stretched across Chattanooga Valley near the town, which if successful would necessitate the evacuation of Lookout. With the seeming intention of giving Sherman an opportunity to win a full share of the honors of this battle, he planned that the latter should assault Missionary Ridge at its northern end, while Thomas should cooperate by attacking the enemy's line in the valley. To enable Sherman to accomplish this successfully Grant took the Eleventh Corps away from Hooker and ordered it, together with some other reinforcements from Thomas's command, to report to the commander of the Army of the Tennessee.

On November twenty-third Thomas advanced a part of his forces, and, in a brief but brilliant affair, seized Orchard Knob, a slight elevation near the base of Missionary Ridge. But on the twenty-third the high water and driftwood in the river broke up the pontoon bridge at Brown's Ferry before Osterhaus's Division of Sherman's army could cross, leaving these troops behind in Lookout Valley. Grant then issued orders to Hooker to take the forces remaining in his command and, with Osterhaus's Division, make a threatening movement against Lookout Mountain, and to carry that position if the "demonstration should develop its practicability."*

Hooker had now at his command in Lookout Valley Geary's Division of the Twelfth Corps; Cruft's Division of the Fourth Corps (Army of the Cumberland), consisting of two brigades, under Whitaker and Grose; and Osterhaus's Division—two brigades under Woods and Williamson.

Lookout Mountain is a long ridge, running north and south, with an elevation of 2,200 feet above tide, and 1,580 feet above the Tennessee River, which flows around its northern point. From the river the dividing line of its wooded slopes rises steeply to the base

^{*} Hooker's official report of the battle.

of Point Lookout, where that end of the ridge terminates abruptly in a perpendicular wall of rock. A short distance down the slope from the foot of this palisade is a farm on which stands the building known as Craven's house, or the White House, as sometimes called.

Near this house were posted two brigades of Stevenson's Division — Walthall's Mississippians, six regiments, and Moore's Alabamians, three regiments. During the battle they were reinforced by three regiments of Pettus's Alabama brigade. Other troops were on the summit of the ridge; but owing to their position above the palisades they took no part in the fighting, and received no orders to reinforce those on the lower slope. A line of Confederate pickets was stretched along the bank of Lookout Creek at the base of the mountain.

Hooker's plan of battle was complete: Geary's Division and Whitaker's Brigade were to cross Lookout Creek above Wauhatchie, ascend the western side of the mountain, and attack the position near the Craven house. Grose's Brigade (Fourth Corps) was to rebuild the bridges near the railroad, over which Osterhaus's Division could cross and climb the hill to the support of Geary, or by swinging to the left establish connection with Thomas's line in Chattanooga Valley. The artillery, under Major John A. Reynolds, Twelfth Corps, was placed where it could direct an effective fire against the enemy's position on the mountain and cover Geary's advance.

Early on the morning of November twenty-fourth Geary's command left its camps at the foot of Lookout Valley and marched to Wauhatchie Junction, two and one-half miles distant, leaving four regiments on guard duty — the Seventy-eighth New York, One Hundred and Ninth Pennsylvania, Fifth and Twenty-ninth Ohio. The troops were massed behind a wooded hill where their movements could not be seen by the Confederates on Point Lookout. Geary then assembled his brigade and field officers and informed them that he had orders to assault the enemy's works on the mountain. He explained in detail the movements to be made, and gave instructions that the same information should be communicated to the company officers.

The weather was damp and misty. A mass of drifting fog enveloped the summit of the mountain and upper slopes. Although it lifted at intervals the clouds obscured the outlook of the enemy's signal corps and enabled the movement to assume the nature of a surprise. Owing to the active work in view the men were in light 210



BATTLEFIELD OF LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN.

The Craven House and monument to Ireland's (Greene's) Brigade in the center. The other buildings were erected since the battle. Tennessee River and Moccasin Point in the distance.

marching order, having left their overcoats, blankets, and knapsacks in camp.

The pioneers soon bridged the creek at this point, and the troops began crossing at eight-thirty a. m., the skirmishers capturing the entire picket post stationed there before it could give an alarm. Moving by the right flank the column ascended the mountain until its advance reached the base of the high, rocky wall that forms the crest of the ridge. No opposition was encountered, for the enemy were not expecting any movement from this direction; the summit of the mountain was inaccessible at this place. The Confederate position, with its rifle pits and other defenses, was over two miles distant, around the point of the mountain and on its northern slope. The attention of the Confederates was diverted by the operations of Osterhaus's men who were engaged in bridging the creek at different points near the front, during which they were massed in full view of the enemy.

Geary's troops now faced to the left and front, and formed line of battle with Cobham's Brigade — two regiments only — on the right; Greene's Brigade, four regiments — now under command of Colonel Ireland — came next, forming the centre; Candy's Brigade held the left. Whitaker's Brigade, six regiments, was placed 350 yards in the rear in a second or supporting line. The command as now formed faced the north and extended from the foot of the mountain up its western slope to the base of the precipice or crest. Shortly after nine o'clock the division advanced, the second line moving steadily and at proper distance in its support.

The ground along which the troops moved has a slope of about forty-five degrees, is broken up transversely by ravines, and is covered with bowlders, loose stones, and patches of tangled undergrowth. The sides of the ravines are so steep in places that the soldiers had to climb on their hands and knees, or pull themselves up by clinging to roots or saplings. Progress was laborious in the extreme, and the men were soon dripping with perspiration. Still the line advanced rapidly along the side of the hill despite these disadvantages and preserved an alignment with proper connection that was most remarkable under the circumstances.

After going a mile or more the enemy's skirmishers were . encountered, but they were driven back without lessening the rapidity of the advance. As the line moved on, the right kept

closely to the base of the precipice while the left, or lower end of the line, using the right as a pivot, swung around the base of the mountain, driving the Confederates out of the rifle pits there and uncovering the fords on Lookout Creek where Osterhaus's Division and Grose's Brigade were to cross as soon as the bridges could be constructed.

As the long line swept around the end of the mountain, the centre reached the plateau under Point Lookout where Walthall's Brigade was awaiting attack in an intrenched position. There was a brief interchange of shots by the skirmishers, and then the division, with fixed bayonets, charged on the double quick over the outer works. A few rapid volleys were delivered, and then Walthall's men, after a short but spirited resistance in which the fighting was very close, abandoned their position. The attack was so sudden and vigorous that a large number of the enemy were captured, Walthall reporting a loss of 853 prisoners from his brigade alone. Many of the Confederates who had started to retreat were stopped by the fire of Reynolds's batteries posted in the valley beyond Lookout Creek, which exploded their shells so rapidly on the line of escape that these men preferred capture to running this deadly gauntlet. Geary states that this first success was gained in less than fifteen minutes after the troops became engaged.

As it would be dangerous to weaken the line by detaching a sufficient force to guard the large number of prisoners taken at this time, the captured men were turned over to the care of some troops in the rear. Four battle flags were wrested from the hands of the enemy's color bearers in the fight — three by the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York, and one by the Sixtieth New York.

