

Slocum and His Men.

Prologue.

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

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

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

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

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

The Twelfth Corps.

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

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

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

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

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

Kernstown.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Winchester.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cedar Mountain and Manassas.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Hatch's Cavalry Brigade, 1,979 men.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECOND CORPS, ARMY OF VIRGINIA.

MAJ.-GEN. N. P. BANKS.

First Division.

BRIG.-GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

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

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

† Absent on detached service.

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Second Division.

BRIG.-GEN. CHRISTOPHER C. AUGUR.

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

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

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

† Absent on detached service.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Antietam.

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

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



THE DUNKER CHURCH AT ANTIETAM.

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

The Twelfth Corps

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



PORTION OF ANTIETAM BATTLEFIELD.

Monument in center to General Mansfield, commander of 12th Corps, marking spot where he fell. The 10th Maine and 9th New York, of Williams' Division, charged across the field in which the monument stands and drove the Confederates out of the East Woods, which at that time covered the higher ground at the left. Outline of South Mountain in the distance.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



PORTION OF ANTIETAM BATTLEFIELD.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TWELFTH ARMY CORPS.

- (1) MAJ. GEN. JOSEPH K. F. MANSFIELD (killed).
(2) BRIG. GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

First Division.

BRIG. GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

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

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

† Absent on detached duty.

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Second Division.

BRIG. GEN. GEORGE S. GREENE.

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

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

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

* Absent on detached duty.

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

	Killed.	Wounded.*	Missing.	Aggregate.
First Army Corps, - - - -	417	2,051	122	2,590
Second Army Corps, - - - -	888	3,859	396	5,138
Fourth Army Corps,† - - - -	-	9	-	9
Fifth Army Corps, - - - -	17	90	2	109
Sixth Army Corps, - - - -	71	335	33	439
Ninth Army Corps, - - - -	438	1,796	115	2,349
Twelfth Army Corps, - - - -	275	1,386	85	1,746
Cavalry Division, - - - -	7	23	-	30
Total, - - - -	2,108	9,549	753	12,410

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

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

* Includes the mortally wounded.

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

‡ Colonel Livermore.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Twelfth Corps.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



MAP SHOWING POSITIONS
 AT THE
BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE, VA.

May 2, 1863. 5 p.m.

Scale

The Twelfth Corps

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



THE CHANCELLOR HOUSE.

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

The Twelfth Corps

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

By command of Major General Hooker.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Twelfth Corps

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

At daybreak — Sunday, May third — the Confederates renewed

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



THE PLANK ROAD.

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

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

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

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

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

* Colonel Livermore.

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

The Twelfth Corps

The casualties in the Twelfth and other corps were:

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

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

† Includes losses in Gibbon's Division at Fredericksburg.

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

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

Battle of Chancellorsville, May 1-3, 1863.

TWELFTH ARMY CORPS.

MAJ. GEN. HENRY W. SLOCUM.

First Division.

BRIG. GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

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

The Twelfth Corps

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

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

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

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

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

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



HAZEL GROVE—FIELD OF CHANCELLORSVILLE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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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