The advance was quickly resumed, with orders to sweep everything before it. The remainder of Walthall's regiments fell back to a second line of works, held by Moore's Brigade, where they were joined shortly after by General Pettus, with his three regiments of Alabamians. But Geary's men, fairly wild with enthusiasm, drove the enemy back from each successive position where he attempted to make a stand. The Confederates on the top of the palisades opened with the artillery posted there; but as they were unable to depress their guns sufficiently their shells burst in the air high above the heads of the attacking line, inflicting but little loss. Failing to accomplish anything with their artillery fire they used



THE CRAVEN HOUSE. Scene of the successful charge made by Ireland's New York Brigade. The hotel at the base of the Palisades was erected since the war.

shells as hand grenades, and lighting the fuses hurled them over the cliff. Their sharpshooters on the summit kept up an annoying fire for a while; but the clouds which were drifting around the mountain soon obscured their view.

Ireland's Brigade followed the Confederates closely as they gave ground, and drove them through a peach orchard and past the Craven house. As the One Hundred and Thirty-seventh New York dashed through the garden it captured two pieces of artillery planted there, taking the gunners prisoners. The regiment did not halt to place a guard over the guns, but, sweeping its colors over them to establish its claim as captors, this gallant command swept forward, eager to keep in front.* The returns for Moore's Brigade (Confederate) show that it lost 206 captured, most of whom were taken at this stage of the fighting.

The three Confederate brigades, or their remnants, now fell back to a position on the east side of the mountain, where they formed a line to defend the Summertown road which leads to the summit. The attack was not continued because orders were received from Hooker at twelve-thirty p. m. to cease pursuit when the dividing line of the ridge was reached and to strengthen the position there. Geary had advanced considerably beyond this line, however, before he received the order. About one o'clock the enemy made a feeble effort to regain some of the lost ground, but they were easily repulsed by the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York, under Lieutenant Colonel Randall, and a force of skirmishers, under Captain Stegman, of the One Hundred and Second New York. The fighting was now over; the battle of Lookout Mountain was won.

During the forenoon the troops in the Army of the Cumberland, stationed in Chattanooga Valley, had listened anxiously to the tumult of the battle far above them; but owing to the clouds that hung low upon the mountain they could only judge of its progress by the sound of the firing as it grew louder and nearer. At noon a rift in the fog disclosed Geary's headquarters flag, with its white star on a blue field, waving proudly from the heights near the Craven

^{*} These two guns are claimed in the official report of another command that followed in Ireland's rear. The prisoners captured by Geary's men and sent back were also claimed by regiments in whose care they were placed. This duplication of accounts compelled Grant to call Hooker's attention to the fact that in "the reports of his subordinate commanders the number of prisoners captured" was "greater than the number really captured by the whole army." [Official Records, Vol. XXXI, part II, p. 325.]

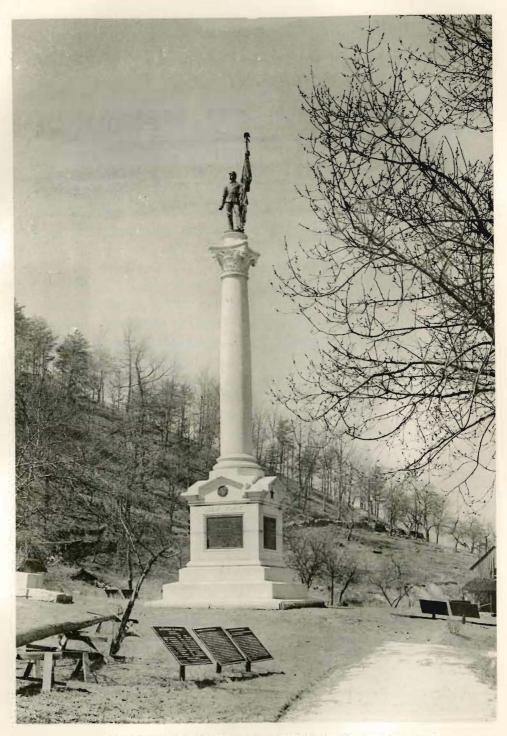
house, and a cheer went up from the waiting, watching thousands that reached the victorious fighters on the mountain, who sent back a loud enthusiastic greeting in reply.

Geary's troops were now relieved by regiments from the commands of Osterhaus and Grose who had effected a crossing, seized the road connecting with Thomas's right in the Chattanooga Valley, and ascended to the plateau at the Craven house. A dense fog now covered the hostile lines, and it prevailed during the remainder of the day. Objects could not be distinguished at a few yards distance, and all was quiet for awhile. But the enemy resumed its firing within an hour, continuing it in an irregular, desultory way until night.

In the evening, about seven o'clock, Carlin's Brigade of the Fourteenth Corps reported to General Geary. These troops were assigned a position on the eastern side of the mountain where they commanded a portion of the Summertown road, and repulsed a night attack which was made from that direction.

A drizzling rain had been falling, which with the cold wind that swept across the mountain rendered the men uncomfortable in the extreme. Wet to the skin, without blankets, and forbidden to make any fires, they suffered not a little. But they bore the exposure with fortitude, making no complaint. During the night the enemy evacuated the mountain, and the next morning the colors of the Eighth Kentucky and Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania were unfurled from the summit of Point Lookout.

In view of the natural strength of the position the casualties in the ranks of the assailants were less than would be expected. The dash and discipline of the troops, combined with their high enthusiasm and morale enabled them to carry the works of the enemy with a minimum of loss. Had there been any hesitation or unsteadiness, the loss of life would have been much greater. As it was, many brave men lost their lives. Major Elliott, of the One Hundred and Second New York, who was killed, was the first to fall. Lieutenant Colonel Avery, of the same regiment, was wounded, and suffered amputation of the thigh. Colonel Barnum, of the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York, who went into the fight suffering from an unhealed wound received at Malvern Hill, was again struck down while cheering on his men.



MONUMENT TO IRELAND'S NEW YORK BRIGADE, LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN. This brigade was commanded by Gen. Geo. S. Greene prior to the battle of Wauhatchie, in which he was severely wounded. It was commanded at Lookout Mountain and on the Atlanta Campaign by Col. David Ireland.

Missionary Ridge.

The battle of Missionary Ridge was fought November 25, 1863, the day following the fight on Lookout Mountain. During the night the Confederates had evacuated not only the mountain but also their line of works across the Chattanooga Valley, and General Bragg massed his forces on Missionary Ridge, his line extending from the railroad tunnel at the north to Rossville Gap on the south. The Confederates occupied, also, a strong line of rifle pits that ran along the western base of the ridge.

General Grant's plan for this battle was that Sherman, with the Army of the Tennessee, should attack the north end of the ridge and drive the enemy back; that Thomas, with the Army of the Cumberland, should carry the intrenchments at its base; and that Hooker with his command should cross the valley to Rossville Gap and, attacking Bragg's left, cut off his retreat in that direction.

To enable Sherman to carry out his part of the work successfully, Grant placed at his disposal the Eleventh Corps and Davis's Division of the Fourteenth, in addition to the Army of the Tennessee. The Confederate position in his front was held by Cleburne's Division — four brigades — with two additional brigades that came to his assistance during the course of the engagement.

But Sherman was unable to carry out the part allotted to him in the plan of the battle. His forces moved to the assault early in the morning, and after fighting gallantly for several hours were repulsed with heavy loss, leaving eight stands of colors and over 300 prisoners in the hands of the enemy.

The Fourth and Fourteenth Corps had been in line all the forenoon, ready to take part in the battle. Grant and Thomas were on Orchard Knob anxiously waiting for the expected success of Sherman; but, as Grant says, "Sherman's condition was getting so critical that the assault for his relief could not be delayed any longer."* At two-thirty p. m. the order was given for the troops to attack the rifle pits at the base of the mountain. This was done with a rush, and the Confederates retreated up the hill sides. But the Union soldiers, fired with success and military ardor, continued in pursuit, and, although no orders had been issued for any advance

^{*} Battles and Leaders. Vol. III, p. 706.

beyond the lower intrenchments, kept on and upward until they planted a long line of flags on the summit of the ridge. The enemy abandoned the ground and the battle was won.

Hooker's forces started from Lookout Mountain at ten a. m., and crossing Chattanooga Valley marched for Rossville Gap and the south end of Missionary Ridge, about six miles distant. Osterhaus's Division had the lead; then came Cruft, followed by Geary. The bridge over Chattanooga Creek had been destroyed, and so the column was delayed here three hours awaiting its rebuilding. It was three o'clock in the afternoon when Hooker's advance reached the southern end of Missionary Ridge at Rossville Gap. The battle was already raging on Thomas's front, at the centre of the line.

After a sharp little fight Osterhaus drove the enemy out of the gap and from the end of the ridge. Geary's Division, with the artillery, now turned to the left and north, skirting the base of the mountain range. Cruft advanced along the top of the ridge, while Osterhaus moved along the rear or eastern base.

Away to the left the battle had reached the decisive point, and Bragg's army was in retreat along the whole line. The sight of the fleeing Confederates with the shells bursting in their disordered ranks excited the White Stars, and Geary's men advanced with such impetuosity that, according to Major Reynolds's report, the artillery had to trot and several times force the horses into a gallop to keep pace with the infantry. The brigades of Creighton and Cobham ascended the heights, and joining on the left with Johnson's Division of the Fourteenth Corps, assisted in the capture of a large number of prisoners and several pieces of artillery belonging to Stewart's Division.

Pursuit was continued the next morning, Bragg's army retreating southward to Ringgold and Dalton. Arriving at West Chickamauga Creek Hooker's column was forced to halt, as the enemy had destroyed the bridge. A foot bridge was constructed on which the infantry crossed, the field officers swimming their horses; but the artillery had to await the arrival of the pontoon train. Geary's Division bivouacked that night at the foot of Pigeon Hills, four miles from Ringgold.



Position carried by Geary's Division, Twelfth Corps, on the right of the Union line.

Ringgold.

On the morning of November twenty-seventh Geary's Division left its place of bivouac and marched to Ringgold, entering the town at eight o'clock. This place is twenty-eight miles south of Chattanooga, and had at this time a population of over 2,000. Osterhaus's Division, which had the advance that morning, was already engaged with the enemy's forces, driving them back to the hills beyond the town. Cleburne's Division was occupying a strong position there in order to gain time in which the wagon trains could cross the bridges on the Catoosa Creek, and place a safe distance between them and their pursuers.

A wooded range of hills, about 500 feet high, called Taylor's Ridge, lay in rear of the town. A narrow defile led through it, the bottom of which was scarcely wide enough for the river, highway, and railroad track. Cleburne's troops, reputed as the best in Bragg's army, held this pass and the hills on either side, with a section of artillery posted at the mouth of the gorge. Osterhaus's two brigades were making a gallant effort to carry the heights and, by gaining the summit, turn the position.

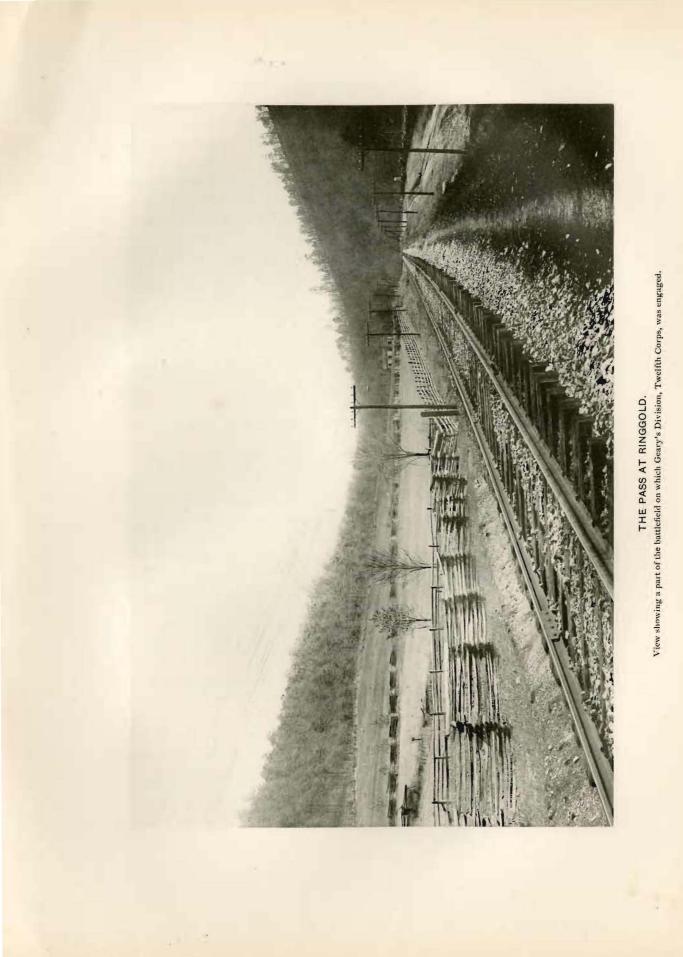
Hooker ordered Geary to send a brigade to the left of the pass. and charge up the hill. Candy's Brigade, now under command of Colonel Creighton, was selected for this dangerous task. Creighton's four regiments moved rapidly across the plain to the foot of the ridge, under a severe fire from the summit and climbed its steep The ascent was slow and difficult. The men were subsides. jected to a deadly fire from sharpshooters who were protected by rocks and trees. Three of the regiments reached a position near the top of the ridge, where they delivered several effective volleys and were in a fair way to scale the heights. But the Seventh Ohio was compelled to ascend through a ravine where they encountered a fire on front and flank that cut down its officers and men at a rapid rate. It returned the fire gallantly, and pressed on until its skirmishers were near the top. The enemy, now strongly reinforced, sent volley after volley into the ranks of this brave regiment until all of its officers except one were shot down and the ranks were Lieutenant-Colonel thinned so rapidly that success was hopeless. Crane, who was in command, was killed, and the regiment was without officers; but the men kept up the desperate fight. Creighton

then gave the order to retreat, and they fell back, bringing off as many of their wounded as possible. The enemy's fire continued, and soon after reaching the foot of the hill the gallant Creighton fell, dying with a half-uttered cheer upon his lips. The three other regiments held a well-protected position, about forty yards below the crest, but as their flanks were exposed by this break in the line, Geary ordered them to retire also and form on the line below.