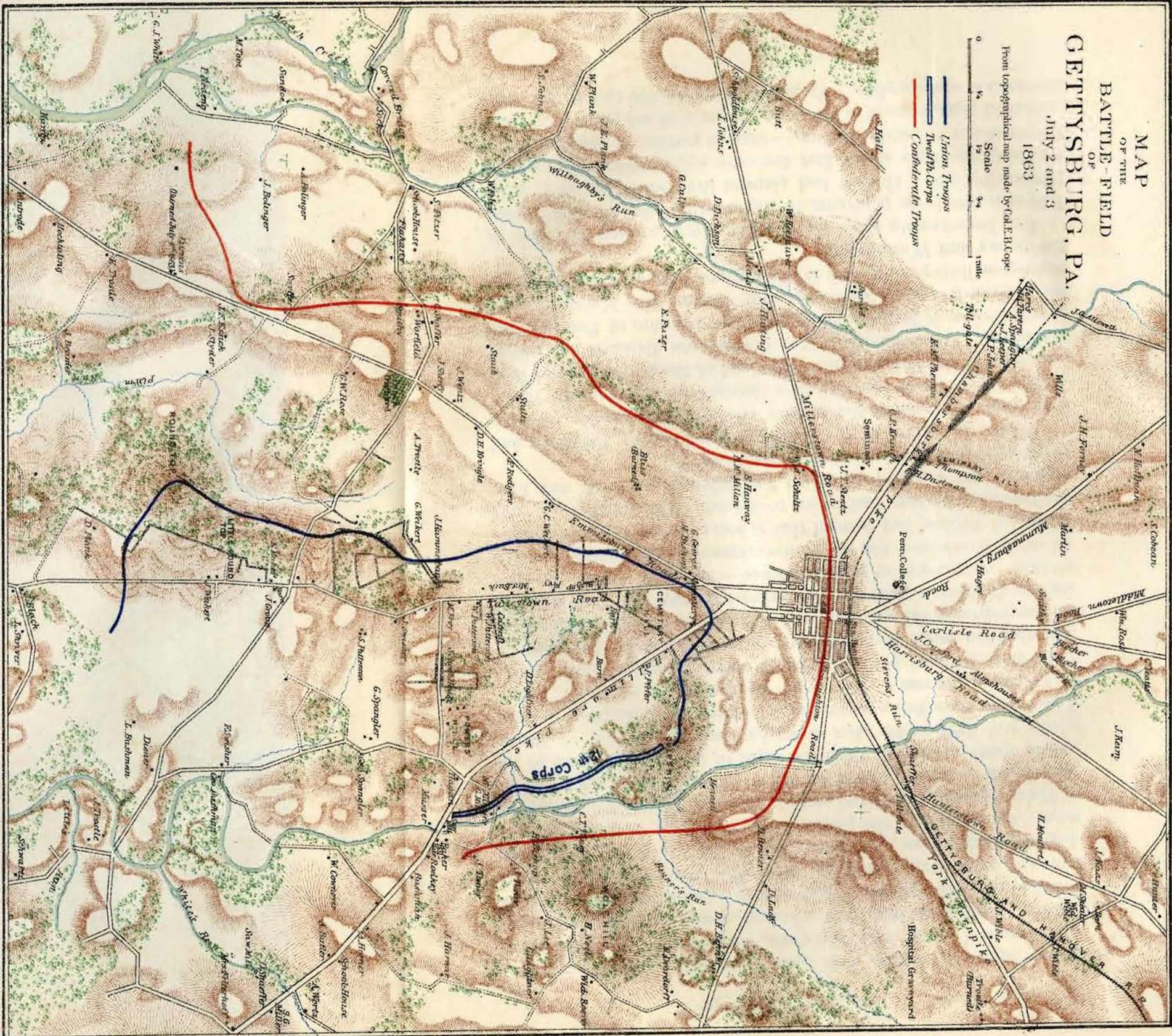
* Reminiscences of the One Hundred and Twenty-third Regiment, New York Volunteers. By Sergeant Henry C. Morhous. Greenwich: Journal office. 1879.

MAP
OF THE
BATTLE-FIELD
OF
GETTYSBURG, PA.
July 2 and 3
1863

From topographical map made by Col. E. B. Cope.

Scale
0 1/4 1/2 3/4 1 mile

Union Troops
Twelfth Corps
Confederate Troops



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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 men. On arriving at the place of execution they were helped out 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-

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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

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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.

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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 Twenty-seventh 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.

The Twelfth Corps

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 Forty-seventh 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.†), 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.

The Twelfth Corps

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.



STATUE AND LANDSCAPE.

View from knoll 200 yards northeasterly from statue. Breastworks of Wadsworth's Division, First Corps, in right foreground; cannon, lunettes, and monument of Stevens' Battery near statue; Citizens Cemetery in right background.

The Twelfth Corps

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 corps. The left of their line connected with Wadsworth's Division, 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 Stuart's* Brigade, which, overlapping Greene's right, entered the deserted intrenchments of Williams's Division and occupied them without opposition. From this vantage ground Stuart 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. Stuart, of Ewell's corps; and Gen. Alex. P. Stewart, a division commander in Johnston's army.

The Twelfth Corps

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 75th-102d New York. Tower showing above trees on right center is at left of Greene's Brigade.

The Twelfth Corps

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 Greene's command. Without returning the fire Geary formed his 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 Thirty-seventh New York, which had been holding the refused part of the line. Ruger formed his three brigades in two lines, in the open 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.

The Twelfth Corps

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-



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 line held by Confederates.

The Twelfth Corps

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 Twenty-seventh 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 Stuart'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 adjutant-general, 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.

The Twelfth Corps

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.