In the meanwhile Cobham's two regiments, which had been massed behind the large stone building at the railway station, were sent to the right in support of one of Osterhaus's brigades which was hard pressed. Ireland's Brigade was also ordered to the relief of Osterhaus on the right, his troops moving forward on the double quick under a storm of canister and bullets. Forming on Cobham's right, these two brigades checked the Confederates in their advance and drove them back within the gap. A small detail from the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York, occupying a hastily constructed breastwork, silenced the section of brass guns posted at the opening of the pass, and captured the guidon of the battery, together with a regimental flag bearing the stars and bars of the Confederacy. But the artillerists, after several unsuccessful attempts, succeeded in dragging the two guns within the protecting cover of the narrow defile.

At noon Hooker's artillery, under Major Reynolds, came on the field, the horses galloping forward under whip and spur. Reynolds had been delayed by the construction of the bridge over Chickamauga Creek. His guns opened with marked effect, enfilading the gap and shelling the heights, after which the enemy's fire soon ceased and his troops could be seen hurrying through the pass in full retreat. The Confederates attempted to burn the two bridges over the Catoosa Creek, just beyond the farther or eastern end of the defile; but a force of skirmishers from the One Hundred and Second New York under Capt. Lewis R. Stegman, who had followed close on the heels of the retreating troops, opened a hot fire on their rear guard, under cover of which Stegman's men extinguished the flames at the railroad bridge, while a portion of them pushed on and saved the other one. General Grant, who had now arrived on the field, gave orders to discontinue the pursuit.

Geary's Division remained at Ringgold two days longer, during which the mills, tanneries, manufactories, railroad buildings, and 218



other structures that might be serviceable to the Confederacy were ordered burned. In the conflagration that followed some private dwellings were also destroyed. On December first the division left Ringgold before daylight and returned that day to its encampment in Lookout Valley.

Hooker wanted to follow Bragg, believing that he could achieve good results, and entertained feelings of regret afterward that permission to do so was denied him. He was also annoyed on his return by the criticism of his management at the battle of Ringgold. In a communication to the Secretary of War February 25, 1864, he takes occasion to say that "Influence has been at work to throw dust in the eyes of the public in regard to Ringgold, and it is to divert attention from the bungling operations on the enemy's right, which were really deplorable. The great mistake of all was in checking the pursuit at Ringgold; for if one-half of the marching had been done there that was done in going to Knoxville the greater part of Bragg's army, and certainly all of its material, would now have been ours."*

The losses of the Seventh Ohio at Ringgold were severe. The regiment went into action with 14 officers and 206 enlisted men. Every officer was killed or wounded except one. In addition to the colonel and lieutenant-colonel, the adjutant and two line officers were killed, and eight line officers wounded. Capt. Charles T. Greene, Assistant Adjutant General of the Third Brigade, was severely wounded by an unexploded shell that, passing through the body of his horse, shattered his leg so that amputation was necessary. He was a son of General Greene, who had commanded this brigade until he was disabled at Wauhatchie.

The strength of Hooker's forces engaged at Ringgold was:

Osterhaus's Divisi Geary's Division,							-	-	-	3,375 1,989	
Total, -	-	-	-	-	-	-		-		5,364	

* Official Records, Vol. XXXII, Part II, p. 468.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
Osterhaus's Division,	51	310	42	403
Geary's Division,	34	169		203
Total,	85	479	42	606

Cleburne states in his official report that he took into this action "4,157 bayonets." With the usual number of officers this would give him a strength of about 4,500. He reports his loss at 20 killed. 190 wounded, and 11 missing; total, 221. He mentions the capture of two flags from Osterhaus's Division, specifying the regiments from which they were taken; but he fails to report the two taken from his troops by Geary's men. He claims in explanation of his retreat that at noon he received a despatch from General Hardee to the effect that the trains were then well advanced and that he might withdraw in safety.

The casualties in Geary's command at the battle of Lookout Mountain were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
Geary's Division, Whitakers' Brigade,	22 17	116 63	2	138 82
Total,	39	179	2	220

In addition, Osterhaus's Division lost 13 killed and wounded; Grose's Brigade, 26; and Carlin's Brigade, 36.

The losses, by regiments, in Geary's Division at the two engagements — Lookout Mountain and Ringgold — were:

SECOND DIVISION - TWELFTH CORPS.

BRIG. GEN. JOHN W. GEARY.

				Killed.	Wounded.	M	issir	ıg.	Aggregate.
First Brigade.									
Col. Charles Candy.					1	8			
7th Ohio,	-		- 21	16	58	-		-	*74
66th Ohio,		-		5	10		-		*15
28th Pennsylvania, -	-		-	4	30	-		-	*34
147th Pennsylvania,		-		1	18		-		*19
Second Brigade. Col. George A. Cobham. 29th Pennsylvania, -				3	9	-		-	12
111th Pennsylvania,		-		1	9		-		10
Third Brigade. Col. David Ireland.			1.000 A						
60th New York,	-		-	7	43	-		-	50
102nd New York,		-		3	11		-		14
137th New York,	-		-	6	32	-		-	38
149th New York,	_	-		10	64		-		74
General Staff,	-		-		1	-		-	1
Total,	Ū.	-		56	285		-		341

* Loss occurred at Ringgold.

In connection with these losses it should be remembered that the regiments were small, the average strength being 236 only.

On December third General Grant, in special recognition of the gallant services rendered by the White Star Division in the recent campaign, gave it a review. To add honor to the occasion the great commander was accompanied by Generals Thomas, Hooker, Hunter, Butterfield and other generals, together with a large cavalcade of staff officers. The men, by their fine drill, excellent marching, and neat personal appearance, heightened the good impression already made by their meritorious conduct in action.

Soon after Geary's Division returned to its camp in Lookout Valley a man in one of the Pennsylvania regiments was convicted by a court-martial of the crime of robbing the dead on the battlefield of Lookout Mountain. The evidence showing that he had

been detected in the act he was dishonorably discharged and sentenced to be drummed out of camp. The division having been drawn up in a hollow square the prisoner was marched in, seated, while a barber made ready to shave his head. At this point, as Captain Collins says in his history cf the One Hundred and Fortyninth New York, "General Geary approached, and a scene followed which can only be appreciated by those who knew the man and his fiery temper. He commenced an address to the culprit by saying he was sorry any man in his division, and especially from his native State, had been guilty of the damnable crime of profanity of the dead. Here his temper gave way, and then followed a tirade of invectives, curses, abuse, and an exhibition that would put a Spanish bull-fight in the shade. The barber was paralyzed, the guards were dumbfounded, and the division, if not of heroes, would have taken to cover. The General, however, must have forgotten himself, for he did not boot the man, who looked disappointed at the omission. When this diatribe was over, the barber finished shaving the man's head, and removed his mustache, beard and eyebrows. The culprit, lead by a drum and fife playing the 'Rogue's March' and followed by the guards with charged bayonets, was then marched up and down the division lines weeping like a child. The men were encouraged to jeer when the procession passed, but remained silent. When the march was over the culprit, like the 'scape goat' of old bearing the sins of the nation, was let loose in the wilderness of Wauhatchie and never heard of afterward."

A few days after a far different and pleasanter ceremony took place. The One Hundred and Forty-ninth and Sixtieth New York marched to Hooker's headquarters, where General Geary presented the six flags captured by his division at Lookout Mountain and Ringgold—the only colors taken by the Union troops in these engagements. Speeches were made by General Geary and Colonel Barnum, after which the captured trophies were received in behalf of General Hooker by his chief of staff, General Butterfield, who responded in words highly complimentary to the division. Colonel Barnum, in recognition of his services and the regiment he represented, was deputized to take the flags to the War Department in Washington, with permission to exhibit them in the principal cities on his route.

To facilitate the transportation of supplies, the division left Look-

out Valley in the first week of January, 1864, the First and Second Brigades going to Bridgeport, and the Third to Stevenson, Alabama, where the regiments went into winter quarters and remained during the next four months.

Williams's Division during the winter of 1863-64 guarded that portion of the railroad between Bellbuckle and Cowan. For the greater part of this time the different regiments were stationed as follows:

Corps and Division Headquarters,	-		-	Tullahoma.
107th New York - 3 companies, -		-		Bellbuckle.
107th New York - 3 companies,	-		-	Wartrace.
107th New York - 4 companies, -		-		Shelbyville.
150th New York - 8 companies,	-		-	Normandy.
150th New York - 2 companies, -		2		Garrison's Bridge.
13th New Jersey,	-		-	Duck River.
27th Indiana,		-		Tullahoma.
2nd Massachusetts,	-		-	Tullahoma.
123rd New York - 9 companies, -		-		Elk River.
123rd New York — 1 company,	-		-	Estill Springs.
46th Pennsylvania,		-		Decherd.
5th Connecticut,	-		-	Cowan.
145th New York,		-		Tantalon.
3rd Maryland,	-		-	Bridgeport.
3rd Wisconsin,		-		Fayetteville.

Though the duty was light a continued watchfulness was necessary, as the country was infested with guerrillas, bushwhackers, and small bands of partisan rangers. Some of the regiments lost men repeatedly who were waylaid while outside their camp or on some foraging expedition, and murdered. On the evening of December twenty-third, Lieut. S. D. Porter, Twenty-seventh Indiana, and four unarmed soldiers who had been loading a detached wagon of a forage train were captured by guerrillas near the village of Mulberry, twenty-six miles southwest of Tullahoma. The guerrillas took their prisoners to a place on the bank of the Elk River, where they arrived about one o'clock in the night, tied their hands behind them and robbed them. The unfortunate men were then placed in line about five paces in front of their captors, who, at the word of command, fired a volley at them. One of the prisoners was killed instantly and three were wounded. Lieutenant Porter was not hit. He immediately ran, jumped into the river, got his hands loose, and 223

swimming to the opposite side escaped. The others were thrown into the stream where they either died of their wounds or were drowned, except one who, despite his wound, succeeded in freeing his hands and making his way to a hospital.

General Thomas, on hearing of this outrage, ordered that the property of all rebel citizens living within ten miles of the place where these men were captured, be assessed; and that each should pay his proportion according to his wealth, towards a levy of \$30,000, to be paid to the families of the three murdered soldiers, \$10,000 to each. This order provided, also, that if any person failed to pay his assessment within one week enough of his personal property should be seized and sold at auction to settle his liability.

General Slocum, who was charged with the execution of this order, detailed for this purpose Col. John H. Ketcham, One Hundred and Fiftieth New York, who with three companies of his own regiment and three of the Thirteenth New Jersey went to Mulberry. Colonel Ketcham collected over \$25,000 in cash — a large part of which was paid in gold — and seized enough forage, cotton, etc., to ensure the completion of the fund.

This drastic measure did not have the deterrent effect that might be expected, for on Ketcham's return two men of his command who were marching a short distance ahead of the troops were waylaid and killed by a party of bushwhackers. This occurred so near the train that the shots were plainly heard. As the personal property taken under this enforced levy brought on sale an excess of \$5,654.57 above the amount required, this sum was divided between the families of the two soldiers in the One Hundred and Fiftieth New York who were killed during the return of the expedition. To prevent as far as possible any repetition of these outrages, General Slocum ordered the Third Wisconsin to Fayetteville, after which this regiment remained on duty there until the opening of the spring campaign.

When the Twelfth Corps was transferred to Tennessee the men expected that their arrival would be greeted with the usual manifestation of gladness accorded to reinforcements at a critical time. But to their surprise the Western troops behaved in a most unaccountable manner. They gave the Gettysburg veterans a cold reception, and evinced an unfriendly feeling that showed itself often in outspoken derision or jeering cries of "Soft bread," "Paper collars," "Bull Run," "Rappahannock," "Feather beds," "Kid gloves," and such other epithets as they could devise. They seemed to take exception to the care which the Twelfth Corps soldiers bestowed on matters of personal appearance, equipments, and policing of camps, evidently regarding it as a reflection on their own slouchy looks and ill-kept quarters. The frequency of company calls in the regiments of the Red Star Division, and the corps badge itself, were special objects of derision, they having no such "damned nonsense" in their army as they phrased it.

The Potomac men made little or no reply, but contented themselves in regarding each noisy demonstration with a well-simulated indifference that angered the rabble and incited it to redoubled efforts. This remarkable display of poor discipline and unsoldierly behavior was most apparent in the troops who were doing garrison duty and who had seen no other service worth mention up to that time. General Williams in a despatch, asking that some of these superfluous regiments within his territory might be assigned to duty elsewhere, alludes to them as troops with "different notions of duty, and a most unaccountable prejudice."

Though the Twelfth Corps veterans treated these outbreaks with silence and contempt, the persistent annoyance was liable to lead to serious results, and a general order was issued to the troops in Williams's Division cautioning them in the matter. In one case, however, the men concluded that silence was no longer necessary. It was discovered that a certain regiment which had been especially conspicuous by its abuse and noisy epithets had once signed a petition asking that it might be allowed to do guard duty at Nashville, in return for which exemption it offered to serve for half pay. The next time these men opened their mouths they received a blast in kind that drove them silent and dumbfounded to their tents.