The Twelfth Corps

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 shells. This prolonged artillery fire, with its trying scenes, was 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.

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near Saint James's College. Began the construction of breastworks. Advanced the picket line, which resulted in some slight skirmishing. Enemy held a strong entrenched 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 reconnoissance 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, - - - - -	3,155	14,529	5,365	23,049
Confederate, - - - - -	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.

The Twelfth Corps

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.
<i>First Brigade.</i>				
Col. Archibald L. MacDougall.				
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	-	10
46th Pennsylvania, - - -	2	10	1	13
<i>Second Brigade.</i>				
Brig. Gen. Henry H. Lockwood.				
1st Maryland, P. H. B., - -	23	80	1	104
1st Maryland, E. S., - -	5	18	2	25
150th New York, - - -	7	23	15	45
<i>Third Brigade.</i>				
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.

<i>First Brigade.</i>				
Col. Charles Candy.				
5th Ohio, - - -	2	16	-	18
7th Ohio, - - -	1	17	-	18
29th Ohio, - - -	7	31	-	38
66th Ohio, - - -	-	17	-	17
28th Pennsylvania, - - -	3	23	2	28
147th Pennsylvania, - - -	5	15	-	20

The Twelfth Corps

	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Aggregate.
<i>Second Brigade.</i>				
Brig. Gen. Thomas L. Kane.				
29th Pennsylvania, - - -	15	43	8	66
109th Pennsylvania, - - -	3	6	1	10
111th Pennsylvania, - - -	5	17	-	22
<i>Third Brigade.</i>				
Brig. Gen. George S. Greene.				
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, - - -	290
123rd New York, - - -	495
145th New York, - - -	245
46th Pennsylvania, - - -	262
107th New York, - - -	319
3rd Wisconsin, - - -	246
7th Ohio, - - -	278
109th Pennsylvania, - - -	149
60th New York, - - -	271
78th New York, - - -	200
150th New York, - - -	579
27th Indiana, - - -	339
2nd Massachusetts, - - -	320
13th New Jersey, - - -	347
102nd New York, - - -	248
137th New York, - - -	456
149th New York, - - -	319

The Twelfth Corps

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

The Twelfth Corps

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.

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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.

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The riotous element, overawed by the presence of these battle-tried 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 wide. The Confederates held their side in strong force, each crossing 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. A 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

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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.

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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.

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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,

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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, bright-eyed 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 world. The boys wrote saucy love notes on cards, old envelopes, 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

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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 there. The Eleventh Corps, which had preceded the Twelfth from Virginia, had gone as far as Bridgeport also, where it encamped for awhile. The journey had occupied seven days, in which the troops 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

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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 Tantalón, and the Twelfth Corps from Tantalón 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, - - - -	Decherd.
123rd New York, - - - -	Decherd.
145th New York, - - - -	Decherd.
4th United States Artillery — F, - - -	Decherd.

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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, - - - - -	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.

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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:

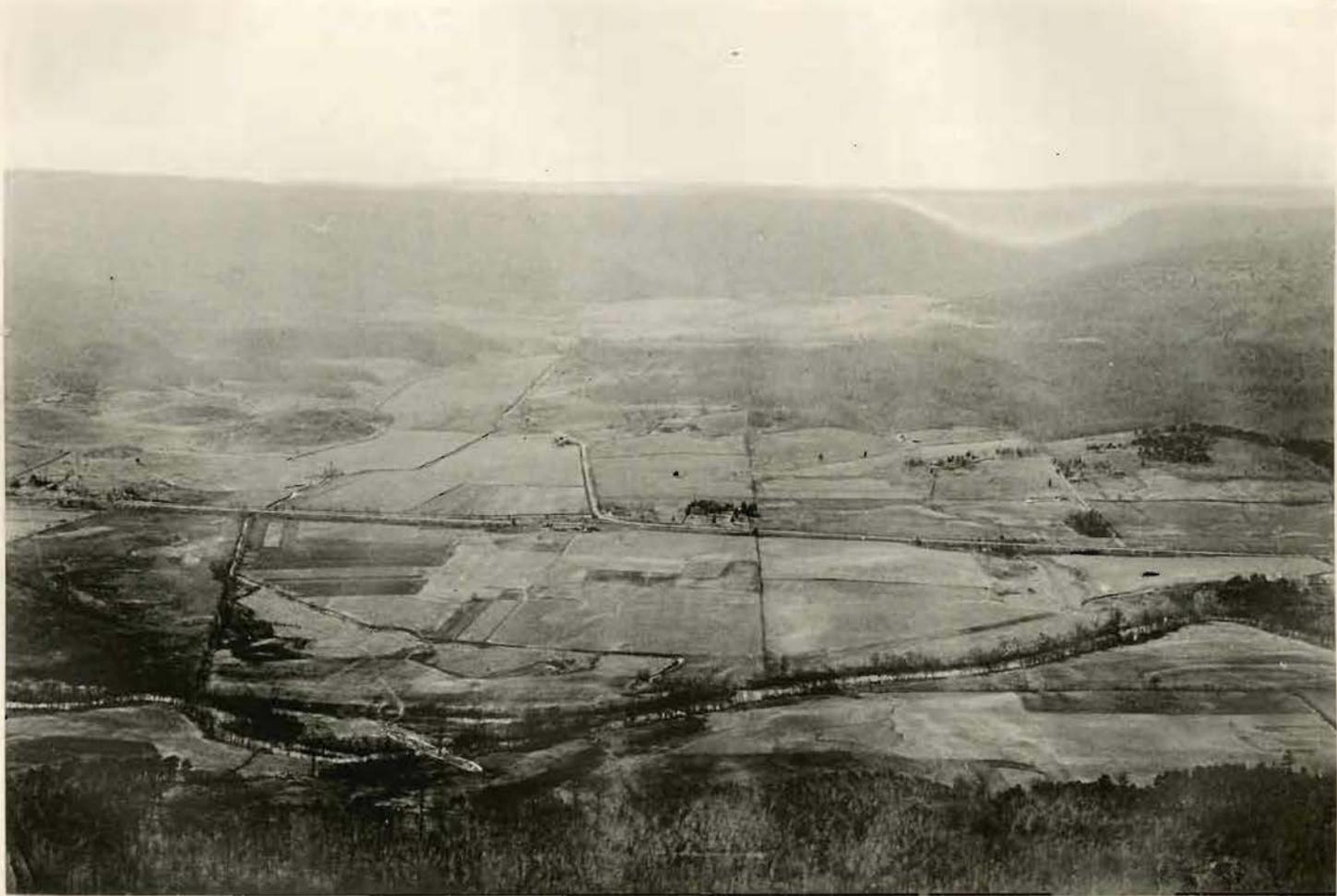
Unless he gives more satisfaction in the discharge of his duties he will soon find himself in deeper water than he has been wading in. I shall act very deliberately with him. I will incur reproach if I allow the public interest to suffer by his contumacy. He now appears to be swayed entirely by passion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

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.

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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

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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.

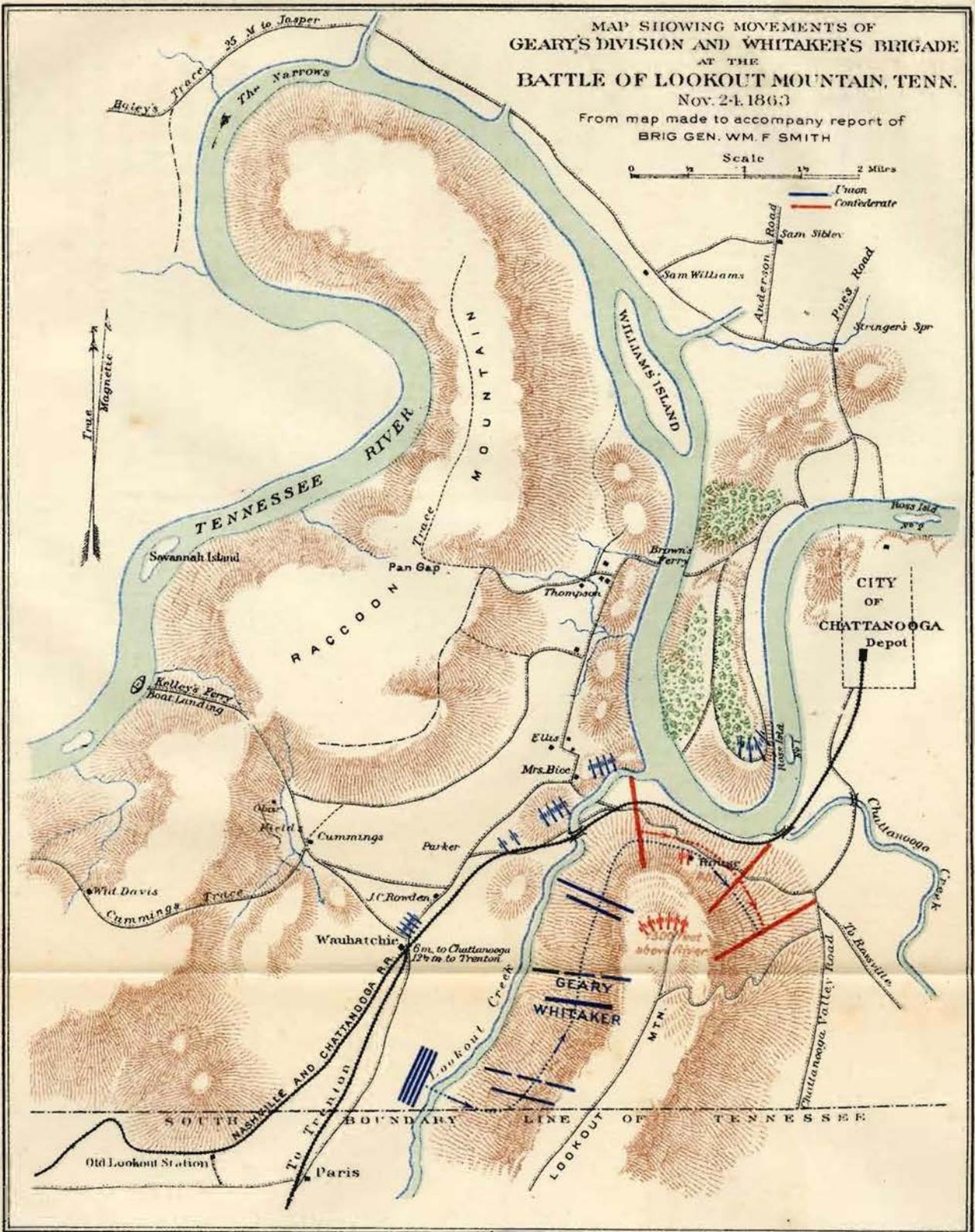
MAP SHOWING MOVEMENTS OF
 GEARY'S DIVISION AND WHITAKER'S BRIGADE
 AT THE
 BATTLE OF LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN, TENN.

Nov. 24, 1863

From map made to accompany report of
 BRIG GEN. WM. F. SMITH

Scale
 0 1/2 1 1 1/2 2 Miles

Union
 Confederate



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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

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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.

The Union losses were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	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	23	4	32
111th Pennsylvania, - - - - -	9	34	2	45
Knap's (Pennsylvania) Battery, -	3	19	-	22
Total, - - - - -	34	174	8	216

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

The Twelfth Corps

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 twenty-eighth were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
Eleventh Corps, - - - - -	45	150	9	204
Twelfth Corps, - - - - -	33	177	6	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 Civil War 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 Twelfth Corps