It is pleasant to note here that some of the Western regiments stationed near the camps of the Twelfth Corps were an exception. They were a well-drilled, fine-looking lot of fellows, who did all they could to discountenance the unseemly behavior of the other troops. The Potomac men appreciating their friendly advances and kindly greetings, fraternized with them at every opportunity.

The troops at the front did not manifest any such open hostility, although many of them evidently regarded the newcomers with jealousy, and showed a lack of cordiality in their intercourse. But the gallant fighting done by the Star Corps at Lookout Mountain

and on the Atlanta campaign soon dissipated their mistaken ideas, and the matter was soon forgotten.

The troops in Williams's Division passed a pleasant winter. Aside from the guerrillas there was nothing to break the routine of camp life, or disturb their rest and enjoyment. Each regiment, wherever it was stationed, erected substantial cabins — warm, comfortable, and, to a soldier's idea, quite homelike. The days passed quickly, much of the time being occupied with regular duties guard mounting, drill, and dress parade.

Chaplain Quint says that at Tullahoma there were divers dances, several excursions to cave and waterfall, and such like; and that "the prisoners tossed each newcomer in a blanket." The Christian Commission meetings were well attended. Everybody got vaccinated, because the smallpox was raging in the post hospital near by. The soldiers' graveyard was put in order by the good Chaplain. Boards and lumber were fairly plenty after Colonel Cogswell conscripted a sawmill. Guerrillas made a raid a few miles off, tore up the railroad, and shot a few prisoners they had taken. General Slocum had a reception or two at the mansion occupied as his headquarters. And so it went.

At Shelbyville — the largest town in that part of the State the One Hundred and Seventh New York received a hospitable welcome. The regiment was in evidence at each ball, party, or social function, and did its best to make a gay winter of it. Slocum and his staff came over from Tullahoma on one occasion, and attended a ball that night at Steele's Hotel. General Ruger kindly granted a request for the brigade band, after which the Shelbyville girls were treated to some fine serenades. There was considerable flirtation, some love making, and when the regiment broke camp for the spring campaign it marched away to the tune of "The Girl. I left behind me."

During the latter part of April Colonel Pardee, One Hundred and Forty-seventh Pennsylvania, with 400 men from Candy's Brigade, took charge of and manned one of the gunboats which had just been built at Bridgeport. The principal duty of this improvised naval force consisted in patrolling the Tennessee River, west of Bridgeport. When the army moved to the front in May the gunboat was turned over to the post quartermaster and the crew rejoined their respective regiments.

In April General Slocum was assigned to the command of the 226

District of Vicksburg, an important position, both in the extent of territory and number of troops placed under him. On the evening of April seventh the officers of the various regiments on duty at Tullahoma called on him in a body to pay their respects before his departure. Arriving at his headquarters — the house used as a summer residence by Judge Catron — there was a serenade by the brigade band, after which General Slocum came to the door. Colonel Cogswell, of the Second Massachusetts, made an address in which he expressed on behalf of the others present their high regard for the corps commander and deep regret that he was to leave them. The general's reply was kind but brief. His voice betraved emotion, and he evidently dare not trust himself to say more. On his invitation the party entered the house where they were entertained during the evening by the general and his staff. But, as it afterward happened, there was no need of sad farewells. It was destined that the general should again ride at the head of his corps, again lead it to victory and in triumphant review.

The following order issued by General Slocum at this time is characteristic of his loyal spirit and subservience to the best interests of the army.

> HEADQUAETERS TWELFTH ARMY COBPS, TULLAHOMA, TENN., April 9, 1864.

GENERAL ORDERS,)

No. 7.

By virtue of General Orders, No. 5, Headquarters Military Division of the Mississippi, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps are consolidated, and will hereafter compose the First * Army Corps.

The official history of the Twelfth Army Corps, from its organization to the present day, and particularly its action at Antietam, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and its recent services in the Department of the Cumberland, justifies every soldier in the indulgence of a feeling of pride from his connection with it and of regret at the loss of the insignia by which the corps has been distinguished, and which has become a badge of honor.[†]

This consolidation separates me from the troops with whom I have been identified for the past eighteen months. I know, however, that the measure has been adopted solely with a view of promoting the interest of the service, and I would not have my personal interests or feelings, nor those of my command, considered for a moment against any measure having this object in view.

The credit accorded to the soldier at the present hour is not his true reward

^{*} Subsequently changed by order of General Grant to Twentieth Corps.

⁺ The badge of the Twelfth Corps was retained.

for the privation and hardships he is enduring, nor does this reward depend upon the army or corps to which he may be attached. Let us bring this contest to a successful termination; let us restore peace and prosperity to the country. To him who loves his country, the consciousness of the fact that he has borne his part in the contest, and been an instrument in the accomplishment of the great work, will be the highest and best reward that can be bestowed upon him.

The cordial and earnest support afforded me upon all occasions by the officers of my command, and the soldierly bearing and uniform good conduct of the men, have rendered me deeply attached to my corps, and I leave it with feelings of profound regret.

H. W. SLOCUM,

Official: H. C. Rodgers, Assistant Adjutant-General. Major-General.

Corps Humber Changed Again.

On April 4, 1864, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps were consolidated pursuant to General Order, No. 144, and the new organization was designated as the Twentieth. The divisions of Williams and Geary remained unchanged, aside from the accessions received from the Eleventh Corps. A third division was formed composed of two brigades of Western troops then on duty in Tennessee, and one brigade from the Eleventh Corps. The command of this Third Division was given to General Butterfield.* There was a fourth division, also, composed of Western troops, under General Rousseau; but this division was assigned to garrison duty in Tennessee and did not accompany the corps to the front. Few, if any, of the men in the corps knew that it had a Fourth Division; and it was not until the official records were published, long after the war, that some of them then learned for the first time of its existence.

The order for the consolidation as first issued provided that this new organization should be designated the First Army Corps. The one in the Army of the Potomac bearing that number had been consolidated with the Fifth, leaving its number vacant. But General Grant, who specified this number in his original order, changed his mind, and wrote Halleck, April 6, 1864, saying:

^{*} Gen. Daniel Butterfield was born in Utica, N. Y., Oct. 31, 1831. Graduated at Union College in 1849. Colonel of 12th N. Y. S. M., May 2, 1861. Commissioned in Regular Army as lieut. col. 12th U. S. Infy., May 14, 1861. Appointed brig. gen. volunteers Sept. 7, 1861, and major general, Nov. 29, 1862. Commissioned colonel 5th U. S. Infy., July 1, 1863. Received Medal of Honor at Gaines' Mill, Va. Commanded 5th Corps at Fredericksburg. Was Chief of Staff, Army of Potomac, at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. Died July 17, 1901, in New York. 228

The First and Third Corps having been merged into other corps, with the possibility of being filled up hereafter and restored to their corps organization, I would like to have the number of Hooker's corps changed to the Twentieth Corps. It will cause dissatisfaction to give number One to any other but the old corps having that number. To retain either the number Eleven or Twelve will probably have the same effect with those losing their number.

U. S. GRANT,

Lieutenant-General.

General Grant was right in thus preventing the use of the name which the First Corps had already inscribed on the tablet of History. Aside from the injustice of the proposition the use of the same designation for two different corps would tend to some confusion in the records. And yet, in designating this new organization as the Twentieth he revived the defunct number of a corps in the Army of the Cumberland, which had been consolidated with another but a few months before. Grant was mistaken also in his statement that the retention of either title — Eleventh or Twelfth would "probably" cause dissatisfaction. But when it was plainly shown to him that this was an error, as will be explained here, he neglected to correct it or to respect the wishes of the thousands of veteran soldiers interested in the matter.

The troops of the Twelfth Corps, whose designation had already been changed twice, protested against this needless juggling with their corps number. As the Twelfth they had won renown on the historic fields of Virginia and Tennessee; with a change of name they must begin a new and different record. The men in the Eleventh Corps objected to the designation Twentieth, preferring that the new command should wear the star badge and be known as the Twelfth.

On April 14, 1864, General Hooker sent the following communication to Headquarters, Army of the Cumberland:

Brigadier General WHIPPLE,

Chief of Staff, Chattanooga:

I think it would be more for the interests of the service to have the consolidated corps under my command known as the Twelfth Corps, instead of the Twentieth. Should it meet General Thomas's approval, I would like him to telegraph to General Sherman requesting, through him, the War Department to make the change. I have no personal interest in it, but think it very desir-

able for the troops. It would gratify the pride and wishes of the Twelfth Corps; the greater portion, in fact nearly all, of the Eleventh Corps unite with the Twelfth in the wish.* To the new division it is of course immaterial. I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH HOOKER,

Major-General.

On the following day General Thomas telegraphed Sherman, at Nashville, as follows:

Eleventh and Twelfth Corps unite in the request that the new corps be designated the Twelfth Corps instead of the Twentieth. As it would meet the wishes of all concerned, I would recommend that the designation of the new corps be changed from the Twentieth to the Twelfth.

GEO. H. THOMAS,

Major-General Commanding.

To this highly proper and reasonable request Sherman sent the following ungracious reply:

NASHVILLE, TENN., April 16, 1864.

General THOMAS,

Chattanooga:

I will telegraph to Washington about the title of Hooker's corps, but want him to go on with his organization regardless of the mere number which is an immaterial title. It will be better known as Hooker's corps than by its numerical designation.

W. T. SHERMAN,

Major-General.

And this, of course, was the end of the matter. A "mere number!" An "immaterial title!" Sherman evidently had but little conception of the military phrase *esprit de corps*. As corps badges were unknown in the Army of the Tennessee at this time, no attention was paid to a little matter of that kind, and so the star badge was retained, the proposition receiving the concurrence and approval of the Eleventh Corps. But the Twelfth Corps were

^{*} In further relation to the generous action of the Eleventh Corps at this time, see Howard's letter to Halleck written several months previous (July 29, 1863), approving plan to merge this corps with the Second and Twelfth; also, Gordon to Howard, same date, asking that his division be transferred to the Twelfth; and letters of Meade, von Steinwehr, Schurz, Buschbeck, and Orland Smith. (Official Records, Vol. XXVII, Part III, pp. 778, 779, 784, 785, 792.)

embittered by the needless effacement of the name they had made so honorable, a feeling that still rankles in the breast of every veteran of that command.

The roster of the Twentieth Corps at the beginning of the Atlanta campaign, May 1, 1864, was:

TWENTIETH ARMY CORPS.

MAJ. GEN. JOSEPH HOOKER.* MAJ. GEN. HENRY W. SLOCUM.

FIRST DIVISION (Red Star). BRIG. GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

First Brigade.

BRIG. GEN. JOSEPH F. KNIPE.

5th	Connecticut,	-	-		-	Col. Warren W. Packer.
3rd	Maryland (det	tachm	ent),	-		Lieut. David Gore.
123rd	New York,	-	-		-	Col. Archibald L. McDougall. [†]
141st	New York,	-	-	-		Col. William K. Logie. †
46th	Pennsylvania,	-	-		-	Col. James L. Selfridge.

Second Brigade.

BRIG. GEN. THOMAS H. RUGER.

27th	Indiana, -	-		-		Col. Silas Colgrove.
2nd	Massachusetts,	-	-		-	Col. William Cogswell.
13th	New Jersey, -	-		-		Col. Ezra A. Carman.
107th	New York,	7.5	-		-	Col. Nirom M. Crane.
150th	New York, -	-		-		Col. John H. Ketcham.
3rd	Wisconsin,	-	-		-	Col. William Hawley.

Third Brigade.

COL. JAMES S. ROBINSON.

82nd	Illinois,	-		-		-		Lieut. Col. Edward S. Salomon.
101st	Illinois, -		-		-		-	Lieut. Col. John B. Le Sage.
45th	New York,	-		-		-		Col. Adolphus Dobke.
143rd	New York,		-		-		-	Col. Horace Boughton.
61st	Ohio, -	-		-		-		Col. Stephen J. McGroarty.
82 nd	Ohio, -		-		-		-	Lieut. Col. David Thompson.
31st	Wisconsin,	-		-		-		Col. Francis H. West.

* General Hooker commanded the corps until July twenty-eighth; General A. S. Williams from July twenty-eighth to August twenty-seventh; and General Slocum from August twentyseventh until his promotion to the command of the Army of Georgia.

6.

† Killed in the Atlanta campaign.

Artillery.

Ist New York, Battery I, --Lieut. Charles E. Winegar.Ist New York, Battery M, -Capt. John D. Woodbury.

SECOND DIVISION (White Star).

BRIG. GEN. JOHN W. GEARY.

First Brigade.

COL. CHARLES CANDY.

5th	Ohio,		-		-		-		-	Col. John H. Patrick.*
7th	Ohio,	-		-		-		-		Lieut. Col. Samuel McClelland.
29 th	Ohio,		-		-		-		-	Col. William T. Fitch.
66th	Ohio,	-		-				-		Lieut. Col. Eugene Powell.
28th	Pennsy	lva	nia,	,	-		-		-	Lieut. Col. John Flynn.
147th	Pennsy	lva	nia,	,		-		-		Col. Ario Pardee, Jr.

Second Brigade.

Col. Adolphus Buschbeck.

33rd	New Jersey,	-		-		-	Col. George W. Mindil.
119th	New York, -		-		-		Col. John T. Lockman.
134th	New York,	-		-		-	Lieut. Col. Allan H. Jackson.
154th	New York, -		-		-		Col. Patrick H. Jones.
27th	Pennsylvania,	-		-		-	Lieut. Col. August Riedt.
73rd	Pennsylvania,		-		-		Maj. Charles C. Cresson.
109th	Pennsylvania,	-		-		-	Capt. Frederick L. Gimber.