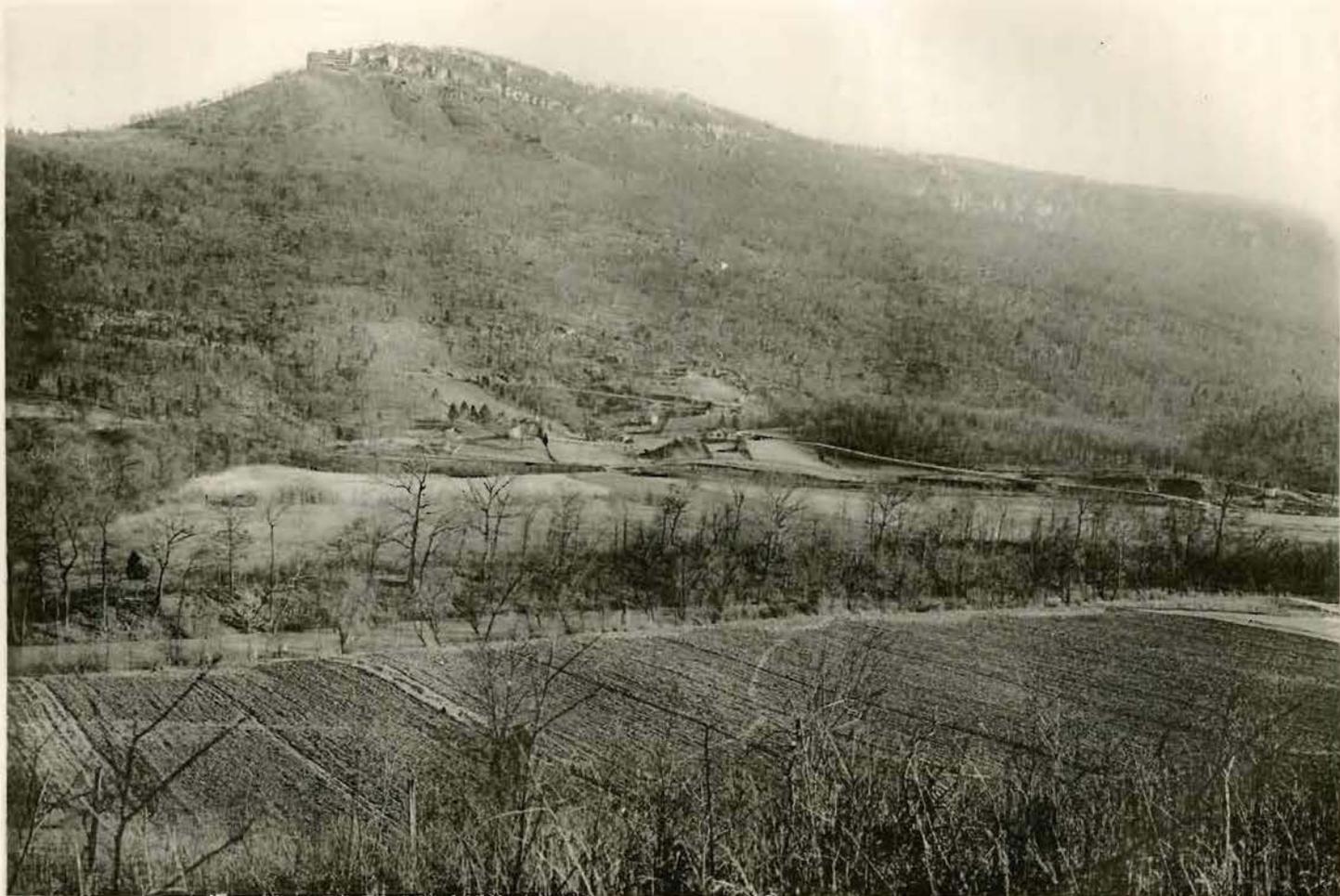
The failure of General Bragg to drive Hooker out of Lookout Valley enabled Thomas to maintain communication with Bridgeport, and relieve his starving army. The "cracker line," as his soldiers called it, was open again. The Confederates still held Lookout Mountain in force, and hence the railroad and 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-



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.

The Twelfth Corps

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.

The Twelfth Corps

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 — Walchall'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



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.

The Twelfth Corps

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 boulders, 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

The Twelfth Corps

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.

The Twelfth Corps

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.]

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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.

The Twelfth Corps

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.

The Twelfth Corps

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.



U.S.A.
GEARY'S DIVISION
LEFT OF ASSAULT
NOV. 25, 1863

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

The Twelfth Corps

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 sides. The ascent was slow and difficult. The men were subjected 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 thinned so rapidly that success was hopeless. Lieutenant-Colonel Crane, who was in command, was killed, and the regiment was without officers; but the men kept up the desperate fight. Creighton

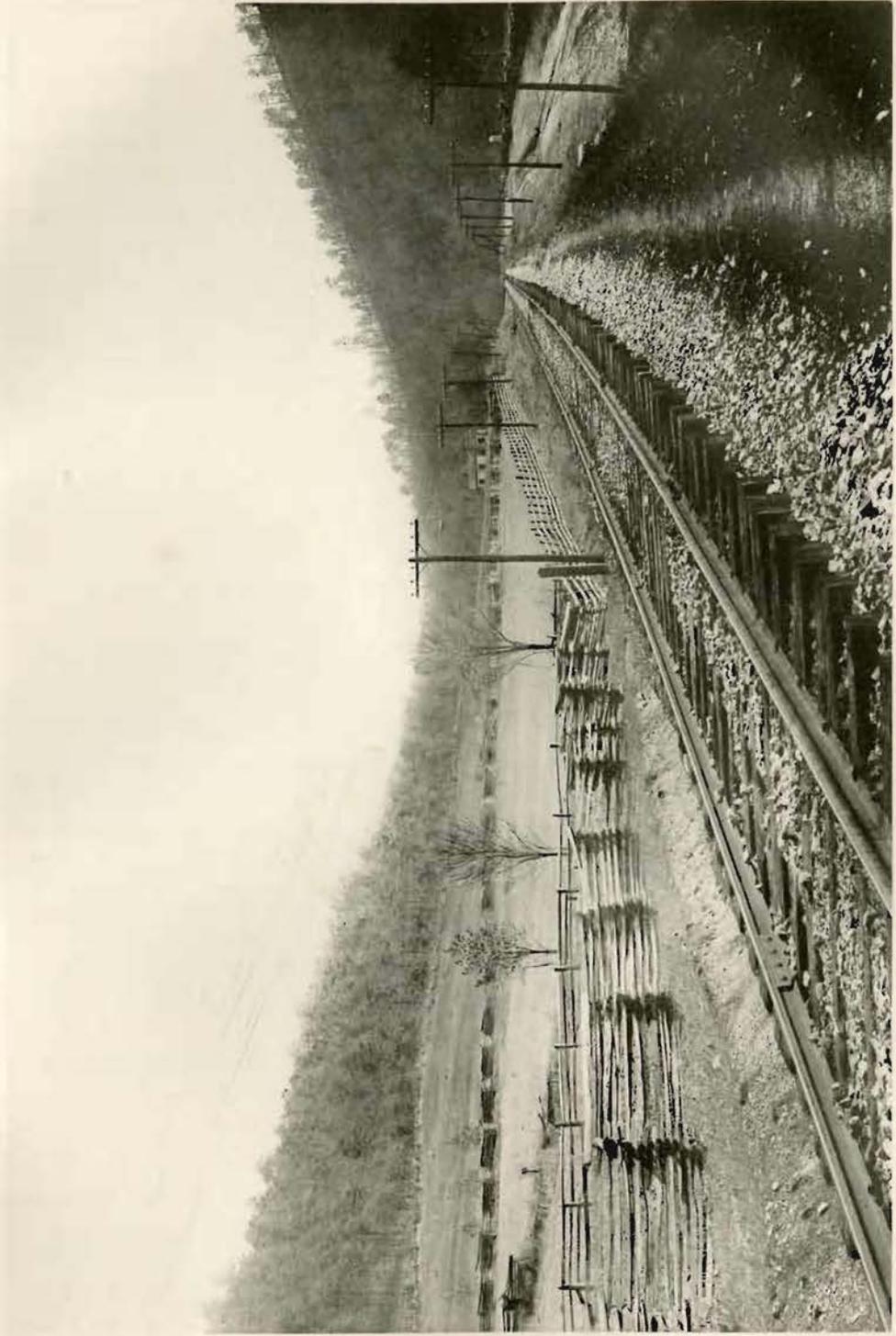
The Twelfth Corps

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



THE PASS AT RINGGOLD.

View showing a part of the battlefield on which Geary's Division, Twelfth Corps, was engaged.

The Twelfth Corps

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 Division, Fifteenth Corps, - - - - -	3,375
Geary's Division, Twelfth Corps, - - - - -	1,989
Total, - - - - -	<u>5,364</u>

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

The Twelfth Corps

The losses were:

	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, - - - - -	22	116	-	138
Whitakers' Brigade, - - - - -	17	63	2	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:

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SECOND DIVISION — TWELFTH CORPS.

BRIG. GEN. JOHN W. GEARY.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
<i>First Brigade.</i>				
Col. Charles Candy.				
7th Ohio, - - - - -	16	58	- - -	*74
66th Ohio, - - - - -	5	10	- - -	*15
28th Pennsylvania, - - - - -	4	30	- - -	*34
147th Pennsylvania, - - - - -	1	18	- - -	*19
<i>Second Brigade.</i>				
Col. George A. Cobham.				
29th Pennsylvania, - - - - -	3	9	- - -	12
111th Pennsylvania, - - - - -	1	9	- - -	10
<i>Third Brigade.</i>				
Col. David Ireland.				
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, - - - - -	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

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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 of the One Hundred and Forty-ninth 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 deputed 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-

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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,	-	-	-	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

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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

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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

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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

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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 betrayed 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.

HEADQUARTERS TWELFTH ARMY CORPS,
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.

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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,

Major-General.

Assistant Adjutant-General.

Corps Number 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.