Third Brigade.

COL. DAVID IRELAND.

60th New York,	-		-		-		Col. Abel Godard.
78th New York,		-		-		-	Lieut. Col. Harvey S. Chatfield.
102nd New York,	-		-		-		Col. James C. Lane.
137th New York,		-		-		-	Lieut. Col. Koert S. Van Voorhis.
149th New York,	-		-		-		Lieut. Col. Charles B. Randall.*
29th Pennsylvania,		-		-		-	Col. William Rickards, Jr.
111th Pennsylvania,			-		-		Col. George A. Cobham, Jr.*

Artillery.

New York Light, 13th Battery,	-	Capt. William Wheeler.
Pennsylvania Light, Battery E, -		Capt. James D. McGill.

* Killed in Atlanta campaign.

THIRD DIVISION (Blue Star). MAJ. GEN. DANIEL BUTTERFIELD. BRIG. GEN. WILLIAM T. WARD.

First Brigade.

BRIG. GEN. WILLIAM T. WARD.

102nd	Illinois,	-		-		-		-	Col. Franklin C. Smith.
105th	Illinois,		-		-		-		Col. Daniel Dustin.
129th	Illinois,	-		-		-		-	Col. Henry Case.
70th	Indiana,		-		-		-		Col. Benjamin Harrison.
79th	Ohio,	-		•		-		-	Col. Henry G. Kennett.

Second Brigade.

COL. JOHN COBURN.

20th	Connecticut,	· · · · · ·	-		-		-	Col. Samuel Ross.
33rd	Indiana,	-		-		-		Maj. Lewin T. Miller.
85th	Indiana, -		-		-		-	Col. John P. Baird.
19th	Michigan,	-		-		-		Col. Henry C. Gilbert.*
22 nd	Wisconsin,		-		-		-	Col. William L. Utley.

Third Brigade.

COL. JAMES WOOD, JR.

3 3rd	Massachusetts,	-		-		-	Lieut. Col. Godfrey Rider, Jr.
136th	New York, -		-		-		Lieut. Col. Lester B. Faulkner.
55th	Ohio, -	-		-		-	Col. Charles B. Gambee.*
73rd	Ohio,		-		-		Maj. Samuel H. Hurst.
26th	Wisconsin,	-		-		-	Lieut. Col. Frederick C. Winkler.

Artillery.

1st Michigan Light, Battery I, - Capt. Luther R. Smith. 1st Ohio Light, Battery C, - Lieut. Jerome B. Stephens.

FOURTH DIVISION.

MAJ. GEN. L. H. ROUSSEAU.

First Brigade.

BRIG. GEN. R. S. GRANGER.

73rd	Indiana,	-		-		-		-	Maj. Alfred B. Wade.
18th	Michigan,		-		-		-		Col. Charles C. Doolittle.
102nd	Ohio,	-		-		-		-	Col. William Given.
10th	Tennessee,		4		-		-		Lieut. Col. James W. Scully.
13th	Wisconsin	,		-		-		-	Col. William P. Lyon.

* Killed in Atlanta campaign.

Unassigned.

83rd	Illinois, -		-		-		-	Capt. Joshua M. Snyder.
23rd	Missouri,	-		-		-		Col. William P. Robinson.
58th	New York,		-		-		-	Capt. Michael Esembaux.
68th	New York,	-		-		-		Lieut. Col. Albert von Steinhausen.
71st	Ohio, -		-		-		-	Maj. James W. Carlin.
$106 \mathrm{th}$	Ohio, -	-		-		-		Maj. Lauritz Barentzen.
115th	Ohio, -		-		-		-	Col. Jackson A. Lucy.
75th	Pennsylvania	,		-		-		Lieut. Col. Alvin V. Matzdorf.
31st	Wisconsin,*		-		-		-	Maj. Robert B. Stephenson.

On July 27, 1864, the six batteries were organized as an artillery brigade, and Maj. John A. Reynolds was assigned to its command. On August twenty-fifth, Battery K, Fifth United States Artillery, Capt. Edmund C. Bainbridge, joined the brigade.

At the beginning of the campaign the Twentieth Corps, not including its Fourth Division, numbered:

											Officers.	Enlisted men.	Aggregate.
Infantry,		-		-		-		-		- 1	895	18,898	19,793
Cavalry,	-		-		-		-		-		1	62	63
Artillery,		-		-		-		-		-	22	843	865
Total			-		_		-		-		918	19,803	20,721

Two of the old regiments of the Twelfth Corps do not appear on the roster: the Tenth Maine Battalion left Tullahoma, March 2, 1864, having been transferred to the Department of the Gulf, where it was consolidated with the Twenty-ninth Maine, a command composed largely of the two-years men who had served in the Tenth Maine regiment; the One Hundred and Forty-fifth New York had been consolidated with other regiments from that State in Williams's Division, and its officers mustered out of service.

* Tranferred July 21, 1864, to Robinson's Brigade, First Division.

The Atlanta Campaign.

The regiments of Williams's Division received marching orders on April 27, 1864, and the next day they left the various stations which they occupied along the railroad, and started to join the army then assembling at Chattanooga. As the railroad was taxed to its utmost capacity in the transportation of supplies to the front the troops were ordered to proceed on foot.

The route was by Decherd, thence over a spur of the Cumberland Mountains by the University, through Sweden's Cove to Bridgeport. The descent of the mountain was by a rough, stony road, so steep and broken that ropes were necessary in easing the wagons down the hill. The column reached Bridgeport May first. The next day it was joined by Geary's Division, which had been encamped there and at Stevenson. Passing through Shellmound the troops encamped at Whitesides on the evening of the second, Geary on the third. Here the soldiers had an opportunity to see the high railroad bridge or trestle work which had just been rebuilt by an engineer regiment, and which was reported to be the highest one of its kind.

At Lookout Valley the new Third Division joined the corps, the blue star making its appearance here for the first time. The march continued by the military road over the north end of Lookout with its grand view of mountain, river and plain—through Chattanooga, Rossville Gap, and over the battle field of Chickamauga.

At Gordon's Mills, where the Twentieth Corps was resting, General Hooker and his staff rode by, accompanied by General Sickles. The latter, who was then on an inspection tour of the western armies by order of President Lincoln, was strapped to his saddle, his crutches being carried by an orderly. At the sight of their corps commander, with the Gettysburg veteran riding at his side, the soldiers cheered enthusiastically and hurrahed for the Army of the Potomac.

May 5, 1864, was the date set for the general advance of both Grant's and Sherman's armies. At this time the latter had under his command three distinct armies — the Army of the Cumberland, under Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas; the Army of the Tennessee, Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson; and the Army of the Ohio, Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield. Their effective strength was: