HISTORY OF THE

Eighty-fifth Regiment
Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
1861-1865

COMPRISING AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE
OF CASEY'S DIVISION AT THE
BATTLE OF SEVEN PINES

By
LUTHER S. DICKEY

NEW YORK
1915
In Memoriam

At a special meeting of the Committee on Regimental History of the Eighty-fifth Pennsylvania Regimental Association held at Pittsburgh, Penna., February 10, 1915, the following action was taken:

Whereas, we have received the sad tidings of the passing from our ranks of Comrade Norman Bruce Ream, the youngest commissioned officer of the Eighty-fifth Regiment, and

Whereas, Brigadier-General Joshua Blackwood Howell, “The Father of the Regiment,” was first to recognize the sterling qualities of Comrade Ream by recommending him for promotion for gallantry in action, while yet on the battle-field in close proximity to the enemy, and

Whereas, The History of the Regiment is in press, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the History of the Eighty-fifth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry be dedicated to the memory of two as gallant and intrepid officers as drew swords in defense of this Union of States:

BRIGADIER-GENERAL
JOSHUA BLACKWOOD HOWELL,
The Eldest Officer of the Regiment,
A Typical American Citizen, Soldier, and Gentleman,
and
FIRST-LIEUTENANT NORMAN BRUCE REAM,
The Youngest Officer of the Regiment,
A Brave Soldier, an Ardent Patriot,
A Distinguished Citizen, a True Gentleman, and a
Worthy Comrade
Preface

The aim kept constantly in view in compiling this volume has been to arrange chronologically, in narrative form, the important activities of the Eighty-fifth Pennsylvania Volunteer Regiment, Infantry, from the inception of the organization until it was mustered out of the service. Reminiscent narratives written by surviving members, biographical sketches, and portraits of officers and men as they appeared while serving with the Regiment, were included in the original scope of the volume. The numerous narrative sketches, written when the events described were fresh in the minds of the participants, which appear throughout the volume in chronological order make exceedingly interesting reminiscences of more than a half century ago of less historical value. These articles were written by men who were not only soldiers, good and true, but they also bear evidence that their authors were men of keen observation and accuracy of statement.

Owing to the difficulty in securing authentic data and photographs of many officers and men with exceptionally meritorious military records, the Committee on Regimental History deemed it inexpedient to publish biographical sketches and portraits of the officers and men of the Regiment, with but two exceptions. The reasons therefor are expressed in the following:

RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON REGIMENTAL HISTORY.

At a regularly called meeting of the Committee on Regimental History of the Eighty-fifth Pennsylvania Regimental Association, convened at Memorial Hall, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on Thursday, October 29, 1914, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS: The manuscript submitted by Comrade Luther S. Dickey, covering the activities of the Eighty-fifth Pennsylvania Regiment from the inception of the organization until it was mustered out of the service, gives evidence of having been prepared in an authentic manner after exhaustive research, and,

WHEREAS: Owing to the voluminous nature of the manuscript and for other reasons set forth in the preface, it is deemed impracticable to publish portraits and biographical sketches of the comrades of the Regiment, it is the unanimous sense of the Committee, in which they know every member of the Association will concur, that exceptions should be made in favor of the two commissioned officers representing the extremes in age, viz: Colonel Joshua B. Howell, "The Father of the Regiment"—the oldest officer—and First Lieutenant, Norman B. Ream, the youngest commissioned officer of the Regiment, and,

WHEREAS: Comrade Ream has demurred at this discriminating distinction, it is the unanimous voice of the Committee that his meritorious military record, achieved before he had reached his
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majority, and his intrepidity on the firing line, of which the members of this Committee can bear witness, make it imperative on the Committee to insist that his long, honorable and distinguished career in the industrial and financial world be associated with the narrative of the activities of the Regiment and in taking this action the Committee knows that they are but expressing the desire of every member of the Regimental Association, all of whom believe that the remarkable achievements in the business world of the youngest officer of the Regiment give added lustre to the fame of the Regiment's activities;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

That the manuscript submitted by Comrade Luther S. Dickey, with biographical sketches and portraits of Colonel Joshua B. Howell and First Lieutenant Norman B. Ream to be incorporated, be, and is hereby accepted and endorsed as the duly authorized official History of the Eighty-fifth Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and be it further:

RESOLVED: That Comrade Dickey is hereby authorized and directed to have the History of the Regiment published as expeditiously and in such form as to him seems most practicable.

J. A. SWEARER, Prest.  CHAS. E. ECKELS, Vice-Prest.
WILLIAM E. CHICK, Sec.  WALTER C. CRAVIN
JOHN B. BELL, Asst. Sec.  CRAWFORD H. SCOTT

Almost three years of constant and unremitting research have been spent in collecting material for this volume. It is a compilation of the activities of the Eighty-fifth Regiment written while the events described were fresh in the minds of the writers. If it has historical value it is chiefly due to its correlation of the descriptive accounts of the eye-witnesses of the events described and can, therefore, be justly entitled "A Narrative of History in the Making."

In his researches the compiler has been indebted to so many sources for cheerful and courteous assistance that his acknowledgment herein must be general, with comparatively few exceptions. These are the Adjutant-General's Office, and the Office of the State Department of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; the Adjutant-General's Office, the Office of the Auditor for the War Department, the War Department Library, and the Office of the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington, D. C.; the Chicago Public Library, and the Brooklyn Public Library. The many exceptional favors and opportunities extended by these departments, and libraries were such, that not to make grateful acknowledgment would be discourteous, to say the least.

In the preparation of the Regimental narrative constant reference was made to the diaries of Com. Sergt. John B. Bell, 1st Sergt. James A. Swearer, Sergt. Walter C. Cravin, Corp. William E. Chick, and Private Crawford H. Scott. In one or more of these diaries a daily entry was made, which referred
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to every important event or movement of the Eighty-fifth Regiment from October 1, 1861, while rendezvousing at Camp Lafayette, the site of which is now a thickly populated section of Uniontown, Penna., until the Regiment was mustered out of the service at Pittsburgh, Penna., November 22, 1864. The known probity of these comrades during the time they rendered constant service with their respective companies, or with the Regiment, and since then, is a guarantee of the trustworthiness of every statement they make in the Regimental narrative. The diaries of Com. Sergt. Bell, and Corp. Chick have constituted the groundwork of the Regimental narrative from October 1, 1861, until November 22, 1864, including the composite diary addenda to several chapters. It is worthy of particular notice that each of the six comrades comprising the Committee on Regimental History was constantly on duty with his company, Regiment, or brigade, during the entire term of service at the front except one, Private Scott. The latter, after a continuous service of two years, ten months, and fifteen days, was compelled to retire to a general hospital by reason of a bullet from the enemy imbedded in his body which he has carried there these more than fifty years. Comrades Bell, Swearer, and Scott were mustered out of the service with the Regiment; Comrades Chick, Cravin, and Eckels re-enlisted as Veterans; the former was mustered out of the service as sergeant of Company I, 188th Pennsylvania Regiment, December 14, 1865; the two latter were mustered out June 28, 1865, each with the rank of captain, with the 199th Pennsylvania Regiment of Infantry.

Fully one-fourth of this volume is devoted to one battle in which the Eighty-fifth Regiment participated. The nearly three years in collecting data for this volume have been chiefly devoted to research to discover, if possible, every important detail which may have been written by participants in that one battle,—Seven Pines, misnamed Fair Oaks. Casey's division,—of which the Eighty-fifth Regiment was a part during its entire existence,—stood the brunt of that battle. Instead of achieving fame in making an heroic stand against an overwhelming force of the enemy, it was most unjustly charged with ignominious conduct in retiring to avoid being made prisoners of war. The Eighty-fifth Regiment was assigned to what proved to be the pivotal point in the battle, and maintained that position for more than three hours, retiring from it at last, only to avoid being surrounded by the enemy, while other troops, who were at no time near the line maintained by the Regiment and other battalions of the Second Brigade of the division, are officially and historically accredited with making a gallant defense of the identical position maintained by the Regiment and other battalions of the Second Brigade of Casey's division. During the half century which has elapsed since the war between the States, no historian has given evidence that he has examined the official reports of the commanding officers who were at the extreme front during the first three hours of the battle of Seven Pines.

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The compilation in this volume is by one who witnessed the very beginning of the battle of Seven Pines at the extreme front, from the picket post from which the first musket shot was fired at the advancing Confederates. Some years ago he was drafted by his regimental association to compile the annals of his regiment. Thinking the task would be easy because of the published researches of historians, he accepted the assignment as a pastime. The resulting discoveries showed that great injustice had been done to the division which had stood the brunt of the battle, while a foul calumny upon hundreds of gallant officers and men who had sealed their devotion to this Union of States, by defending its banner nearly a mile directly in advance of Seven Pines, was registered, apparently unchallenged, in the official report of the general commanding that portion of the Federal army, so disastrously defeated during the battle. The compiler of this volume then vowed to devote himself to marshal the evidence which would disprove this calumny, and also establish conclusively that the comrades of his division had borne the brunt of the battle. Through this attempt at vindication of the troops of his division, as published in the narrative of his regiment, he became acquainted with Comrade Norman B. Ream of the Eighty-fifth Regiment. As a youth of seventeen, Comrade Ream, as sergeant of his company, witnessed the first three hours of the battle at the pivotal center, at the immediate right of “Casey’s Redoubt.” In recognition of the compiler’s feeble efforts in vindication of Casey’s division, he was designated as Historian of the Eighty-fifth Regiment by the Regimental Association at the suggestion of Comrade Ream.

During the almost three years this volume has been in preparation, the compiler has been the guest and confidant of Comrade Ream, a distinction and honor to more than compensate him for the many years he has devoted in his researches for the facts and fictions written of the battle of Seven Pines. Only a small portion of the material gathered finds a place in this volume. All of it was considered by Comrade Ream, and, after it was in type and ready for the press-room, every statement of fact accompanying the compilation on the battle of Seven Pines, whether in criticism or otherwise, met with his full concurrence. This fact, and the assistance he rendered the compiler in gathering the material in vindication of Casey’s division is, in this sense, his work.

It was only shortly after this defense of Casey’s division had been made into types for the pages of this volume that Comrade Ream answered to the final “tattoo” and “taps” which summoned him to that shadowy realm to which many of his calumniated comrades had preceded him from the battle-field of Seven Pines, when, as a youth of seventeen, he had played a man’s part. It must have been a source of satisfaction to him to know that the closing hours of a wonderful career full of achievement had been spent in vindication of the wronged comrades of his youth. During the remaining span of time allotted to the compiler of this volume, his pleasant association with Comrade Ream in this work, will be among his most cherished memories.
Excerpts from Chapters VI—VIII

“We have had a desperate battle, in which the corps of Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes have been engaged against greatly superior numbers. Yesterday at 1, the enemy, taking advantage of a terrible storm, which had flooded the valley of the Chickahominy, attacked our troops on the right bank of that river. Casey’s division, which was the first line, gave way unaccountably and discreditably. This caused a temporary confusion, during which some guns and baggage were lost, but Heintzelman and Kearny most gallantly brought up their troops, which checked the enemy. At the same time, however, Gen. Sumner succeeded by great exertions in bringing across Sedgwick’s and Richardson’s divisions, who drove back the enemy at the point of the bayonet, covering the ground with his dead. This morning the enemy attempted to renew the conflict, but was everywhere repulsed. We have taken many prisoners, among them are Gen. Pettigrew and Col. Long. Our loss is heavy but that of the enemy must be enormous. With the exception of Casey’s division our men behaved splendidly. Several fine bayonet charges have been made. The Second Excelsior made two to-day.”

[Gen. McClellan’s dispatch announcing the battle of Seven Pines; see page 87.]

Federal casualties at the Battle of Seven Pines.

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[From Revised Return of Casualties at the Battle of Seven Pines; see page 94.]

“The blood of the gallant dead would cry to me from the ground on which they fell fighting for their country had I not said what I have to vindicate them from the unmerited aspersion which has been cast upon them.”

[Concluding paragraph of the official report of Brig. Gen. Silas Casey; see page 114.]
EXCERPTS FROM CHAPTERS VI-VIII.

"Appended is a list of the killed and wounded. From this it appears that of the less than 9,000 taken into action nearly 3,000 were struck down. The loss was principally in the three brigades which made the front attack. Rain's brigade, which executed the flank movement, suffered but little in comparison. The gallant charge of my division demoralized the Yankees, and our re-enforcements were not hotly engaged; the succor brought to Casey not fighting so well as his own men. This accounts for the fact that more than half of the entire loss in the two days' fight fell upon my division." [From official report of Maj. Gen. D. H. Hill, who led the attack upon Casey's division; see page 166.]

"I had a full view of the field from my position, and could see no movement toward evacuating the works till Gen. Rains opened fire on the flank and rear." [From Maj. Gen. Hill's appendix to official report of Brig. Gen. R. E. Rodes, commanding one of the brigades assaulting Casey's works in front; see page 166.]

"The severest part of the work was done by Maj. Gen. D. H. Hill's division. * * * The conduct of the entire attack was left entirely to Maj. Gen. Hill. The entire success of the affair is sufficient evidence of his ability, courage and skill." [From official report of Maj. Gen. James Longstreet.]

"The principal attack was made by Maj. Gen. Longstreet with his own and Maj. Gen. D. H. Hill's divisions, the latter mostly in advance. Hill's brave troops, admirably commanded and most gallantly led, forced their way through the abatis, which formed the enemy's external defenses, and stormed their intrenchments by a determined and irresistible rush." [From official report of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, commanding Confederate Army; see page 165.]
"An officer informed me that after we had driven the enemy beyond our first intrenchments he visited Gen. Casey's camp and found more men bayoneted and shot within their shelter tents than outside of them." [From the official report of Brig. Gen. Samuel P. Heintzelman, commanding the left wing of the Army of the Potomac, May 31, 1862; see par. 18, page 106.]

"After finding their position abandoned I immediately sent report to Gen. Sickles to that effect and then, taking Company A from my reserve, advanced with it to the redoubt and line of earthworks occupied by the enemy the evening previous [June 1]. Scattered over the fields and tents, in the houses, and under sheds were large numbers of wounded men, both the rebel and our own, in the most distressing condition, many having been since Saturday, May 31, without any food or attention. From the wounded we learned that the enemy had fallen back that morning, commencing the retreat about midnight, and that their rear had not been an hour gone." [From the official report of Lieut. Col. Henry L. Potter, 71st New York Regiment (Second Excelsior); see page 152.]
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The Eighty-Fifth Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry

A Chronological Historical Narrative from Its Organization until Mustered Out, with a Full Record of the Services of the Original Officers and Men, Veterans and Recruits.

CHAPTER I.

THE INCEPTION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE REGIMENT, CAMP LAFAYETTE, UNIONTOWN, PA.—DEPARTURE FOR SEAT OF WAR.—ARRIVAL AT CAMP CASEY, NEAR WASHINGTON, D. C.

FROM AUGUST 2 TO NOVEMBER 22, 1861.

The Eighty-fifth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, Infantry, was recruited during the months of August, September, October and November, 1861, from four counties in the extreme southwestern part of the State, all of which were bordered by the famous "Mason and Dixon Line," viz.: Somerset, Fayette, Greene and Washington, the two former being separated from the State of Maryland by the original Mason and Dixon survey, and the three latter from Virginia (now West Virginia).

The initial step toward the organization of this Regiment was taken by Joshua B. Howell, for thirty-three years a resident of Uniontown, Pa., and a prominent member of the bar of Fayette County, who addressed the following letter to Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War:

UNIONTOWN, PA., July 25, 1861.

Sir:

I am desirous of raising a Regiment of Volunteers, from the western part of this State, to serve for three years, or during the War, and to facilitate my efforts in that regard I wish an order from your Department authorizing me to do so. As I am personally unknown to you, sir, I take the liberty of referring you to the gentlemen, who are kind enough to add a postscript to this note.

Respectfully, Yr. Ob't. Svt.

Joshua B. Howell

Hon. Simon Cameron,
Secretary of War.
This letter was endorsed as follows:

Hon. S. Cameron,

Secty. of War.

Sir:

We hope it may comport with your views to grant the order requested by Gen'l Howell. His wish is to get into immediate service and not to be delayed by passing through the State authorities. Gen. Howell has always had a great military taste and has all the experience he could acquire in the ordinary volunteer service at home. We think him well fitted for the service and doubt not, if accepted, he will give satisfaction to the Department.

Very respectfully your &c.,

N. Ewing,
A. Stewart,
Jno. Collins.

Two days later Col. Howell sent a second letter to the Secretary of War, as follows:

Uniontown, July 27, 1861.

Sir:

I had the honor to address a note to you on the 25th inst., in which I stated that I was desirous of raising a Regiment of Volunteers in the Western part of Penna., to serve for three years, or during the War, and to facilitate my efforts in that regard, I desired an order from your Department to do so. My friends, Judge Ewing, the Hon. A. Stewart, and Col. Collins, did me the kindness to add a postscript to my note. I beg leave to refer you to it. I am afraid that, in the great amount of business, which must necessarily be constantly pressing upon your attention, my letter may have been overlooked or mislaid. I write now to draw your attention to it, and to urge the granting of my application. My anxiety to embark at once in the work, must be my apology for trespassing upon your time and attention.

I have the honor to be

Respectfully your ob't servant,

Joshua B. Howell.

To Hon. Simon Cameron,

Secretary of War,

Washington, D. C.

This letter is endorsed as follows:

I wish to express my hearty concurrence in the request of Gen. Howell and hope it will receive your prompt attention. He is the very man for the work he proposes to do. His whole heart is in it.

Most respectfully,

A. Stewart.

Filed with Col. Howell's correspondence in the archives of the War Department are the following letters:
Hon. Simon Cameron,
Secretary of War,

Dear Sir:

I understand Gen. Howell of this place has made application for authority from your Department to raise a regiment in West Pennsylvania. I hope you will grant it at once. He is the right man in the right place. I could assign various reasons for it, but will not encroach on your time.

Respectfully, &c.,

John F. Beazel.

Hon. Simon Cameron,
Sec'y of War.

Sir:

You have before you numerous and strong testimonials in behalf of Gen. Joshua B. Howell of Fayette Co., Penna., and asking an order to him to raise a Regiment of Volunteers for the War, in Western Pennsylvania. Gen. Howell is, I think a worthy and efficient man. He is my particular friend and just now I have special reasons why I wish him to have the order and from you. Will you gratify us?

Your obd't servt.,

James Veech.

Avenue House, Washington City, August 1, 1861.

The foregoing letter was evidently presented in person to Secretary Cameron by the Hon. Edgar Cowan, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, on August 2, 1861, as it has his endorsement written on separate paper and pasted on the upper right hand corner, as follows:

I recommend this also.

Edgar Cowan.

Accompanying the letter is the following note in Senator Cowan's tremulous handwriting:

Gen. Joshua B. Howell proposes to raise a regiment in West Pa., within 31 days from this date to rendezvous at Camp Wright, near Pittsburgh.

Edgar Cowan, 2nd August, 1861.

On even date with Senator Cowan's note Gen. Howell was authorized by the War Department to recruit a Regiment in the following terms:

War Department, Washington City, August 2, 1861.

Colonel Joshua B. Howell, Pennsylvania.

Sir:

The regiment of Infantry which you offer is accepted for three years or during the war, provided you have it ready for marching orders in thirty-one days.

This acceptance is with the distinct understanding that this Department will revoke the commissions of all officers who may be found incompetent for the proper discharge of their duties.
You will promptly advise Adjutant General Thomas at Washington the date at which your men will be ready for mustering, and he will detail an officer for that purpose, who will be instructed to muster in by companies.

By order of Secretary of War,

James Lesley, Jr.,
Chief Clerk, War Department.

On receipt of the above Col. Howell published the following:

Uniontown, Aug. 7, 1861.

Attention! By virtue of authority derived from the War Department, Washington, I will organize a Regiment for service for three years or during the war. Due and timely notice will be given of the place when the companies will rendezvous.

* * * * * * * *

Commanders of Companies and persons desirous of taking part in the great and momentous struggle in which is involved our National existence, and which will determine the integrity of the Union and the permanence of our free institutions, will be kind enough to report to me at this place.

Prompt and energetic action is indispensable, as my authority requires me to have the Regiment ready for marching orders on or before the 2nd of September, proximo.

I have applied to the War Department for an extension of time, and think it will be granted.

Joshua B. Howell, Colonel.

Immediately after receiving authority to recruit a Regiment, Gen. Howell called on or wrote to such men as he knew to have a predilection for military affairs in Fayette and contiguous counties and with some friends visited various districts making patriotic speeches at Union War Meetings called for the purpose of inducing men to enlist.

An account of one of these meetings held August 21, 1861, in the Court House at Waynesburg, Greene County, which appeared in the Waynesburg Messenger, in its issue of September 4, 1861, is typical of the others. It is as follows:

Public Meeting. The citizens of the Borough and vicinity, assembled at the Court House on the evening of the 21st ultimo, by a call for a Union Meeting in which it was stated that an address would be delivered by Gen. Howell, who was visiting our county, with a view to raising a Regiment for service in the present war.

On motion of J. A. J. Buchanan, Esq., W. T. E. Webb, Esq., was called to the chair, assisted by Robert Adams and Daniel Hook, Esq., as vice-presidents; John Phelan and W. Baily were appointed Secretaries. James Lindsey, Esq., stated the object of the meeting, and the presence of Gen. Howell, whom he introduced to the meeting. Gen. Howell then came forward and addressed the meeting in a strain of patriotic eloquence which frequently elicited its applause. He stated among other things, that, as a Democrat he had opposed the election of President Lincoln, but he having been elected fairly and in accordance with the laws of the land, was entitled to the support of the people of all parties; that in the present perilous condition of the country, and in reference to the war, he was disposed to forget mere partisan feelings; that the question was not now what party was right, or what party was wrong; but that paramount to all were the questions whether the Union shall be held together, the Government maintained and the Stars and Stripes remain the protecting Aegis of the American citizen, wherever he shall be. When this shall have been settled, and when it shall have been demonstrated that we have a Union,
a Government, and a Flag, then it will be time to settle merely partisan questions. That while Rebellion is rampant, our Flag desecrated, the public property appropriated to the use of the enemies of the Union, and while every principle of constitutional law is rudely trampled on by the Rebels, it is no time to haggle on the question as to whether the President in his efforts to protect them, had overstepped the strict boundaries of constitutional duty—the Government which our fathers erected should be maintained and the President, in his efforts to uphold it, should receive the support and sympathy of the people, and the aid of their money and their personal exertions. He closed by stating that he had been empowered by the Secretary of War to raise a Regiment for the present War, and hoped to have the honor of leading some of the patriotic men of Greene County in support of the glorious Stars and Stripes.

Other addresses were made by Hon. Andrew Stewart, John Buchanan, Prof. Miller, Gen. Lazear and James Lindsey. J. F. Temple, Esq., informed the meeting that he had just been informed that Capt. Gordon, with his "Pursley Guards" was approaching the town and moved that a procession be formed to escort them, which was done immediately after the adjournment of the meeting.

W. T. E. Webb, President,
R. Adams & D. Hook, Vice Presidents,
W. Baily and J. Phelan, Secretaries.

Another account of this meeting appearing in the Messenger says:

The speeches were all well received and creditable, but the remarks of Gen. Howell and Mr. Lindsey were particularly happy and appropriate, and were warmly applauded. At the close of the meeting "the forces" were put in military array by our gallant partner, Col. Jennings, and marched to the west of town, headed by the military band of that inimitable fifer and whole soulled fellow, Recorder Temple, where they received the "Pursley Guards," numbering some sixty men and commanded by our patriotic friend, Capt. John A. Gordon, halting on their march at the Hamilton House and receiving another earnest speech from Gen. Howell. The crowd dispersed with three cheers for the Union, for Gen. Howell and Capt. Gordon.

On September 5, Secretary Cameron wrote Gov. Curtin as follows:

Col. Joshua B. Howell of Fayette County tenders a Regiment of Infantry to the Government for 3 years or during the War. We need the men but prefer to receive them through the executive of Pennsylvania. Please accept and organize his Regiment in accordance with existing Regulations.

During the month of September a rendezvous camp was established at Uniontown, on the old Fair Ground south of Fayette Street, now a fine residence section of that city, and on which in recent years a fine High School building has been erected. The rendezvous camp was named "Camp LaFayette," and in a very few weeks more than the requisite number of companies were quartered there although some of them were lacking the minimum quota.

A correspondent of the Waynesburg Messenger, under date of October 29, 1861, describes the troops in Camp LaFayette as follows: (Waynesburg Messenger, November 6, 1861.)

The number of companies now in camp is eleven, including the one which is yet quartered in town. Their names, officers and former places of rendezvous, are as follows; presenting them in the order in which they entered the service, so far as I can learn: Capt. H. Z. Ludington's Co., the "Mountain Rifles," from Springfield, Fayette County; 1st Lieut.

Subsequent to this two other companies arrived at Camp Lafayette; the "Washington Guards," commanded by Capt. H. A. Purviance from Washington County, and the "Pursley Guards," commanded by Capt. John A. Gordon, from Greene County. The latter company was amalgamated with Capt. Abraham's "Monongahela Guards;" Capt. Gordon accepting the first lieutenancy of the company.

The "Little Giants" and "Waynesburg Invincibles" were distributed among the numerically weaker companies, Capt. Guiler having been elected major of the Regiment and Capt. Hager was subsequently assigned to Capt. Morris' company as first lieutenant. Edward Campbell, who assisted Capt. Guiler in recruiting the Little Giants, and expected to be first lieutenant, was assigned to Capt. Purviance's company as second lieutenant.

Filed in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is a certified copy of the original designation or lettering of the respective companies of the Regiment with a roster of the commissioned company officers; and also of the field and staff officers, as follows:

**HEADQUARTERS 85TH REG'T. PENNA. MILITIA,**

Nov. 15, 1861.

I do hereby certify that the following is a just and true return of the Commissioned officers of the several companies of the 85th Regiment in the Penna. Militia, together with the dates of their election and of their being mustered into service:


Company G, "Monongahela Guards," Capt. Isaac M. Abraham; Fayette Co.; elected Nov. 6, 1861; must. Nov. 6, 1861; 1st Lieut. John A. Gordon, Greene Co.; elected Nov. 6, 1861; must. Nov. 6, 1861; 2nd Lieut. John M. Crawford, Greene Co.; elected Nov. 6, 1861; must. Nov. 6, 1861.


Witness my hand the date aforesaid,

JOSHUA E. HOWELL,
Col. Commanding.

HEADQUARTERS 85TH REG'T, PENNA. MILITIA,
Nov. 16, 1861.

I do hereby certify that the following is a correct return of the Field and Staff officers of the 85th Regiment Penna. Militia, together with the date of their election, &c.:

Col. Joshua B. Howell; residence Uniontown, Fayette County; appointed to recruit a regiment August 8, 1861; mustered into the United States service Nov. 12, 1861;

Lieut. Col. Norton McGiffin; residence Washington County; elected Oct. 20, 1861; mustered Nov. 7, 1861;

Major Absalom Guiler; residence Fayette County; elected Nov. 4, 1861; mustered Nov. 16, 1861;

Adjutant Andrew Stewart, Jr.; appointed Oct. 1, 1861; must. Nov. 12, 1861;

Quarter Master John Murphy; residence Washington County appointed Sept. 25, 1861; mustered Nov. 15, 1861;

Chaplain John N. Pierce; residence Greene County; appointed Oct. 7, 1861; mustered Nov. 12, 1861.

Given under my hand and seal the day and date aforesaid.

JOSHUA B. HOWELL,
Col. Commanding 85th Regiment P. V.
The first muster roll of the Field and Staff of the Regiment, December 31, 1861, gives the other original members of the Field and Staff as follows:

Surgeon, John B. Laidley; commissioned to date from Oct. 15, 1861; must. Nov. 12, 1861; [date of muster changed to Oct. 15, 1861, by order of Adjutant General's Office]; Assistant Surgeon, John C. Levis, Commissioned to date Oct. 23, 1861; mustered Nov. 12, 1861;

Non-Commissioned Staff.

Sergeant Major James B. Lindsey; appointed Nov. 13, 1861; Quar. Master Serg't William E. Beall; appointed Nov. 13, 1861.

Shortly after the original organization the "Red Stone Blues," commanded by Capt. Wilkinson, and designated as Company H, and the "Independent Blues," commanded by Capt. Tredwell, designated as Company C, changed places, the former being designated as Company C, and the latter as Company H.

As the respective companies were finally organized at Camp LaFayette, as indicated by the first muster roll on which the Regiment was paid for the months of September, October, November and December, 1861, the non-commissioned officers, musicians and teamsters appointed were as follows:

Company A, 1st Sergt., Samuel L. McHenry; Sergeants, Socrates McGregor, James M. Welch, Alexander W. Pollock, Robert T. Wishart; Corporals; Robert W. Crisswell, Greer Hair, James M. S. Cratty, Matthew Templeton, John M. Moore, John N. Morrison, John N. Brown, William D. Shaw; Musicians, Robert B. Thompson, John W. Ingles; Teamster, Adam Johnston.


Company K, 1st Sergeant, James F. Immel; Sergeants, Zachariah Snyder, John F. Campbell, Andrew J. Gilmore, Coulson Coughenour; Corporals, John Colestock, Henry C. Dean, Elijah S. Harbaugh, Archibald Boyd, Damel F. Miller, Isaac Cossel, Samuel Grim, Francis D. Morrison; Musicians, Charles Lytle, Thomas H. Morrison; Teamster, James Reynolds.

While the Regiment rendezvoused at Camp LaFayette squad, company and battalion drills; guard duty, guard mounting, and dress parade comprised the daily routine of camp life, drill being suspended only when the weather conditions made it impracticable, and for some time before the men had been uniformed the Regiment had become quite efficient in battalion evolutions, and could march with the regularity and precision of any veteran organization, much to the gratification and delight of Col. Howell, who was effusive in giving praise whenever the men excelled in performing battalion evolutions. A general idea of life and conditions at Camp LaFayette can best be obtained by quoting a few excerpts from the diary of John B. Bell, who entered Camp LaFayette with his company (A) on October 1, and who kept a daily record of the most important events occurring in camp.

Oct. 2. Roll call was called at 6 A. M., and a detail of eight men was made for guard duty; breakfast was served at 7 o'clock; guard was mounted at 8 A. M. by the acting adjutant, Andrew Stewart, Jr., son of Tariff Andy Stewart.

Oct. 3. The daily detail from Co. A for guard duty is a sergeant, a corporal and eight men. Our rations consist of bread, meat, sugar, salt and coffee; for breakfast and supper, and the same, with the exception of coffee, and cabbage and beans for dinner. Battalion drill in the afternoon; dress parade in the evening.

Sunday, Oct. 6. About half of the Thompsonville boys went with Lieut. Rowley to the Presbyterian Church in Uniontown to hear the Rev. Wm. F. Hamilton. A large number of the Co. went to church in town in the evening and received a complete “soaking” on their return, as a heavy rain caught them with no place to take shelter.

Oct. 11. The “Howell Invincibles” Co. I, Capt. J. R. Weltner was the first Co. of the Regiment mustered into the service; the next was the “Ellsworth Cadets” Co. B, Capt. M. W. Zellars; the next was the “Ten Mile Greys” Co. F, Capt. John Morris. The muster of the other companies was deferred because of the absence of so many of the officers and men.

Sunday, Oct. 13. An elk in camp gored a member of Co. D rather seriously and Col. Howell ordered the man to be taken to town to be treated by a physician there. The elk was shot by one of the men in camp. His horns were three feet long and each one had seven antlers. Two other elks remain in camp, a doe and a calf.
Oct. 14. The officers of the Regiment were the guests of Andrew Stewart in the evening.

Oct. 15. 1st Lieut. I. R. Beazzell acted as adjutant at dress parade. Capt. Vankirk returned to camp from a visit to his home, bringing Mrs. Vankirk to camp.

Oct. 16. The companies that deferred muster on the 11th inst. were mustered into the service, the men being first examined by the surgeon.

Oct. 17. The Co. was drilled in the forenoon by Lieut. Kerr and in the afternoon by Capt. Vankirk. At dress parade, Capt. Vankirk's Co. was accorded a position on the right of the Regiment. Col. Howell was mounted at dress parade.

Oct. 18. Norton McGiffin, sheriff of Washington County, and a veteran of the Mexican War, was elected Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment by the officers, the election being ratified by the rank and file.


Oct. 24. Capt. Henry A. Purviance, who has a company at Camp Wilkins, Pittsburgh, called the "Washington Guards," was in Camp LaFayette today, and it is rumored that he was here to negotiate for a position in Col. Howell's Regiment. Dr. William Smith, a professor of Jefferson College, was in camp today, visiting his sons, Julius and James, of Capt. Zellers' "Ellsworth Cadets." The officers of the Regiment were given an Oyster Supper on Tuesday night of this week by some citizens of Uniontown.

Sunday, Oct. 27. During the past week we had Co. drill before breakfast and again in the forenoon and afternoon. Chaplain Pierce preached in the Uniontown Presbyterian Church in the morning; and at three o'clock P. M. the Regiment was marched in front of Regimental headquarters, where a young Methodist minister officiated for the Chaplain, preaching an interesting sermon.

Oct. 29. Capt. Vankirk appointed the non-commissioned officers of the "Union Guards" in the morning. Capt. Purviance brought his company, the "Washington Guards," into camp today. The "Little Giants," Capt. Guiler, met them at the depot and escorted them through town into Camp LaFayette. During the afternoon the entire Regiment paraded the principal streets of Uniontown. There were 440 men in ranks at dress parade.

Oct. 30. The "Pursley Guards," about fifty men, commanded by Capt. John A. Gordon, from Greene Co., arrived in camp today. Twelve companies were in line at dress parade, Capt. Vankirk's "Union Guards," being accorded the position at the right; fully 600 men were in ranks. The band consisted of four fifers, seven tenor and three base drums. We have a man in camp by the name of William Beall, who is quite a joker.

Oct. 31. Lieut. John Murphy of the "Ellsworth Cadets," was presented with a sword from the citizens of Canonsburg, Pa., the presentation address being made by William Hornish, Esq.

Nov. 1. Gen. Lamar, of Virginia, was in Camp today to induce Col. Howell to join his brigade with the Regiment.

Nov. 2. We received one cracker and a small piece of bread for breakfast this morning. Camp gossip says that the crackers have been in storage since the Mexican War. They are about six inches in diameter and almost as hard as a brick, and undoubtedly would keep for years and be as palatable as they now are. At four P. M. the Camp was again visited by a storm which blew most of the tents from their moorings, but fortunately, immediately after havoc had been made of the camp the rain that accompanied the wind ceased and the men did not get much of a wetting.
Nov. 5. During the forenoon the officers of the Regiment held an election for major. There were but two candidates, Capt. Absalom Guiler, of the “Little Giants,” and Lieut. Andrew Stewart, Jr., who has been Acting Adjutant. The ballot resulted in the election of Capt. Guiler, who received seventeen votes, Lieut. Stewart receiving sixteen.

Nov. 7. Maj. Guiler’s “Little Giants” and Capt. Hager’s “Waynesburg Invincibles” were distributed among the other companies that were deficient in numbers. One man from the “Waynesburg Invincibles,” George F. Carey, was assigned to Capt. Vankirk’s “Union Guards.” He is six feet and five inches in height. A number of the men in the two companies dissolved are dissatisfied with the distribution and threats are made that they will not acquiesce; in consequence the camp guard was increased and posted outside the fence surrounding the camp.

Sunday, Nov. 12. Sergt. Samuel L. McHenry, of the “Union Guards” was appointed Secretary to Col. Howell. At dress parade a sword was presented to Capt. William H. Horn, of the “LaFayette Infantry.”

Nov. 13. Capt. I. M. Abraham, of the “Monongahela Guards,” was presented with a sword, Lieut. John E. Michener, of the “LaFayette Infantry,” making the presentation address.

Nov. 14. During the afternoon the “Union Guards,” Capt. Vankirk; and the “Ellsworth Cadets,” Capt. Zellars, marched through the streets of Uniontown, Capt. Vankirk being in command. During the night the uniforms for the Regiment arrived.

Nov. 16. The uniforms have been pretty generally distributed among the respective companies. They comprise an overcoat, light blue; dress coat, dark blue; blouse, dark blue; trousers, dark blue; two pair socks, grey; two shirts, two Canton-flannel drawers, pair shoes, cap, blanket, a leather stock, knapsack, canteen, and two epaulets. Capt. Wilkinson marched his company, the “Ellsworth Cadets,” to Brownsville, to show his men to their friends, so proud was he of their appearance in their new dress. Although the men knew they would have a muddy tramp, they cheerfully acquiesced with the wish of the Captain, as it gave them an opportunity to bid farewell to friends and sweethearts.

Nov. 18. At dress parade this evening the “Union Guards” were assigned the right of the Regiment and the company is hereafter to be designated as “A” Company. A beautiful silk flag was presented to the Regiment by the ladies of Uniontown, the presentation address being made by James G. Johnston, Col. Howell responding in behalf of the Regiment, handing the colors to Joseph G. Reager, of the Ellsworth Cadets, now Co. B; Reager, although a private, was designated as ensign bearer.

Nov. 19. At eleven A. M. the Regiment was called into line and with Col. Howell at the head marched through the streets of Uniontown. As the Regiment is to leave for Washington tomorrow the guards were posted outside the fence surrounding Camp LaFayette to prevent the men from taking “French leave.”

Wednesday, Nov. 20. The men are in fine spirits this morning; every one is jubilant at the prospect of getting to the front, and anyone witnessing the men packing their traps preparatory to departure from the rendezvous camp to the seat of war would say they went cheerfully and willingly. The Regiment was at the depot at Uniontown at nine o’clock, where it seemed the entire town had assembled to witness the departure of the Regiment. The train consisted of twenty-five coaches, Col. Howell and staff occupying the rear one. It was past eleven o’clock, A. M., when the train moved from the depot in the direction of Pittsburgh. In crossing a trestle about six miles from Uniontown the train was divided. The first section was run onto a siding and the engine returned after the rear section. The train arrived at Connellsville about noon, and there two more coaches were added. Occasionally the steam of the engine would become so exhausted that a halt would be made to gather a head. West Newton was passed about 3 P. M. and at 5 P. M. McKeesport was reached, where the train was transferred to the Penna. Central Railroad. The train made a brief halt at Greensburg about 5 P. M., and after passing beyond the
latter point about ten miles the engine became disabled and it was midnight before another arrived to take its place.

Nov. 21. Shortly after midnight the train was again in motion, and passed through the tunnel in the Allegheny Mountains about 3 A. M. Shortly after daylight the train was run onto a siding on the bank of a stream said to be Spruce Creek, where the men had an opportunity to refresh themselves by a morning ablution. It was nearly three P. M. when the Regiment arrived at the State Capital, and after leaving the train at the outskirts of the town, and before the officers had a realization of what was transpiring, nearly half of the men had vamoosed to town, although they had been warned that the stop at Harrisburg would probably be brief. The Regiment had dress parade in presence of Gov. Curtin who, in an eloquent address, presented the Regiment with a flag from the State. The Regiment boarded the train about dark but it was about ten o'clock when the Susquehanna River was crossed, the train being delayed for Col. Howell and Capt. Vankirk, who had been detained in Harrisburg.

Nov. 22. The train crossed the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland at 7 A. M., arriving at Baltimore a little before noon, where the Regiment left the cars which had brought it from Uniontown, and marched about two miles through the City to another railroad depot escorted by a squadron of cavalry. The men were served with dinner by the Union Relief Association, near the depot. It was after dark when the Regiment left Baltimore and it was nearly 11 P. M. when the train pulled into the depot at Washington. From the train officers and men marched to the Soldiers' Retreat, where they were served with supper, after which they marched to the Soldiers' Rest for the night. The latter building was located near the Capitol, and was a temporary structure erected for the inauguration Ball.

Nov. 23, The men were up early and the Regiment was marched to the Soldiers' Retreat for breakfast, after which it returned to the Soldiers' Rest, which was made a resting place until 3 P. M., when it marched back along the railroad to Camp Casey, near Bladensburg, Maryland, five or six miles east of Washington City, arriving there after dark. The men went to bed supperless although they succeeded in pitching tents in the darkness, and had their first experience sleeping on the ground South of Mason and Dixon's Line.

The journey from Camp LaFayette to Camp Casey is described by Robert R. Roddy of Company H, under the nom de plume of "Zingaroo," in a letter to the Genius of Liberty, dated Tuesday, November 26, 1861 (published December 5, 1861), as follows:

After leaving Camp LaFayette our progress was necessarily slow as we were on an irregular train, or rather trains, and were obliged to lay by until the regular trains passed, moving very slowly when in motion. We went away from Washington on Saturday evening unexpectedly and marched to this place, a distance of six miles, passing on our way Fort Lincoln and other fortifications and camps. It was rumored that the Regiment came near being fired upon as we passed the Fort, as our band sounded the general alarm, but rumors are more plentiful than the gossip of a village. We arrived here late in the evening and after pitching tents go to bed on the bare ground, supperless and live on the same diet all day Sunday. The men were cheerful under the stress until they heard the officers were being feasted by the officers of the Fourth Rhode Island and Fifth New Hampshire with whom we are encamped. The guards from these regiments picked up one of Capt. Abraham's Company G, who, rumor said, had been shot dead by a picket, but he was discovered by Capt. Abraham sawing wood. Heavy cannonading was heard south of us all Monday forenoon and there was quite a fever of excitement in camp, some thinking a battle was raging. We will receive our arms to-
day. The camp today is bright and cheerful, and all the clouds that hovered over our camp are swept away by sunshine and plentiful rations. Our stay at Harrisburg was short. The Governor presented the Regimental colors received by Col. Howell. The Regiment was escorted through Baltimore by some cavalry, colors flying, drums beating, the Regiment receiving numerous compliments from spectators along the route and praised as the best sized and finest looking men.

The Regiment left Camp LaFayette with an enrollment of 956 officers and men, but through discharges, owing to physical defects, writs of habeas corpus because of lack of age requirement, and desertions, aggregating in all 21, the exact strength of the Regiment when it arrived at Washington City was 935, eighty-three less than the maximum quota for an infantry regiment. These men and boys came principally from the farms of Fayette, Greene, Somerset and Washington counties, although there was scarcely a profession that was not represented, there being a large sprinkling of students, and embryo professional men who were preparing themselves for the activities of life by temporarily assuming the role of the pedagogue. With few exceptions they were men of fine physique and worthy representatives of the citizenship of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.
Encampment about Washington

CHAPTER II.

Military Life about Washington City.—Camp Casey.—Camp Wilder.—Camp Good Hope.—Meridian Hill.—Arrival on the Peninsula.

From November 23, 1861, to April 1, 1862.

The stay of the Regiment at Camp Casey was brief, from November 23 until Thanksgiving Day, November 28. The camp was situated along the railroad connecting Baltimore with Washington, near Bladensburg, Maryland. Between the camp and the national Capital a large earthwork, Fort Lincoln, was undergoing construction. The site of this fortification commanded a wide range of the surrounding country and was most admirably situated for the defense of Washington if the enemy should approach from the north. While here the Regiment was attached to Brig. Gen. O. O. Howard's brigade of Casey's Provisional Division; the brigade then embracing the following regiments: 4th Rhode Island, 5th New Hampshire, 61st New York, and 36th and 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers (O. R. W. D.; Vol. 51, pp. 507-508).

The first day in the new camp was occupied by the men in rearranging their tents and furnishing them with such accessories as could be found to make them as comfortable as possible. In gathering material for this purpose they learned that there was a strictly enforced prohibition of the confiscation of private property, no matter to whom it belonged. It being Sunday, Chaplain Pierce held religious services in camp at 2 p.m. The second day the camp of the Regiment was rearranged, in a more uniform order, each company having a street with tents on either side, the entire day being devoted to this work, both drill and dress parade being suspended.

The third day in the new camp both officers and men were brought to a realization of rigid military discipline. At the first break of day the men were called out for roll call and the forenoon was devoted to company drill. Capt. Morris, who was officer of the day, was placed in arrest for not rigidly enforcing the order prohibiting the confiscation of fence rails for firewood. It was here that many of the men of the Regiment had the first opportunity to witness slave labor—negro slaves—men and women—husking corn on a farm near by. They seemed contented and happy and were apparently humanely treated by their owner. At 4 P.M. the Regiment was called out for dress parade and an order was read from Gen. Howard prohibiting intemperance and profanity. On Wednesday, November 27, the sutler arrived and opened up to a thriving business. Arms and accoutrements arrived, but Col. Howell refused to distribute them because of their antiquated appearance. They were flint-locked muskets, re-
modeled with percussion locks. The men received orders to hold themselves in readiness to move at a moment's notice. On Thanksgiving Day, the sixth and last in Camp Casey, the Regiment's attachment to Howard's brigade was severed. The other regiments of the brigade took their departure during the forenoon, their destination said to be Virginia. They left Camp Casey without any expression of regret, the final regiment to leave camp, marching off lively to the tune of “Listen to the Mocking Bird.” They were assigned to Richardson's division of Sumner's corps.

At two o'clock, without partaking of turkey or participating in religious exercises, the Regiment bade adieu to its first tenting home south of the Mason and Dixon line, marching towards Washington City. When within a mile northeast of the Capitol a halt was made at Camp Wilder, at a point about a half mile from the eastern branch of the Potomac. Tents were pitched and supper over before dark, fortunately, as it then began to rain, but the men suffered no discomfort during the first night in the new camp. The Regiment remained in Camp Wilder but four days, and, during its brief stay, the name of the camp was changed to Camp McClellan, after the commander of the Army of the Potomac.

Nothing worthy of note occurred until December 2, when the Regiment broke camp, and at noon started on a march toward the Capitol, and after passing through a portion of the city turned to the left and crossed the eastern branch of the Potomac River not far from the Navy Yard, and after a march of about five miles from the starting point halted near Fort Good Hope. Three other regiments, viz.: 59th and 86th New York Volunteers, and 93rd Pennsylvania Volunteers accompanied the Regiment, the four regiments being known as Tidball's brigade, as they were commanded by Col. Wm. L. Tidball of the 59th New York Volunteers, ranking officer of the four regimental commanders. The baggage train did not arrive until eight o'clock and it was ten o'clock before tents were pitched, a light fall of snow adding to the discomfort of the situation. Notwithstanding the strict orders issued at Camp Casey prohibiting the confiscation of fence rails, the men did not hesitate in helping themselves to this sort of fuel, and soon had numerous fires around which they gathered. Already quite a number of the men were afflicted with measles, and such were taken to a barn near-by, which afforded but slight protection, as it was only partly weatherboarded. The movement of the Regiment from Camp Casey to Fort Good Hope was described by "Zingaroo" (Private R. R. Roddy) in a letter dated December 6, and published in the Uniontown Genius of Liberty in its issue of December 19, 1861, as follows:

Since my last letter from Camp Casey the 85th has been moved twice, first to Camp Wilder, on the Bladensburg pike, about one and one-half miles from Washington—where the scenes of Camp Casey were reenacted. The men were unprovided with provisions and fuel and were compelled to sleep on the damp, cold ground—many of them suffering from measles, colds, etc. During our sojourn at Camp Casey some of the boys cut down a sycamore tree in the camp ground and others burned rails from the fences, although strict orders had been given against such action. The owner sent in a bill of $15.00, which was paid by the officers. After a few days at Camp Wilder, along with
the 93d Penna., 59th and 80th New York Regiments, we crossed the Eastern branch of the Potomac at the Navy Yard Bridge and arrived here in good time and found it a fort only in name. The choppers went to work clearing the timber, and a few hundred of our men are daily detailed to work on one of the forts (it is calculated to erect four). Our train did not arrive until late at night and we had the pleasure of shivering over a camp fire until they came up with our tents. It commenced snowing but did not last long but the weather was quite cold. Some of the companies failed to get their tents and their situation was decidedly unpleasant. Some of the men who had not received overcoats and blankets while at Uniontown received them while at Camp Wilder, thanks to Capt. Ludington, who went to Washington and returned with an order for them from the President. Between two and three o'clock this morning the long roll sounded at all the camps in our vicinity and in a very few minutes the Regiment was in line of battle. The first company to turn out was Co. C and the second Co. H. In less than three minutes from the first alarm they were in line of battle. * * * We have a percussion locked musket. The flank and skirmish companies have the spring bayonet. * * * The Regiment is rapidly improving in drill and soldierly bearing. The life of a soldier is not an idle one, and any one going into the service to escape work, will find himself mistaken. The company and regimental drill, dress parade, cleaning arms, clothes, tents, grounds, &c., to a lazy man would look formidable. Scarceley a day passes that we do not hear the booming of cannon; at times the roar is almost deafening, and at every fresh discharge comes a new rumor that a battle is being fought within a mile or two of us.

Simultaneous with the appearance of the above letter the Washington (Penna.) Reporter and Tribune (issue of December 19, 1861) published the following letter from Capt. H. A. Purviance, the latter having been one of the editors and proprietors of this paper when he entered the service:

Camp Good Hope, D. C., Dec. 11, 1861.

Editor Reporter and Tribune:

We have struck tents twice since entering the District. First at Bladensburg, then at Camp Wilder, from which place we marched to our present camping ground about three miles southeast of Washington, and across the east branch of the Potomac. Three regiments are encamped with us; two from New York and one from Penna. A thousand men detailed from the four regiments, are daily engaged in throwing up earthworks at this point for the defense of the approach to the Capital. Vigorous company and squad drill is kept up daily, and we are otherwise preparing as rapidly as possible for active military operations.

Our Regiment is fully uniformed and armed with the altered musket. The uniforms are admirable—the arms execrable; but we expect better shortly and bear up in good heart, with the old blunderbusses, that are almost equally dangerous to friends and foes. We are getting the business of our Regiment rapidly reduced to order and system, and will soon have some respite from our present unremitting hard work. If it were not for very stringent and very proper army orders, I should say that our Colonel is one of nature's noblemen, and one of the bravest and best of soldiers. Lieut. Col. McGiffin arrived a few days since and has entered upon the discharge of his duties. His health is much improved and he wears the harness worthily and well. Our Company is progressing admirably in the drill, and enjoys, generally, robust health. The exceptions are several cases of measles, and two cases of typhoid fever. One of the latter cases—William McHill—is in Elizabeth Hospital near Washington, and the other, A. J. Huff, is in the hospital of the Regiment. Both are very much reduced by the disease, and I am pained to say, fears are entertained that they may not rally. I hope, however, to record their early recovery. Five men are needed to fill up the ranks of Company E.
The commands of Captains Horn, Zellars and Vankirk have lost no men by accident or death and contain no cases of dangerous illness. One of Capt. Horn's men, whose name I did not learn, lost two fingers night before last, by the accidental explosion of a musket. I hear no complaint of short rations. We have plenty of good wholesome food and to spare. The men are all well supplied with heavy double blankets, and sleep as warm and more soundly, perhaps, than their friends at home. The weather is glorious. Beautiful Indian summer days, milder than the May of home, and soft enchanting moonlight, that make guard duty a glory and a luxury! I write in my tent at midnight, or thereabouts, without fire, and need none. But it has not been so from the beginning; we had cold weather at Camp Wilder, and a pelting snowstorm the evening of our arrival here. The boys waited through it all, with patience and fortitude that did them honor, from two in the afternoon until nine at night without shelter, for their tents had been left behind. But with song and frolic they pitched them in the darkness, and wrapping their blankets around them, dropped down upon their fleecy beds, and slept as though they had been beds of down. It was a rough bivouac, but what hardships of fatigue will not cheerfulness subdue?

We heard the "long roll" the other night in the "wee short hours" and our Regiment springing to their arms, were in line of battle in a few minutes. The old blunderbusses were all ready and would have "discoursed most excellent music" if an opportunity had been offered. But no enemy appeared, and after more than three hours waiting for something to turn up that didn't, and a short drill in the manual of arms, the boys were sent back to bed again, reflecting greatly upon the rebels for not being present on the occasion. The whole thing proved all that was sought to be ascertained by it—the pluck of the 85th Regiment. But I have been pillaging sleep tonight and she frets me. So for the present, good-bye.

(Signed) P.

For one hundred days—from December 2, 1861, until March 12, 1862, Camp Good Hope was the home of the 85th Regiment. During this time the men were not idle, as heavy details were made daily for fatigue duty, erecting fortifications, slashing timber, picket duty, and whenever the weather was not too inclement the men not otherwise engaged were kept at drill. Excerpts from the diary of Commissary Sergeant Bell (then a private in Company A) which follow, will give some idea of camp life while the Regiment was stationed at Camp Good Hope.

Dec. 2. We left Camp McClellan at noon with the 59th and 86th New York, and 93d Penna. Regiments, and marched through the northeast part of Washington City and crossed the eastern branch of the Potomac and went into camp at Good Hope, a march of about five miles, arriving there shortly after 3 o'clock. Our tents did not arrive until after 8 P. M. Quite a number of the Regiment are sick with measles, there being five of Co. A so afflicted, and these were sent to a barn, only partly weatherboarded, across the road from camp. It was 10 P. M. before we had our tents in readiness, some time being required in gathering pine brush to keep us out of dampness.

Dec. 4. We received our arms today; old flint-locked muskets remodeled with percussion-locks; the Colonel refused at first to distribute them, but it was take these or go without, so he has distributed them under protest. The Regiment was called out at 4 P. M. for dress parade, after which it was kept in line for review by Gen. Casey, but he failed to put in an appearance and at dark the Regiment was permitted to break ranks and get some supper. Lieut. Col. McGiffin, who was at home when the Regiment left Camp LaFayette arrived in camp this evening.

Dec. 5. At midnight the long roll sounded, and the Regiment was soon in line of battle, loaded arms, awaited expectantly the approach of the enemy for two hours, and
then returned to quarters. Ten men of Co. A, including myself, and a similar number from the other companies of the Regiment were detailed for fatigue duty at Fort Good Hope, with Lieut. Beazell of Co. C in command. The time was divided in carrying logs, and throwing dirt with pick and shovel. Two blankets were issued to each man in the evening. Priv. Wm. M. Hill of Co. E died of typhoid fever at St. Elizabeth Hospital, D. C. today, the first death in the Regiment.

Dec. 6. Again the long roll sounded at 1 A. M. and the Regiment was soon in line of battle. Col. Howell being in the City, Lieut. Col. McGiffin was in command, and he and Maj. Guiler, were promptly in their respective places. After several hours wait for an enemy that did not appear the Regiment was dismissed. During the early forenoon the loaded muskets were fired at an imaginary foe. Priv. John Moore of Co. G, died of typhoid fever at Kalorama Hospital, D. C., today.

Sunday, Dec. 8. Chaplain Pierce held religious service at 2 P. M., taking the first five verses of the 17th Chapter of Matthew as his text. At the close of the sermon he suggested that a religious organization be effected within the Regiment, and submitted a creed to be affirmed by those wishing to become members.


Dec. 10. A large detail of the Regiment of which I was one, detailed for fatigue duty, worked on Fort Good Hope from 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. with an hour off at noon. Another very warm day.

Dec. 11. We went to the woods today for chestnut logs with which to raise our tent. After carrying the logs to camp we raised the tent on top of three tiers of logs. Regimental dress parade at 3 P. M. with Maj. Guiler in command of the Regiment.

Dec. 12. Drill and dress parade entirely suspended today to give the men an opportunity to put the tents in better condition for cold weather.

Dec. 13. Company drill before and after noon. When the men were not at drill they were busily engaged putting their homes in order. Private Andrew J. Huff of Co. E, died of typhoid fever in Camp Good Hope Hospital today, the first death in the Regiment to occur in camp.

Dec. 14. The Regiment is on fatigue duty at Fort Good Hope. The dimensions of the fort are 500 feet by 350 feet. Private Huff's remains were buried in the Military Asylum Cemetery today. He was buried in accordance with military regulations. A corporal and eight privates constituted the burial squad. The band, playing the dead march, preceded the coffin, which was followed by the burial squad with arms in reverse. Then followed Capt. Purviance and Chaplain Pierce; second lieutenants; first lieutenants; captain, the major, adjutant and quartermaster; the colonel and lieutenant colonel in the rear. A military salute was fired over the grave by the burial squad.


Dec. 18. The camp of the 59th New York Regiment has been merged with the camp of our Regiment. We drew light blue trousers today.

Dec. 19. The entire Regiment was on fatigue duty at Fort Good Hope, and drill and dress parade were suspended.


Dec. 24. The entire Regiment worked on Fort Good Hope today. I used a short handled shovel and worked on the top of the old ground and had to throw it up on the dump. From a spring near by the Fort on which we are working we can see three other forts.

Christmas, 1861. Clear and frosty at day-break, Commissary issued seven days rations, with the exception of bread. Col. Howell was serenaded by the band of the 80th New York Regiment; the latter was accompanied by Col. Bailey. Lieut. Kerr has been detailed as aide-de-camp on Col. Tidball's staff.
Dec. 26. An extra detail from the Regiment was made to guard the forts south of camp. The Government stables were burned tonight in which several hundred horses were lost.

Sunday, Dec. 29. At 8 A. M. we had Co. inspection; at 10 A. M., dress parade, and at 11 A. M., the Regiment was marched to church service in camp.

Dec. 30. The Regiment is on fatigue duty at Fort Good Hope today. Capt. John Hall, Brigade Commissary of Subsistence, is from Washington, Pa. Private Robert Ralston of Co. I, died of measles in Camp Good Hope Hospital today.

Dec. 31. The last day of the year 1861 was an ideal winter day for this latitude. Regimental inspection during the day. Private Matthew Linn of Co. A., died in Camp Good Hope Hospital today from typhoid fever.

New Year's Day, 1862. In recognition of the day fatigue duty, drill, and dress parade were suspended. During the afternoon the officers of the 85th Regiment paid their respects to Col. Tidball, brigade commander. In the evening Col. Howell was serenaded by the band of the 93d Penna.

Jan. 2. The remains of Private Matthew Linn of Co. A were sent to his father's home, Col. Matthew Linn, North Strabane Township, Washington County, Pa., for interment, accompanied by Corp. Matthew Templeton.

Jan. 3. The officers of the Regiment held a reception in the tent purchased by private subscription, in which to hold religious services during the winter, much to the chagrin of the religious element of the Regiment, and to the disappointment of others who were not invited. Quite a number of women and officers came from the city. Dancing was the principal amusement of the evening. Notwithstanding a special guard was on duty, a couple of demijohns of beverage intended for the guests, were confiscated and quietly distributed among the men.

Sunday, Jan. 5. Co. Inspection at 8 A. M., dress parade at 10 A. M., and religious service at 11 A. M., conducted by Chap. Pierce. At 2 P. M. prayer meeting was held in the chapel tent and again at 6 P. M., a sergeant of the 59th New York Regiment conducted the meeting.

Jan. 6. Two hundred men, rank and file, 50 from each of Companies A, B, C and D, under command of Col. Howell, left Camp Good Hope at 7 P. M., there being several inches of dry snow and sand, marching was made quite difficult. After a march of perhaps 12 miles we halted at a farm house, the owner of which was also the owner of John, the negro, who acted as guide for Col. Howell. A guard sufficient to prevent an escape, was placed around the house, after which the premises were searched, but evidently nothing was found of a treasonable nature, for no arrest was made, and nothing confiscated.

Jan. 7. Our march was resumed shortly after midnight and after covering another six miles a halt was made at the home of Capt. Benjamin F. Gwynn. A search of the premises was made, several boxes seized as contraband, and Capt. Gwynn was arrested. The expedition started homeward at 5 A. M. and before camp was reached considerable straggling prevailed; the stragglers amusing themselves by firing at turkeys roosting on trees. Some of the men did not reach camp until 10 A. M.

The above expedition is noted only on the muster roll of Company C of the Regiment. Under "Record of Events," it is noted as follows:

Jan'y 7, 1862, Capt. and 2d Lieut. and 50 men, rank and file, with detachments from Companies A, B, C and D, under command of Col. Joshua B. Howell, left the camp for the purpose of arresting a rebel, Capt. Gwynn, who resided about 20 miles from camp. Arrived at his residence about 4 o'clock A. M., surrounded the house, captured Gwynn and seized an amount of clothing and military stores for the rebels, and then returned to camp. Arrived about 10 o'clock A. M., having performed a forced march of some 40 miles without any loss or accident.
Allen Pinkerton, the famous detective, who, under the name of E. J. Allen, had charge of the secret service force under Gen. McClellan, accompanied the expedition, and in his report to the provost marshal, Brig. Gen. A. Porter, said:

From information received by Gen. Casey, he, on the 6th of January, 1862, caused to be detached for the purpose of arresting Capt. Gwynn, a force of 200 men belonging to the 85th Penna. Infantry, headed by the Colonel, lieutenant-colonel and other officers of that Regiment and of Gen. Casey's staff. After a night's march of 32 miles the arrest was accordingly effected at 8 o'clock the next morning at his residence. He was charged with holding correspondence with, and giving information to the enemy, and suspected of being a spy. An immediate search of his residence resulted in the discovery of the boxes containing clothing obviously intended for transfer to the enemy for their use, and five letters addressed to persons within the enemy's lines containing correspondence of a treasonable character. [O. R., W. D., Ser. II, Vol. II, pp. 188-189.]

The only further reference to Capt. Gwynn, appearing in the published official records of the War Department, states that

B. F. Gwynn, of Prince George Co., Md., was arrested by order of Gen. Casey, Jan. 7, 1862, and committed to the Old Capital Prison, Washington, D. C. He remained in the custody of the Old Capital Prison till Feb. 15, 1862, when, in conformity with an order of the War Department of the preceding day he was transferred to the charge of that Dept. [O. R., W. D., Ser. II, Vol. II, p. 334.]

After the completion of Fort Good Hope, large details were made daily from the Regiment for guard duty at the fort, and also at Forts Mahan, Meigs and Dupont, in that vicinity. Whenever the weather permitted there was company and battalion drill. On January 16, Private John Cowen of Company F, died of smallpox at the Kalorama Hospital, in the suburbs of the city. On January 17, the Regiment received its first visit from Uncle Sam's paymaster, Maj. A. M. Hoopes, who settled in full with the men from the date of their enlistment up to and including December 31, 1861. The first pay received was in U. S. Treasury notes ("Greenbacks"), each man receiving one or two dollars in gold and silver. After the men received their pay they resorted to bartering, watches and revolvers being the chief articles of commerce. Lieut. Kerr, who was on the staff of Col. Tidball, returned to the Regiment January 21, two of the regiments comprising Tidball's brigade having left Camp Good Hope. Maj. Guiler, Chaplain Pierce, and Capt. Vankirk, were granted furloughs during January; the Major returned January 30, and brought with him Col. Howell's wife; Capt. Vankirk returned to camp February 1, and the chaplain was back for service in camp on Sunday, February 20. The Medical Director of the Army of the Potomac under date of February 6, 1862, made a tabulated report of the sick in the several divisions and brigades of the Army of the Potomac to the A. A. G. of the Army of the Potomac, in which he gave the main strength of the 85th Regiment as 849, with a total sick, 36; percentage 4.23 [O. R., W. D., Vol. V, p. 717].

The main events occurring during the Regiment's further stay in Camp Good Hope are noted in proper sequence in Com. Sergt. Bell's diary, from which a few excerpts follow:
Sunday, Feb. 9. The Chaplain preached at the Hospital tent in camp in the afternoon. At dress parade several orders were read from Brig. Gen. Wm. H. Keim, in the first of which he was announced as our brigade commander, the brigade consisting of the 86th, 81st and 101st Penna. Regiments and probably the 80th New York.

Feb. 11. Companies B and C have been selected as skirmishing companies. A son of Gen. Keim was thrown from his horse near our camp and is reported to have been severely injured. The Regimental officers have adopted Casey's Tactics.

Feb. 12. Prayer-meeting in camp in the evening which took the form of a Methodist experience meeting, Capt. Zellars taking a leading part, in which he gave some reminiscences of life in California.

Sunday, Feb. 16. Four inches of snow. At dress parade orders were read announcing the appointment of Adjutant Andrew Stewart as Assistant Adjutant-General of the Second Brigade of Casey's Division, commanded by Gen. Keim, and the appointment of Lieut. I. R. Beazell of Co. C, as acting adjutant.

Feb. 17. A detail of one man was made from each company of the Regiment for duty in the Western Gun Boat service; only five were accepted.


Feb. 20. The 61st and 99th Penna. Regiments went into camp east of the 85th's camp in the evening, coming from the neighborhood of Alexandria, Va.

Feb. 22. In celebration of the day, Col. Howell read a part of Washington's Farewell address to the Regiment, after which 12 rounds of blank cartridges were fired.

Feb. 24. Visited the capitol today. I was in the lower chamber at the opening of the session. The aged Chaplain had scarcely finished the opening prayer when a dozen members addressed the chair, Hon. Galusha A. Grow. Roscoe Conkling offered a resolution tendering the thanks of Congress to Gens. Grant and Halleck and the soldiers in their commands. An animated discussion followed in which "Sunset" Cox of Ohio, said that Conkling had said on the floor of the House that the movement of Grant and Halleck had been made in response to a demand made by the Committee on the conduct of the war, and he (Cox) wanted the honor to go where it belonged. There is a bakery in the basement of the Capitol with a capacity of 750 loaves of bread at one time. I also visited the grounds at the White House. President Lincoln's son, William Wallace, aged 12 years, was buried today. As I could find no gate out of the lower White House grounds I made my exit over the wall. I then visited the Smithsonian Institute, where I remained until closing time.

Feb. 26. The 59th New York Regiment took its departure from our camp today. There were 50 wagons to move the camp equipage and 14 for moving the sick. The 86th New York Regt. went into camp near by and not far from Gen. Keim's headquarters, which are about a quarter of a mile southeast of camp.

March 4. After Regimental drill in the afternoon Col. Howell eulogized the Regiment in very strong terms saying that he would rather be Colonel of the 85th Regiment than be a brigadier-general in command of a brigade.

March 6. Col. Howell is at the funeral of Gen. F. W. Landers; the non-commissioned officers received their warrants today, dated Jan. 10, 1862.

March 7. Gen. Keim reviewed the Regiment today for the first time.

Sunday, March 9. Inspection was postponed until afternoon, immediately before dress parade. Chaplain Pierce preached at 11 A. M. There was class-meeting at 2 P. M., and prayer-meeting at 6:30 P. M.

March 11. The Colonel drilled the Regiment during the forenoon with a full equipment, including packed knapsacks. Maj. Guiler commanded the Regiment at dress parade.

March 12. The Regiment left Camp Good Hope at 9 A. M., marching over the bridge near the Navy Yard, passed the Capitol, continuing up Pennsylvania Avenue to the Treasury Building, then turning to the right continued in a northerly direction until Meridian
Hill was reached, pitching tents near the monument that marks the meridian of Washington. During the afternoon a wagon train of about fifty wagons promptly arrived at the new camp, with the Regimental baggage and Camp equipage bringing many of the accessories the men had collected for making their tents homelike. Before night the new camp was in excellent order and the men had ample opportunity to visit friends in other regiments in near-by camps. During the afternoon, the Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State, addressed a New York Regiment in camp on Meridian Hill. This regiment was from the Secretary's home town, and was called his regiment. When the Secretary took his departure from Camp an escort from the regiment formed on either side of his carriage and kept pace with it as it hurried the distinguished statesman towards the city.

For sixteen days, from March 12 to March 28, Meridian Hill was the home of the 85th Regiment. The day after its arrival, March 13, Maj. Gen. Geo. B. McClellan instructed his chief of staff to "organize Gen. Casey's division for the field at once," and during its stay here the men were in constant expectancy of receiving orders to move at once upon the enemy. As Casey's division was organized for the field, it comprised three brigades, the 85th Regiment being assigned to the Second Brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. William H. Keim. The brigade comprised four regiments, viz.: 85th, 101st and 103d Pennsylvania and 96th New York. The 101st and 103d Regiments were from Western Pennsylvania and had only arrived at Washington the previous week, the former on March 1, and the latter on March 3, and neither was armed until the second week of March.

On March 14, the Regiment marched to the Government Arsenal where the remodeled flint-locked muskets were exchanged for new Austrian rifles. This journey took the Regiment over a good portion of the ground it had traveled two days before, and, although the march was tiresome, both officers and men returned to camp much elated with their new equipment, and inspired with a confidence they had not previously felt, that they were now in proper condition to meet a formidable enemy. Col. Howell, especially, was in the zenith of his happiness, and felt very proud of "my men." As the Regiment was breaking ranks one of the men was heard to remark, "the Colonel reminds me of a game fighting cock." While in most respects Meridian Hill was an ideal situation for a military camp, it had one or two drawbacks, a scarcity of water and fuel. Fence rail firewood had entirely disappeared and the nearest accessible spring was a half-mile northwest of the camp of the Regiment, which was about two miles north of the White House. Although quite a distance from the city, the locality gave promise of being a part of it, for already it was laid off in building lots and streets.

Early in the morning of March 19, orders were issued to pack up and strike tents. The men went to work with enthusiasm, confident now that they were about to march towards the enemy. Considerable chagrin was manifest among both officers and men a couple of hours later when orders came to again pitch tents. This was no sooner done than the Regiment was called into line for inspection by Gen. Keim, the brigade commander. The afternoon was devoted to battalion drill.

On March 21, the brigade was drilled for the first time. After performing evolutions for an hour or two, the brigade was reviewed by Gen. Keim, after which the entire division of fifteen regiments was reviewed by Brig. Gen. Silas
Casey, the division commander. The 85th Regiment was assigned to the right of the Second Brigade, and was the first regiment of the brigade to pass the reviewing officer, the regiments being formed into divisions of two companies each, these marching abreast as they passed in review. On March 24, the division was reviewed by Brig. Gen. Erasmus D. Keyes, commanding officer of the Fourth Army Corps to which Gen. Casey's division had been assigned. At this time the Fourth Corps embraced three divisions: The First, commanded by Brig. Gen. D. N. Couch; the Second, by Brig. Gen. Wm. F. Smith; the Third, by Brig. Gen. Silas Casey. On Friday forenoon, March 28, the Regiment was called out for battalion drill, each man having received twenty rounds of blank cartridges with which to fire at an imaginary enemy. However, before a shot had been fired, an orderly arrived, and the Regiment was hurriedly marched to camp, and directions given the men to be in readiness to move at 2 o'clock P. M. The men went to work with alacrity and an hour before the time specified had tents struck and camp equipage awaiting the baggage wagons, with knapsacks and haversacks ready to don instantly on receiving the command to "fall in." However, it was late in the afternoon, between four and five o'clock, before the Regiment took its departure from Meridian Hill, leading Keim's brigade down 14th Street, the sidewalks being packed with people, to witness the parade. The men marched in splendid order until Long Bridge was reached, when they were ordered to break step. The Regiment first invaded the "sacred soil" of Virginia, a little before sundown, and continued on its march towards Alexandria until midnight when it bivouacked at the outskirts of the town, then notorious because of the murder of Col. Ellsworth. The next day broke with a wet snow falling, which later turned to rain. The ground on which the Regiment bivouacked being low, another site was selected on an elevated farm about a mile north of Alexandria, and camp was pitched there late in the forenoon. The men helped themselves to any material available for firewood and managed to keep themselves more or less comfortable, considering the inclemency of the weather. The next morning, Sunday, March 30, orders were issued to strike tents and pack in readiness to move. It was 11 o'clock, however, before the Regiment started, marching along the railroad to Alexandria, passing through the town, making a brief halt near the Marshall House, and then to the wharf where it embarked on the steam transport Daniel Webster. The transport remained in the harbor at Alexandria until the next morning, March 31, leaving a little before 10 o'clock preceded about an hour by the Constitution with Gen. Casey and the First Brigade aboard. At one o'clock the Daniel Webster found the Constitution fast aground, and after an ineffectual attempt to release her, proceeded down the Potomac reaching Chesapeake Bay about dusk, and at daylight, April 1, anchor was cast in Hampton Roads. Here the men obtained a view of the famous Monitor, lying at anchor near by. The Regiment disembarked about 11 A. M. at the Fortress Monroe dock, and from there marched past the ruins of Hampton to within two miles of Newport News where it went into bivouac, awaiting the arrival of the wagon train with tents.
Lieut. Col. Purviance, writing to the Washington (Pa.) Reporter and Tribune from Newport News, under date April 5, 1862, gives a graphic and interesting account of the departure of the Regiment from Meridian Hill and its arrival at Newport News. This was published in that paper in its issue of April 17, 1862, as follows:

It was on the 28th of March, a genial, balmy day withal, and the 85th was on drill on the broad plains beyond Meridian Hill. We were about to protect the left flank from an imaginary enemy by a change of front forward on the 10th Company, when a “solitary horseman,” on a prancing steed, came plunging up to the Colonel, and after a hasty conference galloped off again in the most impetuous style of the boldest dragoon. It was evident that something important was brewing, for the Colonel, leaving the left flank to take care of itself, immediately faced the Regiment to the right, and marched it off to the camp in quick time. Then we learned that marching orders had been received, and that in two hours we were to be on the way to Alexandria, there to embark for “Dixie.” The boys shouted with pleasure, and danced about like Druids among the trees, for they were wearied with inaction; and having worked off their enthusiasm, they packed their knapsacks and filled their haversacks, and at three o’clock precisely, at the tap of the drum, they struck tents, and Camp Keim ceased to be.

We reached Alexandria at 10 o’clock that night after a weary march of twelve miles. The baggage train was miles behind us; but the men were jaded, and waiting not a moment for tents, although the air had grown raw and disagreeable, they spread their oilcloth blankets upon the earth, and laid themselves down in the darkness, not even a campfire was gleaming. That night’s bivouac opened up a new chapter in soldiering to the men of the Regiment, for, throughout all the winter they had been nursed in comfortable quarters, where no privation or serious discomfort had been known. They braved it out cheerfully like true men, as they are; and when the bleak morning, which seemed very far off to the restless sleepers, at last broke cheerless on the sky, they needed no reveille to call them to their feet. Their tin of coffee was soon simmering on the coals, and their haversacks furnished them a comfortable breakfast.

At noon (the train having arrived in the grey of the morning), our tents were pitched in the midst of a riot-snow storm that wrathfully flung its thick flakes into our faces, as though in very spite for our invasion of the “sacred soil,” for our feet now pressed the sod that had felt the tramp of a secession army, and on the brow of a neighboring hill, within a musket shot of our camp, the abattis of a fort they had commenced to erect, was clearly discernible.

Early in the afternoon of the following day (Sunday, the 30th), we again struck our tents, and took up the line of March for the rank secession city of Alexandria, where poor Ellsworth was slaughtered. The house where he was murdered was pointed out as we passed. It is a very ordinary looking three story brick hotel, and is now kept as such by some ostensibly loyal successor to the rebel and murderer Jackson. We halted for some hours in the streets of the city; and then started to Pier No. 2 on the Potomac, where we embarked on the steamer Daniel Webster, about sundown, I should think, but I cannot say certainly, for the sun sulked away in the thick clouds all that day.

It was rather a tight fit on the steamer; for our whole Regiment, nearly a thousand men, was on board. But the Constitution, an ocean vessel, whose dark hull rose like a vast wall behind us, had nearly five thousand men on her decks and in her hold, and we looked at her and were content.

About 8 o’clock the next morning, the Daniel Webster dropped away from her moorings, and, turning her bow oceanwards, was off for the South. The lowering clouds of the preceding day had broken and the morning was soft and sunny. Surely nature sympathized with the crusaders of liberty and law that went forth that morning, defying danger, and scorning privation!
We passed successively Fort Henry, Mt. Vernon, and the noted rebel stronghold (recently abandoned), at the mouth of Acquia Creek, in the course of the forenoon. Mt. Vernon is a slight eminence sloping down to the river bank, crowned with native forest trees, apparently; and the house of Washington, a plain country mansion with a spacious portico fronting the river. It was pointed out by one familiar with the Potomac, who named it in a whisper, lest the inevitable rush that would follow its publication might careen the boat.

In the course of the day we came up with the Constitution which had preceded us several hours, and found her helplessly imbedded in one of the sandy shoals of the river. She threw us a cable, and we tried to drag her out, but ineffectually. We learned afterwards that she had been run upon the shoal by a treacherous pilot, who had intentionally turned her from the channel to bring her, and her four thousand Union soldiers, under the guns of a rebel battery on the Virginia shore, about three miles below. The infamous plot miscarried, the friendly shoal unexpectedly arresting the progress of the vessel towards the Virginia side. The pilot was put in irons and sent back to Washington City, on board a man-of-war that passed us in the evening. The Constitution could not be got off until nearly all the troops had been transferred to other vessels.

When I woke up on Tuesday morning, after a very substantial and refreshing sleep, I found that our vessel was anchored out in Chesapeake Bay off Fortress Monroe. Climbing to the top of the wheel house, I had a very fine view of the surrounding scene. The Bay was dotted in every direction, with ships of war, merchant ships, and vessels of every size and description from a fishing smack to a three decker. I cared little for any of them, for my curious eyes were seeking out the famous “Yankee Cheese Box,” which so bewildered and startled rebeldom, and especially the flushed and insolent Merrimac, a few weeks ago. Although assisted by a powerful glass, my reconnaissance would have been in vain, if it had not been aided by the suggestions of a friend. I could not for a time believe that the most contemptible looking whelp of a vessel in all the Bay, was the veritable and renowned maritime mastiff limping home. But sure enough, that little, sharp and narrow craft, lying scarcely a quarter of a mile away, with nothing of her visible, except the rim of the hull, her deck, and revolving turret, was the Monitor. Her deck is so near the level of the sea that one might lie down upon it and dabble in the water with his hand! She has been compared to many things, but I cannot give a better idea of her general appearance, than by likening her to a coal barge, surmounted by a brewer’s vat inverted. Her pilot house is a sloping, iron plated chamber, rising only a few feet above the deck, and is so shaped that cannon balls, should they strike so small an object, must glance harmlessly from its sides. This and the turret excepted, she is very little better mark than the edge of a case knife would be. It is no uncommon thing for a vessel of war to mount a hundred guns, but she mounts only two. These are in the revolving turret, mounted at opposite sides, and fired alternately, so that even her port holes are only momentarily exposed to the enemy. She is a wonderful contrivance, and, insignificant as she looks, is doubtless the most formidable battery afloat. With the glass I saw very plainly the faint abrasions made in the turret by the three balls of the Merrimac which struck her. They were very slight indentations, not exceeding, as I was told afterwards, the eighth of an inch.

The arrival of the Monitor in Hampton Roads, simultaneously with the appearance of the Merrimac, was so opportune as to seem specially providential. Not only would the vast shipping about Fortress Monroe have been at the mercy of the iron clad Merrimac, but an officer in command of one of the batteries at Newport News, assured a gentleman yesterday in my presence, that the Fort itself must have succumbed to the maritime monster. Be this as it may, it is beyond question that our shipping, with the vast stores on board, must have been destroyed or captured.

Fortress Monroe is, as its prefix indicates, something more than a Fort. It is a vast system of walls and batteries. The exterior wall is of solid cut stone, and this is sus-
tained by raised earth works many feet in thickness. A vast number of guns are mounted on the parapet. The fortress is built upon a little tongue of land that is almost cut off from the mainland by the Bay and one of its inlets. It is certainly impregnable against any land attacks, or any assault from the water by ordinary vessels of war. But the iron-clad ships have introduced new features into maritime warfare, which may involve radical changes in the construction of land defences accessible from the sea. Early in the forenoon we landed under the walls of the Fortress, formed the Regiment, detailed and left behind a guard for the baggage, and took up our line of march for Hampton Village, as we were assured, but really for the immediate vicinity of Newport News, as we discovered after a march of nine miles.

Our route lay directly through what was once the beautiful and fashionable village of Hampton, a watering place of great renown, celebrated for the elegance of its public and private edifices, and the wealth and taste of its people. It is now a mass of shapeless ruins. On a fair night in July last, I believe, the rebel marauder, Magruder, threatened by a Union force from Fortress Monroe, only three miles distant, set fire to the village in many places, and then rapidly retiring to a place of security, published the act of wanton destruction as an outrage perpetrated by the Union troops! The most conclusive evidence that the incendiaries were rebels, even if they had not subsequently admitted it, is the fact that of all the houses that once constituted that romantic and elegant town, only one escaped conflagration, and that one was the residence of the ex-President and traitor, John Tyler. It still stands unharmed, although the tramp of armies has levelled its shrubbery and defaced its once beautiful and ornamental grounds.

Of Hampton, a village of not less than 2,000 or 2,500 souls, nothing remains but tottering brick walls, fruit and shade trees deadened and blackened by the blasting fire, and shrubbery crushed and withered. Not a house was spared, with the single exception I have mentioned; and even what may be termed suburban residences for a mile beyond the village, were destroyed. We counted the ruins of six churches, all of them comely, some of them elegant, and one of them superbly grand and graceful. Over the cypress and the ivy of the church yards, the destroying fires had relentlessly swept, and these green offerings of grief, were scattered in ashes over the broken tombs they were planted to adorn. The dead still sleep beneath these desecrated tombs; but of the 2,000 men, women and children, who were the soul of Hampton, less than nine months ago, not one remains. Where are they? Nothing that I have seen before so much sickened me with the atrocious character of this war, or so clearly evinced to my mind, the malignant disposition of the criminal leaders who wage it, as this voiceless woe of depopulated and ruined Hampton.

After nine miles travel through a flat, sandy and marshy country, thickly wooded with stalwart pines, we reached the site of our present camp, which is about two miles from Newport News, and seven or eight from Big Bethel, where the tragedy of errors was performed early in the war, by generals who are wiser doubtless now.
The Peninsular Campaign

CHAPTER III.

The Start up the Peninsula.—Newport News to Lee’s Mill.—Camp Winfield Scott.—In Pursuit of the Enemy.

From April 17 to May 4, 1862.

For sixteen days, from April 1 to April 16, the Regiment halted at its first stopping place on the Virginia Peninsula, two miles west of Newport News, in Elizabeth City County, Newport News being in Warwick County. With the exception of the most frugal and provident, the men lay down supperless, and for two days suffered the privation of hunger. Through the energy and persistent efforts of Col. Howell, their hunger was somewhat allayed, he having visited several regimental commissaries encamped near by and succeeded in borrowing some crackers, coffee and a barrel of mess beef. Late in the evening of April 3, the commissary supplies arrived, so late, however, that only crackers were issued, but these, with water, were enjoyed by the men as though a feast had been provided by a Lucullus. The camp of the 88th Regiment was known as Camp Howell, and was situated just west of a deep ravine on the opposite side of which the 101st Pennsylvania Regiment was encamped. South of the camp, a short distance, the 103d Pennsylvania Regiment was located, its camp being known as Camp Casey. Gen. Keim, the brigade commander, made his headquarters near the 85th’s camp, not far from the ravine, at a point over which a bridge was constructed by details from the several regiments of the brigade.

At 9 A.M., April 4, the Regiment was called out fully equipped, including knapsacks and haversacks, and the men were thoroughly inspected by Col. Howell. Maj. Guiler and Quartermaster Murphy, who had been detained at Alexandria on account of lack of transportation facilities for a portion of the Regimental baggage, arrived during the forenoon. During the afternoon of the same day a flag-pole was erected at Gen. Keim’s headquarters by a detail from the brigade. The corps commander, Gen. Keyes, whose headquarters had been but a short distance from Camp Howell, moved from the proximity of the camp during the same day.

During the stay of the Regiment at Camp Howell, a company was detailed for grand guard duty, surrounding the camp of the brigade in every direction, about five hundred yards distant. The men, both on guard duty and in camp, were frequently cautioned by the officers to remain inside this line of sentinels, as the enemy was reported to be in force only a few miles distant. Whenever the weather permitted there was battalion drill. On the afternoon of April 5, while the Regiment was at drill, heavy cannonading was heard in the direction of Yorktown. Lieut. Col. Purviance’s letter of this date, a portion of which appeared
in the preceding chapter, concluded with an entertaining description of affairs at and about the camp, during the first five days of April, as follows:

We are about fifteen miles south of Yorktown, where the rebels are in force. The pickets of our advanced force are thrown out almost within distance of the enemy, so near indeed that an officer and several of our men (of another regiment) were recently captured by one of their scouting parties. The "Pic Nic Army of the Potomac," you see are beginning to be in earnest. So near the enemy; Yorktown within fifteen miles, Norfolk within twenty; the traitors' capital only four score miles distant or less; you ask what next? So do I. So does the Regiment. So does the Army. Even as I write, a pontoon bridge clasps the opposite shores of the James River, and a division of our army was heading towards Norfolk. I cannot say what it means, but perhaps you will hear before this letter is transmitted by the click of the compositor's types.

We are encamped on what was a corn field in the autumn time; but now no trace remains of what were once corn fields, save the dim furrows that are almost trodden out. As usual, we arrived in advance of our baggage train and, what was worse, our subsistence stores were in the rear. The oil cloth blankets of the men, stretched over poles, supported by forks driven in the ground, did very well in lieu of tents. But what substitute can there be for rations? The Colonel, indefatigable always in his efforts to promote the comfort of his men, borrowed what he could from regiments encamped around us; but his best endeavors could not wring from our neighbors more than three biscuits apiece a day for each man. With very few exceptions they bore this privation with unexampled cheerfulness and good nature until last evening, when the provision train, hastened by our amiable and energetic Brigade Commissary, Capt. John Hall, drove into the camp, and speedily dispersed good cheer and comfort throughout the Regiment.

Our camp, I am told, is in Elizabeth County. I am also told that throughout its whole length and breadth, only five families remain of all the population living here when the rebellion was set in motion. Such wholesale self-expatriation doubtless has never been known before. It has, however, been voluntary, for no citizen, loyal or disloyal, is driven from his home, or molested in person or property by our army. The very spring of a man living near our camp, who has three sons in the secession army, is guarded by sentinels of our Regiment for the use of his family. It is true that a guard is posted around his house, and he is prohibited from passing beyond the confines of his yard; but this is rather to prevent any communication between him and the rebels, than as a personal punishment. Even this man makes violent protestations of loyalty. Oh, the wholesome power of armies!

Wherever I turn my steps I find desolation and ruin. Houses burned down, fences destroyed, orchards despoiled, gardens wasted—all deserted. It is very dreary, indeed, to find naught but desolate plains where fruitful farms have been, and cinders and ashes, where once the cheerful dwelling dispensed comfort and peace. In a reconnaissance this morning, of the surrounding country, I found a fine peach orchard in full bloom in the midst of a deserted plain. House, barn, stable, fences, all were gone, and naught but the beautiful blossoms, of which there was a most luxuriant growth, denoted that the spot had ever been occupied by civilized man.

Yesterday, I sauntered over to Newport News, distant only two miles from our camp. On the whole road not a solitary house was visible, although I passed by the ruins of two that had been destroyed. I met soldiers on the road, but not one citizen. I have never seen a citizen here yet, not one. They have all fallen into the bottomless pit of rebellion.

Newport News, a familiar name in every hamlet of the Union, is a thriving village of frame shanties, built on the eastern shore of the James river, about ten miles above Fortress Monroe. Every shanty is a grocery on a small scale, and every woman a pie vender. I saw very few of the latter, and they were chiefly of the Hibernian cast. So I conclude that the "first families" have been shoved out by a trading population. In fact, I found
this out from an old darkey, with whom I held some conversation near the village. "Are you a slave?" I inquired. "De fact is, sah, I hardly know; I has been," he replied. "Did you run away from your master?" "No, indeed, sah, he run away from me. He went to Richmond, and left me an' de farm behind. I guess he never come back for either." "Are you for the Union?" I asked. "Yes, sah." "Why?" "Because de Union tries to lift me up, and dem rebels to put me down." Seditious idea! Somebody, a fanatic doubtless, has been tampering with that darkey. However, that may be, I give his own words.

While at Newport News I saw all that is above water of the unfortunate Cumberland and Congress, sunk by the Merrimac. The former is about a quarter of a mile from shore, and directly opposite the village. She went down on her beam ends, as sailors call it, and only her masts and rigging are visible. The wreck of the Congress is about a mile below. Her upper works were burned, and only her hull remains. The Cumberland, it is thought, can be raised and restored.

I conversed with a number who witnessed the unequal conflict between these vessels and the iron mailed Merrimac.

They gave me some interesting facts that have not appeared in the published descriptions of the fight. Many of the balls of the Merrimac passed over the village and descended in the woods more than a mile beyond. The battery on the bluff above the village, fired spiritedly upon the rebel vessel, but without any visible effect, although she was less than half a mile distant.

I was penetrated with sorrow as I reflected that these wrecks marked the dying struggles and the graves of one hundred and fifty as brave souls as ever suffered and perished for the Right. God! what expiation can there be for this rank crime of rebellion—for these most foul and unnatural murders.

The conflict between the Cumberland and Merrimac was perhaps the most fierce and desperate known to the annals of maritime warfare. When the latter closed upon the former to sink her with her iron task, the crew of the Cumberland sprang again and again upon her sloping metallic deck to be repulsed, not by a visible enemy, but by an element of repulsion unheard of before in naval battles. That enemy was grease, with which the deck of the rebel vessel was copiously besmeared. It was scarcely fifteen minutes from the time the Cumberland was pierced by the Merrimac till she went down; and she actually fired her last gun as the water came dashing into the port hole! Those of the crew who were in the steerage went down with her, and like Long Tom Coffin, found a grave in the ship they loved so well, and defended so bravely. A number threw themselves into the river and were picked up by several boats sent to their assistance. When the boats reached the shore, the men sprang madly to the beach, and rushing along in the direction the rebel ship was heading, they shook their clenched fists at her in rage and defiance. Then it was the Monitor appeared upon the scene, as though suddenly called up from the depths of the sea by the wand of an enchantress. The rest is known.

The rebel papers of Norfolk claim that the Merrimac (or Virginia, as they call her), accomplished all that was assigned to her, or was designed by the Confederate government, when she was dispatched to the mouth of the James River. But it is certainly ascertained that her visit contemplated infinitely more important results than the destruction of a few Union vessels. Simultaneously with her appearance in our waters, Magruder, then encamped near Yorktown, set his forces in motion in the direction of Fortress Monroe, doubtless to occupy that stronghold after our garrison had been shelled out by the Merrimac. That the gigantic scheme had been seriously concerted, and was generally understood and believed to be feasible, even by civilians within the rebel lines, is indicated by the fact that shoals of Rebel countrymen, many of whom were captured, crossed the James River to the Newport News shore, after our vessels had been attacked, with marketing which was to delectate the palates of rebel officers, when they should hold high carnival within the walls of Fortress Monroe.
Directly opposite Newport News is a rebel battery and earthworks, which can be seen from the village, though not very distinctly by the naked eye, as the James river is between five and six miles wide at this point. This battery fires frequently upon our vessels, but their balls generally fall short. Yesterday, however, they succeeded in perforating the upper deck of a vessel that was over-bold, and that declined to diverge from the channel. The damage was not serious.

The health of our Regiment is excellent. I believe we have only two cases in camp at this time in the hands of the doctors. Some few were left behind in the hospitals at Washington City; among them Benjamin McAllister, Benjamin Gill, Christy Welsh, and Charles W. Varndell of my own Company. I presume they will be discharged from the service. All the rest are well and ready for any emergency. They are earnest men, and will do their duty when they confront the common enemy of the country and mankind.

As we progress southward I will endeavor to keep you advised of our movements. To those kind and too partial friends who, during the winter, expressed the desire, by letter and otherwise, that I should continue the "army correspondence" I opened with the Reporter nearly a year ago, I can only say that I shared the unaccountable apathy which possessed the Army of the Potomac for nine months. Should that division of the army to which I am attached, do service worthy of the cause and commensurate with its great resources, it will continue to find an humble chronicler in

Ever Yours,

(Signed) P.

Chaplain Pierce held religious services in Camp Howell both Sundays the Regiment was stationed there, on April 6, preaching from Hosea, Chap. 13, ver. 9: "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself." Sunday, April 13, was set apart by President Lincoln as a day of Thanksgiving and Prayer for recent victories, and for the success of the Army in the restoration of the Union. All the troops to be on parade at noon. The chaplain's text on this occasion was from Isaiah, Chap. 52; ver. 1: "Put on thy strength, O Zion." Lieut. Rowley of Company A, who resigned on account of impaired health, departed for his home on April 7, and on same date eight men were detailed from the Regiment to serve in light artillery batteries. On the afternoon of April 8, Col. Howell again inspected the Regiment, and in addressing the men said he wanted them to hold themselves in constant readiness to move at a moment's notice; he said he did not need to ask them to do their duty as he had no misgivings in that connection.

During the day the delayed baggage arrived and with it the dress-coats which the men would have lost with little regret. On the following day, in the afternoon, the Regiment was again called out and addressed by the Colonel, and several orders were read, one of which ordered an advance to be made on the morning of April 10, with two days' rations and forty rounds of cartridges; later in the day the order to move in the morning was countermanded owing to impassable roads caused by recent heavy rains. The following day the men were allowed to rest until 3 P. M., when they were ordered out for battalion drill. On April 11, considerable excitement prevailed in camp when a report was circulated that the Confederate iron-clad ram, Merrimac, was in the James River, her first appearance in these waters since her combat with the Monitor on March 9. Several batteries of light artillery were hurried to the beach near Newport News, in anticipation of an attempt of the enemy to land. The Merrimac, although
accompanied by numerous other vessels hugged the Southern shore pretty closely, and, after exchanging a few shots with a Federal battery, retired. This visit of the Merrimac was vividly described by Lieut. Col. Purviance in a letter to the Washington (Pa.) Reporter and Tribune, under date of April 15, 1862; published April 24, as follows:

On Friday morning last the Merrimac, accompanied by the rebel gunboats, Jamestown and Yorktown, and a number of tugs, made her appearance a few miles above Fortress Monroe, in the James River, just opposite our Camp, which is about a mile inland. Hearing of her arrival early in the afternoon, I hurried through the tangled brakes, pine woods so densely foliaged that the very sunshine was barred out, and sullen swamps, bristling with sea grass, to the river side, where shadowed by the ruins of a once elegant country mansion, the former residence of a noted rebel, I saw for the first time the famous iron clad ship of the rebels. It was lying nearly opposite where I stood, about three miles or three and a half away. Near it were two English and French ships of war, and grouped around were the Jamestown and Yorktown gunboats, and quite a fleet of tugs and transports. The Merrimac is a vessel of the largest class, and although deeply submerged by the heavy iron armor, her vast sloping sides loom up above the water like the walls of a fortress. She looks like a great slate roofed building, sunk to the eaves, except the iron plough at the bow, which bears no resemblance to any feature of architecture within my knowledge. She carries a great number of heavy guns, which are mounted at her bow and stern, as well as at both sides. In appearance she is to the Monitor as "Hyperion to a Satyr," and I must confess, as I looked at her vast proportions, and observed the powerful momentum with which she glided through the water, I had some misgivings as to the ability of the plucky little "Cheese Box" to cope with her. But Erickson was confident and that reassured me.

For some time the Merrimac, surrounded by the other vessels of the fleet, lay motionless within perhaps a mile of the Southern shore; but soon a stir was visible on board, and then she glided down the stream, the two gunboats following her a short distance, and then lying to. The Merrimac moved on alone, in the direction of the Rip Raps, hugging the Southern shore all the while. Within two miles, or perhaps a greater distance, of the Rip Raps, I saw the glitter of the stars upon the National Flag, that streamed above the sea-washed citadel, and the cannon that lay mute and apparently deserted on the walls, but not a living thing was visible. A Sabbath stillness seemed resting upon our inert shipping in the harbor. Ships in abundance were there, but no sailors. But every sail was set, and every rope tightened, as if for a speedy departure and a rapid voyage. The shipping with its great broad sails, concealed the fortress, but all seemed quiet there. By and by, the Merrimac, as if satisfied with the reconnaissance, steamed back again to the fleet, and after lying with it for a little while, exchanged signals, returned rapidly to her former position near the Rip Raps. In a few minutes we saw a whiff of white smoke roll lazily away from one of her forward port holes, and then the dull and heavy report of a cannon came rolling over the waters. The challenge was promptly answered by the little Stevens' battery lying near the Fortress, whose shot hustled over the Merrimac, and tossed up a cloud of spray half a mile beyond. Five or six shots were exchanged between the two vessels, the Stevens' battery firing last, when the Merrimac returned to the fleet, and did not again resume the conflict. The next morning she was not visible, having retired during the night, with the other vessels of the fleet, to her anchorage above Craney Island, where she still remains, unless she is down again today, which is not improbable, as we have heard heavy firing in the direction of the Fortress. She carried away with her two schooners which she captured in the river opposite our camp. Of course, with nothing but field batteries we could render them no assistance against the heavy armament of the Merrimac. Yorktown and Jamestown. Our camp might readily have
been shelled by any of these vessels. Why they did not indulge in the amusement, I cannot divine, for the former carried the black flag at her bow which means no quarter. The object of the Merrimac in this visit is not certainly known. That it was something more than a reconnaissance, is to be inferred from the fact that a numerous fleet accompanied her. It was thought at the Fortress that she designed forcing her way into the bay and up York River, taking with her the two gunboats, Yorktown and Jamestown, so as to disperse or disable our fleet lying before Yorktown, and otherwise to co-operate with and assist the rebel land forces lying there. If such was her design it signally failed and will fail again if again attempted. So at least say the military savants of the Fortress.

Rain and mud have outgeneraled the Army of the Potomac during last week. The forces about Yorktown have lain inactive, waiting for re-enforcements, especially of artillery, which swamp, and morass, swollen into turgid lakes and inland seas, refused to pass. The continuous and heavy firing which we heard on Saturday and Sunday week, has not been resumed since the latter day.

My company while out on Grand Guard duty last week, found four muskets and rifles, concealed in the woods, which they brought into camp as contraband, they having evidently belonged to the secesh, being of the mongrel class of guns. Near the same spot a large Confederate flag was found at the same time, by our pickets.

The health of the Regiment is not so good as when I last wrote; but we have no cases of sickness that are dangerous. I hope to write my next from Yorktown.

Nothing in the tone of Lieut. Col. Purviance’s letter of this date would indicate that he was the least bit piqued at the time of writing, and yet at this particular time he was in arrest for having left camp without obtaining leave of absence. The record does not state when the offence was committed, but there is a strong probability that the event so graphically described in the letter was the cause of the offense. When the report of the approach of the Merrimac reached camp the excitement was great, and the former profession of Lieut. Col. Purviance would prompt him to hurry to the scene of action, and too much time would have been consumed in getting the proper authority. At the same time his second lieutenant, Edward Campbell, who subsequently was also lieutenant colonel of the Regiment, was placed in arrest for the same offense. While Col. Howell had possession of his sword, Lieut. Col. Purviance was exempt from all duties and therefore had ample time to follow the pursuit of the journalist. His sword, and that of his second lieutenant, were returned the morning the Regiment took the final departure from Camp Howell. During the last two days in this camp the Regiment participated in strenuous drill, the first day in brigade evolutions and on the second, with the entire division. The brigade and division drills took place near Newport News, on the James River bottom, in full view of the enemy located on the southern bank of the river. When the division stood in line of battle, the regiments abreast of each other, the line was a mile in length, and must have caused some consternation in the camp of the enemy witnessing the line, and the evolutions of the division. During the forenoon, before going on division drill, the men in camp were busy cooking meat and packing knapsacks and haversacks for an early advance movement the following morning.

On Wednesday morning, April 16, the men were up early and at 8 A. M. tents were struck and packed and everything was in readiness to move at 8 A. M., but it was almost noon before the head of the column started in the direction
of Newport News, and when near the James River, turned northward following closely the course of the river and over what was known as the James River road. The day was extremely warm and the men were heavily laden, carrying with them all the paraphernalia required of the soldier in camp life. A half hour stop was made for dinner before one o'clock, and again after covering, perhaps, seven miles, another brief halt was made within five hundred yards of the James River. Shortly after 3 P. M. the Regiment crossed a ravine where the enemy had fallen trees as an obstruction, near which was a stream of running water and a forest of pine trees, at the edge of which a halt was made, and the men afforded an opportunity to quench their thirst and fill their canteens. Another brief halt was made at Young’s Mill about dusk, after which a further march of three miles ended the first day’s journey up the Peninsula, the Regiment covering seventeen miles during the day. The Regiment remained in bivouac here until 2 P. M. the following day when, after an advance of perhaps three miles a halt was made for the night, two miles west of Warwick Court House. As the Regiment passed this seat of justice a brief halt was made and the officers and men had an opportunity to take a complete survey of the village which consisted of the court house, jail and three other modest houses. The court house resembled very much a country school house in Pennsylvania; it was a one story brick structure, thirty feet long and twenty feet wide; the jail being about sixteen feet square. After the Regiment had halted for what was supposed by officers and men to be for the night only, a detail of 35 men was made from Company A, with Lieut. John W. Acheson in charge, to assist in operating Prof. Lowe’s balloon. The march from Newport News is described in a letter written by Capt. James B. Tredwell, of Company H (subsequently promoted to the majority of the Regiment) to his mother, then residing in Somerset. Mrs. Tredwell was a sister of the eminent Pennsylvania statesman, Judge Jeremiah S. Black, who was attorney general and secretary of state during Buchanan’s administration. This letter was written on April 18, and is dated Camp Winfield Scott, the name of the new camp, at which the Regiment halted on April 17, located about two miles west of Warwick County Court House. The letter was in part as follows:

We remained at Newport News about two weeks and were then with the whole division ordered up here. The distance is about 25 miles, and we had two days in which to march it. As many of the men had never made a long march before we took our time to it. We are encamped or rather lying here, for we have no tents or shelter of any sort, in a swamp. The swamp is covered with long grass and a thick growth of short scrubby pines, forming anything but a delightful place to bivouac. This is decidedly the most God-forsaken country my eyes ever rested on. The whole country is one broad level swamp, covered with pines, occasionally varied by a piece of arable land and the ruins of a farm house destroyed by the torch of rebels. Every decent house in this country has been deserted and destroyed. Sometimes the negro quarters are left standing and filled with the starving half-clad wretches that inhabit them. Here and there you will find the house of some “poor white person,” who has not character or energy enough to take part in the war on either side. The weather is extremely hot, and the swamps are filled with spiders, snakes and wood-ticks. The latter are extremely annoying and it is impossible to get clear of them. I always think of you and the woodticks you got at “Breakneck” when I see one. A great many of the men are sick with fevers and other diseases bred
by the malaria of the swamps. A few of my men are reported "unfit for duty," but none of them is seriously sick. We are six miles from Yorktown and a mile from the rebel line.

The halt of the Regiment late in the afternoon of April 17, about two miles from Warwick Court House, was in a dense pine woods and was named Camp Winfield Scott. The day after its arrival at the new camp the Regiment was permitted to rest with the exception of the usual details for camp and picket guards, the men devoting some considerable time ridding themselves of wood-ticks, a new pest to them. Such stragglers as had fallen out by the wayside came up and Lieut. Col. McGiffin, who had remained ill at Camp Howell, reported for duty. The men were cautioned to fall into line at the sound of the drum. A largely attended prayer meeting was held in camp in the evening. The following day, Saturday, April 19, the Regiment was called out for inspection by a major from some other command, who examined the equipment of the men with great care. Nothing further out of the ordinary daily affairs of camp life occurred until 9 p. m., when the Regiment was hurriedly called into line and deployed as skirmishers to the left of the camp. Col. Howell, who carried a red, white and blue lantern, gave evidence by his manner that this calling out of the Regiment was not a mere ruse to harden the men, and an attack by the enemy was imminent. It rained hard and the Regiment remained deployed as skirmishers throughout the entire night, with no further signs of the presence of the enemy than occasional firing on the picket line. When the men returned to camp they found several inches of water on the ground, and before attempting to take any rest, they cut brush enough to raise their beds above the water. With the exception of the guard details no further duty was required of the men during the next two days, and this time was spent in an attempt to keep themselves dry, as the rain continued to pour without intermission until day break on April 22, when the sun came out bright and clear. During the forenoon the Regiment was hurriedly marched a mile west of camp, in expectation of meeting an attack of the enemy, but the alarm proved to be false and the Regiment returned to camp, which was again deluged in the afternoon by a heavy shower.

During the afternoon of April 23, the Regiment changed its location in Camp Winfield Scott to higher ground, crossing a ravine, northeast of the former position. The camp embraced the three Pennsylvania regiments of the brigade, viz.: 85th, 101st and 103d. The daily camp guard was composed of an officer and forty men from each regiment, with an alternating officer of the day. A redeeming feature of the location of Camp Winfield Scott was a spring of most excellent water, yielding a supply sufficient for the entire camp, and near this spring the camp hospital was located.

During the remaining days at this camp, the daily routine of duty consisted practically of a company of the Regiment for camp guard, a company for picket duty, and a heavy detail for fatigue duty building roads, the Regiment alternating with the other regiments of the brigade as a picket reserve.
every fourth day. Camp Winfield Scott was within two miles of the enemy’s position at Lee’s Mill which was about six miles south of the York River at Yorktown. The position of the enemy at this point was regarded as almost impregnable against assault. His fortifications extended along the western bank of the Warwick River, the head waters of which were only about a mile and a half south of Yorktown and very near the York River. At this point the Warwick River was a sluggish, boggy stream, twenty or thirty yards wide, and running through a dense wood fringed by swamps. Along this stream a series of dams had been constructed, the effect of which was to back up the water along the course of the river. The timber on either side of this stream had been felled into an abatis, which of itself was a most formidable obstacle. The western bank was abrupt, rising rapidly above the streams fully forty feet. The Regiment was on picket reserve on Thursday, April 24, returning to camp the following day. It was rumored that the colonel of the 93d New York Regiment, and also a major, who had been reconnoitering beyond the picket line, had been captured. While the men were on picket duty in front of Lee’s Mill, the enemy opposite would occasionally fire a shot from a gun of not more than an inch caliber, the fort in which the gun was situated being about 500 yards from the picket line, the intervening space being clear. Private Van Buren Kennedy of Company G, aged twenty years, a young man of fine physique, died of disease in camp on April 25. He was ill only two or three days and the disease was pronounced by the surgeons as a new development of inflammation of the brain. Following some cannonading in the direction of Yorktown on Saturday morning, April 26, rumor was quite prevalent throughout camp that the enemy was in retreat. It was raining during the day and the men not on duty were permitted to remain under shelter. On Sunday, April 27, Maj. J. A. L. Morrell, Additional Paymaster, arrived in camp and left two months’ pay, the enlisted men being paid per month at the following rate: Sergeants, $17; corporals and privates, $13; musicians, $12; wagoners or teamsters, $14. Chaplain Pierce held religious service in camp at 1 p.m., preaching from the text in 2d Tim., Chap. 4, Ver. 8: For bodily exercise profiteth little; but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.

Nothing occurred to vary the usual daily routine until Tuesday morning, April 29, when the entire division was called out at four o’clock, and held in line of battle until some time after daybreak. During the evening the First Brigade of the division came into collision with the enemy a mile or two to the left of Camp Winfield Scott and was reported to have lost two or three men. Another member of Company G, Private George C. Baird, died in the camp hospital on April 29, of the same disease that carried off Private Kennedy four days previously. On April 30 Lieut. Andrew Stewart, Jr., aide-de-camp to Brig. Gen. Keim, mustered the Regiment for pay. During the seventeen days’ stay of the Regiment at Camp Winfield Scott, from April 17 to May 4, all sorts of drills were practically abandoned, as the men able for duty were constantly occupied either on picket or fatigue duty, and the con-
ditions under which the men were compelled to do duty, made it doubly severe. While on fatigue duty the work was through wood and swamp and they were almost constantly in mud and water. In going to and from the picket lines they frequently had to wade ankle deep through surface water. Sunday morning, May 4, just as the men were thinking of getting ready for the weekly inspection, orders came to fall in with one day's rations. In less than a half hour the Regiment was moving rapidly through the woods in the direction of the enemy without overcoat, woolen or rubber blanket. The men had literally obeyed orders to fall in with one day's rations. There was no thought of pursuing a fleeing enemy, or bidding a final adieu to Camp Winfield Scott. When the clearing east of the Warwick River was reached it was soon evident that an unusual movement was in progress for in every direction troops were to be seen in motion. It was nearly noon when the Regiment passed beyond the enemy's intrenchments and found them abandoned. On the road leading to the intrenchments of the enemy torpedoes had been planted, and great care had to be exercised to avoid exploding them. The First Brigade had one man killed and several wounded by the explosion of one torpedo. After a march of perhaps twelve miles a halt was made for the night, and a detail sent back to camp for provisions. During the night it began to rain and the men having neither overcoats nor blankets, rubber or woolen, stood and sat around fence rail fires until morning, doing the best they could under the circumstances to keep from being chilled.

Under date of May 13, 1862, Lieut. Col. Purviance wrote an interesting account of the Regiment's departure from the camp before Lee's Mill for the Reporter and Tribune as follows:

**Camp near West Point, Va., May 13, 1862.**

**Dear Reporter:**

About 8 o'clock on Sunday morning, the 4th instant, as we were lounging about in Camp Winfield Scott, enjoying the balmy atmosphere of a bright May morning, an order came for the Regiment to move at once with one day's rations. Whither or for what purpose, we knew not. All we knew was that blessed visions of a serene and indolent day on the shady banks of a 'purling brook' in the green woods, were dismissed at once, not without some regret, for the preceding week had been a season of constant labor and exposure to many of us. In fifteen minutes our Regiment was in line, and our whole Brigade was soon in motion in the direction of the enemy's fortifications. The rumor was soon floating about that Yorktown had been evacuated, and it was deemed probable that the enemy had fallen back along the whole line of their defensive works between Yorktown and James River.

A march of two miles brought us opposite and in full view of two of their forts, occupying nearly the center of the chain of works. Regiment after regiment filed from the right and left into the open fields where we had halted to reconnoitre, and we were soon convinced that the whole army was in motion. A reconnaissance was made of the fortifications in our front, and as the Stars and Stripes rose over them, we knew that they, too, had been abandoned, and were now in possession of our troops. From these very forts my own company, while on picket duty two days before, had been repeatedly fired upon, and I therefore felt a double satisfaction in witnessing their humiliation. We immediately advanced upon the forts by the road leading past Lee's Mill, at which point the Vermont boys were drowned and massacred a few weeks before, in attempting to storm the works.
The dam from which the marshy bottom was deluged was only a few rods above us, but no enemy was secreted at the flood gates. The devilish malice of the foe, however, had suggested other and even more savage instrumentalities of murder. As we approached the mill a stinging report warned us of danger or disaster ahead. Arriving nearly opposite we found the road torn up, and a wounded soldier lying at the roots of a tree near by. One of his comrades had been killed, and three wounded by the explosion of a shell which had been buried in the road, and so arranged by means of a wire fuse, as to explode when trodden upon. We had a sad foretaste of what the devils had prepared for us. Thickly studded all along the road as we advance, are to be seen these fatal iron fuses, whose touch is death; but every inch of the road is carefully scanned, and our great caution has prevented further disasters of this kind to our Division of the army. The right wing has lost perhaps a dozen men by the explosion of these infernal machines.

We entered one of the forts, and found it very extensive and strong. In close proximity were six or seven other works of the same design and character, but of less extent. Comfortable log barracks were here, and all around in the woods and fields were evidences of large encampments that had been abandoned. A number of tents were still standing, but they had been slit into ribbons to make them useless to us. Most of these fortifications had evidently been recently thrown up. Some of them had apparently never been armed at all, and in the largest not more than two large pieces had been mounted. There may have been barbette guns on all of them, but if so, not one was left. The enemy had evidently evacuated with great deliberation.

We found nothing but fragments of letters, Richmond newspapers and empty bottles. The latter, doubtless, did good service in feeding the Promethean flame which “fired the Southern heart.” They were probably evacuated simultaneously with the forts.

I found only one Northern newspaper in these rebel fortifications. What could it have been but the New York Herald? In the little parleys that frequently took place between the pickets of the two armies before the evacuation, the rebels, on several occasions, desired our boys to furnish them with a New York Herald. This fact is stated to me by a reliable Lieutenant who was on picket duty for several weeks on the left of our line.

We rested for half an hour and then moved forward. We took the Yorktown road, which led us directly in front of the rebel chain of defences. It was a constant succession of fortifications and deserted camps. On every hand were tents gashed into shreds. The destroyers might have spared themselves this trouble for Uncle Sam has more of this sort of property than he can transport. It is a luxury that his patriotic volunteers have learned to dispense with in their toilsome marches.

Toward evening we passed a magnificent brick residence which had been occupied as the headquarters of Gen. Magruder. It is the property of a Rev. Mr. Lee, who was said by the slaves to be a loyal man. The beautiful plain in front of it was marred by earthworks. We found by the sun that we were leaving Yorktown to our rear, and the truth broke upon us that we were in pursuit of the retreating enemy.

The country through which we were passing was exceedingly beautiful. It was no longer a scene of desolation and ruin. The incendiary torch, which had blazed the whole Peninsula from Fortress Monroe to Yorktown had spared the country mansions and green fields cheered us as we advanced. At first we saw no people, but as we progressed we found occasional families who had been sensible enough to stay at home and protect their property.

We bivouacked at nightfall in a ploughed field, within seven miles of Williamsburg. The men had been hurried off without their knapsacks, and hundreds of our Regiment laid down that night without even an overcoat to cover them. Many dozed around the fires without lying down at all. Towards morning a heavy rain commenced to fall, and by daylight we were drenched and the sandy roads were like beds of mortar. The men responded cheerfully, however, to the order to advance, and by six o’clock we were in motion again. It was “on to Richmond” in terrible earnest.
Battle of Williamsburg

CHAPTER IV.
The Battle of Williamsburg.—The Regiment's First Engagement.—A Night in Front of Fort Magruder.—Correspondence Relating to the Battle.

From May 5 to May 7, 1862.

After partaking of a very light breakfast by both officers and men, consisting mainly of coffee and crackers, the Regiment resumed its march in the direction of the enemy, at the head of the brigade at eight o'clock Monday morning, May 5. A drizzling, chilling rain which began during the preceding night continued without abatement, and the roads at places were almost impassable, especially so for commissary supplies and the artillery. Frequent halts were made to let the artillery pass and occasionally the infantry was called upon to extricate a piece of artillery from quagmires in the road. A brief halt was made about 3 P.M., in a field by the roadside, the brigade having covered scarcely six miles during that number of hours. Arms were stacked and the men hurriedly built fires, and such as had coffee were soon steeping it, while but a brief distance in advance the rattle of musketry and booming of cannon gave notice that the enemy was making a stand. Chaplain Pierce, who had been at the front, returned to the Regiment and reported that the enemy was holding his position, although severely contested by Hooker's and Kearny's divisions. It was not long until the Regiment was en route in the direction of the battle ground, and on reaching an open field, separated from the scene of conflict by a dense woods, formed line of battle, loaded muskets, and advanced across the field in perfect order until it reached the edge of the woods which obscured the scene of battle from view. At this juncture the corps commander, Gen. E. D. Keyes, rode up and made a brief address to the men which called forth three cheers. Shortly after this a fragment of a shell struck Capt. John Morris of Company F, on the left cheek, inflicting a painful wound. The Regiment was then moved by the left flank down a road through the woods, along the fringe of which it was halted. On its way to this position a cannon ball struck Sergeant Daniel F. Miller of Company K, lacerating both lower limbs in a terrible manner, so that he had to be borne from the field by two comrades. His limbs were amputated but the shock was so great that his death resulted a month later (June 5, 1862), in a hospital at Philadelphia, Pa. As soon as the Regiment got into position, a fringe of woods in front concealing it from the enemy's view, it opened fire, although the enemy in front was invisible and silent, further than the artillery fire from Fort Magruder, which was soon diverted in another direction. After firing several rounds, orders were given to cease firing, and Companies B and E were advanced a short distance deployed as skirmishers, a position they held throughout the night, the Regiment standing in
line of battle, as reserve. The men with rare exceptions had neither overcoats nor rubber blankets and their clothing was completely drenched from the incessant drizzling rain that began falling the previous night. Perfect silence was ordered, but no discipline, no matter how rigid, could have hushed the chatter of the teeth of the men as they stood in line of battle shivering from cold; without even the stimulant of coffee, hot or cold, or food of any kind. The casualties of but few of the regiments engaged in the battle of Williamsburg were greater than the number of officers and men of the 85th Regiment incapacitated for military duty by the vigilors and exposure of the night following the battle.

When day broke on the morning of May 6, no enemy was in sight and Fort Magruder had been abandoned. The Regiment remained in position in front of Fort Magruder until the afternoon, when it moved back to the open field where it had formed in line of battle the previous day. Here some commissary supplies were issued and for a couple of hours the men divided the time in drying their clothing and sleeping in the full blaze of an afternoon sun.

Later in the day Keim's brigade moved about two miles northward, bivouacking on the south bank of the York River, only a short distance from the extreme right of the Federal line of the day before. Early the next morning, May 7, the Regiment at the head of the brigade, moved in the direction of the enemy, passing the enemy's fortifications, and halting for an hour or two near Fort Magruder. Arms were stacked, and the men were permitted to visit the scenes of carnage of the battlefield, by no means an inspiring spectacle. During the forenoon the brigade passed through the town of Williamsburg, famous in ante-Revolutionary times as the capital of the Colony of Virginia, and the home of William and Mary College, founded in 1693. Williamsburg was originally known as Middle Plantation and was laid out in 1632 by the Colonial Governor, Sir John Harvey. After the burning of Jamestown in October, 1698, the place was named Williamsburg and succeeded Jamestown as the capital of the Colony and remained as such until 1779 when it was moved to Richmond. William and Mary College was named after the reigning sovereigns at the time it was founded. Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe and John Tyler, three Presidents, were graduates; also, Chief Justice John Marshall and Lieut. Gen. Winfield Scott, General in Chief of the Federal army at the beginning of the Civil War. George Washington was the first Chancellor of the College after the Revolution, and later another ex-president, John Tyler, was Chancellor. The buildings of this famous institution were now filled with the wounded men, mostly Confederates, as the College had suspended early after the outbreak of the war, both faculty and students, who were eligible for soldiers, entering the Confederate army. After passing through this famous town the Regiment continued to advance at the head of the brigade in the direction of Richmond (sporadic firing ahead indicating that the enemy was not far away), until late in the afternoon, when a halt was made, after a march of ten or twelve miles had been made during the day.

In a letter to Gen. A. L. Russell, adjutant-general of Pennsylvania, under date of June 20, 1862, Col. Howell refers to the action of the 85th Regiment at the battle of Williamsburg in the following terms:
Owing to the illness of Gen. Keim, I was in the temporary command of the brigade and led it into action, and held the command of it until Gen. Keim came on the field, until more than an hour had elapsed after we went into action. After he came on the field he assumed command of the brigade and I took command of my Regiment exclusively. Was ordered to the front to the support of Gen. Peck and to report to him, and was by him ordered to relieve the 93d Penna., which we did, and I believe I claim no more than what in justice belongs to my Regiment when I assert that we saved in the afternoon of the day what had been so gallantly achieved in the earlier part of it by the regiments which we relieved—the woods and the point lying in front of Williamsburg and the forts. We were under fire upwards of five hours and continued all night without great coats, in blouses and wet, without being relieved at all, under arms in the woods and swamps of the front. No men ever behaved better than did the 85th in that engagement.

The official report of the battle of Williamsburg by Gen. Keim is given in full as follows:

Williamsburg, Va., May 8, 1862.

Owing to severe indisposition I followed my brigade slowly, it being in temporary command of Col. Howell on May 5. When I arrived the 85th Reg't Penna. Vols. was in front, then the 103d Reg't Penna. Vols., Maj. Gazzam, commanding, next the 101st Reg't, Penna. Vols., Col. Wilson. The 96th Reg't, New York Vols., Lieut. Col. Gray, commanding, had been ordered by Gen. Sumner to protect the 8th N. Y. Battery and after the regular support of Gen. Palmer's brigade. The 85th Regiment Penna. Vols., Col. Howell, was in advance of Gen. Palmer's brigade and went over the fence into the woods, under a brisk fire of the enemy. At that time, when the fire was hot and heaviest, Gen. Keyes rode up and addressed my brigade a few spirit-stirring remarks, who heartily cheered the general and resumed the work of destruction with more zeal.

Gen. Palmer being called off, I assumed command of the 93d (Col. Anderson's) and the 93d (Lieut. Col. Butler's) Regiments New York Vols. I ordered Col. Howell to the front to relieve the 93d Regiment Penna. Vols., who immediately encountered a sweeping fire, which was returned with spirit and effect. The 101st Regiment Penna. Vols. (Col. Wilson), I ordered to the left of the clearing across the road as a reserve. The 103d Regiment Penna. Vols., Maj. Gazzam commanding, was also ordered to the front to support Gen. Peck. I was assigned the command of the left, Gen. Peck the center, and Gen. Devens the right. About 5:30 the musketry fire had nearly ceased, the battery in front keeping up its fire until dark, two hours afterward.

Taking into consideration that the men had only one day's rations since Sunday morning, no overcoats, woolen or gum blankets, they evinced a spirit of endurance and heroic courage worthy of veterans, and the men and officers are entitled to praise for their arduous and successful efforts. The troops remained under arms all night, rainy and unpleasant. I was with Gen. Peck and Gen. Couch during the night. Sounds were heard of cutting wood, and commands were given to 'Forward, march,' which induced a belief that the enemy were about evacuating. At day break I ordered a company of Col. Howell's Regiment to reconnoiter toward the front. Everything appeared quiet, when some cavalry from Williamsburg rode downward into the fort, so they withdrew. After the cavalry left the fort the effort was renewed and were steadily advancing, when Gen. Heintzelman rode up and ordered my men back, he entering the deserted forts first, which my brigade had aided materially to conquer.

My staff officers, Capt. N. L. Jeffries, assistant adjutant-general, and Lieut. Stewart, Jr., aide-de-camp, rendered me efficient aid. The state of my health must be the apology for this imperfect report [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part 1, pp. 561, 562.]
Brig. Gen. Innis N. Palmer, commanding the Third Brigade of Casey's Division in his official report of the battle, refers to the 85th Regiment as follows:

Brig. Gen. Peck, who was hotly engaged with the enemy a little to the left of my line, having sent for re-enforcements, I was directed by Gen. Couch to send two regiments to his (Gen. Peck's) support. I immediately sent two regiments of Gen. Keim's brigade, under Col. Howell, of the 85th Penna. Vols. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part 1, p. 563].

In Gen. Peck's report he says:

Gen. Devens came on the field and reported with Col. Russell's Massachusetts regiment, where the enemy's batteries were in full play, and requested that I would give him a position on the advance. Gen. Keim soon followed with Col. Howell's Regiment. * * * Colonels Russell's and Howell's regiments quickly gained places at the weakest points of the line, and deserve special mention for their services [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part 1, p. 522].

In his letter of May 13, 1862 to the Reporter and Tribune, a portion of which concluded the preceding chapter, Lieut. Col. Purviance gives an interesting pen picture of the events of May 5, and the following night and day:

How the artillery got on I cannot conceive. The ponderous gun-carriages cut deep canals in the road, through which we waded on. It was not a march that day by any means. It was a constant conflict between legs and mud and rain, in which sometimes the mud, and sometimes the legs, prevailed. But still we made some progress. The constant roar of cannon in the direction of Williamsburg advised us that friends as well as enemies were in front of us. We were to confront the grim and bloody visage of battle at last.

We halted in a field by the roadside, after a march of scarcely more than six miles. We were nearly four hours in making it. We stacked arms and wondered what next? The roar of the battle was very audible. We heard nothing but artillery, although we were told by returning horsemen, that the fight was raging only two miles away. By and by the order came to 'Fall in!' Our course still lay in the direction of the booming cannon. Orderlies on foaming steeds came pitching by, then stragglers on foot, at first by twos and threes, then by dozens, and finally, as we neared the scene, in one continuous stream. Every face looked anxious, and many were blanched with terror. Dismal tales were told of disasters, and one fellow whispered through white lips, that our left flank had been turned by the enemy. These were the panic makers of the army, and as I heard them I thought of Bull Run, and feared the effect of their pernicious and terror inspired canards upon our brave boys, who, all unschooled in such things, were marching nearly as rapidly towards the field of battle as these cravens were flying from it.

After a short march we emerged from the dark, tree-shadowed road into open fields, at the western extremity of which we saw a number of regiments drawn up in line of battle. We advanced rapidly towards them, and soon heard the whistle of heavy balls in the air above us. Our Regiment, marching by the flank at the time across the field, was broken into companies, and then moved forward into line of battle when we halted and loaded. All this was done in perfect order, although invisible missiles of destruction from an invisible enemy were shrieking above us all the while. Just at this time Gen. Keyes, commanding our Army corps, rode up, and ordering our brigade to prepare to move forward, told Col. Howell we had heavy trouble below. Gen. Keim, who was very unwell, and had been so for a fortnight previous, was on the field, but handed over the active command of the brigade to Col. Howell. To the latter Gen. Couch presented himself and asked if he had a "steady, reliable regiment," that could be marched immediately to the front. "Forward, Eighty-Fifth!" was the instant reply of the Colonel, and the Regiment
advanced in line of battle towards the edge of the wood. Shells were bursting over us, and cannon balls tearing up the earth in front and rear, but the men dodged, and thus far no one was hurt. We gained the edge of the woods in fine style, and halted here for about five minutes. They came crashing through the woods, and ploughed into the field beyond. It was at this time that a fragment of a bursting shell struck Capt. Morris on the left cheek, breaking the bone and inflicting an ugly wound. A regiment to our rear, Col. Wilson’s or Lehmann’s—I do not recollect which—had three men wounded by the exploding shells. A road to our left ran through the woods to the front and there we were ordered. Our Regiment was faced by the left flank, and pushed rapidly down the road. The fire, still altogether of artillery, became hotter as we advanced, but I saw no man quail. A cannon ball passed squarely through our ranks, striking Sergeant Miller of Company K, mangling both his legs in a terrible manner. He was within a few feet of me when he fell. ‘Carry him to the rear,’ said Col. Johnson, who happened to be near at the time. He was picked up by two of his comrades, the ranks were closed up, and the Regiment, which had not lost a step, continued moving forward. I learned that the poor fellow has since died after suffering amputation.

We filed into the woods to the right, were halted, faced to the front, and commenced firing. A thin fringe of trees separated us from the open fields where the rebel forts were located, but we could see them, although indistinctly, for the air was hazy and the rain falling fast. The fight of musketry at this time was raging on the left and the only foe that confronted us were the belching cannon of Fort Magruder, which singularly enough, although its fire was turned against us for more than an hour, did us only the damage I have mentioned.

The ground we had been contested during the day by the 13th, 26th and 83d Pennsylvania and other regiments. My own company in forming our line of battle, had literally to step over the dead bodies of two men of the 13th. They were lying on their backs, close together, and their ghastly, upturned faces were more trying to the nerves of our men than cannon balls. Still they did not flinch; but I felt relieved when they were carried to the rear.

A hot hand to hand fight had taken place in these woods a short time before we arrived. Our line had been penetrated and the left flank turned by the enemy. Our forces were driven back, a fresh regiment was sent forward, and the rebels in turn forced from the position. The dead and wounded had been chiefly carried to the rear of the respective combatants, but still a number remained, and knapsacks, cartridge boxes, &c., strewn over the ground in great quantity, attested the severe and fatal character of the struggle. Our Regiment, as I have said, were not attacked by infantry at all. I heard but one musket ball whiz past us, and it was doubtless directed more by accident than design. But the enemy was in force in front of our left, engaging, from a cover of fallen timber which concealed them, a regiment posted in the woods near our left flank. Our fire was directed against this concealed foe, with what effect, of course, can never be known. In half an hour after we commenced firing, a deafening cheer from our men in that direction announced that the enemy had been driven from their position. The guns of Fort Magruder were then diverted from us, and turned upon our men who held the woods that skirted the left of the open field in our front. This was about five o’clock in the evening, at which time the fire of musketry ceased, but the guns of Fort Magruder kept up their sullen defiance till twilight.

Our Regiment lay on their arms in the woods, or rather stood to their arms all night, for, wet and hungry, and benumbed with cold, there was no sleep for the boys that night. Companies E and B were thrown out as pickets. From early in the night until three o’clock in the morning, we had manifestations of unusual activity in the rebel camp. Orders for companies to ‘fall in’ and move forward were distinctly heard from our advanced position, and left no doubt in our minds that the enemy were evacuating their forts, and retreating towards Richmond. We heard the tramp of their infantry, and the thump of their artillery carriages over corduroy bridges. Daylight confirmed our convictions. All
was silent and desolate about Fort Magruder, and no enemy was visible save a few cavalry who doubtless had been acting as videttes during the night, or formed the rear guard to pick up stragglers.

Never were "Signs in the heavens" more welcome than, to the shivering soldier, were the first gray streaks of dawn which heralded the morning after the battle. The long, long night was one of indescribable misery and horror. One poor fellow in a regiment near us died before morning of pure exhaustion from exposure. The cold rain of the preceding day abated in the early part of the night, but there was no relief from the dripping clothes, or refuge from the penetrating night air which cut like a dagger. Strong men shivered all the night long like leaves tossed by a storm. There was not a spark of fire, and the haversacks had been emptied at noon. These privations were borne with a patience and uncomplaining resignation that surprised me, and more than ever before, I cherished our brave boys in my heart. The piteous moans of wounded horses, as they dragged their shattered limbs through the brakes around us, smote the air all the weary night. Shrouded by the dark woods were scores of the wounded and dying, of whose presence we were conscious, but whose misery we could not alleviate.

The morning broke at last. The clouds floated away as the sun arose, and every token in the tinted sky omened a serene and beautiful May day. About an hour after sunrise a regiment of infantry crossed over to Fort Magruder, found it deserted, took possession, and ran up the national flag. It was found that all the works of the enemy had been deserted during the night, and that they were in full retreat. Our Regiment still remained in the outskirts of the woods where they had been posted on the previous day. We could not move without orders, and none had been received.

I called in our pickets, and then turned off into the open fields where we had lost a battery the day before. The enemy had charged upon the battery with overwhelming numbers, and captured four pieces, after killing many of our men and driving back the rest. Between forty and fifty of the slain still lay upon the field. They were chiefly our men. The rebels, doubtless, had carried away most of the dead, for they held the field until late in the evening of the battle. While the fight was raging on the previous afternoon, I saw them myself carrying off their killed or wounded, perhaps both, from the field. But eight or ten of their dead still remained on the field within an area of a few acres. They had not been able to carry the guns from the field and of course they fell into our hands again, although useless for the time, for they had been spiked by their captors. From twenty to thirty of our artillery horses lay dead or desperately wounded around the guns.

The dead lay in every attitude. Some had been slain by cannon ball and some perfectly mangled; but the rifle and musket ball had done the chief murder. Generally the expression of the features was that of serene and pleasant repose as if no pang had been imparted by the "swift winged messenger of death." This was uniformly the case where the wounds were in the forehead or breast. There was the impress of anguish only where death had evidently come slowly.

The rebel dead could be readily distinguished from our men, as well by their swarthy complexion as their grey lineny uniforms. The following day I made a more extended survey of the field, and saw a large number of their dead. Very many of them were finely developed men, but generally their faces certainly indicated a much lower scale of intelligence than those of our own soldiers. Still I saw many fine faces among them and could not but believe that many a manly though misguided heart had beaten beneath the coarse grey blouse of the rebel Volunteer, his uniform yesterday, today his shroud.

That heavenly "touch of nature which makes all men kin," was true to me even here in the presence of slaughtered comrades. I could not repress emotions of pity as I looked upon the rebel dead who had sacrificed themselves to the sinful ambition of others, and died believing it honorable and virtuous thus to perish. Brave men who die fighting for even a bad cause cannot be wholly depraved. Reason may be misguided, and the heart still right. It is the scoundrels who fatten on the spoils of a bastard government at Rich-
mond, and the aspiring demagogues elsewhere who incite the brave volunteers of the South to "die in the last ditch for their families and firesides" who are the real criminals in this foul conspiracy and rebellion against the government, and upon them in God's name, let the sword of justice fall.

Early in the afternoon our Regiment marched back into the open field where they had first formed the line of battle on the day before. Here they dried their clothes and subsistence arriving shortly afterwards, they were soon made comfortable.

In the afternoon we marched about two miles northward, and camped for the night in full view of the York River, and near where the right of our army rested in the early part of the action of the day before. The next morning (Wednesday) we again took up the line of march towards Richmond. Our course led us directly past the rebel forts that had been taken by Hancock's brigade at the point of the bayonet on Monday. Here the 6th North Carolina and an Alabama regiment, I believe, made a desperate charge on one of our batteries the day before, and were repulsed with great slaughter and the loss of many prisoners. A barn by the roadside was filled with rebel wounded. We looked at the close linked chain of forts and wondered where the rebels could make a stand if not here. I counted ten within a distance of less than two miles.

We halted for two hours at Fort Magruder, I occupied the time in scouring the woods south of the fort, where Sickles' brigade had engaged the enemy, and met with such heavy loss. Our men were busy burying the dead and bringing in the wounded who had crawled off into ravines and thickets to secrete themselves during the fight. I think I saw at least a hundred and fifty graves and still the woods in places were littered with dead. I counted forty-eight muskets leaning against one tree, dropped by the wounded and slain who had fallen close by. The woods were thickly strewed with muskets, knapsacks, cartridge boxes, haversacks, caps, and all the accoutrements and innumerable and various little personal effects of the soldiers. The ground was spotted with letters. I filled my pockets with them. They were mostly letters of love and hope and encouragement from wives and mothers and sweethearts to which, alas! there could never be any response. Their perusal made me heartsick; but oh, how much more heartsick will be the stricken ones at home, as they wait and wait for answers that will never come, and spell out through misty eyes at last the name of the loved one in the list of killed.

The papers give no adequate idea of this battle at all. Our loss could not have been less than from twelve to fifteen hundred in killed and wounded. There are nine hundred wounded rebels in the churches and public buildings and private houses of Williamsburg alone. The forces engaged on each side could not have been less than 40,000.

We passed through Williamsburg on Wednesday. It is a very old town, and was the seat of the royal government in Virginia before the Revolution. The celebrated William and Mary's College is now crowded with wounded rebels. It furnished from its students its full quota of victims; it is meet that it should shelter them. Capt. Horn stopped here for two hours and saw over three hundred of the rebel wounded. Many confessed to him that the rebellion was a failure and was in its last agonies and expressed regret that they had ever been inveigled into it. Others were still defiant and harped upon the "last ditch."

I have conversed with a number of captured rebel officers. They all justified their leaders, and insisted that the end was not yet. They argued the question as the Northern Breckinridge Democrats do. They maintained the sovereign right of any State to secede, and denied the right of the Government to coerce them to remain in the Union. It was the old story, with some interesting though unimportant variations, arising from the personal associations and habits of the men. I should like to repeat some of their talk, but I am warned that I must pause at this point in my letter. We are now encamped in New Kent County, a few miles from West Point, and some 35 or 40 miles from Richmond. We reached here on Saturday evening. An immense Union force is at West Point. It is rumored the rebels will make a desperate stand some fifteen miles this side of Rich-
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mond. Perhaps they will; but they can surely expect nothing from such a course, except great slaughter on both sides, and overwhelming defeat to themselves in the end. The days of the rebellion are indeed numbered. I hope my next shall be from Richmond.

The Reporter and Tribune in its issue of June 5, 1862, published a letter from Capt. William H. Horn of Company D, dated Bottom's Bridge, 15 miles from Richmond, Va., May 20, 1862, in which the Captain refers to the advance of the Regiment and its action in front of Fort Magruder, as follows:

Of course you have been informed, ere this, of the participation of the 85th in the battle of Williamsburg, one of the hardest fought battles of the war. I am not going to indite a description of the battle. That has been done by abler pens than mine; but I must be allowed to correct some errors which I have observed in some of the published accounts of the battle. The Pittsburgh Dispatch, a paper much read in your town, in its issue of May 21st, makes the following quotation from the New York Herald:

"Gen. Peck, late in the afternoon, was supported by Palmer's brigade of Casey's division, and thus formed a very strong centre." Now, this is simply false. Our Brigade (Keim's) passed both the 1st and 3rd brigades, Col. Davis' and General Palmer's on the road, although they were both in advance of us the preceding day, and were formed in line of battle at three o'clock P.M., on the right of Peck's brigade. In a few minutes the brigade was advanced to the edge of the timber, under a severe and constant fire of shell from a rebel earthwork about a thousand yards in our front. Here Col. Howell, who was in command of the brigade, was ordered to detach one of his best regiments from the brigade, to relieve the Pa. 93d, Col. McCarter, who were engaged fiercely with the rebels on the opposite edge of the timber, some 500 yards from us, and whose ammunition had become exhausted. We (the 85th) were accordingly advanced through two lines of reserves in front of us, took the place of the 93d and held it until nine o'clock the next morning, when the enemy, having retreated during the night, we were relieved. Our brigade was the only brigade of Casey's division that was on the field at all, and our Regiment the only one in the brigade that participated actively in the engagement. Knowing that our friends in Washington County would be averse as we are that our brigade, and especially our Regiment, which is one half composed of Washington Countians, should be deprived by any of the Public prints, of their hard earned meed of praise so freely accorded to them here, by both Generals Keim and Casey, I have ventured on the preceding explanation.

As we marched through Williamsburg after the battle I "dropped out" and employed several hours in visiting the various buildings used as hospitals. I suppose I saw in all 300 dead, wounded and dying, all rebels except a very few in William and Mary's College. I would that I had time to record a tithe of the interesting items that I picked up in these hospitals, or could give anything like an accurate description of the personnel of the occupants. Long haired, gray clad and dirty would be a good, general description, although there were some exceptions, but they were few. I conversed with men from every rebel state except Texas and Louisiana. One a Georgian, wounded in the foot, seemed to wish to converse with me, as did many of the others. He told me that he was a Corporal, but had just been promoted to a Sergeant. He had been married but a year, and asked me to look at his wife's picture, which represented a very fair looking young woman. He asked me a number of questions concerning the pay of our soldiers, and whether we could conquer the South or not. I think I answered his questions correctly. An apparently intelligent Mississippian informed me that they had retaken Nashville, also Washington City! though he didn't "hardly believe we had Washington." A Lieutenant of an Alabama regiment whose knee was shattered by a minnie ball, told me that they would fight to the last, and if they could do no better would retire to the mountains. Having heard some of this kind of talk before, I wasn't much alarmed. The majority
of those with whom I conversed appeared to think that they would succeed in establishing their independence finally. Some seemed to be doubtful about the matter, and others freely expressed their opinion that "secession had played out." Poor fellows! they were right. Dearly had they paid the wages of their sin against their country. Here was a terrible picture of carnage, bodies mutilated in every conceivable form, hands, arms, feet, legs torn off, or woefully mangled, while scores were lying who had been literally perforated with ball and shot.

It was a singular fact that a large proportion of the wounded were shot in the breast, rather a favorable evidence of the skill of our marksmen; some had been dead a couple of days; others had died more recently; some were lying quietly with rigid limbs and glazed eyes as their life ebbed away, while near by, others moaning and groaning piteously, with clenched hands and distorted visages were dying in agony most intense; but I, weary of the recital of these scenes, as I did there of the sight, although I thought after the battle two days previous to my visit to the hospitals, that I would sicken at no scenes of blood, yet I hastened away with a feeling of relief and thankfulness.

Col. Howell having been reported as absent sick from the Regiment during the battle of Williamsburg, Lieut. Col. Purviance wrote a denial of the report and, incidentally, paid a high tribute to the Colonel, which appeared in the Reporter and Tribune in its issue of June 12, 1862. The letter was dated "Camp near Seven Pines, Seven Miles East of Richmond, May 31, 1862," evidently written and mailed early in the morning of an eventful day in the history of the Regiment. The letter follows:

It is represented in a recent number of a Washington County paper, that Col. Howell was sick at the time of the battle of Williamsburg and was not in command of the Regiment. The statement does the Colonel gross injustice, and I wish to see it corrected. Col. Howell was not only not sick on that occasion, but was constantly at the head of his Regiment, and in active command of the 2d Brigade, on account of the illness of Gen. Keim, who has since died. The 85th Regiment is the first in order in the brigade, and was in front from the time we arrived on the field until the following morning. During all this time the Colonel was present with the Regiment directing the movements in person. He was in the thickest of the fire. I myself saw cannon balls and shells ploughing up the earth within a few feet of his horse's hoofs. To those who know the man, it will not be necessary to say that his conduct was cool and intrepid.

During the long, dismal rainy night that followed the battle, the Colonel was on the field, sharing every discomfort of the men. He was in constant motion along the line, and at intervals in advance with the pickets. He did his whole duty on that memorable day and night with a courage and devotion that no words can too highly commend.

Col. Howell has not been off duty a single day since the Regiment entered the service. His remarkable powers of endurance have been the subject of universal astonishment and comment.

In order to make certain phases of the record of the 85th Regiment explicit and thorough in a subsequent engagement with the enemy it will not be irrelevant to chronicle here further official correspondence bearing on the first battle of the Peninsular campaign. Gen. McClellan, in his official report of the battle of Williamsburg, says:

During the progress of these events I had remained at Yorktown to complete the preparations for the departure for Gen. Franklin's and other troops to West Point by water and to make the necessary arrangements with the naval commander for his cooperation. By pushing Gen. Franklin, well supported by water, to the right bank of the
Pamunkey, opposite West Point, it was hoped to force the enemy to abandon whatever works he might have on the Peninsula below that point or be cut off. It was of paramount importance that the arrangements to this end should be promptly made at an early hour of the morning. I had sent two of my aides (Lieut. Col. Sweitzer and Maj. Hammerstein) to observe the operations in front with instructions to report to me everything of importance that might occur. I received no information from them leading me to suppose that there was anything occurring of more importance than a simple affair of a rear guard until about 1 P. M., when a dispatch arrived from one of them that everything was not progressing favorably. This was confirmed a few minutes later by the reports of Gov. Sprague and Maj. Hammerstein, who came directly from the scene of action.

Completing the necessary arrangement, I returned to my camp without delay, rode rapidly to the front, a distance of some 14 miles, through roads much obstructed by troops and wagons and reached the field between 4 and 5 P. M., in time to take a rapid survey of the ground. I soon learned that there was no direct communication between our center and the left under Gen. Heintzelman. The center was chiefly in the nearer edge of the woods, situated between us and the enemy. As heavy firing was heard in the direction of Gen. Hancock's command, I immediately ordered Gen. Smith to proceed with his two remaining brigades to support that part of the line. Gen. Naglee with his brigade, received similar orders. I then directed our center to advance to the further edge of the woods mentioned above, which was done, and I attempted to open direct communication with Gen. Heintzelman, but was prevented by the marshy state of the ground in the direction in which the attempt was made *

Night put an end to operations here, and all the troops who had been engaged in this contest slept on the muddy field, without shelter and many without food **. On the next morning we found the enemy's position abandoned, and occupied Fort Magruder and the town of Williamsburg, which was filled with the enemy's wounded, to whose assistance eighteen of their surgeons were sent by Gen. J. E. Johnston, the officer in command. Col. Averell was sent forward at once with a strong cavalry force to endeavor to overtake the enemy's rear guard. He found several guns abandoned and picked up a large number of stragglers, but the conditions of the roads and the state of his supplies forced him to return after advancing a few miles. *** Our troops were greatly exhausted by the laborious march through the mud from their positions in front of Yorktown and by the protracted battle through which they had just passed. Many of them were out of rations and ammunition, and one division, in its anxiety to make prompt movement, had marched with empty haversacks. The supply trains had been forced out of the roads on the 4th and 5th to allow the troops and artillery to pass to the front, and the roads were now in such a state, after thirty-six hours' continuous rain, that it was almost impossible to pass even empty wagons over them. Gen. Hooker's division had suffered so severely that it was in no condition to follow the enemy, even if the roads had been good. Under these circumstances an immediate pursuit was impossible. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part 1, pp. 22-23.]

In the foregoing excerpt is contained all the criticisms made of his subordinate generals by Gen. McClellan in his official report of the affair, but in a dispatch to Secretary Stanton, without date but evidently sent on May 8, and received by the Secretary at 12:19 A. M. on May 9, at Fortress Monroe, he says:

I respectfully ask permission to reorganize the army corps. I am not willing to be held responsible for the present arrangement, experience having proved it to be very bad, and it having very nearly resulted in a most disastrous defeat. I wish either to return to the organization by division or else be authorized to relieve incompetent com-
manders of the army corps. Had I been one-half hour later on the field on the 5th we would have been routed and would have lost everything. Notwithstanding my positive orders I was informed of nothing that had occurred, and I went to the field of battle myself upon unofficial information that my presence was needed to avoid defeat. I found there the utmost confusion and incompetency, the utmost discouragement on the part of the men. At least a thousand lives were really sacrificed by the organization into corps.

I have too much regard for the lives of my comrades and too deep an interest in the success of our cause to hesitate for a moment. I learn that you are equally in earnest, and I therefore again request full and complete authority to relieve from duty with this army commanders of corps or divisions who prove themselves incompetent. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, pp. 153-154.]

Brig. Gen. H. M. Naglee, commanding the First Brigade of Casey's division, sent the following dispatch, dated from "Headquarters Department of the Potomac, McClellan's, May 8, 1862, to two United States Senators, then at Fort Monroe: Hon. M. S. Latham, Senator from California and Hon. H. M. Rice, Senator from Minnesota:

On Monday at 5 P. M. Gen. McClellan arrived on the ground. When he came our left had been turned; Hooker driven back, badly cut up, and a concentration of heavy force was made to cut off Hancock, who had turned the enemy's left at 1 P. M., and who, although he had begged for re-enforcements the entire day, got none. The first order given by Gen. McClellan was to send sufficient force to Hancock, which saved us from sad disaster.

Gen. McClellan had ordered a reconnaissance, and never dreamed that Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes would bring on a fight. For God's sake make no major-generals without knowing the truth. There was more stupidity expended on that day and more sacrifice of life than many would want to hear of. Our men behaved well. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 150.]

Under date of Fort Monroe, Va., May 9, 1862, Secretary Stanton sent the following dispatch to Gen. McClellan:

The President is unwilling to have the army corps organization broken up, but also unwilling that the commanding general shall be trammelled and embarrassed in actual skirmishing, collision with the enemy, and on the eve of an expected great battle. You therefore, may temporarily suspend that organization in the army now under your immediate command and adopt any you see fit until further orders. He also writes you privately. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 154.]

President Lincoln's letter was as follows:

My dear Sir: I have just assisted the Secretary of War in framing the part of a dispatch to you relating to army corps, which dispatch will, of course, have reached you long before this will.

I wish to say a few words privately on this subject. I ordered the army corps organized not only on the unanimous opinion of the twelve generals whom you had selected and assigned as generals of divisions, but also on the unanimous opinion of every military man I could get an opinion from, and every modern military book, yourself only excepted. Of course, I did not on my own judgment, pretend to understand the subjects. I now think it indispensable for you to know how your struggle against it is received in quarters, which we cannot entirely disregard. It is looked upon as merely an effort to pamper one or two pets and to persecute and degrade their supposed rivals. I have had no word from Sumner, Heintzelman, or Keyes. The commanders of
these corps are of course, the three highest officers with you, but I am constantly told that you have no consultation or communication with them; that you consult and communicate with nobody but Gen. Fitz John Porter and perhaps Gen. Franklin. I do not say these complaints are true or just, but at all events it is proper you should know of their existence.

Do the commanders of corps disobey your orders in anything?

When you relieved Gen. Hamilton of his command the other day you thereby lost the confidence of at least one of your best friends in the Senate. And here let me say, not as applicable to you personally, that Senators and Representatives speak of me in their places as they please without question, and that officers of the Army must cease addressing insulting letters to them for taking no greater liberty with them.

But to return: Are you strong enough even with my help, to set your foot upon the necks of Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes all at once? This is a practical and very serious question for you. The success of your army and the cause of the country are the same, and of course, I only desire the good of the cause. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, pp. 154, 155.]

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

The total casualties in the Federal forces at the battle of Williamsburg, compiled from nominal lists of casualties, returns, etc., were 2,239, distributed among the respective divisions engaged as follows: Hooker's Division 1,565, Kearny's Division 417, Couch's Division 127, Smith's Division 100, Casey's Division 9, Miscellaneous 21.

The loss in Casey's division was confined to Keim's brigade, the other two brigades of the division having no casualties.
From Williamsburg to Seven Pines

CHAPTER V.


From May 8 to May 30, 1862.

On May 8, the following orders were issued from the headquarters of the 4th Corps:

In accordance with orders received from the Headquarters Army of the Potomac, this corps will move tomorrow morning in the following order:

1. Smith's division at 5 A. M. 2. Couch's division at 6:30 A. M. 3. Casey's division at 7:30 A. M. Each division will carry at least three days' rations, or more if possible, and will drive all their beef cattle. The wagons of each division will follow the command to which they belong. Brig. Gen. Smith commanding Second Division, will send a staff officer to General Headquarters before 8 o'clock today, to receive instructions concerning the road to be taken. The other divisions will follow Smith, unless otherwise directed after arriving at Williamsburg. The cavalry will follow immediately after the train of Smith's division. [O. R. Vol. XI, part III, p. 159.]

Keim's brigade having already been in the advance six or eight miles, the Regiment did not move until 3 P. M., on May 9, and then only covered a couple of miles, when it halted for the night near Gen. McClellan's headquarters at Roper's Meeting House. However, an early start was made the next morning. May 10, the entire brigade being in motion between 7 and 8 o'clock. The advance during the day was made leisurely, frequent halts being made to allow the supply trains to pass, the roads being in miserable condition and the weather intolerably hot. Scarcely ten miles had been covered at dusk, when the Regiment went into bivouac in a field of growing wheat. Orders were issued from the headquarters of the Army on this date prohibiting

Depredations upon the persons and property of inhabitants. No property is to be taken except in extreme cases, and then only by the order of the commander of the troops for the time being and by the officers appointed by him for that purpose. The weather being now warm, fence rails must not be used for firewood, but the necessary fuel must be provided from the woods. * * * When the head of a division approaches a house the provost-marshal will send a guard to remain at it until the head of the next division arrives. If the provost-guard is not large enough more will be furnished, and of the best men in the command. [O. R., Vol. XI, part III, pp. 161, 163.]

The brigade remained stationary here until May 13, and although the weather was extremely hot during the day, the nights were comfortable, and, as there was no rain, both officers and men had a complete rest. During the afternoon of May 11, the destruction of the Confederate Steamer Merrimac at 5 o'clock
that morning was known in camp and caused general joy and satisfaction. On May 18, Lieut. Col. Norton McGiffin's resignation was accepted, owing to impaired health. This caused universal regret among both officers and men, as he was highly esteemed by all, not only as an efficient officer, but as a most estimable, chivalrous man. The fact that he had served throughout the Mexican War, and in the three months' service before coming to the 85th Regiment had given him great military prestige, and as he was imperturbable in temperament and never gave way to excitement under the most trying circumstances, his final departure was regarded as a distinct loss to the Regiment. On May 12, in the order of march for the following day issued from the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, it was designated that

Couch's division was to march at 7 A. M. Casey's division to follow Couch. The wagons of the two divisions are to follow Casey, and both divisions to encamp at New Kent Court House. A brigade, to be taken from either division, will be detached by Gen. Keyes as a rear guard.

It was nearly 8 A. M. on May 18, when the Regiment advanced towards New Kent Court House, and it was some time after midnight when a final halt was made at the designated stopping place, the distance covered during this time averaging less than a mile an hour. This march was described in a letter to the Genius of Liberty (Uniontown, Pa.), by Robert R. Roddy, of Company H, under the nom de plume of "Zingaroo," as follows:

Our march from Roper's Church was of all marches the worst bungled, most incomprehensible, and, for the time, the most unending of all marches since the retreat from Moscow. We were from early morning till two o'clock A. M. of the following day in performing a march of 15 miles. We neither marched nor halted, nor halted nor marched. Sometimes the order "fall in" would be given, we would march a few steps, halt again and remain in that state of indecision for an hour or more. The repetition of this rendered the march exceedingly trying and irksome to officers and men.

Gen. Keyes, under date of New Kent Court House, May 14, 1862, 10:30 A. M., reported to McClellan's headquarters the arrival of his corps, as follows:

The last of my corps arrived at their bivouac, near this point at about 3 o'clock this morning. The trains are nearly all in, and Gen. Casey's ammunition has arrived. The delay of the march was unavoidable on account of the blocking of the roads by trains * * * * I have directed Gen. Casey to guard well out toward the Chickahominy River, and to place his outguards far out on the roads, and to make an examination and to be certain that no road is left unguarded. [O. R., Vol. XI, part III, p. 171.]

The brigade made a halt at this place for four days. While here Brig. Gen. Keim took his final departure from the brigade on account of illness, from which he had been suffering prior to the battle of Williamsburg, and Col. Howell again assumed temporary command of the brigade. On May 16 an election was held by the officers of the Regiment to choose a successor to Lieut. Col. McGiffin. There were three candidates for the position, viz.: Capt. Harvey J. Vankirk, Company A; Capt. Henry A. Purviance, Company E, and 1st Lieut. Andrew Stewart, Jr., formerly adjutant of the Regiment, and who had been assigned
to the staff of Brig. Gen. Keim as aide-de-camp Feb. 12, 1862. Two ballots were taken, the first resulting as follows: Stewart, 14; Purviance, 8; Vankirk, 7. At the second ballot Vankirk's name was withdrawn and the ballot resulted in favor of Capt. Purviance by a vote of 15 to 14. The day following the election the newly elected lieutenant-colonel assumed command of the Regiment, as Col. Howell was then acting as brigade commander. While the Regiment was here the knapsacks left at Camp Winfield Scott were brought forward and were found generally to be in good condition. News came also, from Camp Winfield Scott of the death of 1st Lieut. Ethelbert H. Oliphant, of Company I. When the Regiment advanced on May 4, he was sick in camp with typhoid fever and died on May 13. Lieut. Oliphant was a young man of rare promise, aged 20 years and five months, and his early demise from disease caused universal sorrow among both officers and men of the Regiment. The same day that Capt. Purviance was elected to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Regiment, 2d Lieut. Edward Campbell was chosen captain of Company E, and 5th Ser. Thompson S. Purviance second-lieutenant, the selections being made by a vote of the members of the company. For two days, while the Regiment lay at New Kent Court House, May 15 and 16, there was a heavy fall of rain, "making the roads horrible," as reported by Gen. McClellan in a dispatch to Secretary Stanton on May 15. On Saturday evening, May 17, at dark, with a cloudless sky overhead, the brigade, commanded by Col. Howell, started towards the Pamunkey River, and after a march of perhaps 8 miles, halted about midnight at Baltimore Cross roads, not far from the White House near where Gen. McClellan had moved his headquarters the previous day. Almost the entire route was through heavy timber, but the location selected for the place of bivouac was part of the White House plantation, and evidently the owner, Mrs. Gen. Robert E. Lee, had not expected an invasion by the "Yankees," as every tillable field had been planted and the crops were well advanced. This plantation was owned by Mrs. Martha Custis, at the time she was married to George Washington, and became the property of George Washington Parke Custis, their adopted son, and at this time was owned by the latter's daughter, the wife of Gen. Robert E. Lee, subsequently commander of the Army of Northern Virginia. Under date of "Headquarters of Army of the Potomac, White House, May 16, 1862, 11 A. M.,” in a dispatch to Secretary Stanton, Gen. McClellan says:

I have taken every precaution to secure from injury this house, where Washington passed the first portion of his married life. I neither occupy it myself nor permit others to occupy it, or the grounds in immediate vicinity.

When Gen. Lee resigned his commission in the Federal Army he moved his family from Arlington to White House. On the approach of the Army of the Potomac Mrs. Lee vacated the premises, moving with her family nearer Richmond. The site chosen for a halting place for the brigade was magnificent. On Sunday, May 18, a group of the Regiment attended religious services at the camp of the 96th New York Regiment, to hear a newly arrived chaplain. His text was regarded as timely, with a tendency to give courage to the men who
were in daily expectancy of meeting the enemy. It was from Deuteronomy, Chapter 31, verse 6: "Be strong and of good courage, fear not, nor be afraid of them; for the Lord thy God, he it is that doth go with thee; he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee."

After a restful night the brigade broke camp an hour before noon, May 19, just as it began to rain, and moved about seven miles in the direction of the Chickahominy River. The march was tiresome, as frequent halts were made, and the men no sooner get into a restful position, than the command, "Fall in!" would greet their ears. A final halt for the night was made after sun-down in a large plain, covered with growing grain, about three miles from the Chickahominy River. Owing to continued illness, Capt. Morgan W. Zellars, of Company B, was forced to resign, his resignation being accepted to date from May 19; he was succeeded by 2d Lieut. George H. Hooker, who was commissioned captain on even date with Capt. Zellar's resignation. At 3 o'clock P. M., May 19, Gen. McClellan sent the following dispatch to Secretary Stanton:

Has been raining again today, but the whole army has nevertheless advanced. Have been to Bottom's Bridge today. Enemy are there. Expect our reconnoitering parties to be at New Bridge today. The troops well together and in hand. Railway in good order between Pamunkey and Chickahominy, except two small bridges which were burned.

The brigade remained here during May 20, and the forenoon of May 21. The Regiment was encamped immediately to the left of the main road leading from Williamsburg to Richmond about three miles from the Chickahominy River where it was crossed by Bottom's Bridge. It was while the Regiment was encamped here that the letter of Capt. William H. Horn, of Company D, of May 20, a portion of which appears in the preceding chapter, was written. Prefatory to that portion of his letter already published, the captain voiced the general feeling of the officers and men of the Regiment at that time, as follows:

This balmy May morning finds the Army of the Potomac within one day's march of Richmond, which will soon be occupied by the "Grand Army," and where it is fondly hoped by thousands of patriotic hearts, secession will receive its "coup de grace," but it is generally believed that our onward march to the doomed city will not be unmolested. The rebels are rapidly concentrating all their forces in and about the city, and from what we can learn they intend to make a stand on the other side of the river Chickahominy, where they are reputed to be in considerable force; but be that as it may, all their efforts to stop the current of wrath setting in upon their counterfeit capital, will be worse than futile. They might as well endeavor to stay the avalanche in its course by a barricade of straw or dam the Nile with bulrushes, as to obstruct the triumphant, glorious march of the largest, best appointed and best disciplined army that ever trod the continent; an army, in its numbers and discipline, and animated to the highest pitch of enthusiastic determination by constant success, and the Justice, aye, holiness of their cause.

After Regimental dress parade on the evening of May 20, prayer meeting was held in the Regimental camp, the services being conducted by Private Jacob Deffenbaugh of Company I. During the night the camp was visited by a heavy downpour of rain, but the next day, May 21, broke clear and bright. Shortly after noon the Regiment, with the entire division, advanced to within a mile of
Bottom's Bridge, encamping on an elevated plateau overlooking the Chickahominy bottom land and its water course. The military spectacle here was imposing and grand, as, from a slight elevation, almost the entire division commanded by Gen. Casey could be taken in at a glance. And the men were in an expectant mood, anticipating meeting an enemy doomed to defeat because of treason to that Government they believed to be part of the divine plan to liberate humanity and make liberty universal throughout the globe.

Gen. Casey having been authorized to make such reconnaissances in the direction of the enemy as he deemed proper, early in the forenoon of May 20, directed Gen. Naglee, with two regiments, to proceed down the railroad to the bridge crossing the Chickahominy, while, by another route, Gen. Casey took two batteries under command of Col. Guilford D. Bailey, supported by a regiment of infantry, to within half a mile of the railroad bridge, planting the guns near the railroad. Gen. Naglee's force met with no resistance, the enemy's pickets at the western end of the bridge retiring when fired upon. As they proceeded down the river, however, the enemy opened on them with several pieces of artillery to which the guns under Col. Bailey replied, four of them having been moved near the bridge. The cannonading continued throughout the afternoon. Gen. Naglee reported the railroad bridge to be 600 yards long, extending over a swamp through which the Chickahominy runs, the latter flowing under the bridge 30 yards from the east end of it, the river being 75 feet wide with a depth of 5 feet. The bridge where it crossed the stream was partially destroyed by fire. The river varied in width not averaging more than 35 feet with an average depth of from 2 to 5 feet. While Gen. Casey was making this reconnaissance Brig. Gen. John G. Barnard, Chief Engineer of the Army of the Potomac, supported by Gen. Peck's brigade of Couch's division, made a reconnaissance farther to the left near Bottom's Bridge. Notwithstanding the prolonged cannonading, accompanied by musketry fire, the official reports indicate but one man wounded on the Federal side. At ten minutes past midnight, May 21, Gen. McClellan sent a dispatch to Secretary Stanton saying:

Our light troops have crossed at Bottom's Bridge, and reconnaissance now being pushed beyond to ascertain position of the enemy. All goes well. Weather is again cloudy.

The next day, May 22, broke with every indication of rain. Four companies of the Regiment (A, B, C and D) were detailed for fatigue duty, and, being doubly equipped with muskets, picks and shovels, marched to the Chickahominy, crossing it at Bottom's Bridge (the bridge only partially rebuilt) and after advancing a short distance, stacked arms and went to work throwing up rifle-pits. Notwithstanding the rain fell in torrents during the afternoon there was no cessation of work until late in the day, when the detail recrossed the river, reaching camp about dark. Under date of "Headquarters Fourth Corps, near Bottom's Bridge, Va., May 22, 1862," Brig. Gen. E. D. Keyes, sent the following dispatch to army headquarters:

Brig. Gen. Casey reports the death of Brig. Gen. Keim, late in command of the Second Brigade of his division. This melancholy event leaves a vacancy which I trust will be
filled immediately by the assignment of an energetic brigadier to that brigade. The division of Brig. Gen. Casey shows a falling off in effective strength since March 30, of 3,577. This computation gives credit for the regiment detached a few days ago and is sufficiently alarming. [O. R., Vol. XI., part III, pp. 186, 187.]

Gen. Keim's death occurred on May 18, at Harrisburg, Penna., his disease, sometimes designated camp fever, was contracted while the brigade was lying in front of Lee's Mill, at Camp Winifield Scott. Although quite ill, the prospective battle of Williamsburg induced the general to disobey the advice of his surgeon, and ride to the front. The exposure incidental to this trip, contracting fatal disease in men of fine physique, no doubt was a resultant factor in his demise. Gen. Keim was not a graduate of West Point Military Academy nor a Regular Army officer, but was educated in Mt. Airy, Pa. Military Academy. In 1848 he was mayor of Reading, Penna., and served a part of a term in the 35th Congress (1858 and 1859). In 1861 he was surveyor-general of Pennsylvania, and was commissioned major-general of the Pennsylvania Militia, shortly after the outbreak of the war of the Rebellion and commanded a division under Gen. Patterson in the Shenandoah Valley in the early summer of 1861. In May of that year while his headquarters were at Chambersburg, he ordered the arrest of an officer of a military company at Cockeysville, Maryland, by troops of his command then stationed in Maryland. Habeas Corpus proceedings soon brought the matter before Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, who, in a lengthy paper, condemned the proceedings as a violation of the Constitution, but his opinion was unheeded by the military authorities and by President Lincoln, and the officer was not discharged. In making a request of the Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, on December 4, 1861, to commission Gen. Keim as brigadier-general United States volunteers, Gov. Curtin paid him the following compliment:

I need not say to you that we have no man in Pennsylvania who enjoys more character as a military man, as no officer came home with more reputation.

On same date Secretary Cameron replied to this as follows:

Gen. Keim's nomination as brigadier-general will go to the Senate tomorrow for confirmation.

Friday, May 23, was clear and warm, and notwithstanding the heavy rain of the previous day, the entire Fourth Corps crossed the Chickahominy. This corps now consisted of but two divisions, the Second Division, commanded by Brig. Gen. William F. Smith, having been transferred to the Sixth Corps in compliance with orders issued about May 16 by Gen. McClellan, with the consent of the President, organizing two additional corps, viz.: the Fifth Provisional Corps, consisting of the divisions of Porter and Sykes, and the reserve artillery, under the command of Brig. Gen. Fitz John Porter, and the Sixth Provisional Corps, consisting of the divisions of Franklin and Smith, under the command of Brig. Gen. William B. Franklin. The Second Brigade, commanded by Col. Howell, crossed the Chickahominy in the afternoon, the 85th Regiment taking the lead, but meeting with no resistance from the enemy, halted for the night,
after advancing between one and two miles beyond Bottom's Bridge, the Regiment pitching camp in a huckleberry patch at the edge of a wood north of the Williamsburg road. The next day, May 24, opened with a drizzling rain, which continued during most of the day. The Regiment was ordered to report to Gen. Naglee at 8 A. M., and with the 52d and 104th Pennsylvania regiments of Naglee's brigade, and 85th and 98th New York regiments of Palmer's brigade, and two batteries of artillery commanded by Col. Guilford D. Bailey, advanced up the Williamsburg road in the direction of Richmond. This reconnaissance was made in compliance with the following orders:

**Headquarters Fourth Army Corps,**

**May 24, 1862.**

Orders

Brigadier-General Casey, commanding division, will send out this morning on an extended reconnaissance toward Richmond five regiments of infantry and two batteries of artillery, under Brig. Gen. Naglee. The 8th Pennsylvania Cavalry, Col. Gregg, will accompany and assist in the reconnaissance. Brig. Gen. Naglee will report in person at these headquarters for instructions at 8 o'clock.

By order of Brig. Gen. Keyes,

**C. C. Suydam,**

**Captain, Assistant Adjutant-General.**


The instructions from Gen. McClellan governing the reconnaissance were as follows:

**Headquarters Army of the Potomac [Fourth Corps.]**

**May 24, 1862—7.45 A. M.**

**General:** Your instructions for the reconnaissance of to-day as received from headquarters Army of the Potomac are as follows:

"You will, if possible, advance to the Seven Pines, or the forks of the direct road to Richmond and the road turning to the right into the road leading from New Bridge to Richmond, and hold that point if practicable.

You will leave pickets upon all the roads branching off in your rear, with a chain of cavalry sentinels to communicate with these headquarters. After your arrival at the Seven Pines you will reconnoiter the country well to your front and on your flanks, and will report frequently anything of importance that you observe. You will push the reconnaissance as far toward Richmond as practicable without incurring too much danger.

By order of Brig. Gen. Keyes:

**C. C. Suydam,**

**Captain, Assistant Adjutant-General.**

**Brig. Gen. Naglee, Commanding Reconnaissance.**


Gen. Casey made the following report of this reconnaissance:

**Headquarters Casey's Division,**

**May 29, 1862.**

I have the honor to report that in obedience to instructions I directed Gen. Naglee on the 25 [24th] to make a reconnaissance in front * * * I assigned to [this duty] the 104th and 52d Pennsylvania Volunteers from the First Brigade; the 85th Pennsylvania Vol-
unteers, Second Brigade; and the 85th and 98th New York Volunteers, Third Brigade. I directed two batteries of artillery (Regan and Spratt) to report to him. About one mile from camp he met the enemy, and succeeded in driving them for two miles—about one-half mile beyond the cross-road at the Seven Pines. I saw no reason to alter the disposition which Gen. Naglee had made.

The reconnaissance was a very successful one, and was conducted by its commander with skill and promptness. The troops behaved well. The day was rainy and disagreeable. I directed Gen. Naglee to remain and hold the cross-roads, and re-enforced him with five regiments of infantry.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

SILAS CASEY,
Brigadier-General, Commanding Division.

[Indorsement.]

Respectfully forwarded.

Being personally present with the advance at the close of the reconnaissance, and for an hour and a half before it ended, I can testify to the good conduct of the troops and the gallantry of Gen. Naglee.

E. D. KEYES,
Brigadier-General, Commanding Fourth Corps.

[Vol. XI, part I, p. 670.]

Gen. Naglee's report of this reconnaissance, as it appears in the Official Records, is without date, and is addressed to the Chief of Staff of the Army of the Potomac. In part, it is as follows:

A reconnaissance was ordered by Gen. Keyes of the Williamsburg road on the 23d of May * * *. On that night Gen. McClellan telegraphed to Gen. Keyes upon the subject, and the above orders and instructions were issued on the following morning.

In obedience with these instructions, on the rainy morning of the 24th * * * the 52d Pennsylvania, Col. Dodge, and the 104th Pennsylvania, Col. Davis, were in motion at an early hour. At 8 o'clock they were joined by the 85th Pennsylvania, Col. Howell, 85th New York, Col. Belknap, and 98th New York, Col. Dutton, and Battery H, Lieut. Mink, First New York Artillery, both under command of Col. Bailey. Gregg's cavalry did not report until 1 P.M.

The column was formed and in motion by 9 A.M., leading out the Williamsburg road. We encountered the first pickets of the enemy at ——— Run, about 1½ miles from Bottom's Bridge. These remained as our skirmishers approached, but they increased rapidly in numbers as we advanced. About 10 o'clock a deserter was brought to division headquarters and taken to the headquarters of Gen. Keyes, and a courier was dispatched for me to return, that I should ascertain that the forces in my front were Hatton's brigade of five regiments of Tennessee infantry, two batteries and a portion of Stuart's cavalry, all under the command of Gen. Stuart.

Returning to my command at 12 M. I deployed the 52d Pennsylvania on the right of the Williamsburg road and extended it across the railroad and ordered a sufficient support to follow up the railroad. The 104th Pennsylvania was deployed to the left of the Williamsburg road. Without much resistance we pressed forward until we came to the woods next beyond the Savage Station, where the enemy were prepared to resist our farther advance. Regan's battery was placed in position in the front edge of the timber on the right of the road and shelled the woods on the left of the road, which was about 600 yards from the battery. This wood extended about 400 yards along the road and terminated in a line perpendicular with it, which line produced across the road was the commencement of the woods on the right of the road, parallel to which the 52d Pennsylvania had been
deployed, and toward which it was ordered to advance until it should be protected by some houses and sheds, and an orchard and a fence, 300 yards from the woods. This movement of the 52d Pennsylvania with the shelling from Regan's battery lessened materially the fire of the enemy on the left, and the 104th Pennsylvania was ordered forward, and the wood on the left of the road was entirely cleared.

Our attention was now directed to the wood in front of the 52d Pennsylvania, where the fire was increasing, and at the same time to the batteries of the enemy, which some time before had opened and had been directing their fire upon our batteries and the 104th Pennsylvania. From the front of the wood, now occupied by the 104th Pennsylvania, I discovered that the line of battle of the enemy was formed just within the edge of the wood, which crosses the Williamsburg road about half a mile from the Seven Pines Corner; that his artillery was in front near the house on the left of the road, supported by infantry lying in the hollow, and that the wood in front of the 52d Pennsylvania on the right of the road was occupied by a regiment of skirmishers.

Bringing the oblique fire of the 104th Pennsylvania to assist the direct fire of the 52d Pennsylvania I pushed forward the 85th Pennsylvania along and behind the railroad, and ordered the 52d Pennsylvania to advance from the fence and buildings directly into the wood in front of them. At the same time I pressed forward to the fence just left by the 52d the 98th New York, which had been formed parallel to them, 600 yards in their rear, in a line with and supporting Regan's battery. This combined movement forced the enemy to leave precipitately the wood on the right. This is the wood immediately in rear of the line of rifle pits occupied by Gen. Kearny on the 1st of June, the wood on the left, occupied by the 104th Pennsylvania, being that immediately in rear of the rifle pits occupied by Generals Casey and Couch on that day.

It was now about 4.30 P. M. The batteries of the enemy had annoyed us considerably, but it became necessary to drive them from their position. The sharpshooters of the 52d Pennsylvania, selected from men who had lived with the rifle constantly by them in the lumbering counties of Pennsylvania, were ordered forward, under Capt. Davis. At the same time a section of Mink's battery was added by Col. Bailey to Regan's battery. Having thus advanced our right we soon corrected the ranges of our artillery, and within half an hour the effects were apparent. The artillery of the enemy could no longer stand against the fire of our artillery and sharpshooters, and were compelled to withdraw. At the same time I discovered an unsteadiness in the ranks of the enemy; and I hurried forward Gregg's cavalry, followed by the remaining two sections of Mink's battery, which were brought into action within 400 yards of the enemy's line, supported by the 86th New York and 104th Pennsylvania, the 52d Pennsylvania being on the right. These movements threw the enemy into disorder, and Gregg was ordered to charge, but after proceeding some 200 or 300 yards he received a volley from some skirmishers who occupied a thicket on the right of the road, and he dismounted his command, fired his carbines, and wheeled into a depression in the ground. I was preparing to follow with skirmishers, and to order a second cavalry charge when an aide of Gen. Keyes brought orders from him that no farther pursuit should be made, lest I "should bring on a general engagement," and I was requested to communicate in person with Gen. Keyes, whom I found a mile and a half in the rear. The troops slept on the wet ground (for it had rained all day) in the exposed positions last indicated, and the picket guard for the night (which was a necessarily heavy one) was undisturbed.

On the following morning, the 25th of May, I ordered the 85th Pennsylvania, Col. Howell, to be deployed to the right of the railroad, extending to the Chickahominy, and to examine the space between the road and the river, which he did, and reported at 11 A. M. that he had examined the country indicated and had found none of the enemy.

The 56th New York was then ordered to occupy the road leading to the river by the house of Mr. Mickie. In the meantime, discovering none of the enemy in force on either of my flanks, at 12 M. I ordered Capt. Davis to extend his sharpshooters between the Williamsburg road and the railroad, and to advance cautiously and so slowly that his advance could hardly be discovered. At 4 P. M. having gained a mile, and feeling that the
enemy would resist in force any farther advance, I took the 11th Maine, Col. Plaisted, that had joined me, the 52d and 104th Pennsylvania, and two sections of Bailey's artillery, and moved forward to meet any resistance the enemy might oppose to Capt. Davis. We had scarcely started when a dispatch was received indicating that the enemy was assembling in front. Hurrying past the Seven Pines, I found Davis' sharpshooters occupying the front of the wood some 500 yards beyond the "Pines"; that their line extended perpendicular to the Williamsburg road and across to the neighborhood of the Fair Oaks Station on the railroad, and that the enemy were forming in the open fields beyond the wood-pile. I immediately ordered the artillery to open upon the enemy, advanced the picket line to that of the sharpshooters, and ordered the 11th Maine and the 104th Pennsylvania to show themselves as supporting them. The shells thrown over the woods were most fortunate in their range and direction, and the enemy dispersed.

On the following day, the 26th of May, by 3 A. M. the remaining regiments of my brigade were already in position to support the 104th Pennsylvania and the picket line established by the 11th Maine and 52d Pennsylvania. At 6 A. M. a rebel force of two regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and one battery approached, but it avoided my picket line, kept beyond our range, and soon after disappeared, evidently reconnoitering our position. I then ordered Davis to advance another mile, which he did without opposition, and which brought out our picket line to the distance of about 5 miles from Richmond, and was as near as I considered it prudent to go.

On the following day, with a portion of Davis' sharpshooters, the line on the right was advanced from the road to Mickies to the Nine-Mile road and Garnett's field, and thence along Garnett's field to the Chickahominy.

In this extended reconnaissance of four days the troops behaved admirably well, and especial thanks are due to Colonels Bailey, Davis, Dodge, Howell, Dutton [Dunlap], Plaisted and Jourdan, and to Capt. Davis and his sharpshooters, who contributed more than any others to the successful advance of our lines from Bottom's Bridge, 9 miles, to the most advanced line held before Richmond.

Constant occupation and much sickness must plead my excuse for not making this report at the proper time. The casualties were reported immediately after they occurred.

Very respectfully, etc.,

HENRY M. NAGLEE,
Brigadier-General.

BRIG. GEN. R. B. MARCY, Chief of Staff.


On May 24, by orders from Gen. McClellan, Brig. Gen. H. W. Wessells was ordered to "report to Brig. Gen. Casey for the command of the brigade of his division lately commanded by Brig. Gen. William H. Keim." Previous to this for a short time Gen. Wessells had been in temporary command of Graham's brigade of Couch's division. Brig. Gen. Daniel E. Sickles having reported to Gen. McClellan at this time in pursuance of instructions from the War Department, was ordered to relieve Brig. Gen. J. J. Abercrombie from the command of the Second Brigade, of Hooker's division, and the latter succeeded Gen. Wessells in command of Graham's brigade. From this time on the Second Brigade of Hooker's division was known as Sickles', or Excelsior Brigade. Gen. Wessells assuming command of the brigade, Col. Howell was again in command of the Regiment, and was therefore able to participate in the reconnaissance of Gen. Naglee on May 24, 25 and 26, the 85th Regiment being the only regiment of the brigade taking part in the affair. On May 26, after thoroughly reconnoiter-
ing the territory adjacent to and in advance of Seven Pines, and finding no enemy, the Regiment returned to camp for knapsacks and camp equipage, and advanced up the Williamsburg road, and encamped on the right of the road near Seven Pines. Tents had scarcely been pitched when the Regiment was ordered out for picket duty, advancing more than a mile beyond the camp. It was dark before the pickets were posted, part of the line being in a thicket, at some points almost impenetrable. It began raining at dark and continued without cessation throughout the night so that the men on post and on reserve were pretty thoroughly drenched notwithstanding they had rubber blankets. The night was pitch dark and the men were cautioned to be alert, as they were within less than five miles of the enemy’s capital; however, had a battle line of the enemy been within a bayonet’s thrust of the pickets, it would have been invisible, even to the men posted in open space, so pitch dark was the night. In a dispatch to Secretary Stanton the following day, Gen. McClellan referred to the weather as follows:

Very severe storm last night and this morning; has converted everything into mud again and raised the Chickahominy.

The rain did not cease until noon, May 27, and the Regiment remained on duty as picket and reserve guard until nearly dark, when it was relieved and returned to camp. During the day distant cannonading on the right indicated a collision between forces of the two opposing armies, which proved to be at Hanover Court House. The following day, May 28, Company C was detailed for picket duty and a heavy detail was made from each of the other companies for fatigue duty, slashing timber and digging rifle-pits, the men remaining at work until six o’clock P. M. Details were made also for camp guard, Capt. John Morris, Company F, being officer of the day, and Lieut. John E. Michener, Company D, officer of the guard.

In his dispatch to army headquarters of May 22 announcing the death of Gen. Keim, Gen. Keyes announced a falling off in the effective strength of Casey’s division since March 30 of 3,577. The following day a request came from Gen. McClellan’s headquarters for an explanation in detail of this extraordinary falling off, to which Gen. Casey replied under date of “Headquarters Casey’s Division, at Seven Pines, May 28, 1862,” in part as follows:

When directed to fill up my division for the purpose of taking the field I was obliged to take eight new regiments, which had arrived in Washington only a few days previous, and several of them had not been armed. I thus had no opportunity of getting rid of incompetent officers who are always found in new regiments. I had but one general of brigade and he inexperienced, and not one full brigade staff. I had made repeated application to have a complete organization, so necessary to the proper performance of duty. I will here mention that I was the only officer of the Regular Army who was on duty in the division, with the exception of Col. Bailey, who was assigned to me as chief of artillery only two days previous to marching. I was not able, although I had applied several times, to procure the assignment of one experienced officer to assist me as staff officer. The division was ordered to move a few days after the assignment of the regiments, but the movement was so badly timed that it did not arrive in Alexandria until late at night, and soon after it commenced moving [snowing].
Not being permitted to take any transportation from Alexandria down the river, on encamping about two miles from Newport News I found myself without any means to transport supplies for the men; that duty for several days was performed by the men. After waiting about two weeks I managed by great efforts to obtain an insufficient supply of transportation, the animals having been evidently culled over several times.

In advancing to Williamsburg the roads were in such bad condition that I found it exceedingly difficult to keep the troops from starvation. From the orders which I received most of my division was separated from their knapsacks or shelter tents for several days. The exposure to the miasma of the Peninsula was a great source of sickness. * * *

In short, I attribute one-half the loss to the following causes:

1st, the imperfect brigade organization.

2d, the fact that eight of the regiments were almost entirely new at the time of taking the field.

3d, the incompetency and inefficiency of some of the medical, field, and company officers, and insufficiency of medical supplies.

4th, mismanagement in logistics.

I have made every endeavor to remedy the above mentioned defects. The other half of the loss I attributed to sickness from unavoidable causes. [O. R., Vol. XI, part III, p. 198.]

At day break on May 29, a heavy fog prevailing at the time, a reconnoitering force of the enemy, several hundred strong attacked the picket line immediately north of the Williamsburg road where Company C was on duty. The pickets succeeded in driving the enemy back in some confusion, with a loss of two killed and two wounded. Maj. Kelley of the 96th New York Regiment, who was in command of the pickets, was one of the killed, and Private Newton Joseph of the 103d Pennsylvania Regiment the other. The two wounded were 1st Sergeant David H. Lancaster and Private William Leighty, both of Company C, 85th Regiment. One arm of Sergt. Lancaster was so badly mangled that amputation was necessary to preserve life. Gen. Casey's report of the affair is as follows:

**Headquarters Casey's Division,**

*Camp in advance of the Seven Pines, May 29, 1862.*

Captain: I have the honor to report at daylight this morning the enemy attacked my advanced picket on the Richmond road. They took advantage of the dense fog, and approached very near before being discovered. The pickets behaved nobly and drove the rebels back in disorder. They left a wounded prisoner on the ground, who states that their force consisted of 300 men of the 23d North Carolina Regiment. We lost one officer and one private killed, and two enlisted men wounded. The officer killed (Maj. John E. Kelley of the 96 New York Volunteers, who commanded the pickets) is a great loss to the service. I knew him well when orderly-sergeant of the Second Infantry. I have inclosed a list of the killed and wounded. Capt. George W. Gillespie, of the 103d Pennsylvania Volunteers, who commanded the pickets after the death of Major Kelley, behaved very well.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Silas Casey,

Brigadier-General, Commanding Division.


Two wagon roads approach Richmond from the East, both connecting the battlefield of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, with the Confederate capital. In the
official reports they are usually designated as the Williamsburg (and occasionally as the Richmond, or Baltimore turnpike), and Nine-mile roads. The latter enters Richmond through the northeast suburb and the former at the southeast. They intersect each other about seven miles from the city via the Williamsburg road and nine miles by the other. Also approaching Richmond from the east is a railroad which crosses the Nine-mile road a mile from the intersection of the two wagon roads. The locality at the intersection of the two wagon roads was known as "Seven Pines," and the immediate neighborhood where the railroad crossed the Nine-mile road as "Fair Oaks." On May 28 Gen. Keyes was ordered to advance the 4th Corps in the direction of Richmond along the Williamsburg road. At an early hour during the forenoon of May 29, Casey's division moved forward three-fourths of a mile in advance of Seven Pines, Wessells' brigade encamping immediately south of the Williamsburg road and within less than a mile of the picket line where Sergt. Lancaster and Private Leighty had been wounded at the break of day that same morning. The position of the 4th Corps after its movement forward on May 29, is described by Gen. Keyes as follows:

I was ordered on the 28th of May to advance Casey's division to a point indicated by a large wood pile and two houses, about three-fourths of a mile beyond the Seven Pines. Accordingly Casey's division bivouacked on the right and left of the Williamsburg road and woodpile, and Couch established his division at the Seven Pines and along the Nine-mile road. Both divisions set to work with the few intrenching tools at hand to slash the forests and to dig a few rifle pits. Casey erected a small pentangular redoubt and placed within it six pieces of artillery. The country is mostly wooded and greatly intersected with marshes. The Nine-mile road crosses the railroad branching to the right from the Seven Pines slants forward, and at the distance of a mile crosses the railroad at Fair Oaks. [O. R., Vol. XI, part I, p. 872.]

Gen. Casey describes the position of his division after the advance on May 29, as follows:

I occupied with my division the advance position of the army, about three-fourths of a mile from the cross-roads at the Seven Pines, where I caused rifle-pits and a redoubt to be thrown up; also an abatis to be commenced about one-third of a mile in front of the pits, and parties were employed upon these works on the morning of the 31st. Previously to occupying my last position I had occupied the cross-roads and had there also caused an abatis to be cut and earthworks to be commenced. [O. R., Vol. XI, part I, p. 913.]

Before moving forward in advance of Seven Pines Casey's troops had felled the forest in front of Seven Pines into an abatis making it impossible for a line of battle to pass over or through it in military order. It was four or five hundred yards in advance of this abatis that the 85th Regiment pitched camp on May 29. However, before the men had succeeded in getting their shelter tent camp in order in this advanced position, a heavy detail was made from each company for fatigue duty, constructing rifle-pits and a pentangular redoubt within a hundred yards in advance of the western border of the new camp. A large force of the fatigue detail was also engaged in felling timber into an abatis along the border of a wood, a half mile in advance of the camp.
Along the western border of this wood, fully three-fourths of a mile from camp, the advance picket guard was posted, separated from the pickets of the enemy at a distance of 100 yards, the latter being posted in a field covered with bushes and clusters of small trees completely concealing them from view. Late in the afternoon of May 29, Company B relieved Company C from picket duty, the latter returning to camp about dark. The next morning, May 30, opened with a heavy fog, and as it cleared away the earth was left canopied with lowering clouds from horizon to horizon, with scarcely a rift throughout the day. The usual heavy detail was made from each company early in the morning for work on the rifle-pits, redoubt and abatis. Shortly after noon a quick, sharp, continued rattle of musketry on the picket line to the right of the Williamsburg road indicated an attack by the enemy and hurriedly the entire division was called into line and the batteries of the division into position; one battery in advance of the rifle-pits to the left of the road, the 85th Regiment being formed in line some distance in front of the artillery. The 100th New York Regiment was ordered out to support the pickets, but the latter soon rallied and the enemy hastily retired, the only casualties on the Federal side being two men of Company B, 85th Regiment, slightly wounded. Gen. Casey makes a very brief reference to this affair in his official report of the battle of Seven Pines, as follows:

On the 30th, my advanced pickets had been attacked by * * * the enemy * * * 400 in number * * * I ordered the 100th Regiment New York Volunteers to move to the support of the pickets. With the assistance of this regiment, under command of Col. Brown, they succeeded in repelling the attack, the enemy leaving 6 of his dead upon the ground. [O. R., Vol. XI, part I, p. 918.]

The commanding officer of the Confederate forces, making the attack. Col. Daniel H. Christie, 23d North Carolina Volunteers, made an official report of the affair the same day that it occurred, as follows:

I received orders this morning to detail four companies of my regiment for special service, and reporting to the brigadier-general commanding received the following verbal instructions, having determined to command myself: To move down the Williamsburg road, drive in the enemy's pickets, and ascertain, if possible, his strength and position. I formed Company B, Capt. Miller commanding; Company K, Capt. Johnston commanding; Company C, Capt. Scarborough commanding, in line, and deployed Company A, Capt. Bennett commanding, as skirmishers, and moved, with my right resting on the Williamsburg road.

I had not advanced more than 300 yards before the enemy's pickets opened fire. I gave Capt. Bennett the order to charge, which he did gallantly, driving the enemy in confusion before him. Having brought the reserve to the edge of the woods, I halted and waited the report of Lieut. Luria, whom I had instructed to push forward as far as practicable with the right wing of the line of skirmishers. Meantime I detached small pickets to the right and left to secure my flanks. But a few minutes elapsed before I was informed and satisfied by observation that the enemy was preparing to attack me with a largely superior force, and was about to give the order to retreat when he came rushing and shouting down upon me. I felt the danger of the moment and ordered the line of skirmishers again to charge, which was promptly and splendidly obeyed. This bravado checked and evidently disconcerted the enemy, pending which I quietly commenced to retreat, which was effected in good order.
The enemy is in large force in our immediate front and intrenching. The evidence before me is sufficient to say that 4 or 5 of the enemy were killed and 10 to 15 wounded; 1 prisoner.

I regret to announce the loss of Capt. J. F. Scarborough, Company C, and Private Redfearn, Company A. Capt. Scarborough was a brave and promising young officer; he fell nobly doing his duty. Private Redfearn was favorably mentioned by the officer commanding in the affair of yesterday morning and is spoken of in the highest terms for gallant and cool conduct today by his commanding officer. I regret to state that his body was left in the hands of the enemy. [O. R., Vol. XI, part II, p. 646.]

The published official reports of the affair do not indicate any casualties on the Federal side, although a diary notation made at the time, says two of Company B were slightly wounded, but gives no names. The latter company was in position on the picket line at the point of attack by the enemy and resumed its position as the enemy fell back. The batteries in position near the unfinished redoubt opened fire, thoroughly shelling the territory in advance of Casey's picket line, continuing until after a thunderstorm broke forth late in the afternoon, the electrical explosions of the latter completely dwarfing the sounds made by the artillery. Shortly after the rain began to fall in torrents the men were permitted to take refuge in their shelter tents, although they were completely drenched before doing so, as they had been rushed into line of battle without rubber blankets, and in returning to camp at places, were forced to wade through water ankle deep. It was through the fiercest part of this storm that Company D, reinforced by several men from other companies, under command of Lieut. John E. Michener, marched to the picket line to relieve Company B, on picket duty south of the Williamsburg road. Gen. Keyes in his official report of the battle of Seven Pines refers to this tempestuous night as follows:

Through all the night of the 30th of May there was a raging storm the like of which I cannot remember. Torrents of rain drenched the earth, the thunderbolts rolled and fell without intermission, and the heavens flashed with a perpetual blaze of lightning. From their beds of mud and the peltings of this storm the Fourth Corps rose to fight the battle of the 31st of May, 1862. [O. R., Vol. XI, part I, p. 873.]
MAJ. GEN. SILAS CASEY.
Battle of Seven Pines

CHAPTER VI.

A FOREWORD.

Battle of Seven Pines.—Position of Casey’s Division.—85th Pennsylvania Regiment Assigned Post of Honor.

May 31 and June 1, 1862.

“They never fail who die
In a great cause! The block may soak their gore;
Their heads may sodden in the sun; their limbs
Be strung to city gates and castle walls;—
But still their spirit walks abroad. Though years
Elapse, and others share as dark a doom,
They but augment the deep and sweeping thoughts
Which overpower all others, and conduct
The world at last to freedom.”—Byron

The vast compilation that follows pertaining to one battle only, in which the 85th Regiment participated, requires a foreword of explanation. An honorable discharge from the Army, coupled with a true record of the services rendered by his regiment, is the most precious heritage the enlisted man, who served in the ranks during the American Civil War, can bequeath to his posterity. Lieut. Col. William F. Fox, compiler of “Regimental Losses in the American Civil War,” in the concluding chapter of this work, truly says:

There are other reasons than money or patriotism which induce men to risk life and limb in war. There is the love of glory and the expectation of honorable recognition. But the private in the ranks expects neither. His identity is merged in that of his regiment. To him the regiment and its name is everything. He does not expect to see his own name on the page of history, and is content with a proper recognition of the old command in which he fought. But he is jealous of the record of his regiment, and demands credit for every shot it faced and every grave it filled.

In the preface to Lieut. Col. Fox’s most excellent work just quoted from, he says:

The work represents the patient and conscientious labor of years. Days, and often weeks, have been spent on the figures of each regiment. It is hoped that before disputing any essential fact, a like careful examination of the records be made.

It is to be regretted, however, that in this most excellent work, which in many quarters is accepted as officially authentic, an injustice is inadvertently done to a portion of the division to which the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment was attached, and especially to the 85th Regiment. That so gross a misstatement of
facts appears in such a painstaking work, in part, explains the necessity for the voluminous compilation which follows:

The 85th Pennsylvania Regiment was assigned to Casey's division of the Army of the Potomac, when the division was organized, and participated with it in the entire Peninsular Campaign, and remained a part of it until it was disintegrated and merged into other commands.

At the battle of Seven Pines, or Fair Oaks, on May 31, 1862, the 85th Regiment was assigned to the post of honor at the pivotal point in the main line of battle, and maintained that position for three hours, retiring from it only after the entire division was forced back by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy closing in on both flanks. In nearly every history in which reference is made to Casey's main battle-line the 85th Regiment is robbed of the credit of maintaining this post of honor, by other troops being specifically accredited with defending this position. This injustice, although flagrant enough in itself, might be passed by a mere statement of facts, did it not, in an exceptional manner, have a tendency to aggravate and justify a much more flagrant wrong done to the Regiment, and to two brigades of Casey's division and the dead who fell in the advance of Seven Pines while facing an overwhelming foe.

More than a half century has passed since the commanding-general of the division, when before a Joint Committee of the Congress of this Nation, called attention to an infamous calumny of the dead of his division who fell in the battle of Seven Pines which appears in the published Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, and yet this mendacious slander of these brave men, officially sanctioned and apparently unchallenged, still remains in these volumes. Is it not high time that the calumny of the dead who gave their lives to perpetuate this Republic should be expunged from the Official Records? Dead! dead!

Is Abraham Lincoln dead? No! They never die who fall in a great cause!

"Their immortal spirit walks abroad;
They but augment the deep and sweeping thoughts
Which overpower all others, and conduct
The world at last to Freedom."

The immortal spirit of Colonels Guilford Dudley Bailey and James M. Brown, and more than 500 other officers and men who fell in advance of Seven Pines, will yet influence the Congress of this great Nation to do the amende honorable by having the calumnious sentence expunged from the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, and also in erecting at the Capital of the Nation an equestrian statue of Brig. Gen. Silas Casey, as he appeared between his two battle lines on the Williamsburg road, on May 31, 1862; on the pedestal of which shall be inscribed the concluding paragraph of his official report of the battle:

"In my humble opinion, from what I witnessed on the 31st, I am convinced that the stubborn and desperate resistance of my division saved the army on the right bank of the Chickahominy from a severe repulse, which
might have resulted in a disastrous defeat. The blood of the gallant dead would cry to me from the ground on which they fell fighting for their country had I not said what I have to vindicate them from the unmerited aspersion which has been cast upon them."

The Battle of Seven Pines.

Saturday, May 31, 1862, was an eventful and memorable day in the first year's campaign of the 85th Regiment. The day broke with a sullen, lowering sky, indicating that the heavens had yet in store a fluvial supply, although the earth's surface in and about the camp of the Regiment gave evidence of an excess of water everywhere. The unfinished rifle pits in front were filled, and every depression in the roads and elsewhere had become tiny lakes. The storm of the previous night abated but little until after midnight, and the rain did not entirely cease until shortly before daybreak. As the day advanced the clouds became lighter and through absorption and evaporation, the water rapidly disappeared, except in low places. Commissary supplies due to arrive in camp the previous day had failed to put in an appearance, and the drenched men who went to their beds of mud supperless the night before had but scantily provisioned larders from which to prepare breakfast. The morning repast had been scarcely finished when the Regiment was ordered out for fatigue duty. The men were hurriedly equipped with axes and marched out the Richmond road to the woods, about 600 yards in advance of the redoubt and line of rifle pits. The respective companies were distributed along the border of the woods and the men put to work felling trees so as to form an entangled abatis. During the forenoon the belated commissary wagons arrived at camp and at noon the Regiment returned to camp for dinner.

The record of the 85th Regiment at this time is so merged with the record of its division, known as Casey's Division, that an intelligible description of the activities of the Regiment necessarily involves a brief outline of the activities of the division. At this time the division was composed of 13 regiments of infantry in three brigades, and four batteries of artillery, aggregating 22 guns. The First Brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. Henry M. Naglee, consisted of the following regiments: 52d Pennsylvania, commanded by Col. John C. Dodge, Jr.; 104th Pennsylvania, commanded by Col. William W. H. Davis; 56th New York, commanded by Lieut. Col. James Jourdan; 100th New York, commanded by Col. James M. Brown; 11th Maine, commanded by Col. Harris M. Plaisted.


The artillery was commanded by Col. Guilford D. Bailey, 1st New York Regiment of Artillery, and was composed of four batteries, of 22 guns as follows: Company A, 1st New York, six guns, light brass 12-pounders, commanded by Lieut. George P. Hart; Company H, 1st New York, four 10-pounders, commanded by Capt. Joseph Spratt; 7th New York Independent Battery, six 12-pounders, commanded by Capt. Peter C. Regan; 8th New York Independent Battery, six 12-pounders, commanded by Capt. Butler Fitch.

Casey's division was not only the vanguard of the Army of the Potomac west and south of the Chickahominy river but it furnished the pickets covering a line of nearly four miles, from White Oak Swamp on the left to the Chickahominy river on the right.

The precarious position of the division after its movement forward on May 29, was not realized by the enlisted men and by but few of the subordinate officers. The enemy having permitted them to approach within six miles of his capital with scarcely any resistance had led them to believe that he would readily capitulate when "Little Mac" would have everything ready to make his final movement. However, both the corps and division commanders were not at all satisfied that the new position could be defended unless quickly supported by the troops of other corps of the army. There were but four divisions of the Army of the Potomac on the Richmond or southwestern side of the Chickahominy river, viz: Casey's, Couch's, Kearny's and Hooker's, the two former comprising Keyes' Corps, and the two latter, Heintzelman's. The three other corps, commanded by Sumner, Porter and Franklin, were northeast of the river. Gen. Heintzelman being the senior officer on the Richmond side of the river, was in command of the troops of both corps west of the Chickahominy river. This was made explicit in a communication issued from army headquarters, dated May 24, 10:30 P. M., to Gen. Keyes, which stated in part:

Gen. Heintzelman will be ordered to take the general command of all the troops upon the Richmond side of the river for the present, and you will please obey any instructions you may receive from him. [R. C. W., pt. 1, p. 605.]

Gen. Keyes notified his superior officers repeatedly that his position was too weak to be defended without being promptly re-enforced. On May 29, in a communication to Gen. McClellan's headquarters, he said:

Inasmuch as my position is so far advanced I should like to know what force, in an emergency, I could call upon, with its position. [R. C. W., pt. 1, p. 605.]

Later, during the same day, he sent another communication to the headquarters of the army in which he said:

It is my opinion that other troops should be advanced nearer to me than any I know of now, as the roads are in a most wretched condition. [R. C. W., Ibid, p. 607.]

On May 30, in a note to Gen. Heintzelman, he said:
As Casey's left flank is threatened I have ordered Couch to send a brigade to support
the left. I regard this as a matter of pickets, but shall be glad when I learn that Gen.
Sumner is across so as to strengthen my right. [R. C. W., part I, p. 607.]

The position of the troops comprising the Fourth Corps on May 30, the day
that Gen. Keyes sent this last note to Gen. Heintzelman was as follows: Casey's
division supplied the entire picket force in the extreme advance from the Chicka- 
homeiny river on the right to, and along, the border of White Oak Swamp on
the left, a distance following the picket line from post to post, of about four
miles. This line had been established on May 25 and 26 by a reconnoitering
party from Casey's division in which the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment partici-
pated, described at length in the official report of Gen. Naglee in the preceding
chapter. Naglee's brigade guarded the line on the right from the Chickahominy
river to the Richmond and York River Railroad, intersecting the latter between
the fifth and sixth mile-posts from Richmond, about three-fourths of a mile be-
yond Fair Oaks Station; Naglee's pickets extending some distance to the left of
the railroad. Immediately south of the railroad and about three-fourths of a
mile in advance of the Nine-mile road at the point it intersected the railroad,
the 56th New York was in bivouac as a picket support; a short distance north
of the railroad and east of the Nine-mile road, the 52d Pennsylvania was en-
camped to be in position to support the picket line on the right. Seven com-
panies of the 11th Maine were supporting the picket line between the Chicka-
homeiny and the railroad. The picket line from the left of Naglee's pickets to
the Williamsburg road, and for some distance south of the road, was guarded
by the regiments of Wessells' brigade; from the left of Wessells' pickets the
line was guarded by Palmer's brigade; the pickets of this brigade extending
south to White Oak Swamp and for some distance eastward along the border
of the swamp. The other three regiments of Naglee's brigade, the 11th Maine,
100th New York, and 104th Pennsylvania were encamped on a line with the
Nine-mile road, almost contiguous with the road on its western border between
the Williamsburg road and the railroad, the 11th Maine being a short distance
north of the wagon road, the 104th Pennsylvania some distance to the right,
and the 100th New York a short distance north of the latter. The four regi-
ments of Wessells' brigade practically formed one camp, south of the Williams-
burg road and almost contiguous to it, the camp being between the road and
two houses, directly in front of which was a large wood-pile 8 feet in height. In
the order issued to Gen. Keyes on May 28 to advance Casey's division, the posi-
tion to which the division was to be advanced was "to a point indicated by a
large wood-pile and two houses, about three-fourths of a mile beyond Seven
Pines." Palmer's brigade was encamped between the two houses and White
Oak Swamp. Couch's division was established in the position vacated by Casey
on May 29, back of Seven Pines and along and east of the Nine-mile road; Peck's
brigade was on the left, Deven's brigade in the center, and Abercrombie's on

†Report of Joint Congressional Committee on Conduct of the War.
the right; two regiments and a battery being across the railroad near Fair Oaks Station.

The position of the troops of the Fourth Corps, and the contiguous grounds (to the lines of battle), at the beginning of the battle of Seven Pines is described by Gen. Keyes in his official report of the battle as follows:

I was ordered on the 28th of May to advance Casey's division to a point indicated by a large wood-pile and two houses, about three-fourths of a mile beyond the Seven Pines (but which is in fact only half a mile), and to establish Couch's division at the Seven Pines and along the Nine-mile road. Both divisions set to work with the few intrenching tools at hand to slash the forests and to dig a few rifle pits. Casey erected a small pentangular redoubt, and placed within it six pieces of artillery. The country is mostly wooded and greatly intersected with marshes. The Nine-mile road branching to the right from the Seven Pines slants forward, and at the distance of a mile crosses the railroad at Fair Oaks ** * *.

Casey's pickets were only about 1,000 yards in advance of his line of battle, and I decided, after a personal inspection with him, that they could go no farther, as they were stopped by the enemy in force on the opposite side of an opening at that point ** * *.

A considerable space about the fork of the road at Seven Pines was open, cultivated ground, and there was a clear space a short distance in front of Casey's redoubt at the wood-pile. Between the two openings we found a curtain of trees, which were cut down to form an abatis. That line of abatis was continued on a curve to the right and rear of the Nine-mile road.

When the battle commenced Casey's division was in front of the abatis; Naglee's brigade on the right, having two regiments beyond the railroad; Palmer's brigade on the left, and Wessells' brigade in the center. Couch's division was on the right and left of the Williamsburg road, near the forks, and along the Nine-mile road. Peck's brigade was on the left, Deven's brigade in the center, and Abercrombie's on the right, having two regiments and Brady's battery across the railroad, near Fair Oaks, thus forming two lines of battle. ** * *.

At about 10 o'clock A. M. it was announced to me that an aide-de-camp of Maj. Gen. J. E. Johnston, C. S. Army, had been captured by our pickets on the edge of the field ** * * beyond Fair Oaks Station. While speaking with the young gentleman, at the moment of sending him away, a couple of shots fired in front of Casey's headquarters produced in him a very evident emotion. I was perplexed, because having seen the enemy in force on the right when the aide was captured, I supposed his chief must be there. Furthermore, the country was more open in that direction and the road in front of Casey's position was bad for artillery. I concluded therefore, in spite of the shots, that if attacked that day the attack would come from the right. Having sent orders for the troops to be under arms precisely at 11 o'clock A. M., I mounted my horse and rode along the Nine-mile road to Fair Oaks Station. On my way I met Col. Bailey, chief of artillery of Casey's division, and directed him to proceed and prepare his artillery for action.

Finding nothing unusual at Fair Oaks, I gave some orders to the troops there, and returned quickly to Seven Pines. The firing was becoming brisk, but there was yet no certainty of a great attack. As a precaution to support Casey's left flank, I ordered Gen. Couch to advance Peck's brigade in that direction. This was promptly done, and the 93d Pennsylvania, Col. McCarter, was advanced considerably beyond the balance of that brigade.

At about 12.30 P. M. it became suddenly apparent that the attack was real and in great force. All my corps was under arms and in position. I sent immediately to Gen. Heintzelman for re-enforcements, and requested him to order one brigade up the railroad. [O. R. W. D., Vol. XI, part 1, pp. 872-873.]
During the forenoon of May 31, the enemy appeared in force in front of the pickets immediately north of the Williamsburg road. Shortly after 10 o'clock A. M., Lieut. J. B. Washington, an aide-de-camp on the staff of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, was captured by Casey's pickets on the Nine-mile road, and taken to Gen. Casey's headquarters, and thence to Gen. Keyes' headquarters, accompanied by Gen. Casey and Col. L. C. Hunt, 92d New York Regiment, who was general officer of the day. Immediately thereafter Gen. Keyes sent two communications to Gen. McClellan's headquarters, the first addressed to Gen. Seth William, Assistant Adjutant-General, with the information that there was a great deal of stir among the enemy the day before, and that he had made dispositions of his troops to repel a general attack, concluding it as follows:

The capture of one of Gen. Johnston's aides on our right this morning, and the running of cars through the night, all indicate that the enemy is turning his attention towards this position. [R. C. W., p. 607.]

This was shortly followed by another communication from Gen. Keyes, when forwarding the captured Confederate officer, Lieut. Washington, to the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, as follows:

**Headquarters Fourth Corps, Seven Pines, May 31, 1862.**

**Brig. Gen. R. B. Marcy, Chief of Staff:**

Sir: I send by my aide Lieut. B. C. Chetwood, [Lieut. Washington,] who is the aide of Maj. Gen. J. E. Johnston. This young gentleman was handsomely captured by our pickets on our right, and near the place examined two days ago by Generals Barnard and Humphreys, where the enemy was drawn up in line of battle.

In connection with the appearance of this young officer [Lieut. Washington] on our right, and near our lines, I will state that the general officer of the day, Col. Hunt, of Casey's division, heard the cars running through the night continually.

Yesterday there was much stir among the enemy, and everything on his part indicates an attack on my position, which is only tolerably strong, and my forces too weak to defend it properly. Brig. Gen. Sumner told me yesterday he should probably cross the Chickahominy last night. If he did so, and takes post nigh the Old Tavern and this side, I should feel much more secure than I do now.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

E. D. Keyes,

**Brigadier-General, Commanding Fourth Army Corps.**


During the noon hour on May 31, while the Regiment was at dinner in camp, two or three balls came whizzing over camp in rapid succession from beyond the woods towards Richmond, soon followed by the rattle of musketry on the picket line near the Richmond road. The 103d Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, whose camp was contiguous to that of the 85th Regiment, was hurried out to the support of the pickets. As the firing continued without cessation and increased in volume, it soon became evident that a formidable attack had been made. The 85th Regiment was ordered into position in rear of the rifle pits to the right of the redoubt, which was located fifty yards south of the Williamsburg and Richmond road. The left of the Regiment
was at the redoubt and the line extended across the road until it almost reached the left of the 101st Pennsylvania Regiment, which occupied the extreme right of this line of battle of Casey's division.

The record of the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment in the battle of Seven Pines makes it important and necessary to have the positions of the troops comprising the First and Second Brigades of Casey's division at the beginning of the battle, clearly defined. For reasons that will appear later it is essential that these positions should be established by overwhelming evidence. This can be conclusively done by producing excerpts from the official reports of the commanding officers who gave the orders and were present and saw them executed.

As already stated, Casey's division consisted of thirteen regiments of infantry, in three brigades, and four batteries of light artillery, aggregating 22 guns. The artillery was commanded by Col. Guilford D. Bailey, 1st New York Light Artillery, Col. Bailey reporting directly to the division commander. The First Brigade consisted of five regiments, was commanded by Brig. Gen. H. M. Naglee, and was known as "Naglee's brigade;" the Second Brigade consisted of four regiments, was commanded by Brig. Gen. H. W. Wessells, and was known as "Wessell's brigade;" the Third Brigade consisted of four regiments, commanded by Brig. Gen. I. N. Palmer and was known as "Palmer's brigade."

The division commander, Gen. Casey, who gave personal supervision in placing his troops in position, and who remained with them at the front until they were forced back, described the position of the various regiments and batteries of the division at the beginning of the action, as follows:

I immediately ordered the 103d Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers to advance to the front, for the purpose of supporting the pickets. * * * I directed Spratt's battery of four pieces 3-inch rifled guns to advance in front of the rifle pits about one-fourth of a mile, in order to reply with advantage to the enemy's artillery, which I knew was in battery in front of my picket line, and also to shell the enemy as soon as the withdrawal of the pickets and their supports should permit. I supported this battery by the 104th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, the 11th Regiment Maine Volunteers, and the 100th Regiment New York Volunteers, of the First Brigade, and the 92d Regiment New York Volunteers, of the Third Brigade, I placed Capt. Bates' Battery, commanded by Lieut. Hart, in a redoubt; Capt. Regan's battery in rear and on the right of the rifle pits, and Capt. Fitch's battery in rear of the redoubt. The 85th Regiment New York Volunteers occupied the rifle pits on the left and the 85th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers those on the right. The 101st Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers was posted on the right of these regiments and the 81st, 98th and 96th Regiment New York Volunteers were advanced to cover the left flank. For several days the 55th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers had occupied a position on the Nine-mile road as a support to my advanced pickets on my right flank, and the 55th Regiment New York Volunteers had held a position on the railroad. I made no change in the positions of these last two regiments. [O. R. W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 913.]

Gen. Naglee describes the position of his troops as follows:

This line from the river across the railroad to the Williamsburg road was about 3 miles long, and was picketed at first by First Brigade, afterward by Casey's division, but placed more directly under the charge and protection of the regiments of the First Brigade,
who were encamped along its entire length for that purpose. This was the line of our advance on Saturday, the 31st of May, at 12 M., when two shells thrown into our camp first announced the hostile intentions of the enemy. No alarm was felt by any one, for it was seldom that twenty-four hours passed that we did not exchange salutations. Soon thereafter it was reported that an attack was impending. The usual orders were issued, and within half an hour the troops moved to positions that were assigned to them by Gen. Casey.

Being at this time on the Nine-mile road, near a breastwork fronting the Old Tavern, then under construction, and judging from the discharges of musketry becoming frequent that something serious was intended, I hastened in the direction indicated by the fire and soon arrived upon the ground on the Williamsburg road, about three-quarters of a mile in front of the Seven Pines, where I found Gen. Casey, who had placed the 100th New York, Col. Brown, on the left of that [Williamsburg] road, behind a field of large timber that had been cut down. On the right of the same road was placed Capt. Spratt's New York battery of four pieces. On the right of this were three companies of the 11th Maine, Col. Plaisted, and on the right of the 11th Maine were eight companies of the 104th Pennsylvania, Col. Davis. Four companies of the 11th Maine were on picket duty but being driven in, formed with the 50th New York, Lieut. Col. Jourdan, at his encampment in line of battle parallel with and about 800 yards in rear of the picket lines, 200 yards to the left of the railroad. Col. Dodge's 52d Pennsylvania supporting the picket line on the extreme right, formed at his encampment on the Nine-mile road, three-quarters of a mile in rear of the large Garnett field. The remaining companies of the 104th Pennsylvania and the 11th Maine were on picket duty along the large field in the direction of the Chickahominy. [O. R. W. D., Vol. XI, part 1, p. 921.]

Col. Davis, 104th Pennsylvania, of Naglee's brigade, gives the position of his regiment as follows:

About 12:30 o'clock noon an aide-de-camp of Gen. Casey came to my quarters on the Nine-mile road and ordered me to get my regiment under arms immediately. In a few minutes afterward it was formed on the color line cut in the bushes. I had but eight companies in line, the other two being on picket. My effective strength was a little less than 400 men. Shortly after we were formed, another aide came to my quarters with orders to move the regiment out by the left flank to a clearing between the Nine-mile and Williamsburg roads to support Spratt's battery of 10 pounders. We marched along a path I had caused to be cut through the bushes a few days before, and formed line in the edge of a timber a little to the right and rear of the battery. I had hardly dressed my line when I was ordered to advance my regiment into the clearing in front, which was done as quickly as possible. To attain this position we had to cross the abatis formed to prevent the approach of the enemy, and my line was a considerable distance in front of the battery I was sent to support. The right of the regiment rested on the timber which flank in on that side. [O. R. W. D., Vol. LI, part 1, p. 99.]

The official report of Col. H. M. Plaisted, 11th Maine, Naglee's brigade, does not appear in the Official Records. However, it is published in "The Story of the 11th Maine." He gives the position of his regiment as follows:

I was on the picket line near the Williamsburg road, about noon of the 31st, being General Officer of the Day, when our pickets were attacked by the enemy and driven in. I met Gen. Casey soon after emerging from the wood. He immediately ordered out the 11th Maine and the 100th New York. Returning to my camp, opposite Gen. Casey's headquarters, I met three companies of the regiment, under the command of Maj. Campbell, already in motion for the scene of action, * * * the balance of the regiment
(seven companies were on picket). Taking command of the battalion, I moved it up the
Williamsburg road a short distance, halted and loaded under a scattering fire, happy in
having the opportunity of bringing my men under fire gradually. Orders then came to
move my regiment up and support Capt. Spratt's battery, then hotly engaged on the right
of the road, about two hundred yards in advance. I moved to post my companies on
the right of the battery, as it was supported on the left by the 100th New York. To
avoid shots directed to silence the battery, I filed to the right across the road to the woods
about 150 yards, and, under cover of the woods, advanced in line of battle to the front
until opposite the battery, then by the left flank to my position—about thirty yards from
the right of the battery; losing, in thus getting into position, but two men wounded. I
ordered my men to lie down behind a ridge that protected them, and reserve their fire
until the rebels emerged from the woods. * * * The three companies under me num-
bering ninety-three men * * *

No published official report of the action of the 100th New York Regiment
appears in the Official Records. In 1870, Maj. George H. Stowitts published a
history of the 100th Regiment from which the following excerpt concerning the
battle of Seven Pines is taken:

At 11:30 A. M. three shells fired from the enemy's lines fell within our camps, the
signal, as we afterward learned, for the movement to begin. * * * The troops were
under arms. Three companies of the 100th were on picket, Co. D, Capt. Payne; Co. E,
Capt. Bailey; Co. F, Capt. Rauert; so that the available force of the regiment in action
was less than four hundred men.

Gen. Wessells gives the position of his regiments as follows:

Between 12 and 1 o'clock P. M., our pickets posted in front were attacked by the
enemy. I, at once, pursuant to instructions from the brigadier-general commanding the
division, sent forward the 103d Pennsylvania Volunteers, Maj. Gazzam, to their support.
As the firing soon indicated a formidable advance of the enemy I at once ordered the
brigade under arms and formed the line of battle in accordance with the instructions of
the division commander. The 101st Pennsylvania Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Morris, was
placed on the right of the Richmond road perpendicular to it, the right flank extending
into the woods and in rear of the newly constructed rifle pits. The 85th Pennsylvania
Volunteers, Col. Howell, in the rear of the rifle pits, extending from the redoubt across
the Richmond road to near the left of the 101st. The 96th New York Volunteers, Col.
Fairman, was placed in advance of the rifle pits and to the left of the 85th. The battal-
ions being thus disposed, I took my position in rear of the 101st and in such manner as to

The position of the 103d Pennsylvania Regiment is described by Maj. A. W.
Gazzam, as follows:

At about 1 o'clock P. M. on the 31st of May, 1862, under orders from Brig.-Gen.
Wessells, I marched my regiment out and formed it immediately in rear of the picket
reserves and about half a mile from our camp throwing out two companies * * * on
the left of the road, to protect that flank, the right of the regiment resting on a piece

Gen. Wessells being in close proximity to the three other regiments of his
command during the entire action at the front, and personally witnessing their
various movements, the commanding officers were not required to make an official
report. The foregoing excerpts embrace all of the authoritative official evidence
as to the position of the troops of Naglee's and Wessells' brigades at the beginning of the battle of Seven Pines during the noon hour of May 31, 1862. Particular attention should be given to the statements of Gen. Naglee and his subordinate commanders, as to the position of the troops of the First Brigade, supporting Spratt's battery. This battery of four ten-pounders, was in position immediately north of the Williamsburg road, about four hundred yards in advance of the rifle pits. Seven companies of the 100th New York Regiment were in position along the eastern edge of the abatis, immediately south of the Williamsburg road, about 50 yards in advance of the battery. Three companies of the 11th Maine and eight companies of the 104th Pennsylvania Regiments were in position north of the battery, the entire force from Naglee's brigade supporting this battery aggregating less than 900 men.

Col. Davis of the 100th New York says:

I had but eight companies in, the other two being on picket. My effective strength was a little less than 400 men.

Col. Plaisted of the 11th Maine says:

I met three companies of the regiment (seven companies were on picket). * * *
The three companies numbering ninety-three men.

Major Stowitts of the 100th New York says:

Three companies of the 100th were on picket, so that the available force of the regiment in action was less than four hundred men.

Gen. Casey in his report, says:

For several days the 52d Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers had occupied a position on the Nine-mile road as a support to my advanced pickets on my right flank, and the 56th Regiment New York Volunteers had held a position on the railroad. I made no change in the positions of these last two regiments. [O. R. W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 914.]

Gen. Naglee says:

This line from the river across the railroad to the Williamsburg road was about 3 miles long, and was picketed at first by the First Brigade, afterward by Casey's division, but placed more directly under the charge and protection of the regiments of the First Brigade, who were encamped along its entire length for that purpose. [O. R. W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 921.]

The foregoing excerpts clearly establish that of the fifty companies comprising Naglee's brigade, thirty-two were at no time identified with the lines supporting Spratt's battery, nor were they remotely connected with the line defending Casey's intrenched position.

The reports of Generals Casey and Wessells leave no doubt as to the troops assigned to defend the intrenched position, the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment in rear of the rifle pits, extending from the redoubt across the Williamsburg road to near the left of the 101st Pennsylvania Regiment, the latter regiment prolonging
the line of battle some distance into the woods then standing north of the Williamsburg road. At no time during the action of May 31, were there any troops of Naglee’s brigade in position near the right of the 101st Pennsylvania Regiment at the intrenched line.

The Army of Northern Virginia on May 31, 1862, was commanded by Maj. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston. The troops selected by him to attack the left wing of the Army of the Potomac were four divisions commanded by Major Generals D. H. Longstreet, D. H. Hill, Benj. Huger, and G. W. Smith. Gen. Hill, supported by the division of Gen. Longstreet, was to advance by the Williamsburg road and make the front attack. Gen. Huger, with his division, was to move down the Charles City road in order to attack in flank the troops who might be engaged with Hill and Longstreet. Gen. Smith was to move down the Nine-mile road to cover Longstreet’s left and to be in readiness to fall on Keyes’ right. Orders had been issued to move at daybreak. Owing to the heavy rain of Friday afternoon and night, Hill’s and Longstreet’s divisions were not in position until about 8 o’clock Saturday morning. Through some misunderstanding of the orders issued by Gen. Johnston by Gen. Huger, the attack was delayed several hours. Hill’s division, selected to lead the attack, consisted of four brigades, commanded by Brigadier Generals, Samuel Garland, R. E. Rodes, G. B. Rains, and Col. Geo. B. Anderson. A brigade of this division was placed on each side of the Williamsburg road to lead the advance, and each brigade was supported by another brigade. Garland’s brigade led the advance north of the road supported by Col. Anderson’s brigade; Rode’s brigade was in the advance south of the road supported by Rains’ brigade. Garland’s brigade was formed in the open field immediately north of the Williamsburg road in front of the picket line established by a reconnaissance of Casey’s division, in which the 85th Regiment participated, and which is described at length in the preceding chapter. This brigade consisted of the following regiments: 2d Florida, 2d Mississippi, 5th North Carolina, 23d North Carolina, 24th and 38th Virginia. The supporting brigade commanded by Col. Anderson consisted of the following regiments: 4th North Carolina, 27th and 28th Georgia, and the 49th Virginia. When the signal guns were fired, Garland’s brigade, with the 2d Mississippi Battalion deployed as skirmishers 150 yards in advance, immediately moved forward by the right flanks of regiments at deploying distance, taking direction from the right, within a short distance of the Williamsburg road. The open field through which Garland’s brigade first advanced was covered with clusters of bushes and saplings partially concealing the enemy from view by the pickets of Casey’s division. Under cover of these bushes some guns of the Jeff. Davis battery of Garland’s brigade were placed about midway in the open field contiguous to the Williamsburg road, in advance of which Garland’s skirmishers were deployed, concealing themselves behind the bushes. It was a little after 12 o’clock when the signal guns were fired from the Jeff. Davis battery, when the line of skirmishers promptly advanced followed by the brigade. Although the guns of the artillery and the skirmishers were not observed by Casey’s pickets the latter were cognizant that the enemy were in force in the opposite side of the field since early that morn-
ing, and this information was sent into headquarters more than once by an officer of the pickets. Within two or three minutes at the furthest, after the signal guns had been fired, Casey's pickets from the Williamsburg road north were firing briskly, although as yet the enemy's skirmishers were not in view, but the regiments, moving by the right flank, several hundred yards distant, with their mounted officers, could be seen advancing across the open field. However, their progress was so slow that the 103d Pennsylvania Regiment, in camp when the signal guns were fired, was marched out a half mile and formed in line of battle in the dense woods in rear of the pickets before the latter retired from their posts along the edge of the forest bordering the field through which the enemy was advancing. The fire of the pickets and the supporting regiment was sufficiently brisk to force the battalions of the enemy to change their positions from the right flank into line of battle, which, owing to the denseness of the wood and undergrowth was a difficult feat. However, the overwhelming force of the enemy soon flanked the 103d Regiment on the right, compelling it to retire to prevent being captured. Owing to the nature of the ground in the forest, covered with tangled undergrowth, it was impossible to preserve an alignment in falling back, and before emerging from the woods, the regiment was so scattered, that all semblance of company organizations was gone. The batteries of the division had been shelling the woods, and an occasional shell would explode prematurely, which caused such of the men as could to hurry their exit from the woods. When the abatis was reached Spratt's battery was in position only a short distance from the other side of the slashed timber, immediately opposite, ready to open fire. No effort was made to rally the men until they were out of this perilous situation. Some of the men had rushed through the abatis but the majority hurried from in front of the battery ready to open fire, to the Williamsburg road where several officers succeeded in rallying nearly a hundred men and formed in at the right of Spratt's battery. The major in command of the regiment, was directed to rally the remainder of the men in rear of the intrenchments. Rodes' brigade, the attacking force south of the Williamsburg road, consisted of the 5th, 6th and 13th Alabama Regiments; 12th Mississippi, 3d Heavy Artillery Battalion and Carter's King William Artillery. The supporting brigade commanded by Gen. Rains, consisted of the 6th and 23d Georgia, and the 13th and 26th Alabama Regiments. The 6th Alabama formed the line of skirmishers of Rodes' brigade, the other regiments following the skirmishers en echelon in the following order: 12th Mississippi, with its left on the Williamsburg road; Heavy Artillery Battalion; 5th Alabama; 13th Alabama. This brigade not being ready to move when the signal was fired did not emerge from the woods south of the road until some time after the troops under Garland were fiercely engaged at the abatis north of the road. Shortly after Rodes' brigade came into action Rains moved his troops to the right of Rodes and advanced to the rear of Casey's left. The contest heretofore had been waged so stubbornly that Longstreet was forced to send forward five other of his brigades, viz.: [R. H.] Anderson's, Wilcox's, Kemper's, Colston's, and Jenkins. The overwhelming force of the enemy flanking Casey on both right and left, forced him to retire in considerable
disorder, owing to the irregularity of the ground and the abatis, preventing the companies and battalions from preserving their alignment. Different regiments were intermingled and considerable confusion prevailed.

When the confusion was at its height, Col. Howell succeeded in rallying a large part of the Regiment, and with fragments of other regiments forming quite a battalion, advanced them through the slashed timber between Couch's and Casey's lines until coming in range of Wessells' abandoned camp, where the enemy had formed a line of battle, partly concealed by the tents. Here the colonel ordered them to halt, and they opened fire on the enemy which was continued until a staff officer brought him orders to retire. Casey's men fell back of Couch's line, which was being re-enforced by the arrival of Kearny's division, the latter reaching Couch's position a few minutes before four o'clock. Notwithstanding the re-enforcement of this division, and Hooker's division en route with Gen. Heintzelman present directing the operations, Couch's position was not retained as long as Casey's position had been, although the latter had been unable to receive the re-enforcement of a single regiment at his intrenched line. Hardly more than two hours had elapsed after the arrival of Gen. Heintzelman with one of his divisions to re-enforce Couch's line before the latter was abandoned in no less confusion than had prevailed among Casey's troops when retreating. In the language of Gen. Kearny:

This was perhaps near 6 o'clock, when our center and right, defended by troops of other divisions, with all their willingness, could no longer resist the enemy's right central flank attacks, pushed on with determined discipline and with the impulsion of numerous concentrated masses. Once broken, our troops fled incontinently, and a dense body of the enemy pursuing rapidly, yet in order, occupied the Williamsburg road, the entire open ground, and penetrating deep into the woods on either side soon interposed between my division and my line of retreat. [O. R. W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 840.]

The abandonment of the position related by Gen. Kearny in the foregoing paragraph is described as follows by Brig. Gen. J. J. Peck, commanding First Brigade, Couch's division:

For about the space of half an hour our lines swayed forward and back repeatedly, and at last, unable to withstand the pressure from successive re-enforcements of the enemy, was compelled to fall back to the woods across the main road.

Having remained near the main road with my aide-de-camp, Lieut Stirling, until the troops had passed out of view, I pushed on in the direction of the road leading to the saw-mill. Coming up with numerous detachments of various regiments and a portion of the 102d Pennsylvania Volunteers, with the assistance of Lieutenants Titus and Stirling of my staff, I rallied these men and was conducting them back toward the Richmond road, when I met Gen. Kearny, who advised me to withdraw these troops by way of the saw-mill to the intrenched camp at this place.

I stated I did not feel at liberty to do so unless by his order, which he gave. I arrived at this camp about 6.30 P. M., in company with Gen. Kearny. Finding nearly all the forces here [Savage Station] I took position with Gen. Berry's brigade. [O. R. W. D., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 888-889.]

Brig. Gen. Charles D. Jameson, commanding the First Brigade of Kearny's division, describes the retreat of his brigade as follows:
By the order of Gen. Kearney I moved back through the woods to a road leading to a steam saw-mill (Anderson's, I believe), which road I followed to said mill, thence to the position now occupied by my brigade.

In retreating, as I was obliged to under the circumstances the men became more or less scattered. I commenced immediately to reorganize my regiments, the two detached regiments having returned to the line of works now held by Gen. Kearny's division. I succeeded in rallying between 1,100 and 1,300 men that evening which placed in line on the north side of the Richmond road, in rear of the small earthwork near the road, the line extending from said work to the left of the last Long Island Regiment, the right of said regiment resting on the railroad. The troops still occupy that line [June 1]. [O. R. W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 843.]

Brig. Gen. Hiram G. Berry, commanding the Third Brigade of Kearny's division, describes the retreat of his brigade as follows:

About 5.30 P. M. I discovered the 37th New York moving to the rear. On inquiry I found they had been ordered to fall back by the general of division to prevent being flanked and captured. I then gave orders to the other regiments to fall back also, some portions of which did not get the order in consequence of the thick woods, but all did make good their movement to the rear and came into camp in order. [O. R. W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 865.]

Brig. Gen. D. N. Couch, commanding First Division of Keyes' corps, relates how a portion of his division retired, as follows:

With Gen. Abercrombie, four regiments, the battery, and prisoners, we moved off toward the Grapevine Bridge for half a mile, and took a position facing Fair Oaks. Soon Van Ness brought me word that Gen. Sumner was at hand. * * * This noble soldier came on rapidly with Sedgwick's division, and when the head of his column was seen half a mile distant I felt that God was with us and victory ours. This was about 4.30 P. M. [O. R. W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 880]

About the time Sumner was getting Sedgwick's division into position, near the Adam's house back of Fair Oaks Station, a little more than half a mile, five brigades of Maj. Gen. G. W. Smith's left wing of the Confederate army advanced down the Nine-mile road. These brigades were commanded by Brigadier-Generals Whiting, Hood, Pettigrew, Hatton and Hampton. Hood's brigade was upon the right of the Nine-mile road, Whiting's upon the road and somewhat to the left, and Pettigrew's following Whiting's upon the road.

Hood's brigade had crossed the railroad to the right of the Nine-mile road, part of Whiting's had also crossed, Pettigrew close upon it, with Hatton's and Hampton's a short distance in the rear, when the artillery from Gen. Sumner's position opened on them. At this time Gen. Johnston was in the vicinity of Fair Oaks Station, directing the movements of the troops engaged at this point, and the brigades under Gen. Smith, which had been moving forward to support Longstreet, with the exception of Hood's, were ordered to change direction and concentrate their attack on Sumner's position. After making several attempts to dislodge Sumner from his position the enemy made no further attacks, although three other brigades were in supporting distance just before dark. Both sides seemed to be satisfied not to renew the contest. Gen. Johnston was wounded about sundown by a fragment of a shell and was compelled to relinquish command of the army. Night closed with the enemy in possession of the
position at Fair Oaks Station, where a portion of Couch's division had been in position before the engagement began at noon.

But four brigades of the enemy participated against Sumner's corps on Saturday evening, viz.: Whiting's brigade, consisting of the following regiments: 4th Alabama; 2d and 11th Mississippi; 6th North Carolina; also two batteries of artillery. Hampton's brigade; 14th and 19th Georgia; 16th North Carolina; Hampton's Legion; Moody's battery; Pettigrew's Brigade; Arkansas Battalion; 35th Georgia; 2d North Carolina; 47th Virginia, and Anderson's battery. Hatton's brigade; 1st, 7th, and 14th Tennessee, and Braxton's (Virginia) battery.

Hatton's brigade of Smith's division which advanced on the right of the Nine-mile road was ordered by Gen. Johnston to continue on to the support of Longstreet, and was not engaged on the north side of the railroad.

Gen. Johnston retiring on account of wounds was succeeded by the next ranking officer, Maj. Gen. G. W. Smith. The latter had a conference with Gen. Longstreet after midnight when it was decided that Gen. Longstreet was to renew his attack, Gen. Whiting's troops, in front of Sumner north of the railroad, to act on the defensive. The latter, after a brief reconnaissance, early Sunday morning, retired a short distance to more favorable ground. Gen. Hill, who had immediate direction of Longstreet's advance, learning that Keyes had received re-enforcements, expected an attempt would be made to retake Casey's captured position. He then decided to act on the defensive, and orders were sent forward to the advance brigades to draw in their extending lines and take position to defend the captured works. Five brigades were in the advance commanded by Generals Armistead and Mahone of Huger's division, and Pickett, Pryor, and Wilcox of Longstreet's division. These brigades were in position between the railroad and the Williamsburg road, and before the orders of Gen. Hill had reached them they were fiercely engaged. These troops were later re-enforced by two regiments of Colston's brigade. Armistead's brigade consisted of six Virginia regiments, viz.: 5th, 9th, 14th, 38th, 53d and 57th; Mahone's brigade consisted of four Virginia regiments, viz.: 6th, 12th, 41st and 49th. Pickett's brigade consisted of five Virginia regiments, viz.: 8th, 18th, 19th, 28th and 56th. Pryor's brigade consisted of the 3d Virginia, 2d Florida, 14th Alabama, 14th Louisiana, and the Louisiana Zouaves. Wilcox's brigade consisted of the 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th Alabama Regiments.

The Confederate commanding generals in their official reports of the battle of Seven Pines describe the action on Sunday, and the termination of the battle in very brief terms. Maj. Gen. Johnston, whose report is dated Richmond, Va., June 24, 1862, says:

The troops of Longstreet and Hill passed the night of the 31st on the ground on which they had won. The enemy was strongly re-enforced from the north side of the Chickahominy on the evening and night of the 31st. The troops engaged by Gen. Smith were undoubtedly from the other side of the river.

On the morning of June 1 the enemy attacked the brigade of Gen. Pickett, which was supported by that of Gen. Pryor. The attack was vigorously repelled by these two
brigades, the brunt of the action falling on Gen. Pickett. This was the last demonstration made by the enemy. Our troops employed the residue in securing and bearing off the captured artillery, small arms, and other property and in the evening quietly returned to their own camps. [O. R. W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 935.]

From the report of Maj. Gen. G. W. Smith:

After leaving the wood I heard for the first time that Gen. Johnston had been severely wounded and compelled to leave the field. This unfortunate casualty placed me, as second in rank, in command of the Army of Northern Virginia, which position I held until about 2 P. M. of the next day, when I was informed by his Excellency the President that he had assigned General Robert E. Lee to that duty. A few minutes after, Gen. Lee arrived and at once assumed command.

Between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning of June 1 I had a conference with Gen. Longstreet, and learning that he had ordered Gen. Huger's division, which had not been engaged on May 31, to move from the Charles City to the Williamsburg Stage road, one of the brigades of this division as soon as practicable, upon the Nine-mile road, and, together with that of Gen. Ripley, form a reserve for my division, which Gen. Whiting commanded. The troops of the left wing and center remained substantially in the position occupied the previous day, protecting our rear and the City of Richmond from any movement of the enemy across the Chickahominy at or above New Bridge.

Gen. Longstreet was directed to push his successes of the previous day as far as practicable, pivoting his movement upon the position of Gen. Whiting, on his left.

The latter was directed to make a diversion in favor of Gen. Longstreet's real attack, and, if pressed by the enemy, hold at all hazards the fork or junction of the New Bridge and Nine-mile roads.

In the morning Gen. Longstreet found the enemy in very large force in his front, pressing him so strongly that he considered it advisable not to send the brigade from Gen. Huger's division, and later I ordered three additional brigades to his support.

Meantime the enemy threatened Gen. Whiting's position, which was not favorable for defense, and were evidently largely re-enforced and disposed to take the offensive.

Reconnaissance made during the morning developed the fact that the enemy were strongly fortified in the position attacked by my division on the previous evening. This complied [coupled] with the necessity of holding that position of our line which was nearest the Chickahominy and covered Longstreet's left flank, induced me to direct Gen. Whiting to assume more favorable ground a little in rear. This also brought his line in better relations with the troops of the center, under Gen. Magruder, and better secured the angle made by our line in front of New Bridge. Such was the condition of affairs upon the field when Gen. Lee took command. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 992, 993.]

Maj. Gen. Longstreet in his report, says:

Gen. Pickett's brigade was held in reserve. Gen. Pryor's did not succeed in getting upon the field of Saturday in time to take part in the action of the 31st. Both, however, shared in repulsing a serious attack upon our position on Sunday, the 1st instant, Pickett's brigade bearing the brunt of the attack and repulsing it.

Some of the brigades of Maj. Gen. Huger's division took part in defending our position on Sunday, but, being fresh at the work, did not show the same steadiness and determination as the troops of Hill's division and my own. [D. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 940.]

Maj. Gen. D. H. Hill describes the action of Sunday as follows:

At daylight next morning I learned that heavy re-enforcements had come up to the support of Keyes. Longstreet's, Huger's and my own had opposed to us three Yankee
corps—Keyes', Sumner's and Heintzelman's. We also learned that Gen. G. W. Smith had been checked upon the Nine-mile road, and that no help could be expected in that direction. I therefore resolved to concentrate my troops around the captured works, in the hope that the Yankees would attempt to retake them. Orders were accordingly given to the advance brigades, commanded by Pickett, Pryor and Wilcox, to draw in their extended lines and form near the late headquarters of Gen. Casey.

Before these orders were received a furious attack was made upon Generals Armistead, Mahone, Pickett, Pryor, and Wilcox, and their brigades on the left of the road. Armistead's men fled early in the action, with the exception of a few heroic companies, with which that gallant officer maintained his ground against an entire brigade. Mahone withdrew his brigade without any orders. I sent up Colston's to replace him, but he did not engage the Yankees, as I expected him to do. Pickett, Pryor, and Wilcox received their orders to fall back after the firing began, and wisely resolved not to do so until the assault was repulsed. As soon as that was done Wilcox and Pryor withdrew, but Pickett held his ground against the odds of ten to one for several hours longer, and only retired when the Yankees had ceased to annoy him. The Yankees were too prudent to attack us in position, and contented themselves for the balance of the day in a desultory fire of artillery, which hurt no one, and was only attended with the gratifying result of stampeding the amateur fighters and the camp plunderers from Richmond.

The batteries of Maurin, Stribling, and Watson had been added to those of the preceding day by Gen. Longstreet, and an occasional shot was fired in response to the Yankee artillery.

The day was spent in removing 6,700 muskets and rifles in fine conditions, ordnance, commissary, and medical stores. Ten captured guns had been removed the night before. As the Yankees occupied the ground in our rear, on the Nine-mile road, Gen. Longstreet sent me an order after dark to withdraw my whole command.

The thirteen brigades were not got together until near midnight, and the delicate operation of withdrawing 30,000 men in the presence of a superior force of the enemy had to be performed before daylight. The artillery and wagons had to pass through slushes and mudholes over their axles, and the whole road was almost impassable for infantry. Nevertheless, we regained our own intrenchments, by sunrise without leaving behind a gun, caisson, wagon, or even a straggling soldier. [O. R., Vol. XI, part 1, p. 945.]

From the report of Brig. Gen. Cadmus M. Wilcox commanding brigade:

Soon after daylight the following morning a few musketry shots were heard, revealing the fact that the enemy were in our front and rear. Dispositions were promptly made for a renewal of the fight. The position held by my troops was nearly a mile in advance of the captured batteries and rifle pits (Casey's headquarters) of the enemy, and in an open field some 300 yards wide and 1,200 long, and through this in its longest direction ran the Williamsburg road.

The 19th Mississippi had been ordered to report to Gen. Anderson the previous evening, and had been thrown a few hundred yards farther on the road. Beyond the regiment a short distance was a second open field, and beyond this the enemy's pickets could be seen. Pryor's brigade had bivouacked a few hundred yards in rear of mine, but was moved near after daylight, but not until a few shots had been exchanged between the pickets.

The field in which my brigade bivouacked was inclosed by a heavy forest, filled with a thick entangled undergrowth of bushes and brambles. The ground [was] low and in many places boggy and covered with water. Having no knowledge of the ground or of the position and strength of the enemy, I did not feel justified in making an advance, but made such a disposition of my troops as to be prepared to meet the enemy in any direction he might appear, awaiting orders in the meantime. For this purpose the 19th Mississippi was withdrawn to within 100 yards of the field; the 11th Alabama in rear and in edge of woods near the field and to the left of [the] 19th Mississippi; 10th Alabama similarly placed, but
to the right of that regiment; 9th Alabama in edge of woods also, but to the left and right angles to the 11th Alabama, Pryor's brigade being held free to take any position that might be threatened by the enemy.

Scarcely had this disposition of the regiments been made when musketry was heard in front of the left of the 9th Alabama. This regiment was moved to the left; the 8th Alabama, Pryor's brigade, put in on its left; the firing extending towards the right, the 11th Alabama was moved to and formed on the right of the 9th; and the remainder of Pryor's brigade formed on the left of the 8th Alabama, as the firing seemed to be extending also in that direction. The musketry had now become quite brisk and covered our front on the north side of the field, except the 8th Alabama, Pryor's brigade. This regiment changed direction to the left to assail the enemy in flank engaged with the regiments on its left, its rear being protected by a boggy marsh while executing this change of position. The enemy had now also advanced in front of the 19th Mississippi, and active musketry fire now raged on my entire front.

The men were eager for the fight, and everything seemed to indicate a success as full and complete as the day previous. The 19th Mississippi had already repulsed the enemy in its front, the other troops were doing well, and the engagement, now raging furiously, was going on as well as could be desired; but just at this time an order in writing was sent to me to withdraw my command, which was instantly done, my brigade retiring by the right flank and keeping in the woods, and Pryor's brigade following back directly across the open field in rear, being pursued by the enemy to the field and experiencing some loss as it entered it. The enemy did not cross the field and soon ceased firing. The two brigades were now moved back to near the field in which were the captured batteries and rifle pits referred to above, formed in line and facing to the north side of the road. Later in the afternoon they were farther withdrawn, and finally at 10 P. M., moved back to their camps near Richmond, reaching there early next morning.

In this battle only one of my regiments was seriously engaged the first day. The second morning all were engaged, men and officers acting well, till ordered to withdraw. * * * Pryor's brigade was not engaged on the 31st, but acted well on the second day, and yielded reluctantly to the order to withdraw. * * * The list of casualties has already been forwarded, amounting in the aggregate to 110 killed and wounded.

P. S. * * * Pryor was under my command, and was ordered back to me and went back with me, and Pickett, as I was told, continued the fight, not having been recalled, or in violation of orders. Seven Pines, the successful part of it was D. H. Hill's fight. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 987-989.]

From the report of Brig. Gen. George E. Pickett, commanding brigade:

About 9 P. M. [May 31.] received orders from Gen. Longstreet to march my brigade at daylight and report to Maj. Gen. D. H. Hill, at or near Seven Pines; moved accordingly, found Gen. Hill at Gen. Casey's late headquarters, just in rear of enemy's redoubt—"The Redoubt." My brigade had marched on some 400 yards in advance of this point when it was halted. Gen. Hill directed me to ride over to the railroad and communicate with Brig. Gen. Hood, whose right was resting on that road. I asked Gen. Hill of the whereabouts of the enemy. He said they were some distance in advance—in fact I had no definite idea where, as I saw no one and had not had time to examine the nature of [the] ground or the position.

With two of my staff officers * * * I proceeded through the undergrowth and thickets toward the railroad some 400 yards, when I was met by a party of the Louisiana Zouaves (who had evidently been on a plundering expedition) rushing past me at a most headlong speed. One fellow riding a mule with a halter, I seized on and detained for explanation. He said the enemy were within a few yards of us and entreated me to let him save himself. I immediately rode back with him at a gallop, and as briefly as possible informed Gen. Hill of the circumstances. He ordered me to attack, and I supposed same order was
given to other brigade commanders. I rejoined my brigade at once, and by a change of front forward put it in line of battle nearly perpendicular to the railroad and advanced. Armistead on my left, and Pryor and Wilcox (the latter I did not see, but heard he was there) on my right, struck the enemy within a short distance (who opened heavily on us), drove him through an abatis, over a cross road leading to railroad, and was advancing over a second abatis when I had discovered Armistead’s brigade had broken and were leaving the field pell-mell. At this moment I was on foot and half way across the abatis, the men moving on beautifully and carrying everything before them.

I could scarcely credit my own eyes in witnessing this misfortune on my left. I immediately rode to that part of [the] field; found nothing between me and [the] railroad except the gallant Armistead himself, with a regimental color and some 30 persons, mostly officers, with him. I saw our danger at once and dispatched a courier to Gen. Hill, asking for more troops to cover the vacuum. Receiving no reply, and the enemy pressing forward in force, brigade after brigade, and threatening my left flank, I threw back the left wing of the 19th Virginia, the left regiment, so as to oppose a front to them, dispatched a staff officer to Gen. Hill with [a] request for troops; and after a while sent a second dispatch, similarly worded.

As a matter of course, from having been the attacking party, I now had to act on the defensive. Fortunately the enemy seemed determined on attacking and carrying my front and driving me out of the abatis, which our men succeeded in preventing, though with considerable loss.

About this time I learned [that] Pryor’s brigade was being withdrawn from my right. I had in the meantime sent all my staff and couriers back to Gen. Hill, the last message being that if he would send more troops and some ammunition to me we would drive the enemy across the Chickahominy; and I have always believed this would have been done but for the misfortune which happened to our general on the previous evening. Had he not been wounded, and been on the field with us, the result would have been entirely different. I do not mean to cast any blame on the brave and heroic Hill, for after the fall of the master spirit there seemed to be no head, and Hill, I know, was bothered and amazed with countermanding orders. No assistance, no demonstration was given or made from the other side of the railroad. A most perfect apathy seemed to prevail; not a gun was fired, and I subsequently learned from Brig. Gen. Hood that he saw the enemy pouring his forces across the railroad not more than 600 or 800 yards in his front and concentrating their attack on me; that one piece of artillery placed in the railroad cut would have stopped this and drawn their attention to his front, but he said he had orders to make no movement, but to wait for orders. A forward movement then by the left wing of our army would have struck the enemy in flank—at any rate, have stopped their concentration.

At this perilous junction, hearing nothing from Gen. Hill, I rode as rapidly as possible to him, and explained as laconically [as I could] the position of affairs. He asked me if I could not withdraw my brigade. I said yes, but did not wish to do so; that I would leave all my wounded, lose many more men, and that the enemy would pour down on the disorganized mass, as he himself termed the troops about him. He then sent two regiments of Colston’s brigade, which my assistant adjutant-general, Capt. Pickett, put in position on my left, and asked me to take Mahone’s brigade and put it on my right, which was done; Mahone becoming hotly engaged in a few minutes after getting into position.

I had [issued] an order to my men, as far as possible, to reserve their fire. From that circumstance, I suppose, and from the fact that the enemy had become aware of the small force actually opposed to them, a brigade debouched from the piece of woods in my front and moved steadily toward my left flank. They came up to within about range, when their commander, seeing his men about to commence firing, stopped them [and] called out, “What troops are these?” Some of our men shouted, “Virginians.” He then cried out, “Don’t fire, they’ll surrender; we’ll capture all these d—d ‘Virginians.’ Scarcely were the words uttered when the 19th, and the left of the 18th rose up in the abatis and fired a withering
volley into them, killing their commanding officer and literally mowing down their ranks. Just then Colston's regiments came up on the left and Mahone's on the right. The enemy retreated to their bushy cover and their fire immediately slackened.

No other attempt was made by them to advance, and about 1 P. M., I judge, by Gen. Hill's order, I withdrew the whole of our front line, Pryor and Wilcox, and some other troops I do not remember, being in position some 400 yards in our rear. We withdrew in perfect order; not a gun was fired at us, and bringing off all our wounded. This was the conclusion of the battle of Seven Pines. No shot was fired afterward.

Our troops occupied the same ground that evening, June 1 and that night, which they had done on the one previous. Gen. Mahone, with his brigade, occupied the redoubt, and our line of pickets was thrown well out in advance. I know of my own personal knowledge, for Gen. Hill sent for me about 1 o'clock at night, or, rather morning of June 2, and I went to the redoubt in search of him, and still farther on toward our picket line. Gen. Hill gave me special orders to cover the withdrawal of [the] troops with my brigade, which, by the way, proved a much easier task than I had anticipated. I had formed my line of battle two regiments on each side of [the] road some little distance in our rear of the redoubt. The whole of our force filed past by half an hour after sunrise. I then leisurely moved off, not a Yankee in sight or even a puff of smoke.

My brigade consisted of * * * [in the] aggregate, 1,700. Loss, 350 killed and wounded; no prisoners. [O. R., W, D., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 982-983.]

Only one other report of the Confederate troops participating in the action of Sunday, June 1, appears in the published Official Record of the War of the Rebellion. This is the report of Col. H. B. Tomlin, commanding the 53d Virginia Regiment of Armistead's brigade, and the only regiment of this brigade permitted to have "The Seven Pines" inscribed on the regimental standard. In his report Col. Tomlin says:

Upon reaching Seven Pines, Maj. G. M. Waddill indicated the direction in which Gen. Armistead had gone and informed me that his adjutant had sent me instructions to deploy on the 9th Virginia Regiment, then not in sight, and saying it had entered the woods near a given point. Just before this point was reached the order was given to form column by companies and then forward into line of battle. And though this movement was executed in double-quick time, before it was executed we received a heavy cross-fire from the right and left, which was immediately returned. Seeing no enemy, and having received no other order than the one above recited, I ordered the men to lie down. Discovering troops coming toward our right wing with white bands on their hats, [I] ordered mine not to fire; that they were friends; but the firing continuing [ed] down the whole line, yet too high to do much injury. Some one, without authority, in the right wing gave the command to retreat, which was passed down the whole line by the captains, and the men fell back in great disorder into the field on which they had just emerged, reformed, and with every company in proper position in line of battle, double-quicked it back into the woods, and shortly after crossing the road came up with the 41st Virginia Regiment, marching directly toward us. From this direction we received a constant fire, which we returned until some of our officers of the 41st Virginia Regiment (Maj. G. M. Waddill, who was upon the left wing, while I was at that time on the right), commanded them to march in retreat.

At this time my horse was killed, and not hearing the command nor knowing the cause, attempted to rally the men, when the officers and men, while retreating in good order—that friends and enemies were so indiscriminately mixed up together that it was almost advisable to return to the open field. We returned slowly to the field, apprehending more danger from friends than enemy. We again reformed and reported for duty to Maj. Gen. Hill. I was then ordered to report to Gen. Pickett at the lower end of the field, and upon reaching his brigade, posted upon the left, was, at the suggestion of Gen. Mahone, assigned to his
right, with instructions to prevent the enemy from flanking the battery on his right; and while moving from the right of Gen. Mahone's brigade to the position on the right of the battery received the fire of the enemy. Left in this position some time after the two brigades and battery had retired, I followed on and joined Gen. Armistead's brigade, which we met with for the first time during the day, placed on the outer post nearest the enemy.

I congratulate myself upon being able to report the casualties as small, to wit: Killed, officers none; men 1; wounded officers 3, men 15; missing, men 3; total 22. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 984, 985.]

A brief summary of the foregoing follows:

Casey's division was attacked between 12 and 1 o'clock P. M., May 31, by four brigades of Hill's division, supported by five brigades of Longstreet's division, and maintained its position without the re-enforcement of a single regiment until between 3 and 4 o'clock P. M., when it was forced to retire in considerable confusion to the second line held by Couch's division.

Couch's line was re-enforced by the arrival of Kearny's division between 3.30 and 4 o'clock P. M., and although this re-enforced line was personally directed by the commanding generals of the Third and Fourth Corps, the former commanding the left wing of the army, both Couch's and Kearny's division were forced to retire between 6 and 6.30 o'clock P. M., in considerable confusion (the former abandoning its camps), and take refuge behind intrenchments near Savage Station, two miles in rear of Seven Pines.

Sumner's corps arrived on the south of the Chickahominy river, a little over a half mile from Fair Oaks station north of the railroad between 4 and 5 o'clock P. M., and immediately engaged four brigades of the enemy advancing down the Nine-mile road to strike Heintzelman's right. This engagement continued until about dark without any decisive result.

Gen. Johnston, the Confederate commanding general having been compelled to relinquish command of his army owing to serious wounds received about sunset on May 31, caused some vacillation among the Confederate commanding generals and after deciding to resume the offensive, they changed their plans and ordered the troops in the advance, who were to open the attack, to retire to a favorable defensive position. Before the orders making this change had reached the commanding generals of the brigades at the front, the action had become general, and while a portion of the Confederates retired in confusion at the beginning of the engagement, three brigades held their position in the advance until an opportune time, when they retired in compliance with the orders and formed for the defensive in the rear of Casey's intrenched position captured the previous afternoon. But five brigades and two regiments of the enemy participated in the engagement on Sunday against Sumner's corps and the division of Gen. Hooker, and Birney's brigade of Kearny's division of Heintzelman's corps.

The enemy retained command of the battle-field of Saturday along the Williamsburg road and on both sides of the road so as to completely control Couch's abandoned camps near Seven Pines until late in the afternoon of June 1, when his lines were withdrawn to a more favorable position near Casey's
captured works. The latter remained in possession of the Confederates until early morn of June 2, when they withdrew to their camps about Richmond.

A careful study of the foregoing demonstrates conclusively the following facts: (1) Casey's division had pitted against it a larger force of the enemy than any other division participating in the battle on either May 31 or June 1.

(2.) That it maintained its position at the redoubt and rifle pits, known as the first or advanced line, a longer time than the second line was held after being re-enforced by Heintzelman's corps.

(3.) Although forced to retire in confusion and disorder to prevent being captured by the enemy, the better disciplined troops, who were universally accredited with fighting well, and who did most valiant service, were also compelled to fall back to the rear in more or less haste and confusion to avoid being made prisoners of war.

(4.) Notwithstanding the left wing of the army south of the Chickahominy river had been re-enforced by the Second Corps, the enemy was permitted to retain in their possession Casey's captured works, and the entire battle-field of Saturday south of the railroad until they peaceably withdrew.

At a time when the enemy was in complete control of the battle-field of May 31, south of the railroad at Seven Pines extending therefrom towards the Confederate capital for a mile and a half, over which hundreds of the dead and wounded of Casey's division were scattered, many of them writhing in agony, the general commanding the army, sent the following telegraphic dispatch to the War Department:

Field of Battle, June 1, 12 o'clock.

To Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary:

We have had a desperate battle, in which the corps of Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes have been engaged against greatly superior numbers. Yesterday, at 1, the enemy, taking advantage of a terrible storm, which had flooded the valley of the Chickahominy, attacked our troops on the right bank of that river. Casey's division, which was the first line, gave way unaccountably and discreditably. This caused a temporary confusion, during which some guns and baggage were lost, but Heintzelman and Kearny most gallantly brought up their troops, which checked the enemy. At the same time, however, Gen. Sumner succeeded by great exertions in bringing across Sedgwick's and Richardson's divisions, who drove back the enemy at the point of the bayonet, covering the ground with his dead.

This morning the enemy attempted to renew the conflict, but was everywhere repulsed. We have taken many prisoners, amongst them are Gen. Pettigrew and Col. Long. Our loss is heavy but that of the enemy must be enormous. With the exception of Casey's division our men behaved splendidly. Several fine bayonet charges have been made. The Second Excelsior made two to-day.

George B. McClellan,
Major-General, Commanding.

The dispatch of the general commanding was the first public announcement of the battle and it appeared under impressive headlines in the press of the country on June 2, the word disunitedly describing the conduct of Casey's division being substituted for discreditably, and with the omission of the second mention of Gen. Sumner. This dispatch dated from the "Field of Battle" gave the impression to the country, and even to most of the troops of the Army of
the Potomac, that only Casey's position had been lost and that "Heintzelman and Kearny * * * checked the enemy" at the second line. All of Gen. McClellan's subsequent dispatches, communications, and his final official report in which he says, "Our troops pushed forward as far as the lines held by them on the 31st before the attack," indicate that he was not only in ignorance of the battle lines of Saturday but remained in complete ignorance when his final report was made on August 4, 1863. On June 2, he sent two dispatches to the War Department, in which he gives indisputable evidence that he was in absolute ignorance of affairs at the front before and during the battle. These dispatches were as follows:

**Headquarters Army of the Potomac,**

**New Bridge, June 2, 1862—10.30 A. M.**

Our left is everywhere advancing considerably beyond the positions it occupied before the battle. I am in strong hopes that the Chickahominy will fall sufficiently to enable me to cross the right. We have had a terrible time with our communications—bridges and causeways, built with great care, having been washed away by the sudden freshets, leaving us almost cut off from communication. All that human labor can do is being done to accomplish our purpose.

Please regard the portion of this relating to condition of Chickahominy as confidential, as it would be serious if the enemy were aware of it. I do not yet know our loss; it has been very heavy on both sides, as the fighting was desperate. Our victory complete. I expect still more fighting before we reach Richmond.

**Geo. B. McClellan,**

**Major General.**

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War.


The second dispatch was as follows:

**McClellan's Headquarters, June 2, 1862—13 P. M.**

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:

Am delighted to hear of General Halleck's success. I have sent to learn numbers of killed and wounded and prisoners. It will take some time to ascertain details. The attack was a sudden one by the enemy in large force on Casey. On Saturday Casey's pickets rushed in without attempting a stand, and the camp was carried by the enemy. Heintzelman moved up at once with Kearny's division and checked the enemy. A portion of Hooker's arrived about dark. As soon as informed of the state of affairs I ordered Gen. Sumner across the Chickahominy. He displayed the utmost energy in bringing his troops into action, and handled them with the utmost courage. In action, he repulsed every attack of the enemy, and drove him whenever he could get at him. The enemy attacked in force and with great spirit yesterday morning, but are everywhere most signal repulsed with great loss. Our troops charged frequently on both days, and uniformly broke the enemy.

The result is that our left is now within 4 miles of Richmond. I only wait for the river to fall to cross with the rest of the force and make a general attack. Should I find them holding firm in a very strong position, I may wait for what troops I can bring up from Fort Monroe, but the morale of my troops is now such that I can venture much, and do not fear for odds against me. The victory is complete and all credit is due to our officers and men.

**Geo. B. McClellan,**

**Major-General, Commanding.**

The three foregoing dispatches summarized gave the Secretary of War the following version of the battle of Saturday and Sunday and the position of the left wing of the army at the termination of the contest:

We have had a desperate battle in which the corps of Summer, Heintzelman and Keyes, have been engaged against greatly superior numbers. Yesterday, at 1, the enemy attacked our troops on the right bank of the Chickahominy. Casey's division, which was the first line, gave way unaccountably and discreditably, the enemy carrying Casey's works and camp without meeting any resistance. However, with the exception of the troops of Casey's division, the men of every other division behaved splendidly. The confusion incident to the precipitate flight of Casey's troops was only temporary, as Heintzelman and Kearny most gallantly rushed up their troops and held the enemy in check. At the same time Sumner, by great exertion, succeeded in getting his troops across the Chickahominy and bringing them into action, driving the enemy back at the point of the bayonet, literally covering the ground with the enemy's dead, killed by bayonet thrusts. Sumner's troops did not halt until the enemy had disappeared. The enemy made an attempt to renew the conflict on Sunday morning by attacking in force and with great spirit, but were most signal repulsed with great loss, our troops charging frequently, breaking the enemy's lines, causing him to fall back precipitately, our troops not halting until they had passed two miles beyond Casey's position of the day before. The result is that our left is now within four miles of Richmond.

The above summary is the construction arrived at by the metropolitan press. As typical of what appeared in the press of June 3, the following citation is taken from the New York Tribune of that date:

Despatches from Gen. McClellan's headquarters are up to two o'clock yesterday afternoon. His entire army is now within four miles of Richmond, three miles beyond Gen. Casey's position on Saturday. The enemy has made no further important demonstration. * * * Our Special Correspondent's latest letter, dated White House, Sunday, gives a brief account of the fight, and a better idea of the position than we have before had. He estimates our loss over 1,000; others put the figures still higher. The 98th New York, and the 85th and 105th Pennsylvania lost most severely. Gen. Palmer of New York is reported to be dead; Col. Bailey, 1st New York Artillery killed; Col. Howes [Howell] 85th Pennsylvania wounded and missing.

The Tribune having based an editorial on Gen. McClellan's first dispatch to Secretary Stanton, in which it had commented on the conduct of Casey's division, in harmony with the general commanding's version of the battle, called forth a criticism from an afternoon journal. To this the Tribune replied editorially on June 4, as follows:

The Express says: "The Tribune's reasonable assault on McClellan's army excites bitterness and disgust."

The only thing like an "assault" we have published assailed but a single division of the Army—Gen. Casey's—which it asserted gave way unaccountably and disunitedly losing guns and baggage. The same article further expressly stated that, "with the exception of Gen. Casey's division the men behaved splendidly." No other assault on Gen. McClellan's army, whether reasonable or otherwise, has appeared in our columns. We published this, and reposed entire faith in it, because it came to us through official channels, signed "George B. McClellan, Major-General, Commanding."

If it was erroneous—and we suspect it was—we ask pardon of the calumniated division, not shrinking from any just responsibility. Had we been advised in the same despatch of
Sunday that but part of the guns were lost, and that these had been regained, we should have been relieved of much painful-apprehension.

Gen. McClellan's dispatches to the Secretary of War called forth the following response:

WASHINGTON, June 2, 1862.

Your telegram has been received, and we are greatly rejoiced at your success—not only in itself, but because of the dauntless spirit and courage it displays in your troops. * * * All interest now centers in your operations, and full confidence is entertained of your brilliant and glorious success.

Edwin M. Stanton,
Secretary of War.

Major-General McClellan.


On June 4, in a dispatch to President Lincoln, Gen. McClellan said:

Our loss in the late battle will probably exceed 5,000. I have not yet full returns. On account of the effect it might have on our own men and the enemy I request that you will regard this information as confidential for a few days. I am satisfied that the loss of the enemy was very considerably greater; they were terribly punished. I mention these facts now merely to show that the Army of the Potomac has had serious work, and that no child's play is before it. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 45.]

In a dispatch to the Secretary of War, on the same date, June 4, he referred to the losses, in the following terms:

The losses in the battle of the 31st and 1st will amount to 7,000. Regard this as confidential for the present. After the losses in our last battle I trust that I will no longer be regarded as an alarmist. I believe we have at least one more desperate battle to fight. Our loss has been greater than I had first supposed. The publication of this at this particular time might have an unfavorable effect upon the spirits of our army and give confidence to the enemy, although they suffered much more than we did. I therefore submit it to your judgment whether it will be possible to make it public until after the next battle. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 45.]

On June 4 a request for an investigation of the charges made against Casey's division was forwarded to the headquarters of the army, as follows:

Hospital near Bottom's Bridge,
June 4, 1862.

Brig. Gen. S. Williams
Assistant Adjutant-General, Army of the Potomac:

General: I would respectfully request that the commanding general shall appoint a proper board of officers to investigate and report upon certain charges made against Casey's division, that the truth may be known concerning their conduct and that of others engaged in the affair at the Seven Pines on May 31 and June 1 and 2.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Henry M. Naglee,
Brigadier General.
Approved and respectfully submitted.

I feel confident that the general commanding could not have been possessed of the whole truth with regard to the affair of the 31st ultimo, or he would not have made the remark about my division. I feel that injustice has been done.

SILAS CASEY,
Brigadier-General Volunteers, Commanding Division.

[Second indorsement.]
June 4, 1862—9 P. M.

I approve the within application of Brig. Gen. Naglee and the above indorsement of Brig. Gen. Casey, and respectfully request that a board of officers be named as desired.

E. D. KEYES,
Brigadier-General, Commanding Fourth Corps.


The foregoing request was denied in the following terms:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC

June 5, 1862.

BRIG. GEN. E. D. KEYES, Commanding Fourth Corps:

General: The letter of Brig. Gen. Naglee, of the 4th instant, asking for a board of officers "to investigate and report upon certain charges made against Casey's division," indorsed favorably by Gen. Casey and yourself, has been received.

I am directed by the commanding general to say that he is fully disposed to render entire justice to Casey's division and will be glad to embrace any opportunity to manifest this disposition.

A board of officers of high rank cannot conveniently be summoned now to "investigate and report," as requested. As soon as the exigencies of the service permit, however, it shall be done.

Meanwhile an inspector-general will be directed to proceed and make a preliminary investigation.

I am to assure you that it will afford the general commanding sincere pleasure should the facts prove such as to require a change of his expressed views, founded upon official statements, in regard to the conduct of Casey's condition on the 31st ultimo.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. WILLIAMS,
Assistant Adjutant-General.


On June 5 Gen. Casey sent the following communication to Gen. McClellan's headquarters:

CAMP AT POPULAR HILL, VA.,
June 5, 1862.

BRIG. GEN. MARCY, Chief of Staff:

General: In the New York papers of the 2d instant I see that Gen. McClellan reported to the Secretary of War that my division, in some accountable manner was driven back, losing artillery and baggage. This statement certainly does great injustice to my division, which I doubt not was unintentional. Some of my regiments undoubtedly wavered, but the truth is, I stood with my division of about 5,000 men the attack of the enemy for about one hour a most galling fire and without a man being sent as re-enforcement. The division
was not driven from its line until it was turned on both flanks, losing the six pieces of artillery which were in the redoubt and one piece on account of the horses being shot down. We did not retire from the first line until General Heintzelman, with a portion of Gen. Kearny's division, had come up to the second line. I managed to rally a small portion of my men at the second line, but most of the division retired to the third line. The second line could not be maintained by the troops belonging to the line, together with the re-enforcements brought up by Gen. Kearny, and the troops retired to the third line by order of Gen. Heintzelman.

From an examination afterward of my field of battle, from the number of graves, and the number of killed and wounded still on the ground, I am of the opinion that no division that day or the next killed and wounded more of the enemy than mine. You can well imagine that I feel much aggrieved by the remarks of the general commanding, but have that belief in his sense of justice which cannot conceive that he will fail to correct an error.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Silas Casey,
Brigadier-General, Commanding Division.


On even date with Gen. Williams letter to Gen. Keyes, the following report was submitted from the inspector-general's department of the army, to army headquarters:

Inspector-General's Dept. Army of the Potomac,
Camp near New Bridge, Va., June 5, 1862.

Gen. R. B. Marcy, Chief of Staff:

General: I have the honor to report that I have made the examination directed in Casey's division and report thereof as follows:

Strength present accounted for averages in—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brigade</th>
<th>Per Regiment</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Brigade</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>1,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Brigade</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>1,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Brigade</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>1,380</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Making a total in this division of 4,472

The numbers in Third Brigade I did not get, and those of Second Brigade are given, as reported, approximately correct. I expect a detailed report from Second and Third Brigades soon.

Reported loss in this division 1,845
In First Brigade 521 and in Second Brigade 553 1,074

Which leaves for the loss of Third Brigade 771

Several who were reported missing in first reports have since reported to their regiments.

From information gained from a variety of sources, within and without the division, it appears there was exhibited both gallant and bad conduct in this division in its recent engagement with the enemy at the battle of Fair Oaks, and although attacked by an overwhelming force, it poured a most destructive fire upon the enemy, as shown by the large number of his dead left on the field, and checked his advance. The first line of rifle pits were not left until flanked by the enemy's fire, but were then left in disorder. At the second line of rifle pits or trenches the men of this division rallied in part and again caused the enemy to suffer by their fire.
The actual loss of killed and wounded in this division proves conclusively that it was exposed to a heavy fire.

As reported, the men did not run when falling to the rear, but walked and were in disorder and generally had their arms, but they could not be rallied by their officers in their original organizations. Regimental line officers in some cases set their men the example of breaking to the rear.

Of the number at first reported missing several have since joined; others are said to be about in the woods. Many were supposed to have gone toward the White House.

In this division there are many worthy of praise for good conduct who suffer for the bad conduct of others.

REMARKS.

Casey's division at the recent battle of Fair Oaks was not surprised, according to reports made to me, but defective disposition of picket forces and inefficiency of officers, together with bad discipline, account for its conduct, in my opinion, in this battle.

As a division, I do not think it could be trusted by itself in another engagement with the enemy soon, believing the shock and repulse it received in the last action has too much demoralized the men and officers to safely count upon their making a firm stand.

The best disposition to make of the troops of this division under existing circumstances is to consolidate regiments, weeding out inefficient officers, and to combine them with other troops, in my opinion. I would break up the division organization, but not the brigade altogether.

Efficient officers, association with good troops, and proper encouragement will, I think, work great changes for the better in this command.

I am, general, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

N. H. DAVIS,
Assistant Inspector-General, U. S. Army.


Late that same night, June 5, the general commanding forwarded the following dispatch to the Secretary of War:

Hon. E. M. Stanton:

My dispatch of the 1st instant, stating that Gen. Casey's division, which was with first line, gave way unaccountably and discreditably, was based upon official statements made to me before I arrived upon the battle-field, and while I was there by superior commanders. From statements made to me subsequently by Generals Casey and Naglee I am induced to believe that portions of the division behaved well and made a most gallant stand against superior numbers, but at present the accounts are too conflicting to enable me to discriminate with certainty. When the facts are clearly ascertained the exceptional good conduct will be properly acknowledged.

Geo. B. McClellan,
Major General.


The first official report of the casualties of May 31 and June 1 was sent from army headquarters on June 6, as follows:

Headquarters Army of the Potomac,
June 6, 1862—10 P. M. (Received 4 A. M. June 7.)

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:

Statement of killed, wounded, and missing of the 31st of May and June 1, 1862, in front of Richmond:
Gen. Sumner, Second Corps, 183 killed, 894 wounded, and 146 missing; Gen. Heintzelman's Third Corps, 259 killed, 980 wounded, and 155 missing; Keyes' Fourth Corps, 448 killed, 1,753 wounded, 921 missing. Total, 890 killed, 3,627 wounded, 1,922 missing. Grand total killed, wounded, and missing, 5,739.

A nominal list will be furnished as soon as the data can be received.

Geo. B. McClellan,
Major-General.


Revised Return of Casualties in the Army of the Potomac (by Divisions) at the Battle of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, Va., May 31—June 1, 1862.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Killed Officers</th>
<th>Killed Enlisted Men</th>
<th>Wounded Officers</th>
<th>Wounded Enlisted Men</th>
<th>Captured or Missing Officers</th>
<th>Captured or Missing Enlisted Men</th>
<th>Aggregate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richardson's Division</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedgwick's Division</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumner's (Second) Corps</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>1,185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooker's Division</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kearny's Division</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>881</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>1,091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heintzelman's (Third) Corps</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>1,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couch's Division</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>1,429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casey's (Fourth) Corps</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1,647</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>2,593</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The above return of casualties should be, of itself, a complete vindication of Casey's division. Notwithstanding it was the weakest division numerically participating in the battle, the actual number of men in line (including artillery), being 4,380, its loss was heavier than any other division of the army on either or both days of the battle. It lost more officers and men than Sumner's entire corps; more than Heintzelman's entire corps, and twenty per cent. more than the divisions of Richardson, Hooker, and Birney's brigade of Heintzelman's corps combined, the only troops participating in the battle of June 1. At the opening of the battle on Saturday Gen. McClellan was confined to his bed by illness. So far as the record shows he had never visited the position occupied by Casey's division in advance of the Seven Pines prior to the battle. The first published inquiry from his assistant adjutant-general for information as to the position of the troops of Casey's division of Gen. Sumner, who was on the opposite bank of the Chickahominy several miles away, for information as to the position of Casey's troops when he came upon the field is evidence that he
was in absolute ignorance as to the position of the troops engaged in the battle. This inquiry was as follows:

**Headquarters of the Army of the Potomac,**

June 4, 1862.

**Brig. Gen. Sumner:**

Gen. McClellan directs me to say that it is difficult for him to decide what was the exact condition of Casey's division during the fight. The report of the corps commander differs from the information that the general had before received.

The general desires that you give him as soon as possible, in a few words, the position and condition of Casey's troops when you came onto the field, mentioning any that you believe to have acted creditably and those who did not. It is the general's impression that that division should be broken up, and such portions of it as are not completely demoralized transferred to other divisions. Before doing this, however, he wishes for your statements in the case, to enable him to do justice to all concerned. Your statements will be considered purely confidential, and will only be used to assist the general in deciding what to do, so that no one shall be treated unjustly.

A. V. Colburn,

*Assistant Adjutant-General.*

*[O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part 1, p. 750.]*

Gen. Sumner's reply to the foregoing inquiry does not appear in the official records, but evidently it contained some complaint at not getting proper recognition for his services in Gen. McClellan's first published dispatch, the New York papers containing it having only arrived that day; for at 2:45 o'clock that same afternoon Gen. McClellan sent him an apologetic note in which he said:

By some strange chance most of my dispatches in these days are changed and mutilated before publication. *[O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part 1, p. 750.]*

To this, on the same day, Gen. Sumner sent this curt request to Gen. McClellan:

Sir: Will you do me the justice to have your dispatch about the battle of Fair Oaks published as it was written.

*[O. R., W. D., Vol. LI, part 1, p. 657.]*

Nearly a year after the battle of Seven Pines, when before the Joint Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, Gen. Sumner testified as follows:

The battle which I commanded on Saturday and Sunday was at Fair Oaks. The battle of Seven Pines was a separate battle some miles from Fair Oaks. Gen. Heintzelman was in command at Seven Pines. It so happened that the troops I fought with on Saturday I did not bring into the fight at all on Sunday; they merely held their position. *[Report of Com. on Conduct of the War, part 1, pp. 359-370.]*

On the same day that Gen. McClellan's request for information as to "the position and conduct of Casey's troops when you came onto the field," was made to Gen. Sumner, the general commanding the latter's First Division, Brig. Gen. Israel B. Richardson, under date of "Camp at the Fair Oaks Station, Va., Five Miles from Richmond, Va., June 4, 1862," described the position and conduct of
Casey's troops in a letter published in the Boston *Traveller* of June 17, and republished in the New York *Times* in its issue of June 22, 1862, as follows:

Wishing to give you some particulars of the hard fought battle, in which the whole of my division was engaged on the first of this month, I have to state beforehand that I cannot just now give a detailed account of the action at this time, as we are still in front of the enemy, and may be attacked at any time, which is not conducive to a perfect history. This point is on the railroad leading from our base of supplies to Richmond, and of course is a strategic point, and therefore to be defended at whatever cost, as the means of feeding this army. An intrenched camp, consisting of an advanced lunette and an abattis supporting it was found a quarter of a mile in advance of this station, and in it was placed Casey's division of infantry, with some 20 pieces of artillery, and Couch's division in rear of him for support. Farther down the railroad was the corps of Heintzelman, the next nearest support was the corps of Sumner, consisting of Sedgwick's and my own division, which had not yet crossed the Chickahominy, and were from six to seven miles distant. The corps of Fitz John Porter and Franklin were opposite New Bridge, several miles farther up, and had not crossed. This being our situation on the 31st of May, 1862.

Along toward the middle of the day the enemy, preceded by a column of 30,000 of the best troops, with the dashing corps of G.W. Smith and Longstreet at its head, commenced a furious assault upon the most salient point of our whole line, viz.: the redoubt and intrenched camp of Casey's division. It was, perhaps, the most perfect surprise which ever happened on the continent, and the column moving forward without warning, brushed away the division of Casey like chaff, without waiting even to throw out skirmishers in front and on the flank of the column. I don't care to know any thing of this most disgraceful rout. Suffice it to say they not only ran then, but have not since been heard from, and have abandoned their whole camp, wagons, teams, and seven pieces of artillery.

The division of Couch, in the meantime, formed at this station in order of battle, and had hardly done so when the head of their column appeared in front also. In the meantime a dispatch from Gen. McClellan at New Bridge, glanced on the wires, ordering up Sumner's corps in urgent haste. Sedgwick took the advance, and crossing the river came into action. One and a half hours before sunset, just as Couch's division was having their left turned, the enemy penetrated between him and the corps of Heintzelman two miles from him on the railroad. Half an hour more would have cut our column in two, which would have insured the total defeat of our army. The danger was imminent, and the division of Sedgwick, advancing at quick time, came up at this critical period, and formed in line of battle in the edge of the wood at the skirt of the large open field at this point—commencing a fire of canister shot upon the head of the column from his 24 pieces, which staggered it, and the division then moving down in line of battle, completely swept the field recovering thus much of our lost ground. It was now night. My division came upon the left of Sedgwick, connecting with Birney's brigade of Heintzelman's corps on my left; thus our line was made secure for the night.

Sunday, June 1. The army had lain on their arms all night in our front. The Fifth Texas, Second Mississippi and Second Texas regiments bivouacked within half musket shot of my front and pickets within speaking distance. Every one knew that the struggle would re-commence in the morning, and our whole line stood in arms. At 3 o'clock in the morning, before light, the enemy drew in all his pickets. The line of railroad is bordered by woods on both sides, except a few open spaces; there was a large field of a mile in extent on my right front, * * * *. The early part of the morning passed away; the enemy made his first appearance on the other side of the large field, his skirmishers forming in line across it and advancing. A large body of cavalry was seen in the woods on the other side, drawn up in column as if to head a mass of infantry in column of attack for the assault. This soon drew the fire of our Parrott guns; the line of skirmishers fell back
THE TWIN FARM-HOUSES AS SEEN FROM CASEY'S REDOUT.
(From a photograph.)

The above cuts and text are from the "Century War Series," and appear in "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War." By courtesy of the Century Company duplicate plates were secured for this volume. To the right of the foreground of the upper picture was the site of Palmer's camp, the western edge of which almost reached to the ground shown here.

Between the foreground of the lower picture and trees in front of the houses was the woodpile, consisting of four-foot cordwood, over a hundred feet long and twelve feet high. In 1897 between the foreground of the lower picture and the trees, and extending west of the foreground, was an apple orchard, which seemed to be dying of old age or through lack of care. Wild blackberry bushes covered the site of Casey's redoubt. The distance between the front of the "twin houses" in the lower picture and the Williamsburg road is 400 feet. This was the site of Wessells' camp, the western edge of which was only a few yards east of the woodpile, extending east along the southern side of the road. The eastern house (at the right of the upper picture) was still standing and occupied during the summer of 1897.

The Confederates occupied the site of Wessells' camp unchallenged after Casey's division had retired, between three and four o'clock, Saturday afternoon, May 31, until after daylight, Monday morning, June 2, although three corps of the army were on the Richmond side of the Chickahominy River. No troops from any other division were within a half mile of Casey's redoubt at any time during the battle.

THE TWIN FARM-HOUSES BEHIND CASEY'S REDOUT (seen indistinctly on the left).
(From a photograph.)

The upper picture looks toward Richmond; the grove stands between the Williamsburg stage road and the houses, which front squarely on the road, perhaps 200 feet away. Four hundred dead of the battle of Seven Pines were buried in the foreground (behind the houses), where also stood a part of Casey's camp.

The foreground of the lower picture shows either a corner of Casey's redoubt or the works between it and the Williamsburg road.

On the Official Map of the Campaign of 1864 the twin houses are named "Kuhn." In 1886 only one of them remained. A persimmon tree stood at that time on the site of Casey's redoubt, and there were slight traces of the old earthworks that for the most part were erected after the battle of Seven Pines.
BATTLE OF
SEVEN PINES or FAIR OAKS
MAY 31st & JUNE 1st 1862.

This map appeared in the "Century War Series." It is reproduced here by courtesy of the Century Company.
The above map, and the map on the opposite page which gives the positions and dispositions of the troops participating in the battle of Seven Pines appear in the "Century War Series," and in "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War." They appear in this volume by courtesy of the Century Company. The latter map shows many glaring inaccuracies. Among them it is necessary here only to indicate two or three. In the disposition of the troops of Naglee's brigade four regiments are placed in rear of Spratt's battery as a support; another a short distance south of the railroad and another to the right of the railroad, making six regiments of this brigade in position which consisted of five regiments only. Naglee's camp is represented as being a short distance North of the Williamsburg Rd., directly opposite Wessells' camp. No portion of Naglee's camp was near this position. The troops supporting Spratt's battery were formed in line of battle along an abatis, to the right and left of the battery, and some distance farther forward than the battery. The supports to the battery comprised parts of three regiments of Naglee's brigade, aggregating less than 900 men, and one regiment from Palmer's brigade. The line of battle at the right of the "Redoubt" consisted of two regiments only, the 85th and 101st Penna. These two battalions were formed in rear of rifle pits which extended from the "Redoubt" to the Williamsburg road, and from the road to a woods north of the road. At no time during the battle of Seven Pines was this position occupied by other Federal troops. In rear of the 101st Regt. Regan's battery was in position, and it at no time occupied the position in advance of the rifle pits, as shown in the map. Casey's picket line was formed along the western border of a wood, facing an open field five or six hundred yards wide, covered with an undergrowth.
BURRYING THE DEAD, AND BURNING HORSES, AT THE TWIN HOUSES NEAR CASEY'S REDOUT, AFTER THE SECOND DAY'S FIGHT.

(From a sketch made at the time.)

The above cut is from the "Century War Series," and appears in "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War." It appears here by courtesy of the Century Company.

Between the foreground of this picture and the two houses was the location of the camps of Wessells' brigade, with the 103d Pennsylvania Regiment in the advance. Directly in front of the foreground is the Williamsburg road, north of which Regan's battery was in position in the rear of the 85th and 101st Pennsylvania Regiments during the first three hours of the battle. No Northern troops except from Casey's division were within 1,000 yards of the site shown in this cut at any time during the battle of Seven Pines, nor until after the Confederates quietly withdrew, thirty-six hours after Casey's division had been driven back.
before it; the cavalry broke, and this, which no doubt was intended as the real attack failed at once, and the head of the column turned down the railroad toward my left. My division, occupying the center of our whole line of battle, now appeared to be the object of attack, to follow the favorite plan of yesterday. It was now 6½ o'clock in the morning. All at once the enemy came upon us in full force on the railroad, which on my left flank, was crossed by two common wood roads, along which they pushed columns of attack in mass, supported on both flanks by battalions of infantry deployed in line of battle. Generals French and Howard now opened upon them a steady and well directed fire from their brigades within half musket shot, I immediately communicated with those officers my willing intention to furnish them re-inforcements as soon as needed. After a close fire of one and a half hours, without any regiment giving ground on our part, the head of the enemy's column broke their line of battle, wavered, and the rout became general for the time. I had thrown in, in the meantime, the two reserve regiments of Howard, to replace those regiments of the front line who had expended all their cartridges, the relieved regiments coming out and filling their boxes again; sixty rounds had now been fired per man, and the battle was supposed to be ended. Hardly was this effected, when the enemy's column, being re-inforced by the reserve, gave a general shout, and again advanced to the attack. This time I threw into action in support the Irish regiments of Gen. Meagher's brigade, reserving some of the first which had been much shattered in the early part of this conflict, and our steady fire was continued about one hour more, until the enemy again fell back. Their retreat this time was more precipitate than before, and three of the Parrott guns, which I had just thrown in a new position, now opened their fire and did what they could to hurry up the retreat. The enemy did not see fit to renew the attack, and from the account given by prisoners and deserters, they must have been badly beaten. * * * My force brought into action amounted to 7,000 men. I lost 900 in killed and wounded. The enemy had 50,000.

This published letter from the pen of Gen. Richardson is typical of volumes of newspaper misrepresentations of the conduct of Gen. Casey's division, and coming from such a source was strongly confirmatory of all the wildly imaginary stories sent to the press by the staff correspondents, who knew nothing of the lines of battle at the front. It is given space here to show the tenor of the information the commanding general must have received from his subordinate commanders at the front on which he based his first dispatches announcing the battle.
Battle of Seven Pines—(Continued.)

CHAPTER VII.

OFFICIAL REPORTS OF COMMANDING GENERALS.

MAY 31 AND JUNE 1, 1862.

The request from Headquarters Army of the Potomac of May 23, desiring “an explanation in detail of the extraordinary falling off in the effective strength of Casey’s division since March 30, 1862,” was again referred to Gen. Casey from corps headquarters on June 8. To this Gen. Casey immediately replied:

I had been furnished with a copy of this letter several days ago, and at once made a report to you, a copy of which was handed to Maj. Davis, assistant inspector-general on the staff of the major-general commanding.

In compliance with further directions from your headquarters, I had caused detailed reports to be rendered from the several brigades of my command, which were lost in the battle of the 31st ultimo, in common with the other books and papers of this division.

The material for a report in detail is no longer in my possession. I can only refer to my former report and to the monthly returns from my brigades, now nearly ready for transmission, as conveying all the information in my power to give. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 755.]

Under date of June 9, this was forwarded to the headquarters of the army by the commanding general of the corps with the following indorsement:

Respectfully submitted to Headquarters Army of the Potomac.

Among the reasons for the falling off in Casey’s division are, in my opinion:

1st. and principal. There were eight raw regiments in that division, and the troops had less opportunity for instruction and organization than the troops that fought at Bull Run.

2d. Until the division left Washington there was but one brigadier.

3d. Great sickness, owing principally to unwholesome encampments and partly to a lack of sufficient military experience and vigilance on the part of officers.

4th. I think there has been a feeling of discouragement in that division, in which there are many excellent men, growing out of the impression, true or false, that the division has not been held in high repute. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 755.]

On June 17, Gen. Naglee, addressed the following communication to the assistant adjutant-general of the Army of the Potomac:

The action of Gen. McClellan in regard to my communication to you of the 4th instant was not communicated to me until the 14th.

I would request you to send to me at your earliest convenience a copy of the dispatches sent by Gen. Heintzelman and others to Gen. McClellan upon which he based his dispatch to the Secretary of War on the 1st of June respecting the battle of Fair Oaks, that I may place on record in your office a statement of facts in direct refutation of the same. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 755.]
This communication passed through division and corps headquarters, Gen. Casey and Gen. Keyes both requesting that the documents asked for be furnished. This request called forth the following reply under date of Headquarters Army of the Potomac, Camp Lincoln, June 20, 1862:

Your letter of the 17th instant, applying to be furnished with a copy of the dispatches sent by Gen. Heintzelman and others to Gen. McClellan upon which he based his dispatch to the Secretary of War of the 1st of June respecting the battle of Fair Oaks, has been received.

In advance of the rendition of the official reports to the War Department the general commanding does not deem it proper to furnish copies of papers on file pertaining to the operations of the campaign.

His dispatch of the 1st of June was, however, published by the War Department and its contents are known to you. It is not thought that Gen. Heintzelman's will be of any material value in preparing a statement of facts in refutation of matter in the general's telegram objectionable to yourself.

You are aware that a subsequent dispatch to the War Department from the general commanding suspended the judgment of the behavior of Casey's division, on the 31st of May, conveyed in his dispatch of June 1, until further investigation shall enable him to do justice to the good conduct which was displayed by portions of the division on that day. The general commanding would be glad to receive any statement throwing light upon the occurrences of the 31st ultimo as far as Casey's division is concerned. His only desire in the premises can be to do full justice to any portion of the troops engaged. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 756.]

Gen. McClellan's official report of the battle of May 31, is embodied in his official report, embracing the entire Peninsula campaign. This is dated August 4, 1863, a year and two months after the battle. Certainly it would be expected of a gentleman of his high character, that he would give especial investigation to enable him "to do full justice to any portion of the troops engaged," and especially that portion of his army that had been pilloried before the army and nation as no other troops had been during the entire war. It will therefore be in order to produce such portions of his official report, as may have a bearing on the censure passed on the division in his dispatches, such as,

"Casey's division, which was the first line, gave way unaccountably and discreditably. This caused a temporary confusion * * * but Heintzelman and Kearny most gallantly brought up their troops, which checked the enemy. * * * With the exception of Casey's division our men behaved splendidly. * * * On Saturday Casey's pickets rushed in without attempting a stand."

Excerpts from the report of Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, commanding general of the Army of the Potomac, dated New York, August 4, 1863:

(a.) On the 24th, 25th and 26th [of May] a very gallant reconnaissance was pushed by Gen. Naglee with his brigade beyond the Seven Pines, and on the 25th the Fourth Corps was ordered to take up and fortify a position in the vicinity of the Seven Pines. The order was at once obeyed, a strong line of rifle pits opened, and an abatis constructed a little in rear of that point where the Nine-mile road comes into the Williamsburg road.

(b.) On the same day Gen. Heintzelman was ordered to cross with his corps (the Third) and take a position 2 miles in advance of Bottom's Bridge, watching the crossing
of White Oak Swamp, and covering the left and the rear of the left wing of the army. Being the senior officer on that side of the river, he was placed in command of both corps, and ordered to hold the Seven Pines at all hazards, but not to withdraw the troops from the crossings of White Oak Swamp unless in an emergency.

(c.) On the 28th Gen. Keyes was ordered to advance Casey's division to Fair Oaks, on the Williamsburg road, some three-quarters of a mile in front of the Seven Pines, leaving Gen. Couch's division at the line of rifle pits. A new line of rifle pits and a small redoubt for six field guns were commenced, and much of the timber in front of this line was felled on the two days following. The picket line was established reaching from the Chickahominy to White Oak Swamp.

(d.) On the 30th Gen. Heintzelman, representing that the advance had met with sharp opposition in taking up their position, and that he considered the point a critical one, requested and obtained authority to make such dispositions of his troops as he saw fit to meet the emergency. He immediately advanced two brigades of Kearny's division about the fourth of a mile in front of Savage Station, thus placing them within supporting distance of Casey's division, which held the advance of the Fourth Corps.

(e.) On the 30th the troops on the south side of the Chickahominy were in position as follows: Casey's division on the right of the Williamsburg road, at right angles to it; the center at Fair Oaks; Couch's division at the Seven Pines; Kearny's division on the railroad from near Savage Station toward the bridge; Hooker's division on the borders of White Oak Swamp. Constant skirmishing had been kept up between our pickets and those of the enemy. While these lines were being taken up and strengthened large bodies of Confederate troops were seen immediately to the front and right of Casey's position.

(f.) During the day and night of the 30th of May a very violent storm occurred; the rain, falling in torrents, rendered work on the rifle pits and bridges impracticable, made the roads almost impassable, and threatened the destruction of the bridges over the Chickahominy.

(g.) The enemy, perceiving the unfavorable position in which we were placed and the possibility of destroying that part of our army which was apparently cut off from the main body by the rapidly-rising stream, threw an overwhelming force (grand divisions of Generals D. H. Hill, Huger, Longstreet, and G. W. Smith), upon the position occupied by Casey's division.

(h.) It appears from the official reports of Gen. Keyes and his subordinate commanders that at 10 o'clock A. M. on the 31st of May an aide-de-camp of Gen. J. E. Johnston was captured by Gen. Naglee's pickets. But little information as to the movements of the enemy was obtained from him, but his presence so near our lines excited suspicion and caused increased vigilance, and the troops were ordered by Gen. Keyes to be under arms at 11 o'clock.

(i.) Between 11 and 12 o'clock it was reported to Gen. Casey that the enemy were approaching in considerable force on the Williamsburg road. At this time Casey's division was disposed as follows: Naglee's brigade extending from the Williamsburg road to the Garnett field, having one regiment across the railroad; Gen. Wessells' brigade in the rifle pits, and Gen. Palmer's in the rear of Gen. Wessells'; one battery of artillery in advance with Gen. Naglee; one battery in rear of rifle pits to the right of the redoubt, and another battery unharnessed in the redoubt. Gen. Couch's division, holding the second line, had Gen. Abercrombie's brigade on the right along the Nine-mile road, with two regiments and one battery across the railroad near Fair Oaks Station; Gen. Peck's brigade on the right [left], and Gen. Deven's in the center.

(k.) On the approach of the enemy, Gen. Casey sent forward one of Gen. Palmer's regiments to support the picket line, but the regiment gave way without making much, if any, resistance. Heavy firing at once commenced and the pickets were driven in. Gen. Keyes ordered Gen. Couch to move Gen. Peck's brigade to occupy the ground on the left of the Williamsburg road, which had not before been occupied by our forces, and thus to
support Gen. Casey's left where the first attack was most severe. The enemy now came on in heavy force, attacking Gen. Casey simultaneously in front and both flanks. Gen. Keyes sent to Gen. Heintzelman for re-enforcements, but the messenger was delayed, so that orders were not sent to Generals Kearny and Hooker until nearly three o'clock, and it was nearly 5 P. M. when Generals Jameson and Berry's brigades, of Gen. Kearny's division, arrived on the field. Gen. Birney was ordered up the railroad, but by Gen. Kearny's order halted his brigade before arriving at the scene of action. Orders were also dispatched for Gen. Hooker to move up from White Oak Swamp, and he arrived after dark at Savage Station.

(l.) As soon as the firing was heard at headquarters orders were sent to Gen. Sumner to get his command under arms and be ready to move at a moment's warning. His corps, consisting of Generals Richardson's and Sedgwick's divisions, was encamped on the north side of the Chickahominy, some 6 miles above Bottom's bridge. Each division had thrown a bridge over the stream opposite to its own position.

(m.) At 1 o'clock Gen. Sumner moved the two divisions to their respective bridges, with instructions to halt and await further orders. At 2 o'clock orders were sent from headquarters to cross these divisions without delay, and push them rapidly to Gen. Heintzelman's support. This order was received and communicated at 2.30 o'clock, and the passage was immediately commenced. In the meantime Gen. Naglee's brigade, with the batteries of Gen. Casey's division, which Gen. Naglee directed, struggled gallantly to maintain the redoubt and rifle pits against the overwhelming masses of the enemy. They were re-enforced by a regiment from Gen. Peck's brigade. The artillery, under command of Col. G. D. Bailey, First New York Artillery, and afterward of Gen. Naglee, did good execution on the advance column. The left of the position was, however, soon turned, and a sharp crossfire opened upon the gunners and men in the rifle pits. Col. Bailey, Maj. Van Valkenberg and Adjutant Rumsey of the same regiment were killed; some of the guns in the redoubt were taken, and the whole line was driven back upon the position occupied by Gen. Couch. The brigades of Generals Wessells and Palmer, with the reenforcements which had been sent them from Gen. Couch, had also been driven from the field with heavy loss, and the whole position occupied by Gen. Casey's division was taken by the enemy.

(n.) Previous to this time Gen. Keyes ordered Gen. Couch to advance two regiments to relieve the pressure upon Gen. Casey's right flank. In making this movement Gen. Couch discovered large masses of the enemy pushing toward our right and crossing the railroad, as well as a heavy column which had been held in reserve, and which was now making its way toward Fair Oaks Station. Gen. Couch at once engaged this column with two regiments, but, though reenforced by two additional regiments, he was overpowered, and the enemy pushed between him and the main body of his division. With these four regiments and one battery Gen. Couch fell back about half a mile towards Grapevine Bridge, where, hearing that Gen. Sumner had crossed, he formed line of battle facing Fair Oaks Station, and prepared to hold the position.

(o.) Generals Berry's and Jameson's brigades had by this time arrived in front of the Seven Pines. Gen. Berry was ordered to take possession of the woods on the left, and push forward so as to have a flank fire on the enemy's lines. This movement was executed brilliantly, Gen. Berry pushing his regiments forward through the woods until their rifle commanded the left of the camp and works occupied by Gen. Casey's division in the morning. Their fire on the pursuing columns of the enemy was very destructive, and assisted materially in checking the pursuit in that part of the field. He held his position in these woods against several attacks of superior numbers, and after dark, being cut off by the enemy from the main body, he fell back toward White Oak Swamp, and by a circuit brought his men into our lines in good order.

(p.) Gen. Jameson, with two regiments (the other two of his brigade having been detached—one to Gen. Peck and one to Gen. Birney), moved rapidly to the front, on the left of the Williamsburg road, and succeeded for a time in keeping the abatis clear of the
enemy. But, large numbers of the enemy pressing past the right of his line, he, too, was forced to retreat through the woods toward White Oak Swamp, and in that way gained camp under cover of night.

(q.) Brig. Gen. Devens, who had held the center of Couch's division, had made repeated and gallant efforts to regain portions of the ground lost in front, but each time was driven back, and finally withdrew behind the rifle pits near Seven Pines.

(r.) Meantime Gen. Sumner had arrived with the advance of his corps, Gen. Sedgwick's division, at the point held by Gen. Couch with four regiments and one battery. The leading regiment * * * was immediately deployed to the right of Couch * * * and the rest of the division formed in line of battle, Kirby's battery near the center, in an angle of the woods. One of Gen., Couch's regiments was sent to open communication with Gen. Heintzelman. No sooner were these dispositions made than the enemy came in strong force and opened a heavy fire along the line. He made several charges, but was each time repulsed with great loss by the steady fire of the infantry and the splendid practice of the battery. After sustaining the enemy's fire for a considerable time Gen. Sumner ordered five regiments * * * to advance and charge with the bayonet. This charge was executed in the most brilliant manner. Our troops springing over two fences which were between them and the enemy, rushed upon his lines and drove him in confusion from that part of the field. Darkness now ended the battle for that day.

(s.) During the night dispositions were made for its early renewal. Gen. Couch's division and so much of Gen. Casey's as could be collected, together with Gen. Kearny's, occupied the rifle pits near Seven Pines. Gen. Peck, in falling back on the left, had succeeded late in the afternoon in rallying a considerable number of stragglers, and was taking them once more into action, when he was ordered back to the intrenched camp by Gen. Kearny. Gen. Hooker brought up his division about dark, having been delayed by the heaviness of the roads and the throng of fugitives from the field, through whom the colonel of the leading regiment (Starr) reports he "was obliged to force his way with the bayonet." This division bivouacked for the night in rear of the right of the rifle pits on the other side of the railroad. Gen. Richardson's division also came upon the field about sunset. Gen. Sedgwick's division, with the regiments under Gen. Couch, held about the same position as when the fight ceased, and Gen. Richardson, on his arrival, was ordered to place his division on the left, to connect with Gen. Kearny; Gen. French's brigade was posted along the railroad and Generals Howard's and Meagher's brigades in second and third lines.

(t.) During the night the three batteries were brought to the front. About 5 o'clock in the morning of the 1st of June skirmishers and some cavalry of the enemy were discovered in front of Gen. Richardson's division. Capt. Pettit's battery (B, 1st New York), having come upon the ground, threw a few shells among them, when they dispersed. There was a wide interval between Gen. Richardson and Gen. Kearny. To close this Gen. Richardson's line was extended to the left and his first line moved over the railroad. Sarcely had they gained the position when the enemy appearing in large force from the woods in front, opened a heavy fire of musketry at short range along the whole line. He approached very rapidly with columns of attack formed on two roads which crossed the railroad. These columns were supported by infantry in line of battle on each side, cutting Gen. French's line. He threw out no skirmishers, but appeared determined to carry all before him by one crushing blow. For nearly an hour the first line of Gen. Richardson's division stood and returned the fire, the lines of the enemy being re-enforced and relieved time after time, till finally Gen. Howard was ordered with his brigade to go to Gen. French's assistance. He led his men gallantly to the front, and in a few minutes the fire of the enemy ceased and his whole line fell back on that part of the field. On the opening of the firing in the morning Gen. Hooker pushed forward on the railroad with two regiments (5th and 6th New Jersey), followed by Gen. Sickles' brigade. * * * On coming near the woods, which were held by the enemy in force, Gen. Hooker found Gen. Birney's
brigade * * * in line of battle. He sent back to hasten Gen. Sickles' but ascertained that it had been turned off by Gen. Heintzelman to meet a column advancing in that direction. He at once made the attack with the two New Jersey regiments, calling upon Col. Ward to support him with Gen. Birney's brigade. This was well done, our troops advancing into the woods under a heavy fire, and pushing the enemy before them for more than an hour of hard fighting. A charge with the bayonet was then ordered by Gen. Hooker with the 5th and 6th New Jersey, 9d Maine, and 38th and 40th New York, and the enemy fled in confusion, throwing down arms and even clothing in his flight. Gen. Sickles, having been ordered to the left, formed line of battle on both sides of the Williamsburg road, and advanced under a sharp fire from the enemy, deployed in the woods in front of him. After a brisk interchange of musketry fire while crossing the open ground, the Excelsior Brigade dashed into the timber with the bayonet and put the enemy to flight.

(u.) On the right the enemy opened fire after half an hour's cessation, which was promptly responded to by Gen. Richardson's division. Again the most vigorous efforts were made to break our line, and again they were frustrated by the steady courage of our troops. In about an hour Gen. Richardson's whole line advanced, pouring in their fire at close range, which threw the line of the enemy back in some confusion. This was followed up by a bayonet charge, led by Gen. French in person, with the 57th and 60th New York, supported by two regiments sent by Gen. Heintzelman, the 71st and 73d New York, which turned the confusion of the enemy into precipitate flight. One gun captured the previous day was retaken.

(v.) Our troops pushed forward as far as the lines held by them on the 31st before the attack. On the battle-field there were found many of our own and the Confederate wounded, arms, caissons, wagons, subsistence stores, and forage, abandoned by the enemy in his rout. The state of the roads and impossibility of maneuvering artillery prevented farther pursuit. On the next morning a reconnaissance was sent forward which pressed back the pickets of the enemy to within five miles of Richmond; but again the impossibility of forcing even a few batteries forward precluded our holding permanently this position. The lines held previous to the battle were therefore resumed. Gen. J. E. Johnston reports loss of the enemy in Longstreet's and G. W. Smith's divisions at 4,283; Gen. D. H. Hill who had taken the advance in the attack, estimates his loss at 2,500; which would give the enemy's loss 6,783. Our loss was in Gen. Sumner's corps, 1,228; Gen. Heintzelman's corps, 1,394; Gen. Keyes' corps, 3,120; total 5,737.

(w.) Previous to the arrival of Gen. Sumner upon the field of battle, on the 31st of May, Gen. Heintzelman corps commander present, was in the immediate command of the forces engaged. The first information I received that the battle was in progress was a dispatch from him [Gen. Heintzelman] stating that Casey's division had given way. During the night of the 31st I received a dispatch from him, dated 8.45 P. M., in which he says:

(x.) "I am just in. When I got to the front the most of Gen. Casey's division had dispersed. * * * The rout of Gen. Casey's division had a most dispiriting effect on the troops as they came up. I saw no reason why we should have been driven back."

(y.) This official statement together with other accounts received previous to my arrival upon the battlefield, to the effect that Casey's division had given way without making a proper resistance, caused me to state, in a telegram to the Secretary of War on the 1st, that this division, "gave way unaccountably and discreditably." Subsequent investigations, however, greatly modified the impressions first received, and I accordingly advised the Secretary of War of this in a dispatch on the 5th of June.

(z.) The official reports of Generals Keyes, Casey and Naglee show that a very considerable portion of this division fought well, and that the brigade of Gen. Naglee is entitled to credit for its gallantry. This division, among the regiments of which were eight of comparatively new troops, was attacked by superior numbers; yet, according to the reports alluded to, it stood the attack "for three hours before it was reenforced." A
portion of the division was thrown into great confusion upon the first onslaught of the enemy; but the personal efforts of Gen. Naglee, Col. Bailey, and other officers, who boldly went to the front and encouraged the men by their presence and example at this critical juncture rallied a great part of the division, and thereby enabled it to act a prominent part in this severely-contested battle. It therefore affords me great satisfaction to withdraw the expression contained in my first dispatch, and I cordially give my indorsement to the conclusion of the division commander, that those parts of his command which behaved discreditably were exceptional cases. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part 1, pp. 37-43.]

Excerpts from the official reports of his subordinate commanding generals bearing on the action and conduct of Casey's division, follow Gen. McClellan's report. These embrace the reports of the commanding generals of the left wing of the Army, the Fourth Corps, the division, and the three brigades of the division.

**Excerpts from the report of Brig. Gen. Samuel P. Heintzelman, commanding general of the left wing of the Army of the Potomac on Saturday, May 31, 1862, dated Savage Station, June 7, 1862:**

(1.) On the 25th of May Gen. Keyes' corps was placed under my command. He was directed to advance to the Seven Pines, on the Williamsburg road, about 7 miles from the city of Richmond. My corps was ordered to cross the Chickahominy at Bottom's Bridge and occupy * * * positions two miles in advance of it * * * and to watch the crossings of the White Oak Swamp, with the roads beyond covering our left flank and rear. On that same day I crossed the river and occupied the positions indicated. Gen. Keyes' corps advanced. The next day, a reconnaissance having been ordered, I rode forward a mile beyond the Seven Pines, and had the positions examined by the right front.

(2.) Gen. Casey's division was located a short distance back of the Seven Pines. He selected a position in front of the Seven Pines at which to throw up some defensive works. At his request I let him move forward and occupy the ground. He did so, and immediately commenced strengthening it with rifle pits and abatis.

(3.) The engineers now made a more thorough examination, and it was decided to hold a position about three-quarters of a mile in advance, as it covered a cross-road leading from the Seven Pines toward the Old Tavern, the latter strongly occupied by the enemy. Gen. Casey moved his division forward and work was commenced on this new position. It progressed but slowly, however, on account of the incessant rains. This was on the 29th. On that day there was a sharp skirmish; Maj. Kelley, New York Volunteers, killed, and 2 privates wounded. On the 30th our pickets and the enemy's were again engaged. In the afternoon we had a heavy thunderstorm, with torrents of rain, continuing until late in the night and putting a stop to all work.

(4.) On the next day, the 31st, the forenoon was quiet. About 1 P. M. I first heard firing, more than there had been for several days. I sent Lieutenants Hunt and Johnson, two of my aides, to the front to learn what it was. At 2 P. M. I received a note from Lieut. Jackson of Gen. Keyes' staff, informing me that the enemy were pressing them very hard, especially on the railroad, and asking me to send two brigades, if I had them at hand to spare. On this I sent orders for a brigade to advance up the railroad as a support. The one selected by Gen. Kearny was Gen. Birney's brigade.

(5.) Previous to this I had received instructions from the commanding general to hold the Seven Pines at all hazards, but not to move the troops guarding the approaches of Bottom's Bridge and crossing of the White Oak Swamp, unless it became absolutely necessary to hold the position in front at the Seven Pines. Believing the position in front of the Seven Pines to be a critical one, and not having entire confidence in the raw
troops comprising the division of Gen. Casey, I sought and obtained permission on Friday afternoon to advance a portion of my corps from its position near Bottom's Bridge. The order was to make such disposition of the troops of my corps as I saw fit. I immediately ordered two brigades of Kearny's division to move forward on the Williamsburg stage road and encamp about three-quarters of a mile in advance of Savage Station.

(6.) Lieutenants Hunt and Johnson returned about 2.30 P. M., having seen Gen. Keyes, by whom they were directed to report that his front line, which was held by Casey's division, was being driven in. The road from the front was at this time filled with the fugitives. I mounted my horse and rode briskly to the front. At the corner of the field, not a third of a mile from my headquarters, I saw the fugitives from the battle-field increasing in numbers as I advanced.

(7.) I had already given orders for all the available troops to advance to support those in front, as well as sent an officer to communicate with Gen. Sumner and request his assistance. This officer met a staff officer sent by Gen. Sumner to offer me assistance.

(8.) On reaching the front I met our troops fiercely engaged with the enemy near the Seven Pines, having lost the first position, three-fourths of a mile in advance. Gen. Keyes was there, and from him I learned the position of affairs. Our re-enforcements now began to arrive. Gen. Berry's brigade was sent into the woods on our left and ordered to outflank the enemy, who occupied in force Gen. Casey's camp, and had a battery of artillery near a large woodpile in rear of the unfinished redoubt. This position Gen. Berry held till dark, when Gen. Jameson's brigade came up, the 57th Pennsylvania having gone up the railroad from Savage Station, as the main road was full of fugitives. * * * Two regiments, the 63d and 105th Pennsylvania, went to the left through the woods, and were deployed by Gen. Kearny's order across the Williamsburg road, and they gallantly drove the enemy out of the abatis and rifle pits, holding their position for an hour and a half. This brought the time to about 5 o'clock, at which hour the enemy received a re-enforcement of a division, and began to drive our troops out of the woods on the right of the road.

(9.) The fire had increased so much that I went to the left to order two of Gen. Peck's regiments from where they were guarding a road leading from White Oak Swamp to support the line. I met them coming, having been ordered across by Gen. Keyes. They went into the woods, but, together with the troops already there, were driven out by the overwhelming masses of the enemy. Gen. Jameson rode across to rally them, but was met by a volley from the enemy. His horse fell with three balls in him. In falling the general's leg was caught under the animal. Some men of the 63d Pennsylvania came, lifted the horse off, and helped the general away. Gen. Peck's horse was shot under him, and several other officers had their horses struck. Their exertions, however, partially rallied the returning regiments and they fell back fighting. This brought us into a narrow strip of wood along the main road.

(10.) With the assistance of my staff and other officers we succeeded in rallying fragments of regiments to the number of about 1,800 men. Part of these Gen. Keyes took to the left of the road. I placed Col. Hays of the 63d Pennsylvania in command of the remainder, with two companies of his regiment just returned from picket. This force I ordered to advance. They succeeded in repulsing the advancing enemy. This was late in the afternoon and the fire gradually slackened and ceased on this part of the field. The enemy never got beyond those woods. A new line was formed in some unfinished rifle pits about one-half a mile in rear, and occupied by the troops of Generals Couch's and Kearny's divisions and such troops of Gen. Casey's division as could be collected.

(11.) When the troops on the right of the road near the Seven Pines gave way the enemy pushed several regiments across the main road, placing them between Gen. Berry's brigade, part of Jameson's, and the position of our troops who gave way from the right of the road. These troops, however, most gallantly held their position on the rebel right flank, and kept up such a deadly fire that no effort the enemy made could
dislodge them. They remained till dark, firing away 60 rounds of ammunition to each man, then supplying themselves with cartridges from the dead and wounded. Their fire completely commanded the open space in their front, and not a mounted man succeeded in passing under their fire. When night came on they fell back about a mile, took the Saw-mill road, and by 8 P. M., joined their division. When we re-occupied their ground again the rebel dead covering their front attested their coolness and accuracy of fire.

(12.) Early in the afternoon (3 P. M.) an order was sent, on the application of Gen. Keyes, to Gen. Kearny to send a brigade up the railroad to his assistance. The order sent to Gen. Kearny was to send a brigade up the railroad to the front, and Gen. Birney was ordered up. I learned after I arrived on the field of battle that the brigade had halted on the railroad a very short distance from the camp. I sent at least two orders for it to advance. From the reports a few chance shots fell among the left of this brigade, but I cannot learn that it was engaged during the day. Had it gone into action between the railroad and the Williamsburg road, as I expected it would, I believe we would have driven back the enemy and have recaptured our artillery lost before I came on the field. The gallant manner in which the brigade fought when led into action the next day by the gallant Col. J. H. Hobart Ward shows what it would have done if it had taken part in the battle of the previous day. Through what misunderstanding or counter-order it was kept back I am unable to say. After the battle Gen. Birney was placed under arrest by my order, and brought before a court-martial for disobedience of orders. The court honorably acquitted him.

(13.) Gen. Keyes has written such an excellent report of the operations of his corps that it is scarcely necessary for me to add to it. So much has, however, been said as to the conduct of Gen. Casey's division that it is due to him and to the troops he commanded that I should give my views. Gen. Casey in his report says:

(14.) "On the morning of the 31st my pickets toward the right of my line succeeded in capturing Lieut. Washington **. Between 11 and 12 o'clock a mounted vedette was sent in from the advance pickets to report that a body of the enemy was in sight, approaching on the Richmond road. ** I was led to believe that a serious attack was contemplated, and immediately ordered the division under arms ** and made every disposition to repel the enemy. Whilst they were in progress the pickets commenced firing."

(15.) It is much to be regretted that I knew nothing of this until after the battle. After the firing had attracted my attention I sent two of my aides to the front for information. I received a note at 2 P. M. from Gen. Keyes, merely asking, as I have already said, for two brigades, if I could spare them, to be sent up the railroad. With this indefinite information I ordered up every available man, and as they arrived in succession was forced to put them in action to meet pressing emergencies, without waiting to make a concentrated effort. Nothing but the great gallantry of Gen. Kearny, who had a horse shot under him while leading the 37th New York into action, his officers and men, and the steadiness of most of Gen. Couch's division, saved us from a most disastrous defeat.

(16.) The defensive works of Gen. Casey's position, in consequence of the increasing rains and the short time allowed him for labor with trenching tools, were in a very unfinished state, and could oppose but a feeble resistance to the overwhelming mass thrown upon them.

(17.) The artillery was well served, and some of the regiments fought gallantly until overwhelmed by numbers. After they were once broken, however, they could not be rallied. The road was filled with fugitives (not all from this division) as far as Bottom's Bridge. Col. Starr's regiment, of Gen. Hooker's division, had to force its way through them with the bayonet, and a guard placed at Bottom's Bridge stopped over a thousand men.

(18.) An officer informed me that after we had driven the enemy beyond our first intrenchments he visited Gen. Casey's camp, and found more men bayonetted and shot within their shelter tents than outside them.
(19.) As Gen. Casey in his report has not designated the regiments who did not behave well, I do not feel called upon to mention them. The 104th Pennsylvania, 100th and 92d New York, and 11th Maine, Gen. Casey says, made a charge on the enemy under his eye and by his express orders that would have honored veteran troops. The 101st Pennsylvania and 80th New York fought well.

(20.) There is one statement in Gen. Palmer's report which it is necessary to notice.

(21.) No portion of Gen. Hooker's division was engaged on Saturday, the first day. The heavy loss in Gen. Kearny's division will attest how much his division felt the enemy. After Gen. Kearny's division arrived on the field our forces did not fall back a third of a mile before they checked the enemy. The next day they drove them back, and before night a portion of Sickles' brigade, Hooker's division, occupied at least a portion of Gen. Casey's camps, and brought off numbers of our wounded of the day before and of the enemy's, too, whom they had been compelled to abandon on the field when they retreated.

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(22.) Couch's, Casey's and Kearny's divisions on the field numbered but 18,500 men. Deducting from this force Casey's division, 5,000 men, dispersed when I came on the field, and Birney's 2,900, not engaged, we with less than 11,000 men, after a struggle of three and a half hours, checked the enemy's heavy masses.

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(23.) When I arrived on the field I met Samuel Wilkeson, Esq., the chief correspondent of the New York Tribune. I accepted his services as volunteer aide, and I wish to bear testimony to his gallantry and coolness during the battle. When the rebel re-enforcements arrived, about 5 o'clock P. M., and our troops commenced to give way, he was conspicuous in the throng in rallying the men.

(24.) The arrival of Gen. Sedgwick's division of Sumner's corps on my extreme right late in the afternoon was most opportune. Gen. Abercrombie's brigade had maintained itself most gallantly, but would have been overwhelmed by the masses of the enemy but for this timely assistance. The greatest distance the enemy, with their overwhelming numbers, claim to have driven us back is but a mile and a half. The distance was less. During the evening the troops were formed in the lines before spoken of, and the artillery so disposed as to resist a heavy force should the attack be renewed the next day.

(25.) On the next morning, Sunday, June 1, a little before 7 o'clock, firing of musketry commenced near the Fair Oaks Station. This soon became heavy, occasioned by an attack by the enemy on Gen. Sumner's corps, on my right. I immediately gave orders for that portion of Gen. Hooker's division to advance between the Williamsburg road and the railroad. Gen. Hooker gallantly led the 5th and 6th New Jersey Regiments forward near the railroad. Gen. Sickles' brigade followed, but finding the enemy in force to the left of the Williamsburg road turned, by my direction, a portion of the brigade to the left of this road. * * * Gen. Birney's brigade, on the right of Gen. Hooker, * * * promptly and gallantly supported the former. After some fighting Gen. Hooker made a gallant charge with the bayonet, leading himself the 5th and 6th New Jersey against the rebel troops and driving them back nearly a mile.

(26.) In Sickles' brigade, the 71st New York, Col. Hall, after one or two volleys, made a charge and soon drove the enemy before them. The 78d New York, Maj. Moriarity, advanced also on the right. The other regiments of this brigade drove the enemy in the same manner. In every instance in which our troops used the bayonet our loss was comparatively light, and the enemy was driven back, suffering heavily. Our troops pushed as far forward as the battle-field of the previous day, where they found many of our wounded and those of the enemy.

(27.) I call attention to the paragraph in Gen. Sickles' report respecting the condition in which he found the field after the enemy retreated—strewed with small arms,
rebel caissons filled with ammunition, baggage wagons, subsistence stores, and forage. In one building at Fair Oaks half a dozen sacks of salt were left. These things indicate their hasty retreat.

(28.) On the next morning I sent forward Gen. Hooker with the portion of his division engaged the day before to make a reconnaissance, which he did in a most gallant manner far beyond the position we had on Saturday. As he advanced the enemy's pickets fell back. Our pickets got within 5 miles of Richmond. In the afternoon our troops fell back and occupied the positions we held before the battle.

(29.) Our loss on the first day was seven pieces of artillery from Gen. Casey's division and one (the carriage being injured) from Gen. Couch's. One of these was recovered the next day. I annex a list of casualties in the Third and Fourth Corps in the battle of the 31st ultimo and 1st instant. [Third Corps, aggregate loss 1,245; Fourth Corps, 2,597.]

(30.) As the enemy selected his time and point of attack and failed in his attempt to drive us into the Chickahominy, and as he in his turn was driven back with immense loss, abandoning many of his wounded and leaving his dead unburied, we may well claim a victory, and such it certainly was. (O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part 1, pp. 812-818.)

Excerpts from the report of Brig. Gen. Erasmus D. Keyes, commanding Fourth Corps, dated Headquarters Fourth Corps, June 13, 1862:

The Fourth Corps, being in the advance, crossed the Chickahominy at Bottom's Bridge the 28th of May, and encamped 2 miles beyond. Two days later I received orders to advance on the Williamsburg road and take up and fortify the nearest strong position to a fork of roads called the Seven Pines. The camp I selected, and which was the next day approved by Maj. Gen. McClellan, stretches across the Williamsburg road between Bottom's Bridge and the Seven Pines, and is distant about a mile from the latter. I caused that camp to be fortified with rifle pits and breastworks extending to the left about 1,600 yards and terminating in a croquet to the rear. Similar works, about 300 yards farther in advance, were constructed on the right, extending toward the Richmond and West Point Railroad.

Having been ordered by Gen. McClellan to hold the Seven Pines strongly, I designed to throw forward to that neighborhood two brigades of Casey's division, and to establish my picket line considerably in advance and far to the right. The lines described above are those where the main body of the troops engaged near the Seven Pines spent the night of the 31st, after the battle. Examinations having been made by several engineers, I was ordered on the 28th of May to advance Casey's division to a point indicated by a large wood-pile and two houses, about three-fourths of a mile beyond the Seven Pines (but which in fact is only half a mile), and to establish Couch's division at the Seven Pines. Accordingly Casey's division bivouacked on the right and left of the Williamsburg road and wood-pile, and Couch established his division at the Seven Pines and along the Nine-mile road. Both divisions set to work with the few intrenching tools at hand to slash the forests and to dig a few rifle pits. Casey erected a small pentangular redoubt, and placed within it six pieces of artillery. The country is mostly wooded and greatly intersected with marshes. The Nine-mile road branching to the right from the Seven Pines slants forward, and at the distance of a mile crosses the railroad at Fair Oaks. A mile beyond it reaches an open field, where the enemy was seen in line of battle on the 29th and 30th days of May.

Casey's pickets were only about 1,000 yards in advance of his line of battle, and I decided, after a personal inspection with him, that they could go no farther, as they were stopped by the enemy in force on the opposite side of an opening at that point. I pushed forward the pickets on the railroad a trifle, and they had been extended by Gen. Naglee to the open field, where the enemy was seen in line of battle, and from thence
to the right bank of the Chickahominy. After a thorough examination of my whole position I discovered that on the 30th of May the enemy were in greater or less force, closed upon the whole circumference of a semi-circle described from my headquarters near Seven Pines with a radius of two miles.

A considerable space about the fork of the road at Seven Pines was open cultivated ground, and there was a clear space a short distance in front of Casey's redoubt at the wood-pile. Between the two openings we found a curtain of trees, which were cut down to form an abatis. That line of abatis was continued on a curve to the right and rear and across the Nine-mile road.

When the battle commenced Casey's division was in front of the abatis; Naglee's brigade on the right, having two regiments beyond the railroad; Palmer's brigade on the left, and Wessells' brigade in the center. Couch's division was on the right and left of the Williamsburg road, near the forks, and along the Nine-mile road. Peck's brigade was on the left, Deven's brigade in the center, and Abercrombie's on the right, having two regiments and Brady's battery across the railroad, near Fair Oaks, thus forming two lines of battle.

Through all the night of the 30th of May there was raging a storm the like of which I cannot remember. Torrents of rain drenched the earth, the thunderbolts rolled and fell without intermission, and the heavens flashed with a perpetual blaze of lightning. From their beds of mud and the peltings of this storm the Fourth Corps rose to fight the battle of the 31st of May, 1862.

At about 10 o'clock A. M. it was announced to me that an aide-de-camp of Maj. Gen. J. E. Johnston, C. S. Army, had been captured by our pickets on the edge of the field referred to above, beyond Fair Oaks Station. While speaking with the young gentleman, at the moment of sending him away, a couple of shots fired in front of Casey's headquarters produced in him a very evident emotion. I was perplexed, because having seen the enemy in force on the right when the aide was captured, I supposed his chief must be there. Furthermore, the country was more open in that direction and the road in front of Casey's position was bad for artillery. I concluded therefore, in spite of the shots, that if attacked that day the attack would come from the right. Having sent orders for the troops to be under arms precisely at 11 o'clock A. M., I mounted my horse and rode along the Nine-mile road to Fair Oaks Station. On my way I met Col. Bailey, chief of artillery of Casey's division, and directed him to proceed and prepare his artillery for action.

Finding nothing unusual at Fair Oaks, I gave some orders to the troops there, and returned quickly to Seven Pines. The firing was becoming brisk, but there was yet no certainty of a great attack. As a precaution to support Casey's left flank, I ordered Gen. Couch to advance Peck's brigade in that direction. This was promptly done, and the 93d Pennsylvania, Col. McCarter, was advanced considerably beyond the balance of that brigade.

At about 12:30 P. M. it became suddenly apparent that the attack was real and in great force. All my corps was under arms and in position. I sent immediately to Gen. Heintzelman for re-enforcements, and requested him to order one brigade up the railroad. My messenger was unaccountably delayed, and my dispatch appears not to have reached its destination till much later than it should have done. Gen. Heintzelman arrived on the field about 3 P. M., and the two brigades of his corps, Berry's and Jameson's of Kearney's division, which took part in the battle of the 31st, arrived successively, but the exact times of their arrival in the presence of the enemy I am unable to fix with certainty; and in this report I am not always able to fix times with exactness, but they are nearly exact.

Casey's division, holding the front line, was first seriously attacked at about 12:30 P. M. The 109d Pennsylvania Volunteers, sent forward to support the pickets, broke shortly and retreated, joined by a great many sick. The numbers as they passed down the road as stragglers conveyed an exaggerated idea of surprise and defeat. There was no surprise,
however. All the effective men of that division were under arms, and all the batteries were in position, with their horses harnessed (except some belonging to the guns in the redoubt), and ready to fight as soon as the enemy's forces came into view. Their numbers were vastly disproportionate to the mighty host which assailed them in front and on both flanks.

The picket line being only about 1,000 yards in advance of the line of battle and the country covered with forests, the Confederates, arriving fresh and confident, formed their lines and masses under the shelter of woods, and burst upon us with great suddenness, and had not our regiments been under arms they would have swept through our lines and routed us completely. As it was however, Casey's division held its line of battle for more than three hours, and the execution done upon the enemy was shown by the number of rebel dead left upon the field after the enemy had held possession of that part of it for upward of twenty-four hours. During that time it is understood all the means of transport available in Richmond were employed to carry away their dead and wounded. The enemy advancing as they frequently did, in masses, received the shot and shell of our artillery like veterans, closing up the gaps and moving steadily on to the assault. From my position in front of the second line I could see all the movements of the enemy, but was not always able to discover his numbers, which were more or less concealed by the trees, nor could I accurately define the movements of our regiments and batteries.

For the details of the conflict with Casey's line I must refer to his report, and to the reports of Brigadier-Generals Naglee, Palmer, and Wessells, whose activity I had many opportunities to witness.

* * * * * * *

At the time when the enemy was concentrating troops from the right, left, and from the redoubt and other works in the front of Casey's headquarters and near the Williamsburg road the danger became imminent that he would overcome the resistance there and advance down the road and through the abatis. In anticipation of such an attempt I called Flood's and McCarthy's batteries of Couch's division, to form in and on the right and left of the junction of the Williamsburg and Nine-mile roads, place infantry in all the rifle pits on the right and left, pushing some up also to the abatis, and collecting a large number of stragglers posted them in the woods on the left. Scarcely had these dispositions been completed when the enemy directly in front, driven by the attack of a portion of Kearny's division on their right and by our fire upon their front, moved off to join the masses which were pressing upon my right.

To make head against the enemy approaching in that direction it was found necessary to effect an almost perpendicular change of front of the troops on the right of the Williamsburg road. By the energetic assistance of Generals Devens and Naglee, Col. Adams, 1st Long Island, and Captains Walsh and Quackenbos, of the 36th New York, whose efforts I particularly noticed, I was enabled to form a line along the edge of the woods, which stretched nearly down to the swamp, about 800 yards from the fork, and along and near to the Nine-mile road. I threw back the right crochet-wise, and on its left Capt. Miller First Pennsylvania Artillery, Couch's division, trained his gun so as to contest the advance of the enemy.

I directed Gen. Naglee to ride along the line to encourage the men and keep them at work. This line long resisted the progress of the enemy with the greatest firmness and gallantry, but by pressing it very closely with overwhelming numbers, probably ten to one, they were enabled finally to force it to fall back so far upon the left and center as to form a new line in rear. Shortly after this attack I saw Gen. Devens leave the field wounded. There was no general officer left in sight belonging to Couch's division. Seeing the torrent of enemies continually advancing, I hastened across to the left beyond the fork to bring forward re-enforcements. Brig. Gen. Peck, at the head of the 102d and 93d Pennsylvania Regiments, Colonels Rowley and McCarter, was ordered,
with the concurrence of Gen. Heintzelman, to advance across the open space and attack the enemy now coming forward in great numbers. Those regiments passed through a shower of balls, and formed in line, having an oblique direction to the Nine-mile road. They held their ground for more than half an hour, doing great execution. Peck's and McCarter's horses were shot under them. After contending against enormous odds those two regiments were forced to give way, Peck and the 102d crossing the Williamsburg road to the wood, and McCarter and the bulk of the 93d passing to the right, where they took post in the last line of battle, formed mostly after 6 o'clock P. M. During the time last noticed, Miller's battery, having taken up a new position, did first-rate service.

As soon as Peck had moved forward I hastened to the 10th Massachusetts, Col. Briggs, which regiment I had myself once before moved, now in the rifle pits to the left of the Williamsburg road, and ordered them to follow me across the field. * * * Had the 10th Massachusetts been two minutes later they would have been too late to occupy that fine position, and it would have been impossible to have formed the next and last line of the battle of the 31st, which stemmed the tide of defeat and turned it toward victory—a victory which was begun by the Fourth Corps and two brigades of Kearny's division of the Third Corps, and consummated the next day by Sumner and others.

After seeing the Tenth Massachusetts and the adjoining line well at work under a murderous fire I observed that that portion of the line 150 yards to my left was crumbling away, some falling and others retiring. I perceived also that the artillery had withdrawn, and that large bodies of broken troops were leaving the center and moving down the Williamsburg road to the rear. Assisted by * * * my staff I tried in vain to check the retreating current. Passing through to the opening of our intrenched camps of the 28th ultimo, I found Gen. Heintzelman and other officers engaged in rallying the men, and in a very short time a large number were induced to face about. These were pushed forward and joined to others better organized in the woods, and a line was formed stretching across the road in a perpendicular direction. Gen Heintzelman requested me to advance the line on the left of the road, which I did, until it came within some 60 or 70 yards of the opening in which the battle had been confined for more than two hours against a vastly superior force. Some of the 10th Massachusetts, now under the command of Capt. Miller; the 93d Pennsylvania, under Col. McCarter, of Peck's brigade; the 23d Pennsylvania, Col. Neill, of Abercrombie's brigade; a portion of the 36th New York, and the 1st Long Island, Col. Adams, together with fragments of other regiments of Couch's division, still contended on the right of this line, while a number of troops that I did not recognize occupied the space between me and them.

As the ground was miry and encumbered with fallen trees I dismounted and mingled with the troops. The first I questioned belonged to Kearny's division, Berry's brigade; * * * the next to the 56th New York, * * * and the third belonged to the 104th Pennsylvania, of Casey's division. I took out my glass to examine a steady, compact line of troops about 65 yards in advance, the extent of which toward our right I could not discover. The line in front was so quiet that I thought they might possibly be our own troops. The vapors from the swamp, the leaves, and the fading light (for it was then after six o'clock) rendered it uncertain who they were, so I directed the men to get their aim, but to reserve their fire until I could go up to the left and examine—at the same time that they must hold that line or the battle would be lost. They replied with a firm determination to stand their ground.

I had just time to put up my glass and move ten paces toward the left of the line where my horse stood, but while I was in the act of mounting as fierce a fire of musketry was opened as I had heard during the day. The fire from our side was so deadly that the heavy masses of the enemy coming in on our right, which before had been held back for nearly two hours (that being about the time consumed in passing over less than a thousand yards) by about a third part of Couch's division, were now arrested. The last line, formed of portions of Couch's and Casey's divisions and a portion of Kearny's
division, checked the advance of the enemy and finally repulsed him, and this was the beginning of the victory which on the following day was so gloriously completed. * * *

The reports of division and brigade commanders I trust will be published with this immediately. I ask their publication as an act of simple justice to the Fourth Corps, against which many groundless aspersions and incorrect statements have been circulated in the newspapers since the battle. These reports are made by men who observed the conflict under fire, and if they are not in the main true, the truth will never be known. * * *

The Confederates outnumbered us, during a great part of the conflict at least four to one, and they were fresh, drilled troops, led on and cheered by their best generals and the President of their Republic. They are right when they assert that the Yankees stubbornly contested every foot of ground. Of the nine generals of the Fourth Corps who were present on the field all, with one exception, were wounded or his horse was hit in the battle. A large proportion of all the field officers in the action were killed, wounded or their horses were struck. These facts denote the fierceness of the contest and the gallantry of a large majority of the officers. (O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 872-879.)

Excerpts from the report of Brig. Gen. Silas Casey, commanding Second Division, Fourth Corps, dated Headquarters General Casey's Division, Poplar Hill, Henrico County, Va., June [18], 1862:

I occupied with my division the advanced position of the army, about three-fourths of a mile from the cross-roads at the Five Pines, where I caused rifle pits and a redoubt to be thrown up; also an abatis to be commenced about one-third of a mile in front of the pits, and parties were employed upon these works on the morning of the 31st. Previously to occupying my last position I had occupied the cross-roads, and had there also caused an abatis to be cut and earthworks to be commenced.

On the morning of the 31st my pickets toward the right of my line succeeded in capturing Lieut. Washington, an aide of Gen. Johnston of the rebel service. This circumstance in connection with the fact that Col. Hunt, my general officer of the day, had reported to me that his outer pickets had heard cars running nearly all night on the Richmond end of the railroad, led me to exercise increased vigilance. Between 11 and 12 o'clock a mounted vedette was sent in from the advanced pickets to report that a body of the enemy was in sight, approaching on the road. I immediately ordered the 103d Pennsylvania Volunteers to advance to the front, for the purpose of supporting the pickets. It was soon afterward reported to me by a mounted vedette that the enemy were advancing in force, and about the same time two shells were thrown over my camp. I was led to believe that a serious attack was contemplated, and immediately ordered the division under arms, the men at work on the rifle pits and abatis to be recalled and to join their regiments, the artillery to be harnessed up at once, and made my dispositions to repel the enemy. While these were in progress the pickets commenced firing. * * *

About fifteen minutes after these dispositions had been completed I directed the advanced battery to open on the artillery and advancing columns of the enemy. In a short time after the 103d Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, which at the first alarm had been ordered to the support of the pickets, came down the road in some confusion, having suffered considerable loss from the fire of the rebel advance.

The enemy now attacked me in large force on the center and both wings, and a brisk fire of musketry commenced along the two opposing lines, my artillery in the meantime throwing canister into their ranks with great effect. Perceiving at length that the enemy was threatening me upon both wings, for want of re-enforcements, which had been repeatedly asked for, and that his column still pressed on, I then, in order to save my artillery, ordered a charge of bayonets by the four supporting regiments at the center, which was executed in a most gallant and successful manner under the immediate direction
of Brig. Gen. Naglee, commanding First Brigade, the enemy being driven back. When the charge had ceased, but not until the troops had reached the edge of the wood, the most terrible fire of musketry commenced that I have ever witnessed. The enemy again advanced in force, and the flanks being again severely threatened, a retreat to the works became necessary.

To be brief, the rifle pits were retained until they were almost enveloped by the enemy, the troops, with some exceptions, fighting with spirit and gallantry. The troops then retreated to the second line, in possession of Gen. Couch's division. Two pieces of artillery were placed in the road between two lines, which did good execution upon the advancing foe.

On my arrival at the second line I succeeded in rallying a small portion of my division, and with the assistance of Gen. Kearny, who had just arrived at the head of one of the brigades of his division, attempted to regain possession of my works, but it was found impracticable. The troops of Gen. Couch's division were driven back although re-enforced by the corps of Gen. Heintzelman.

The corps of Gen. Keyes and Heintzelman having retired to the third line by direction of Gen. Heintzelman, I there collected together what remained of my division.

The 52d Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers and the 56th New York Volunteers were under the particular direction of Brig. Gen. Naglee, and I refer to his report for further mention of them.

Gen. Naglee behaved with distinguished gallantry through the engagement, having a horse killed under him and receiving four contused wounds from musket balls. Generals Palmer and Wessells encouraged by their example their men to do their duty on the field. Gen. Wessells had a horse shot under him and himself received a wound in the shoulder.

I have inclosed a list of killed, wounded and missing, as also the reports of the commanders of the brigade.

I cannot forbear mention of the severe misfortune suffered by the division and the service in the loss of Col. G. D. Bailey, my chief of artillery, who fell in the attempt to spike the pieces in my redoubt, which were necessarily abandoned. Col. Bailey was an officer of thorough military education; of clear and accurate mind; cool, determined, and intrepid in the discharge of his duty, and promising with riper years to honor still more the profession to which he was devoted. About the same time, also, fell Maj. Van Valkenburgh, of the First Regiment, New York Artillery, a brave, discreet and energetic officer.

Under the circumstances I think it my duty to add a few remarks with regard to my division. On leaving Washington eight of the regiments were composed of raw troops. It has been the misfortune of the division in marching through the Peninsula to be subjected to an ordeal which would have severely tried veteran troops. Furnished with scanty transportation, occupying sickly positions, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, at times without tents or blankets, and illy supplied with rations and medical stores, the loss from sickness has been great, especially with officers; yet a party from my division took possession of the railroad bridge, across the Chickahominy, driving the enemy from it, and my division took the advance on the 29th of May, and by an energetic reconnaissance drove the enemy beyond the Seven Pines.

Notwithstanding all these drawbacks, and the fact that there were not 5,000 men in line of battle, they withstood for three hours the attack of an overwhelming force of the enemy without the re-enforcement of a single man. * * *

If a portion of the division did not behave so well as could have been wished, it must be remembered to what terrible ordeal they were subjected. Still, those that behaved discreditably were exceptional cases. It is true that the division, after being nearly surrounded by the enemy and losing one-third of the number actually engaged, retreated to the second line. They would all have been prisoners of war had they delayed their retreat a few minutes longer.
In my humble opinion, from what I witnessed on the 31st, I am convinced that the stubborn and desperate resistance of my division saved the army on the right bank of the Chickahominy from a severe repulse, which might have resulted in a disastrous defeat. The blood of the gallant dead would cry to me from the ground on which they fell fighting for their country had I not said what I have to vindicate them from the unmerited aspersion which has been cast upon them.

In addition to the above Gen. Casey submitted a report of the number of casualties of the division which he asked to be appended to his report, as follows:
The number of men actually in line (including artillery) was 4,380.
Killed, wounded and missing 1,493.
Killed, 177; wounded, 934; missing, 322. Many of the missing are supposed to be killed. (O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 913-917.)

Excerpts from the report of Brig. Gen. Henry M. Naglee, commanding the First Brigade of Casey's division, dated Camp in the Rear, June 19, 1862:

Before alluding to the occurrences of the 31st of May it would probably add to a better understanding of the subject to refer to the advance of my brigade on the 24th, 25th, and 26th, a week previous. * * * On the 23d Gen. McClellan ordered a reconnaissance of the road and country by the Williamsburg road as far as the Seven Pines to be made on Saturday, the 24th. * * * Under these instructions, with the addition of two batteries of Col. Bailey's New York First Artillery and Col. Gregg's cavalry, we pushed the reconnaissance * * * to the Seven Pines on the day referred to, one mile and a half beyond the Pines on the following day, and to a line perpendicular to the railroad from Richmond to West Point, intersecting it midway between the fifth and sixth mile posts on the following day, and on the day after, the 27th, extended it across to the Nine-mile road, where it is intersected by the road to Garnett's house and thence by this road, bearing to the right, our picket lines extended to the Chickahominy.

This was the line of our advance on Saturday, the 31st of May, at 12 m., when two shells thrown into our camp first announced the hostile intentions of the enemy. No alarm was felt by any one, for it was seldom that twenty-four hours passed that we did not exchange similar salutations. Soon thereafter it was reported that an attack was impending. The usual orders were issued, and within half an hour the troops moved to positions that were assigned to them by Gen. Casey.

Being at this time on the Nine-mile road, near a breastwork fronting the Old Tavern, then under construction, and judging from the discharges of musketry becoming frequent that something serious was intended, I hastened in the direction indicated by the fire and soon arrived upon the ground, on the Williamsburg road, about three-quarters of a mile in front of the Seven Pines. * * *

Soon after my arrival upon the ground, about 1 o'clock, p. m., the fire then being frequent and from the direction of the main Richmond Stage [Williamsburg] road, Gen. Casey gave an order to the 100th New York, 104th Pennsylvania, and 11th Maine to charge, when, as reported by Col. Davis—"The regiments sprang forward toward the enemy with a tremendous yell. * * * Receiving no re-enforcements, we were ordered with Spratt's battery to retire, but unfortunately, the horses of one of the pieces being killed, we were compelled to abandon that piece."

Advancing in close columns, when, our troops being sufficiently withdrawn, Col Bailey of the First New York Artillery, * * * directed the fire of the batteries of Fitch and Bates, situated in and near the redoubt, to be concentrated upon the advancing mass. At every discharge of grape and canister wide gaps were opened in his ranks, which were filled as soon as opened. Still he pressed on, until, after many trials, with immense loss, finding that he was advancing into the very jaws of death, with sullen hesitation he concluded to desist at this point. * * * I found the 56th New York and the 11th Maine, who after four hours contest had fallen back about 400 yards, and were again placed by
me at 4.10 o'clock in a depression in the ground about midway between the Williamsburg road and the railroad and about 300 yards in front of the Nine-mile road. Near by I found the 52d Pennsylvania, which had been ordered from the right, and I placed them in echelon to the right and front of the 56th, with the right resting upon and in rear of a large pond.

At this time the fire here had considerably slackened, but was increasing on the left. Returning in about an hour to the left I *** ascertained for the first time that the enemy had discovered, what I had long feared, that there were none of our troops between the White Oak Swamp and a line parallel with and about 200 yards from the Williamsburg road. He had more than an hour before discovered this, and with sharp shooters concealed in the woods to the left and rear of the redoubt and rifle pits they had killed many of our most valuable officers, had picked off the cannoneers, and had killed from three to four horses of every team attached to the First New York Artillery, and at the time of my return had driven our men from the rifle pits. No time was to be lost. Fitch's battery was ordered to the rear. The battery under Lieut. Hart was next ordered to retire, but it was soon found that but one limber could be moved. I ordered the pieces to be spiked, but after spiking the pieces in the redoubt those on the outside of it were in possession of the enemy. By way of precaution I had ordered the prolonges to be fixed to the sections of Regan's battery still firing up the Williamsburg road ***.

Returning rapidly to my 56th New York, 11th Maine, and 52d Pennsylvania, my anticipations here were realized. Being successful in turning our left flank, the enemy had opened a most destructive cross-fire upon them from the pieces near the redoubt that had not been spiked, and this with the fire from their immediate front, was no longer to be endured, and they were withdrawn and marched down the Nine-mile road, and placed in position in rear of this road about 300 yards from the Seven Pines, when soon their services were required. ***

The remaining portion of the 52d—for it was now reduced to a little over 100 men—were conducted along the Nine-mile road to the Seven Pines, when, finding the rifle pits occupied, they took possession of a fence and some outhouses, and did most effective service. Afterward they crossed to the left of Couch's position, and advanced 200 yards into and along the woods to the left and in front of the Seven Pines, where they remained actively employed until nearly dark, when the enemy, advancing rapidly in masses to the rear of the Nine-mile road, inclined toward the Williamsburg road, sweeping everything from the field, our forces making one general simultaneous movement to the rear, which did not stop until all had arrived at the line of defense 1 mile in that direction.

The 52d, having their retreat cut off, escaped by passing through the woods to the left and rear to the saw-mill at the White Oak Swamp and thence to the line above referred to, where they rejoined their comrades of the First Brigade.

***

This dreadful contest lasted until nearly dark. My 56th and 104th suffered dreadfully, lost the greater part of their officers and men, and were compelled to give way, carrying their wounded with them.

***

Fully confirming the statement of my officers, I saw no running, and there was no panic, but all moved off together with a single purpose, and that one to make a stand upon the line of defences 1 mile in the rear, the only one of sufficient capacity to enable us to defend ourselves against vastly superior numbers until our re-enforcements could be brought together ***.

On Saturday Lieut. Col. Hoyt of the 52d Pennsylvania, was in charge of the pioneers of the First Brigade and two companies of the same regiment, building a bridge which I had directed to be built across the Chickahominy, remaining upon the ground, and informing himself of the proceedings upon the extreme right. *** Lieut. Col. Hoyt, with the above and some of the 100th New York that were driven in from the picket lines near the Chickahominy, remained with Gen. Sumner until Sunday, and behaved well.
After leaving the battle-field, at dark, the brigade, numbering over 1,000 were marched to the right rifle pits of the rear defenses, but vacated them at the request of Gen. Kearny, and occupied those on the left with the other brigades of Casey's division, where we remained under arms all night.

I have shown in the history of the battle of the Seven Pines the conduct of every one of the regiments of the First Brigade from the time the first volley was fired at noon until the enemy, having driven our troops from the ground near dark, cut off the retreat of the 52d by the Williamsburg road, and were still annoyed by their deadly fire.

The list of casualties shows there were taken into action 84 officers and 1,669 men, and that 35 officers and 608 men were killed, wounded and taken prisoners, being 42 per cent. of the former and 37 per cent. of the latter. Of the 93 of the 11th Maine that were led into the fight by Col. Plaisted 52 were killed and wounded.

That the brigade fought well none can deny, for they lost 638 of their number. Their bodies were found over every part of the field, and where these bodies lay were found double their number of the enemy. The enemy, more generous than our friends, admit "that we fought most desperately and against three entire divisions of his army, with two in reserve that later in the day were brought in." For three and a half hours we contested every inch of ground with the enemy and did not yield in that time the half of 1 mile. We fought from 12 M. until 3.30 P. M. with but little assistance, and until dark with our comrades of other regiments and of other divisions whenever we could be of service, and when at dark, the enemy swept all before him we were the last to leave the field.

Since the battle of Seven Pines, now nearly three weeks, a force ten times that of Casey and Couch have not been able to regain the line of outposts established by the First Brigade on the 26th of May, our present line being half a mile in rear thereof.

None of the brigade, regimental or company baggage was lost. Some of the shelter tents, knapsacks and blankets fell into the hands of the enemy, which was the natural consequence of being encamped in close proximity with the outposts.

Conduct such as this, if not worthy of commendation, should not call forth censure, for censure undeserved chills the ardor and daring of the soldier and dishonors both the living and the dead. (O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 920-926.)

Excerpts from the report of Brig. Gen. Henry W. Wessells, commanding Second Brigade, Casey's division, dated Near Savage Station, June 3, 1862:

Between 12 and 1 o'clock P. M. our pickets posted in front were attacked by the enemy. I at once, pursuant to instructions from the brigadier-general commanding the division, sent forward the 103d Pennsylvania Volunteers, Maj. Gazzam, to their support. As the firing soon indicated a formidable advance of the enemy I at once ordered the brigade under arms and formed the line of battle in accordance with the instructions of the division commander.

The 101st Pennsylvania Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Morris, was placed on the right of the Richmond road perpendicular to it, the right flank of the battalion extending into the woods and in rear of the newly-constructed rifle pits. The 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. Howell, in rear of the rifle pits, extended from the redoubt across the Richmond road to near the left of the 101st. The 96th New York Volunteers, Col. Fairman, was placed in advance of the rifle pits and to the left of the 85th.

The battalions being thus disposed, I took my position in rear of the 101st and in such manner as to observe the 85th. The 103d being too far to the front for my immediate supervision, its movements were left to the judgment of its commander, whose report is herewith enclosed.

The increase of musketry soon told that the 103d was engaged. Driven from its position, it fell back firing and again made a stand. Assailed by overwhelming numbers from the front and flank, it again fell back, followed by the enemy, who was seen to emerge from the woods in front and advance toward the 101st. The enemy's fire was
directed with great precision and effect on this regiment, which, however, stood fast and returned the fire with coolness and rapidity.

Hoping the 101st would be able to maintain its position, I crossed to the road in the rear of the 85th, which was now occupying the rifle pits, amid a terrific fire from the front, and which was constantly and effectually returned. The 96th New York Volunteers, which up to this time had gallantly maintained its position, was forced to fall back to the line on the left of the rifle pits, where it again opened fire and continued with great effect until again forced back by a terrific fire from the front and flank, enfilading completely the rifle pits occupied by the 85th and 101st. Lieut. Col. Morris, 101st, in order to protect his right, which was assailed by a terrific fire from that flank, caused the right wing of his battalion to change front to that direction, and for some time succeeded in holding the enemy in check, until he fell severely wounded and was borne from the field, when the regiment, assailed by overwhelming numbers, was forced to fall back.

The 85th and 96th, having fallen back, were again formed on the left of the road in rear of the camp in the fallen timber, and delivered their fire with great effect, but being again flanked and overwhelmed were compelled again to retire. The right wing of the 101st, after retiring, deployed to the left, and passing the left wing opened its fire, and for some time maintained its position, but was at length compelled to fall back. Considerable disorder here ensued, the fallen timber and irregularity of the ground preventing the companies and battalions from preserving their alignment. Differing regiments were intermingled and the line put in confusion.

Col. Howell gallantly rallied a part of his regiment and regained the rifle pits, but was again driven back. The troops fell back slowly, but with some disorder, carrying with them their arms. They were rallied, however, by the efforts of Capt. Jeffries, assistant adjutant-general of this brigade, and marched all in good order (except the sick, numbering over 300, who abandoned the camp at the commencement of the action and fled in the direction of the Chickahominy river in great disorder) to a suitable camping ground, where the line was formed, ammunition sent for across the river, and information sent to Generals Heintzelman, Keyes and Casey of the position of the troops.

After the brigade had retired I reported to Brig. Gen. Keyes, by whom I was directed to reform the line on the right of Devens’ rifle pits, and having been driven from that position in the same manner as before, with my horse killed under me and a severe contusion in the shoulder from a musket-ball, I fell back near sunset with retreating fragments of other brigades and halted at this camp [near Savage Station].

The casualties are as follows: Thirty-four killed; 271 wounded; 55 missing. A correct list of the names is herewith inclosed.

The actual effective strength of the brigade, as appears from the morning reports was 2,061. Of these 200 comprised the working party on the fortifications; a like number was detailed on picket, which, with the usual details and extra duty men, made our actual strength in action less than 1,500 men.

During the engagement I was ably assisted by Capt. Jeffries, assistant adjutant-general; Lieutenants Williams and [Richard W.] Dawson [Company I, 85th Regiment], acting aides-de-camp, who were with me in the thickest of the fight.

I desire also to notice the conduct of Dr. Rush, acting brigade surgeon, who nobly discharged his duty from first to last. (O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 926-928.)

Excerpts from the report of Brig. Gen. Innis N. Palmer, commanding the Third Brigade of Casey’s division, dated Camp Poplar Hill, June 5, 1862:

My command consisting of the 81st, 92d, 85th, and 98th New York Volunteers, numbered in the aggregate about 1,200. Of this number 400 of the effective officers and men were at the commencement of the engagement on picket guard or on duty with working parties. A great portion of these did not join their regiments, as they should have done, but were permitted by the officers in charge of them to ramble about, and of course doing but little service. The sick, or those reputed sick, in the brigade numbered some hundreds,
and in some companies there were no commissioned officers—in the most of them not more than one—and I estimate the whole fighting force on the ground at less than 1,000 officers and men. For this condition of my command I hold myself in no way responsible; but this matter will be the subject of a special report.

It is fair to presume that with this force it was not expected to do much more than hold in check the enemy, who advanced so rapidly that while the men were in the rifle pits they were raked by a fire from both flanks.

The disposition of the regiments was made by the order of the commanding general of the division and was as follows: The 81st was deployed in the field to the extreme left of our line and in front of the woods through which the enemy made the flank movement. The 85th occupied the left rifle pits, while the 92d and 98th were ordered to the front and to the support of the batteries.

A very short time after the 81st was placed in position by myself, I was passing toward the right, the enemy appeared suddenly in front of them and delivered a deadly fire. The commanding officer, Lieut. Col. De Forest, was wounded, supposed mortally; the Major, McAmbly, one captain, Kingman, and several men were killed, and many officers and men wounded. The enemy's fire was returned, but the force in front was too great for new troops and they retired, leaving many of their number on the field, to the woods only a few rods to the rear. The 85th stood their ground well in the rifle pits, and I am convinced did good execution. My regiments were so situated and the smoke was so dense on the field that it was impossible for me to see more than one regiment at a time. While passing along the line I discovered that our whole position was gradually becoming enveloped, and that unless re-enforcements should soon arrive it must be abandoned.

An unfortunate affair occurred about the time of the closing in of the enemy on the flanks. A shell thrown from one of our own batteries burst just over the rifle pits, killing and wounding several of the 85th, which up to this time had stood its ground very well. About the same time Col. Hunt, of the 92d, who was encouraging his men to hold their position, was shot in the thigh, and he was compelled to leave the field. This occurred about 3 o'clock. I believed that it would not be possible to make the men stand much longer unless re-enforced, and I went to Gen. Keyes to beg for some of Couch's division, which had just arrived. His reply was that he had formed a new line to the rear.

Shortly after this the divisions of Kearny and Hooker arrived, but not until the enemy had possession of the position where the engagement commenced, and which they continued to possess until they chose to retire, which was on Monday morning, more than thirty hours after the battle. I only mention this fact to show the injustice of attaching blame to any one for retiring with a meager force from a position which was held by the enemy in spite of the large re-enforcements in Kearny's, Hooker's, and Couch's divisions. It was my misfortune to see a portion of the re-enforcements greater than my whole command retire from the field before they had scarcely felt the enemy.

As it was useless to attempt to reform the brigade when the regiments were so widely scattered, the work of collecting the men generally was commenced about sundown, and on the next morning they took up their position, by the order of the commanding general of the division, at the position in front of Savage Station.

I enclose a list of casualties in each regiment, and you will perceive that the killed and wounded alone will amount to nearly one-fourth of my whole command, and adding the missing, many of whom I suspect are wounded and prisoners, the total loss is considerably more than one-third my force. This is sufficient to induce me to think that while the men did not, perhaps, act like veteran troops, they did as well as could be expected.

For the disasters of the day those who placed a small force of the rawest troops in the army in a position where they would of necessity bear the brunt of any attack on the left must bear the blame. I take none of it to myself. (O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 929-930.)
For convenience of reference each paragraph in the excerpts from the report of Gen. McClellan is designated by letter, and in Gen. Heintzelman's by number.

Nearly every statement of fact in Gen. McClellan's report pertaining to Casey's division, is at variance with the division and brigade commanders reports. In paragraph (a) he gives credit to Gen. Naglee's brigade for making the reconnaissance of the 24th, 25th and 26th of May. But two regiments of Naglee's brigade participated in this reconnaissance, the other infantry regiments being the 85th and 98th New York Regiments of Palmer's brigade, and the 85th Pennsylvania, of Wessells' brigade.

In paragraph (c) he states that "Gen. Keyes was ordered to advance Casey's division to Fair Oaks, on the Williamsburg road, some three-quarters of a mile in front of the Seven Pines." Fair Oaks was on the Nine-mile road, a mile northeast of Seven Pines.

In paragraph (e), he gives the position of Casey's division on the 30th of May, "on the right of the Williamsburg road, at right angles to it, the center at Fair Oaks." At this time Wessells' and Palmer's brigades were both encamped to the left of the Williamsburg road, and the redoubt which was the central point, was also to the left of the road.

In paragraph (i), he gives the disposition of the troops of the division on the 31st as, "Naglee's brigade extending from the Williamsburg road to the Garnett field, having one regiment across the railroad. Gen. Wessells' brigade in the rifle pits, and Gen. Palmer's in the rear of Gen. Wessells'." Eight companies of Gen. Naglee's brigade (100th New York) were in position south of the Williamsburg road, and eleven companies (three companies of the 11th Maine and eight companies of the 104th Pennsylvania) north of the road supporting Spratt's battery, less than 900 men in all that were in position of Naglee's brigade where the first attack was made. At this time the rest of Naglee's brigade was either on picket or supporting the pickets and were not connected with Casey's battle lines during the first two or three hours of the battle. Palmer's brigade was on the left of Wessells' brigade, and all but one regiment a considerable distance in advance of the rifle-pits.

In Paragraph (h) he says, "Gen. Casey sent forward one of Gen. Palmer's regiments to support the picket line." The regiment sent forward as picket support was the 103d Pennsylvania of Wessells' brigade. He also states in this paragraph that Gen. Peck's brigade was ordered "to occupy the ground on the left of the Williamsburg road, which had not before been occupied by our forces." Palmer's brigade extended to the extreme left in the front and the entire brigade, and part of Wessells', were on the left of the road during the first part of the battle.

In paragraph (m) he says, "Gen. Naglee's brigade, with the batteries of Gen. Casey's division, which Gen. Naglee directed, struggled gallantly to maintain the redoubt and rifle pits against the overwhelming masses of the enemy." At no time during the action was there any portion of Gen. Naglee's brigade at or near Casey's redoubt and rifle pits. He also states that Adjutant Rumsey of the 1st New York Artillery was killed. The latter was wounded, and sub-
sequent to the war served for more than twenty years as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of New York.

In paragraph (o) he states, that the regiments of Berry's brigade with their rifles, "commanded the left of the camp and works occupied by Gen. Casey's division in the morning" holding this position until after dark when he fell back.

In paragraph (q) he states, that Gen. Devens "finally withdrew behind the rifle pits near Seven Pines." The rifle pits were 1 1/2 miles in rear of Seven Pines, a short distance in advance of Savage Station. The most specific location of these rifle pits is given by Brig. Gen. John G. Barnard, Chief Engineer of Army of the Potomac, who gives it "about a mile in advance of Savage Station and one and one-half miles behind the Seven Pines." (O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 113.)

In paragraph (s) he says, "Gen. Couch's division and so much of Gen. Casey's as could be collected together with Gen. Kearny's, occupied the rifle pits near Seven Pines." These are the same rifle pits referred to above. Gen. Couch and four regiments and a battery were isolated from his command about 4 P. M. on Saturday and were not within a mile of these rifle pits during that night.

In paragraph (v) he says, "Our troops pushed forward [on Sunday] as far as the lines held by them on the 31st before the attack." At this time the enemy had possession of Casey's captured works and camps. In this same paragraph he says, "On the next morning [Monday] a reconnaissance was sent forward, which pressed the pickets of the enemy to within 5 miles of Richmond; but again the impossibility of forcing even a few batteries forward precluded our holding permanently this position." The farthest point made by this reconnaissance was the edge of the woods along which Casey's pickets opened fire on the enemy about 12.30 on May 31.

In paragraph (x) he quotes but part of Gen. Heintzelman's dispatch which, in paragraph (y) he says, "This official statement together with other accounts received previous to my arrival upon the battle field * * * caused me to state in a telegram to the Secretary of War that this division 'gave way unaccountably and discreditably.'" The full text of this dispatch of Gen. Heintzelman was as follows:

I am just in. When I got to the front the most of Casey's division had dispersed, and our fortified position was lost. I ordered up all of Kearny's and the most of Hooker's divisions. We checked the enemy and was outflanking him on his right when our center gave way and eventually our left had to follow. A number of pieces of artillery was lost before I arrived; how many I am not able to say. I ordered up a brigade on the railroad, but it advanced so slowly that it arrived too late to prevent the disaster to our center. We have fallen back to the rifle-pits first constructed by Gen. Casey, and now hold them. I have no idea of our loss. The rout of Gen. Casey's men had a most dispiriting effect on the troops as they came up. I saw no reason why we should have been driven back. (O. R., W. D., Ser. I, Vol. LI, part I, p. 645.)
The full text of the dispatch of June 5 modifying the first dispatch is as follows:

My dispatch of the 1st instant, stating that Gen. Casey's division, which was with first line, gave way unaccountably and discreditably, was based upon official statements made to me before I arrived upon the battle-field and while I was there by superior commanders. From statements made to me subsequently by Generals Casey and Naglee I am induced to believe that portions of the division behaved well and made a most gallant stand against superior numbers, but at present the accounts are too conflicting to enable me to discriminate with certainty. When the facts are clearly ascertained the exceptional good conduct will be properly acknowledged. (O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 754.)

In his report he says his first dispatch was based upon Gen. Heintzelman's dispatch, "together with other accounts received previous to my arrival," and in his dispatch of June 5 that it "was based upon official statements made to me before I arrived upon the battlefield, and while I was there by superior commanders." The only "superior commanders" on the field were Generals Sumner, Heintzelman, and Keyes. The only troops beyond those of his own corps that Gen. Sumner had seen after crossing the Chickahominy were that part of Casey's division which picketed the extreme right of the left wing, and that portion of Gen. Couch's division, who with the commanding general of that division had been driven back more than a half mile from Fair Oaks Station before his arrival. A careful reading of Gen. Keyes' report and of his endorsement of Gen. Naglee's request for an investigation of the charges made against the division, will exonerate him from misrepresenting the conduct of Casey's troops. Therefore, the entire misrepresentations of the conduct of Casey's division on which the dispatch of June 1 is based are due to the information Gen. McClellan received from Generals Sumner and Heintzelman, neither of whom on Saturday, May 31 knew where Casey's redoubt and battle lines were located.

Any information Gen. McClellan received from Gen. Sumner, on which he based his telegram of June 1, must have been verbal, as there is no record of it. Gen. Heintzelman, who had command of the left wing of the army on Saturday, and who had instruction to hold "the Seven Pines at all hazards," made frequent disparaging reports to the commanding general of the army in reference to the conduct of Casey's division, in addition to the dispatch already quoted. At 6 P. M. dated "At the Front," he says:

Our troops on the road have given way. Our left still holds its own.

At 6:20 P. M., Gen. Heintzelman's chief of staff, C. McKeever, forwarded the following:

Gen. Casey's division is being rallied by Lieutenants McAlester, Hunt, and Johnson, of the general's staff. Gen. Casey is reported dead. Lieut. McAlester reports that Gen. Kearny is at the Seven Pines, driving the enemy back slowly. Gen. Sumner's column is just arriving on the ground. Gen. Hooker's about half a mile in rear of these headquarters. (O. R., W. D., Vol. LI, part I, p. 646.)

Later Capt. McKeever sent the following:

Gen. Casey's division is entirely demoralized. Generals Casey and Palmer are reported killed and Gen. Naglee wounded. I have been able to find but one colonel, and he says
the men have nothing to eat. It is reported that some of the regiments of Gen. Peck's brigade have broken and dispersed. (O. R., W. D., Vol. LI, part I, p. 647.)

At 9:15 P. M., Gen. Heintzelman sent the following to Gen. McClellan, dated Headquarters Third Corps, Savage's, May 31, 1862:

I returned here half an hour since. I got information of the attack about 2 P. M. and sent re-enforcements at once, at the same time going to the front. I soon met the fugitives of Gen. Casey's division, and learned that most of them had given way. When I got forward I found the enemy had possession of our front lines. When the re-enforcements came up I put them into the woods on the left to turn the rebel right flank and capture their artillery. Another portion advanced in the center and a brigade was ordered up on the railroad. The firing soon became tolerably heavy and the center gave way, necessitating the left to fall back. Had the brigade I ordered up on the railroad advanced promptly, this disaster to our center might have been repaired, if not prevented. We have fallen back to some unfinished rifle pits less than a mile in front of this position [Savage Station]. How much artillery we have lost I am unable to tell, as it was lost before I got up. Our loss in killed and wounded is considerable. I have ordered up ammunition and intrenching tools. The stragglers of Gen. Casey's division had a most dispiriting effect, and our troops did not fight well. (O. R., W. D., Ser. I, Vol. LI, part I, 646.)

This was followed at 10 P. M. by another in which he said:

I have sent across Bottom's Bridge for our ammunition, and it will be up before daylight. My corps is supplied with three days' rations. Gen. Keyes thinks that Gen. Couch's is supplied till tomorrow night. They are now issuing to Gen. Casey's. Gen. Casey's division cannot, however, be relied upon for any purpose whatever. The intrenching tools must be left at this place. We are much in want of them. (O. R., Vol. LI, part I, p. 647.)

On Sunday morning, June 1, he sent two dispatches to Gen. McClellan, dated at "Rifle-pits," 8:30 and 9 o'clock respectively. They were as follows:

We are driving the enemy back. The Second Excelsior drove the enemy back with the bayonet. They are falling back on the right and left on the railroad. (O. R., Ser. I, Vol. LI, part I, p. 649.)

We have driven the enemy in front. I have a report that they are trying to outflank us on our left with 6,000 or 8,000 men. I need re-enforcements, as Gen. Casey's division is not of any use, and the other division is not very effective. (O. R., Ser. I, Vol. LI, part I, p. 649.)

On Monday morning he sent the following, dated Headquarters Third Corps, Savage's, June 2, 1862, 6 A. M.:

An officer went out at daylight; has just returned. The enemy has fallen back from our front, where they were in strong force last evening with artillery and infantry. They retreated on the Williamsburg road. Our pickets are half a mile beyond Gen. Casey's old camp. (O. R., Vol. LI, part I, p. 653.)

Three hours later he sent another dispatch to Gen. McClellan's headquarters, dated Headquarters Third Corps, Savage's, June 2, 1862, 9 A. M., as follows:

The enemy appear to have fallen back.

Yesterday afternoon [Sunday] we reoccupied the ground Casey's division was driven from the day before. We are now in possession of the rebel earthworks, a short distance in front of our old position.
The half of Gen. Hooker's division with me, I have pushed forward to support our reconnoissance out the Williamsburg stage road. I have also most all the cavalry I have available to aid him. At 7:30 A. M. I telegraphed to general headquarters that the enemy had retired. Many of our wounded are still on the field of Saturday, now in our possession, and I am collecting them. I have this moment a note from Gen. Sickles. He says that about midnight the enemy beat the long rolls; that from that time their camp was noisy, and he heard a commanding officer order a regiment into line. He frequently heard other regiments formed. At 3 A. M. the assembly was beat generally through their camps, and he distinctly heard the start of their artillery, other troops, and wagons, and could hear their various orders as they proceeded to the rear, and their voices were lost in the distance. About an hour after heard firing as if the enemy had met with resistance in their march. Firing could be heard for an hour when it died away in the distance. [O. R., Vol. LI, part I, p. 634.]

Another dispatch followed this, dated Headquarters Left of Line, June 2, 1862, 11:45 A. M., as follows:

Gen. Hooker reports that he is two miles in advance of Casey's camp and about four miles from Richmond, with seven regiments of infantry and one regiment of cavalry (Gregg's 8th Pennsylvania); the rebel pickets fell back as he advanced. He has seen no large body of the enemy. The roads are impassable for the artillery. What order shall I give Gen. Hooker for to-night? He is advancing with great caution. [O. R., Vol. LI, part I, p. 654.]

The misinformation of the situation, and of the location of the battlefield, given to the general-in-chief of the army by Gen. Heintzelman in these two last dispatches should utterly discredit every statement he made derogatory to Casey's division. Gen. McClellan accepted these statements unquestionably, and he went to his grave believing that he had received correct information from his next subordinate commander on that part of the field. "Yesterday [Sunday, June 1] afternoon," Gen. Heintzelman says, "we reoccupied the ground Casey's division was driven from the day before. We are now in possession of the rebel earthworks, a short distance in front of our old position. Gen. Hooker reports that he is two miles in advance of Casey's camp and about four miles from Richmond." In his official report Gen. McClellan says:

Our troops [on Sunday] pushed forward as far as the lines held by them on the 31st before the attack. ** On the next morning a reconnoissance was sent forward, which pressed back the pickets of the enemy to within 5 miles of Richmond; but again the impossibility of forcing even a few batteries forward precluded our holding permanently this position.

In his article, "The Peninsular Campaign," published in the Century magazine, May, 1885, and republished in "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War" (Vol. 2, pp. 160-188), Gen. McClellan says:

Well aware of our difficulties, our active enemy, on the 31st of May, made a violent attack upon Casey's division, followed by an equally formidable one on Couch, thus commencing the battle of Fair Oaks or Seven Pines. Heintzelman came up in support, and during the afternoon Sumner crossed the river with great difficulty, and rendered such efficient service that the enemy was checked. In the morning his renewed attacks were
easily repulsed, and the ground occupied at the beginning of the battle was more than recovered; he had failed in the purpose of the attack.

In "McClellan's Own Story," published in 1886, the year subsequent to his death, he says:

Our troops pushed forward as far as the lines held by them on the 31st before the attack. * * * On the next morning a reconnaissance was sent forward, which pressed back the pickets of the enemy to within five miles of Richmond.

Farther on, testimony will be presented proving that Heintzelman's troops at no time advanced beyond Casey's picket line, as they were posted on either side of the Williamsburg road along the outer edge of the woods in front of Casey's intrenchments on May 31, when the attack of the enemy was made. However, the most incredible part of Gen. Heintzelman's dispatches is that portion in which it is shown that he was under the impression as late as June 2, that Casey's redoubt and rifle-pits on either side of the Williamsburg road about three-fourths of a mile in advance of Seven Pines, and which the Confederate forces under Gen. Hill occupied from Saturday afternoon until Monday morning, June 2, were "rebel earthworks a short distance in front of our old position."

Gen. McClellan's report contains many errors of statements, however, for which Gen. Heintzelman cannot be chargeable. In paragraph (z) the commanding general says: "The official reports of Generals Keyes, Casey and Naglee show that a very considerable portion of this division fought well, and that the brigade of Gen. Naglee is entitled to credit for its gallantry." In paragraph (m) he says: "Gen. Naglee's brigade, with the batteries of Gen. Casey's division, which Gen. Naglee directed, struggled gallantly to maintain the redoubt and rifle-pits against the overwhelming masses of the enemy." This information was not derived from the reports of either the division or corps commander; whence did it come?

A comparison of Gen. McClellan's report with the official reports of Generals Keyes, Casey and Naglee, indicates that the commanding general accepted the reports of the latter as more authoritative than those of his superior commanders, consequently, many erroneous and misleading statements appear in his report. As some of the most flagrant of these are especially unjust to the 85th Regiment, and also to the other regiments of Wessells' and Palmer's brigades, further excerpts from Gen. Naglee's report will be relevant here as evidence of its inexplicability. After quoting Col. Davis, of the 104th Pennsylvania, a quotation at variance with the official report of the latter, he continues:

The enemy endeavored to follow up this success, and was advancing in closed columns, when, our troops being sufficiently withdrawn, Col. Bailey, of the First New York Artillery, at my request, directed the fire of the batteries of Fitch and Bates; situated in and near the redoubt, to be concentrated upon the advancing mass. At every discharge of grape and canister wide gaps were opened in his ranks which were filled as soon as opened. Still he pressed on, until after many trials, with immense loss, finding that he was advancing into the very jaws of death, with sullen hesitation he concluded to desist at this point.

Congratulating Col. Bailey upon his gallant conduct and good services as above described, and suggesting that, in the event of being compelled to abandon another piece, he should
instruct his gunners to spike before leaving it, he went into the redoubt to give these orders, when he was shot by a rifle-ball through the forehead and died a few minutes after, the State losing a gallant soldier and his artillery men a friend to whom they were entirely devoted.

Soon after this Major Van Valkenburgh, of the same artillery, was killed by a rifle-ball whilst actively engaged in working these batteries, and but a little while after Lieut. Rumsey, the adjutant, in the same manner. All the field and staff officers being killed, I assumed the direction of the batteries composing the First New York Artillery.

No reenforcements having been sent to us, and desirous of following up the success above referred to, about 3:30 P. M., I rode to the rear and led up the 55th New York, Lieut. Col. Thourot, and placed it in line perpendicular to the Williamsburg road, about 50 yards in advance of the redoubt, the left resting a short distance from the road. Before getting into position they were compelled to march over the bodies of their killed and wounded comrades, and soon afterward found themselves fully engaged.

Leaving the 55th, my attention was directed toward the right, where I found the 56th New York and 11th Maine, who after four hours contests had fallen back about 400 yards, and were again placed by me at 4:10 o'clock in a depression in the ground about midway between the Williamsburg road and the railroad and about 300 yards in front of the Nine-mile road. Near by I found the 55d Pennsylvania, which had been ordered from the right, and I placed them in echelon to the right and front of the 56th, with the right resting upon and in rear of a large pond.

At this time the fire here had considerably slackened, but was increasing on the left. Returning in about an hour to the left I found the 55th engaged to their utmost extent, and ascertained for the first time that the enemy had discovered, what I had long feared, that there were none of our troops between the White Oak Swamp and a line parallel with and but 200 yards from the Williamsburg road. He had more than an hour before discovered this, and with sharpshooters concealed in the woods to the left and rear of the redoubt and rifle pits they had killed many of our most valuable officers, had picked off the cannoneers and had killed from three to four horses out of every team attached to the First New York Artillery, and at the time of my return had driven our men from the rifle pits. No time was to be lost. Fitch's battery was ordered to the rear. The battery under Lieut. Hart was next ordered to retire, but it was soon found that but one limber could be moved. I ordered the pieces to be spiked, but after spiking the pieces in the redoubt those on the outside of it were in the possession of the enemy. By way of precaution I had ordered the prolonges to be fixed to the sections of Regan's battery still firing up the Williamsburg road, and ordered it to retire firing until in the abatis that crosses the road, and I then withdrew the 55th under the protection of its fire.

This regiment had fought most gallantly, suffered severely, and contributed much in the end toward saving Regan's battery from falling into the hands of the enemy; and then, the entire front of and including the redoubt being in possession of the enemy who had pressed to within a few yards of us, it being necessary to support many of the wounded horses to keep them from falling in the traces, at 5:15 P. M. we brought the last sections of Bailey's First New York Artillery from the field, the air being at this time literally filled with iron and lead. [O. R., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 922-923.]

The foregoing citation is given verbatim, and in the regular order, as it appears in the Official Records, and is, perhaps, the most intelligible portion of Gen. Naglee's report.

The deference shown to this report by the commanding general of the army, and its perversion of history, especially to the disparagement of the 85th Regiment, and to the other regiments of Wessells' and Palmer's brigades, make it necessary to produce voluminous excerpts from the official reports of the commanding officers of the other battalions participating in the battle at the front.
The 103d Pennsylvania Regiment of Wessells' brigade was the first battalion to engage the enemy a half mile in advance of Casey's intrenched line, where it had been hurriedly sent immediately after the enemy's signal shots had been fired to support the picket line. Its commanding officer, Maj. Gazzam, describes its action as follows:

When the pickets were fired on and driven in I ordered the reserve to take their places in the regiment. The enemy now opened a heavy fire on the left and center, which was returned by my whole line. The enemy's fire now opened along the whole line, and we were subjected to a very heavy cross fire from both flanks. When I saw that we could no longer hold our ground unsupported as we were, I ordered my men to fall back slowly, which they did, and formed on a road running nearly at right angles to the one on which we had entered the woods. The overwhelming force of the enemy, which now almost surrounded us, compelled me again to retire, to prevent being entirely cut off. Owing to the nature of the ground, which was marshy and covered with underwood and fallen timber, it was impossible to retire in order. [O. R., Vol. XI, part I, p. 928.]

The second battalion to engage the enemy was the 104th Pennsylvania of Naglee's brigade. Its commanding officer, Col. W. W. H. Davis, describes its action as follows:

Skirmishing had been going on before we arrived on the field, and soon afterward the skirmishers came running, pressed back by the enemy. The enemy's bullets fell in my ranks while the line was being formed. Nevertheless, the regiment was dressed with the precision of a dress parade. We opened with a general volley, the first fired that day, which announced the action commenced in earnest, and until it was concluded there was a perfect rattle of musketry and roar of artillery. The men began to fall, killed and wounded, but there was no faltering. Every officer and man stood up to his work. Seeing a movement of the enemy on our right as though about to flank us in that direction, companies A and D were pushed into the timber to prevent it. The enemy now came out of the timber and pressed down upon us in overwhelming numbers. Their fire was withering. We had now been under fire about an hour and a half, and our ranks were much thinned. The enemy was now pressing me hard in front and on the right flank, and their fire had approached so near as to endanger the battery. Under these circumstances I ordered a charge, the regiment, at the word, springing forward and advancing with a loud hurrah toward the enemy. It had the effect of gaining time and enabled us to hold the enemy longer in check.

Seeing I must relinquish my ground unless re-enforced, I sent Lieut. Ashenfelter to Gen. Casey on the Williamsburg road with the request that he would send me a regiment to support the 104th. He passed twice between the two armies unharmed. He sent word that if I could hold my position a few minutes longer he would re-enforce me. The fight had now raged two hours with great fierceness, and almost one half my regiment had fallen. In this part of the field the 104th was contending single handed with overwhelming numbers. We could hold our ground no longer, and the superior numbers of the enemy and the want of the promised supports compelled us to retire. The men left the ground slowly and sullenly and retired down the Nine-mile road to where it joins the Williamsburg road, where they halted and later in the day fell into line to resist the approach of the enemy.

Company F came in from the picket line during the afternoon and took part in the action toward the close of the day. Company E was less fortunate. It was surrounded by the enemy on the picket line, and Lieut. Crall and about sixty men were captured. Among our wounded was Maj. John M. Gries, who was mortally shot in the hip while attempting to rescue the colors, which were brought off in safety. He died a few days afterward in Philadelphia. Lieut. McDowell was killed on the field, and his body fell
into the hands of the enemy. In addition, I had 9 officers wounded, 166 non-commissioned officers and privates killed and wounded and 62 taken prisoners. Both officers and men are particularly noticeable for their good conduct; and among others, Chaplain Gries made himself very useful in attending upon the wounded. I received a bullet in my left elbow and was hit by a spent ball on my left breast, and am now [June 25, 1862] at my home recovering from my wounds. [O. R., Vol. LI, part I, p. 99.]

It is of especial importance that Col. Davis’ description of how and where his regiment retired, from the advanced position at the abatis, be noted: “The men left the ground slowly and sullenly, and retired down the Nine-mile road to where it joins the Williamsburg road, where they halted, and later in the day fell into line to resist the approach of the enemy.” This regiment did not retire down the Williamsburg road, but evidently by the same path to the right of the position occupied by the 101st Pennsylvania Regiment. No mention is made by Col. Davis of having been, at any time, near Casey’s redoubt. The year subsequent to the final end of the Civil War the colonel published the “History of the 104th Pennsylvania Regiment.” In this volume he describes in detail how his regiment retired, as follows:

There was no order given to retire, but we were literally pushed back by the superior force of the enemy pressing against us. Individual soldiers came almost near enough to strike my men with the musket. The regiment retired slowly and sullenly, not an officer or man running. ** When the regiment retired from the field, the enemy was pressing on both flanks, and in a few minutes our retreat would have been cut off. ** When I reached my own camp ** I found some fifty of my own men, and a few officers there. The others had gone down the Nine-mile road, and Capt. Rogers was dispatched to halt them. The 23d Pennsylvania was drawn up in my camp, and I directed Capt. Walters to collect the men of the 104th, and cause them to fall into ranks on his left. The fire of the enemy soon became so warm at this point that our force was obliged to retire ** and sought a securer position to the rear. An hour before I had received a wound ** in the left elbow joint, and ** I went to the field hospital where it was ** dressed by Surgeon Van Etton of the 56th New York and Assistant Surgeon Stavely of the 103d Pennsylvania. I did not join my regiment again that day until nearly sunset, when the battle had ceased.

The action of the battalion of the 11th Maine, of Naglee’s brigade, supporting Spratt’s battery, is described by Col. Plaisted in his official report, which is published in the “Story of the 11th Maine Regiment” [pp. 46-49], as follows:

I ordered my men to lie down behind a ridge that protected them, and reserve their fire until the rebels emerged from the woods. Soon after Gen. Naglee rode in front of my line amidst a shower of bullets, and ordered me to charge. With the greatest enthusiasm the order was obeyed. With the 104th Pennsylvania on my right, we advanced across the open space two or three hundred yards to the fence, and not more than fifty yards from the woods, where we opened fire. We maintained our fire and our position until two-thirds of my commissioned officers and one-half my little battalion were either killed or wounded, my flag perforated by eleven bullets, flagstaff shot away, and the supports on my right had left. Then, reluctantly, I gave the order, “Retreat.”

I retreated to my old camp ground with the remains of my three companies, and, after a little while, returned to the Nine-mile road, one hundred yards to the rear, where I supposed the rally would be made. Twice the shattered flag was raised to rally the fugitives of other regiments, but only those who stood by it before would stand by it now. In good order
we retired to near Savage Station, where I heard from Lieut. Col. Jourdan, commanding the 56th New York, that four of my companies that were on picket volunteered to fight under him. * * * Of the three companies engaged under me, numbering 93 men, I lost six killed, thirty-nine wounded, and seven missing, total, 52.

Col. Plaisted makes no claim to have retired down the Williamsburg road, nor to have halted at or near the redoubt or rifle-pits, where the 85th and 101st Pennsylvania Regiments were in position. "I retreated," he says, "to my old camp ground with the remains of my three companies, and, after a little while, retired to the Nine-mile road, one hundred yards to the rear, where I supposed the rally would be made."

The 100th New York was the only other regiment of Naglee's brigade that supported Spratt's battery in the advanced line at the abatis. Its commanding officer, Col. J. M. Brown, was killed during the battle, and no official report of its action can be found. The most authentic description of the action of this regiment in the battle of Seven Pines appears in the "History of the 100th Regiment" by Maj. Geo. H. Stowitts, published in 1870. Maj. Stowitts says:

The 100th was the first in the fight. Its commander, Col. James M. Brown, as the sequel proved, was a fighting man, and the same spirit was infused into the men under his command. To him it was a fight to death, and his record is unmistakable, for it was said of him that "he was a lion in battle." Though works of defence had been constructed, still these new troops were advanced beyond them over the open space and ordered to charge through slashing, which, in military, is thought to be a barrier between the advancing and resisting troops. The order to charge had been given, and Col. Brown shouted, "Charge the 100th," and four regiments of Naglee's brigade did charge most gallantly, though with no decisive advantage, except to gain time, by checking the crowded masses of the rebels, and wear away the day, that Sumner and Heintzelman might arrive in time to save what remained of Casey's division from being totally exterminated.

But it was madness to hold out longer against the rebel host. The order was given to retreat; and now, as these heroes turned to pass over and under fallen trees, and through tangled thickets, the work of death really commenced. It was now that brave and loyal men were destroyed. Though Col. Brown had denounced the order to charge when given, knowing it would be fatal, still with a smile and hurrah he led his brave men against the rebel lines, which were made to recoil with admiration of such unparalleled bravery. * * * It will be seen at a glance that the order sending the 100th Regiment through that slashing, cost it and the country the future services of brave officers and men. * * * The 100th Regiment had gone to the sacrifice, though without dishonor. Its decimated ranks told of its brave resistance.

The 92d New York Regiment, of Palmer's brigade, supporting Spratt's battery was in line of battle at the eastern edge of the abatis immediately to the left of the 100th New York. The commanding officer, Col. Hunt, was severely wounded and no official report of its action is published in the official records, further than is made by the commanding officers of the division and brigade. The action of the three other regiments of this brigade is described by the respective battalion commanders. Col. Charles Durkee, commanding the 98th New York, says:

The regiment was placed in advance of the fort, and maintained its ground until flanked by the enemy on both sides by a superior force, when we were compelled to retire. We
immediately formed behind the rifle pits and remained there until our whole force gave way, when we retired to the woods and formed again, but suddenly finding ourselves again out-flanked on the left we fell back through the woods, formed again, and advanced in line of battle toward the hottest of the fight. Our friends being in front of us, and the brush being so thick we could not distinguish between friend and foe, we did not prove so effective as desired. [O. R., Vol. XI, part I, p. 933.]

The 81st New York Regiment, in position at the extreme left of Casey's division to protect the left flank of the troops deployed along the abatis, lost its commanding officer, Lieut. Col. J. J. DeForest, and its major, John McAmbly, both severely wounded, early in the afternoon. Capt. William C. Raulston, who succeeded to the command of the battalion, reports its action, in part, as follows:

The enemy immediately advanced to the edge of the woods and opened fire on our whole front. At the same time a volley came from the woods on our left. We returned their fire briskly, and after holding our position for some time it became evident, from the destructive fire on our left, that they were endeavoring to flank us. As we could gain nothing from the position which we then occupied, we retired to the cover of the woods, where we retained our position, firing with good effect until our ammunition was nearly exhausted and we found ourselves again being flanked on our left. We then moved to the right into a clearing beyond the woods and took a position facing the enemy. * * * Not liking the position we then occupied, I ordered them to the rear of the camp of the 98th Regiment. In this position we did some good execution, * * * I ordered the men into the rifle pits on the right and in rear of the slashing in front of Couch's headquarters, from which we were afterward driven by the overpowering numbers of the enemy. [O. R., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 930, 931.]

The foregoing excerpts are from the reports of the battalion commanders deployed in the extreme advance, more than a mile beyond the position occupied by Couch's division at Seven Pines. Only one other official report from a battalion commander of Casey's division appears in the official records—the report of Col. Jonathan S. Belknap, of the 85th New York Regiment of Palmer's brigade. He says:

The regiment was placed in the rifle pits at the left of the redoubt, near Gen. Casey's headquarters. Our fire was reserved until the regiments of this brigade sent out to the slashing in front of us had been driven back and three rebel regiments (afterward known to be Rode's brigade) had advanced into the open field in front of us. We then delivered a continuous and deadly fire until they halted, wavered and fell back. Their color-bearer was several times shot down, and when they retreated to the slashing they left their colors, with their dead and wounded. Up to this point our loss was small and the men in the best of spirits and perfectly cool. If our flank had been properly protected we could have held our position.

About this time it became evident that the design of the enemy was to mass his forces on both our flanks and turn them. I dispatched a messenger to your [Palmer's] headquarters to see where the rebel force in that direction was. He reported that the 81st New York was being driven back by two regiments of the enemy, who were advancing toward your (Palmer's) headquarters. The same messenger also reported that the rebel flag was planted on the rifle pits on the right of the redoubt, near the Richmond road. The guns at the redoubt had been abandoned for fifteen minutes. We were thus completely flanked and could hope for no support, for there was not a regiment of our troops in sight.

Under the circumstances I ordered my regiment to fall back to the road in front of our encampment. Being still desirous of holding our position as long as possible, and seeing
the danger of being surrounded was not as great as I supposed, I ordered the men into the rifle pits again. They obeyed with alacrity. We held our position fifteen minutes longer, and retired only under imminent danger of being surrounded. The rebel flag was then floating over your headquarters; also in the immediate vicinity of Gen. Casey's headquarters on our right. The heads of the flanking columns of the rebels having thus enveloped our lines, and being exposed to a very heavy cross-fire, I deemed it best to have the men fall back under the best cover they could find.

A large portion of the regiment rallied in the first piece of woods in rear of our camp, under command of Capt. Clark, and formed on the left of the 81st. Deeming the position insecure, Capt. Clark ordered the men to fall back to the first slaying and form near the rifle pits in front of Couch's division. At that time Maj. King took command and led this part of the regiment into the field in front of the rifle pits. What was done at this time I am unable to state. At the same time another portion of the regiment under charge of some of the line officers joined the 98th. These advanced, under command of Lieut. Col. Durkee, through the woods at the left of the slaying, received one volley, and the whole retreated.

I collected the regiment about dark near its present encampment. Almost without exception the line officers and men behaved well, but, getting scattered in the slaying, it was impossible to get the regiment together again. During all the former part of the action there was the utmost coolness and confidence along the whole line, and the men fired with great precision, doing terrible execution. Our loss so far as ascertained during the day, was 10 killed, 88 wounded. [O. R., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 901, 932.]

As evidence that Gen. McClellan relied upon Gen. Naglee's report for his invidious references in favor of Gen. Naglee's brigade, and for giving it credit due to the other portion of the division, reference will be made to some of the erroneous statements in the commanding general's report.

In paragraph (a) he says:

On the 24th, 25th and 26th a very gallant reconnaissance was pushed by Gen. Naglee with his brigade beyond the Seven Pines.

The infantry troops comprising the force making this reconnaissance consisted of the 85th Pennsylvania of Wessells' brigade, 85th and 98th New York Regiments of Palmer's brigade, and the 52d and 104th Pennsylvania of Naglee's brigade.

Gen. Wessells, in his report, gives in detail the action of each regiment in his brigade, which, of itself, under ordinary circumstances, would be sufficient to refute any claim of Gen. Naglee, but with the official sanction of Gen. McClellan, it has made it necessary to produce overwhelming preponderance of testimony. The reports of Colonels Davis and Plaisted, and Maj. Stowitt's description of the 100th New York retiring from the abatis, should be more authoritative as to the position they occupied after falling back, than the report of any other officer. These reports should be sufficient warrant for the Adjutant General's office to officially request the reference libraries of the Nation to have three words expunged which appear in Col. William F. Fox's "Regimental Losses in the American Civil War." These words appear on page 556 of that volume, in the following paragraph:

The next instance, in point of numerical loss, is that of the 6th Alabama—Colonel John B. Gordon—at Fair Oaks. This regiment was then in Rode's Brigade of D. H. Hill's
division, which in this fight was pitted against Naglee's Brigade of Casey's division. The regiment lost 91 killed, 277 wounded, and 5 missing; total, 373, out of about 632 engaged.

Rode's brigade advanced south of the Williamsburg road, and the only part of Naglee's brigade at any time in position there were eight companies of the 100th New York Regiment. The only basis for the statement that it was pitted against Naglee's brigade is Gen. McClellan's report that "Naglee's brigade struggled gallantly to maintain the redoubt and rifle-pits." In justice to the officers and men of Wessells' and Palmer's brigades, "Naglee's Brigade of," should be eliminated from this sentence.

Further reference should be made to the statement that Gen. Naglee directed the batteries of Casey's division. Col. Bailey, himself, directed the batteries at the redoubt from the beginning of the action until after he had given the order to spike the guns in the redoubt, and this order was not given until the enemy was closing in on both flanks. Immediately after giving this order he was killed. He had been directing the fire of the batteries at the redoubt for an hour before Gen. Naglee arrived on the battlefield and continued to direct it until a bullet of the enemy penetrated his brain, immediately after which the other batteries retired from proximity of the redoubt.

Gen. Naglee was one of the coterie of officers, who were received with favor at Gen. McClellan's headquarters. Gen. Keyes was evidently aware of this or he would have returned his report for correction. In forwarding it to Gen. McClellan's headquarters he requested that it be returned to him (Gen. Keyes) as objectionable, and he then continues as follows:

I will then require Brig. Gen. Naglee to report the operations of his own brigade during the battle of May 31. At the same time I would intimate to him that if he desires to describe the operations of the Fourth Corps or of Gen. Casey's division or the conduct of individuals, not under his command or his own conduct generally, there will be no objection to his doing so in a separate paper.

Among the objections made to Gen. Naglee's report was that "he states that he gave orders to other troops besides his own brigade without giving the authority for so doing." Another reason was that "Gen. Naglee's report conveys the idea, I think, that one division or one brigade of the Fourth Corps did nearly all the fighting on the 31st and that the other division did very little fighting." Gen. Keyes expressed his opinion that, "The paper he [Naglee] has furnished contains matter which will lead to angry controversies, and ought not, in my opinion, to appear in its present form among the reports of the battle." No one who witnessed Gen. Naglee's action on the battlefield would question his courage under fire, but his official report, certainly is an enigma.

There is more than one instance as shown by the published Official Records, where Gen. Naglee reported directly to Gen. McClellan. On May 23, he reported a reconnaissance to Gen. McClellan direct signing it "Naglee," without prefix or affix. (O. R., Vol. XI, part I, pages 648-649.) Again the report of the reconnaissance is made direct to Gen. Marcy, Chief of Staff, without having gone through the regular official channels. (O. R., Vol. XI, page I, pages
670-673.) This, combined with the deference shown his report, is evidence he had the confidence of Gen. McClellan more than had the division or corps commander, and it is very probable that the commanding general may have been influenced by verbal statements from Gen. Naglee.

The injustice done the brigades of Generals Wessells and Palmer in Gen. McClellan's official report was due to the commanding general blindly following information from subordinate officers without giving the matter his personal investigation. He was of the opinion that he had made the amende honorable in paragraph (z) of his report. This is made evident in replying to a letter from Mr. James A. Swearer, 1st Sergeant of Company C, of the 85th Regiment, who was present at or near the redoubt during the first three hours of the battle, he wrote under date of June 1, 1875, as follows:

By referring to my report you will see that the conclusion I reached in regard to Casey's division at Fair Oaks was that the mass of the division did its duty, and that the witnesses to the contrary—on the part of small portions—were exceptional. You will find the whole subject discussed there.

In no official report, not even in Gen. Naglee's, is there any statement that any portion of Naglee's brigade was near the redoubt. No mention is made of any rally or stand at the intrenchments as they fell back. However, it is barely possible that the brave commander of the 100th New York Regiment, Col. Brown, may have rallied a fragment of his regiment at the rifle pits. Col. Howell credits him with heroic conduct after the intrenched position had been abandoned to the enemy.

No reflection is intended on the valor of the troops of these three regiments of Naglee's brigade, when attention is called to the fact that after they had retired to the rear that Wessells' brigade, and a portion of Palmer's, were on either side of Casey's redoubt. The officers and men of the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment were in the best possible position to witness the heroic conduct of these three battalions, and they ungrudgingly accord to them full honor for their gallant conduct while contending with an overwhelming foe in their front, and can cheerfully testify that the troops of no other division of the army participating in the battle, on either day, surpassed them in gallantry. Perhaps there is no more appropriate place in this compilation than here for noticing some historical misstatements due to Gen. McClellan's incorrect credit given to Naglee's brigade for defending Casey's redoubt, the misinformation coming from their brigade commander. "The History of the 11th Maine Regiment" by Brig. Gen. J. A. Hill, who served as colonel of the 11th, subsequent to the battle of Seven Pines, gives evidence of how Gen. McClellan's report has distorted history. In his description of the battle of Seven Pines, he says:

Gen. Naglee ordered his men to retire into the intrenchments with the battery [Spratt's].

* * * As our slim brigade line was re-forming in the intrenchments, the rebels advanced on the open left and rear of the redoubt and took position to command it. Their fire was now most fatal. Col. Bailey was shot through the head just as he was giving the order to spike the guns * * * and the batteries were without a directing officer until Gen.
Naglee took personal command of the artillerymen and inspired them to vigorous work until forced to abandon the guns to the now inpouring enemy, only succeeding in getting off part of the guns of our brigade battery [Regan]. * * *

As the redoubt was abandoned, the rebels rushed into it and turned the captured guns upon the left flanks of the 56th New York, 52d Pennsylvania and the 11th Maine. These regiments had taken positions in the rifle pits to cover the retreat. "This," writes a historian, "with the fire in the front was not to be endured, and after," as Gen. McClellan reports, "having struggled gallantly to maintain the redoubt and rifle pits against overpowering masses of the enemy, these regiments were withdrawn from the intrenchments, and with the re-enforcements remaining in the field from Couch's division, regiments of the brigades of Devens' and Peck, both of these brigades giving Naglee gallant support throughout the day, took position along the Nine-mile road, about 300 yards from the Seven Pines."

In the "History of Company D, 11th Maine Regiment" by Albert Maxfield and Robert Brady, similar evidence is given, as shown in the following description of the battle:

When about noon of the 31st of May, the rebel commands * * * swept down on Casey's division, D, and other companies of the regiment were on the picket line, D, on the extreme right. The few members of D left in camp joined regiments moving to the front as they came forward, and with the rest of Naglee's brigade, to use the language of Gen. McClellan's official report concerning our brigade, "struggled gallantly to maintain the redoubt and rifle pits against overwhelming masses of the enemy."

Capt. George H. Johnston, who was assistant adjutant-general of Naglee's brigade, in an article in "Camp Fire Sketches and Battle Field Echoes," entitled "Casey's Division," gives the following account of the withdrawal of the supports to Spratt's battery from the front, which is at variance with the reports of Colonels Davis and Plaisted:

Receiving no re-enforcements, these regiments, with Spratt's battery, retired to the first line of rifle pits. Here was posted the balance of Casey's 2d and 3d Brigades, and the battle was renewed with great fury. * * * Disputing every inch of ground, we retreated toward the second line, Regan's battery firing up the Williamsburg turnpike at the advancing enemy. The 56th New York and 52d Pennsylvania, with a detachment of the 11th Maine, were on the extreme right of Naglee's brigade, near the railroad, at the commencement of the battle, where they suffered heavy loss, their position having been flanked. By an order of Gen. Naglee, what was left of the 56th New York and a detachment of the 11th Maine joined the balance of the brigade near the second line, and fought with them through the remainder of the battle.

It is quite refreshing after reading these perversions of history from regimental histories of Naglee's brigade, to turn to the history of another regiment of this brigade, viz: the 52d Pennsylvania Regiment, as published in "Bate's History of Pennsylvania Volunteers," in which the position of the 52d Regiment during the battle is given as follows:

The regiment went into camp on the right of the Nine-mile road, a half mile beyond Fair Oaks, as a support to the pickets along Garnett's field. * * * The position of the 52d, a half mile to the right and front of the Seven Pines, brought it into action in a different part of the field from that of the other regiments of the brigade, and at a somewhat later hour.
Two companies were on the picket line, and a heavy detail upon the Chickahominy Bridge. It moved from camp in line of battle towards Seven Pines and at first held the extreme right. By the time it had become engaged the enemy had turned the left flank and had broken through on the Williamsburg road.

Gen. Wessells being with the Regiment while it was in line at the redoubt, Col. Howell was not required to make an official report of the battle. However, in a letter to Col. A. L. Russell, at that time adjutant-general of the State of Pennsylvania, filed in the archives of Secretary of the Commonwealth, Col. Howell has placed on record his views of the battle. He says:

We are part of Gen. Casey's division. It is the misfortune of that division at the present time to stand before the public eye in a somewhat questionable shape, but mark me, Colonel, time and facts will, before long too, demonstrate that that division, and the fighting which it did in advance of Seven Pines saved the day, and saved too, perhaps, a total rout of the whole army.

I wish I were at your elbow with a map of the field before us, that I could clearly explain the position which the division occupied, and the position of the enemy, and how they advanced upon us and from where; but as that cannot be it will be enough for me to say to you here, and all that I should say, perhaps, that our division was far in the advance; that we had only 4,500 or 5,000 enlisted men in the whole division in the action. It had been reduced so greatly by sickness and death, while the enemy opposed us from the very beginning with a force several times greater. And yet it took them some two hours to advance a half of a mile and compel us to fall back. The number of their dead, which lay in the woods and on the field in front of us; the pits and graves which hold these now, show the fighting that the division did, and the stand it made, and the sort of reception we gave the rebels.

The official report of our own killed and wounded (Gen. Keyes' corps) when compared with the killed and wounded of the other corps, show also the stand made by our division in the front that day. We fell back because there was this vastly superior force in front of us and on our flanks; because if we had fought them longer we would have been all taken prisoners, and because we were not supported in time to save us from these casualties. We disputed and fought for every foot of ground. It could not be expected a division numbering no more than ours could successfully contend with the overwhelming force pitted against it. There was no surprise. Everything by our gallant and brave commander, Gen. Casey, was wisely and skilfully done. His plans and positions were all well and maturely laid and taken and most bravely by him sustained. His brilliant reputation as a soldier and officer heretofore won on many a battlefield, will lose none of its luster when the true history of this battle is told; he only lacked one thing on that day, and that was sufficient force to oppose the enemy. Our true numerical strength on the battlefield of the 31st of May was 4,368; our loss was 1,114.

My regiment behaved gallantly and bravely on this last occasion. When forced to fall back from the right rifle pits, by the order of Gen. Casey, we returned to the left rifle pits, held and continued there until we were compelled to fall back by the enormously superior force in front of us, by which we would have been surrounded and taken prisoners had we continued to remain. At the close of the day Col. Brown of New York and myself rallied parts of two regiments.

I planted the flag which I received from his Excellency in front and we brought these men to it, and for about twenty minutes, we poured a heavy and hot fire on the enemy, who were approaching us. Another column, however, farther down the road moved directly upon our flank and we were obliged to fall back. I am satisfied that this was the last fighting on the ground that day. While bringing these men to the flag and to the front
and in the fight Gen. Kearny rode by and I attracted his attention. The next day I was
ordered to move my regiment forward and report to Gen. Kearny. He recognized me
and made me some very gratifying compliments, coming from so distinguished an officer,
they were peculiarly pleasant and gratifying.

The following description of Col. Howell's last rally appears in the History
of the 103d Pennsylvania Regiment:

After Wessells' brigade was drawn back from Casey's redoubt and rifle pits, Col.
Howell of the 85th Pennsylvania rallied a portion of his regiment along with men of
other regiments, and formed them south of the Williamsburg road in the abatis in rear
of Wessells' camp. Lieut. Donaghy, who had succeeded in keeping a group of the 103d
Regiment together, united with Col. Howell's command, and for a time acted as his
adjutant. Of this phase of the battle Lieut. Donaghy says:

Col. Howell ordered the line forward, and we moved through the slashing until we
came in view of our old camp, which was now in the possession of the enemy. We began
active skirmishing, firing right through our tents, which the rebels were using as screens
to fire from, or were looking for plunder. We were under a pretty severe fire and a good
many of our men were killed and wounded. This heterogeneous line was at last left alone.
Not another Union flag or soldier could be seen to the right or left of us. We were
certainly the last of Casey's division on the field, and the enemy's forces were forming in
masses just behind the woodpile and away to the right and left; not firing but forming for
another move on our army.

An aide from the force in our rear came up and ordered us back. The firing now
ceased on both sides, but it was the lull before the storm. When we got back to the open
space where we had rallied our force we saw a line of soldiers in the woods to the left
of that position. They stood in grim silence, and in good order, and as we had not expected
to see an enemy there we thought they were our own men; but noticing straw hats and
gray uniforms we were perplexed with doubts. I stood on a stump to have a better view,
and halloed out to them, "Show your colors." It was not a discreet thing to do, and I
realized that, when their guns came to an aim. I dropped quickly behind the stump, and
their bullets slashed sand and water in my face. Our doubts were dispelled; it was now
every man for himself with us. I crawled into a thicket towards the rear, and when I came
out at the other side I saw Corp. Bostaph of my company staggering from a wound under
his arm. Sergt. Rimer and I took hold of him and helped him along. By this time we
had enough fighting for one day and continued our course to the rear until we found our
regiment a mile farther back.
CHAPTER VIII.

CALUMNY OF DEAD REFUTED.—CONFEDERATE TESTIMONY ON CONDUCT OF CASEY’S DIVISION.—HOW THE REDOUBT WAS CARRIED.—LETTERS OF LIEUT. COL. PURVIANE.—LISTS OF CASUALTIES OF REGIMENT.

MAY 31 AND JUNE 1, 1862.

The commanding general of the left wing of the Army of the Potomac, Brig. Gen. Samuel P. Heintzelman, is chiefly responsible for the aspersions cast upon Casey’s division. Whether this wrong was done wittingly or unwittingly, the record written more than a half century ago will have to decide. Certainly, if done hastily, under the excitement of battle and the semblance of chaos which greeted him on the way to the battlefield of Seven Pines between 3 and 4 o’clock on the afternoon of May 31, the general might readily be pardoned for his part of the responsibility in the disparaging words in the first dispatch of Gen. McClellan announcing the battle.

After a careful revision of the returns of Casey’s division, regimental and brigade, it was officially established there were but 4,380 men in line of battle. The falling off in the various regiments of the division had been so marked that before the division had been moved forward in advance of Seven Pines the commanding general of the Fourth Corps had asked Gen. Casey for an explanation for this great loss of men. In his reply on May 28, three days before the battle, among numerous reasons given by the commanding general of the division was, that eight of the regiments were almost entirely new when taking the field. While that was true, the proportion of loss to each regiment was about the same, as exhibited in the report of the inspector-general’s department of June 5. A review of the activities of the 85th Regiment, and the exposures incidental to the Peninsular campaign from May 4, as already given in this volume, will give a very fair account of what each regiment of the division had to undergo, and the privations and duties of the campaign affected the officers and men alike. Even the brigadier-general commanding the Second Brigade succumbed to disease, incidental to his exposure to inclement weather at the battle of Williamsburg. On May 31, the regimental camps of Casey’s division were full of sick, both officers and men. Even the chaplains and surgeons had fallen prey to disease and no regiment in the division had its full quota of the latter. The condition of the roads, and the frequent advances of the division from one point to another, were not conducive to convalescence.
During the forenoon of May 31, the commissary wagons arrived in camp with ample provisions for a week or ten days. These rations had been distributed to the regimental and company commissaries before the noon hour, but not to the men. The wagons were still at the front, the horses and teamsters, having feed and dinner before returning to the rear. When the enemy's signal shots came whizzing over camp, instead of inducing them to hurry to the rear, it had the reverse effect. The teamsters, and those in immediate charge of them, expecting a repetition of the skirmishes of the previous two days, were very anxious to witness the affair, and made no haste to return. However, when the bullets of the enemy began taking effect about camp, the situation was instantly changed. They were ordered to the rear, and so were the sick that were lying in the camp, and there was but one very narrow road on which to retire. Many of the officers and men were so physically weak, that the assistance of comrades were required to get them to the rear. Gen. Heintzelman in paragraph (4) and (5) of his report, says:

About 1 P. M. I first heard firing, more than there had been for several days. I sent Lieutenants Hunt and Johnson, two of my aides, to the front to learn what it was. At 2 P. M. I received a note from Lieut. Jackson of Gen. Keyes' staff, informing me that the enemy were pressing them very hard, especially on the railroad. * * * Lieutenants Hunt and Johnson returned about 2:30 P. M., having seen Gen. Keyes, by whom they were directed to report that this front line, which was held by Casey's division, was being driven in. The road from the front was at this time filled with fugitives. I mounted my horse and rode briskly to the front. At the corner of the field, not a third of a mile from my headquarters, I saw the fugitives from the battlefield increasing in numbers as I had advanced.

It should be remembered that Gen. Heintzelman did not start toward the battlefield until about three hours after the pickets of Casey's division had opened the battle. Two hours before this the regiment rushed out to support the picket-line, had been completely routed in retiring through swamps, entangled briars and thickets, to prevent being surrounded. An hour before the general left his headquarters, Spratt's battery, and its supports, in position a mile in advance of the Seven Pines, had been also forced to retire in more or less confusion. The wounded from these advanced troops, accompanied by many that were not wounded, but very much demoralized in retiring between two fires, had long since augmented the stream of fleeing fugitives. The sick from the regimental hospitals of Couch's division who were able to walk, and from the camps of the latter division, had also been ordered to retire. These were compelled to retire on this road. In paragraph (5) of his report the general says:

Previous to this I had received instructions from the commanding general to hold the Seven Pines at all hazards. * * * Believing the position in front of the Seven Pines to be a critical one, and not having entire confidence in the raw troops comprising the division of Gen. Casey, I sought and obtained permission on Friday afternoon to advance a portion of my corps from near Bottom's Bridge. The order was to make such disposition of the troops of my corps as I saw fit.

From this statement of Gen. Heintzelman several queries arise. Why was it necessary in this report to state that he had not "entire confidence in the raw
troops comprising the division of Gen. Casey?" Having authority to make such disposition of his troops as he saw fit, why did he not place the troops of Gen. Hooker's division at this critical position? If the position was a critical one why were there no re-enforcements sent to maintain it? Why were his mounted aides one hour and a half reporting the conditions in front to him? When before the joint congressional committee on the Conduct of the War, May 28, 1863 (R. C. W., part I, pp. 597-614), Gen. Keyes asserted:

The only point in my report which I wish to change is, that I think instead of Gen. Heintzelman arriving on the field about 3 o'clock, he arrived there at nearer 4 o'clock than 3 o'clock.

Gen. Heintzelman says in paragraph (8) of his report:

On reaching the front I met our troops fiercely engaged with the enemy near the Seven Pines, having lost the first position, three-fourths of a mile in advance. Gen. Keyes was there, and from him I learned the position of affairs. Our re-enforcements now began to arrive. Gen. Berry's brigade was sent into the woods on our left and ordered to outflank the enemy, who occupied in force Gen. Casey's camp and had a battery of artillery near a large woodpile in rear of the unfinished redoubt. This position Gen. Berry held till dark.

Gen. Heintzelman's admission that he did not arrive at Couch's position until after Casey's position had been abandoned is confirmatory of Gen. Keyes' testimony that it was nearer 4 o'clock than 3 o'clock when Gen. Heintzelman arrived. Only the day before, the general regarded the position of Gen. Casey's division a critical one, and had received permission to make such disposition as he saw fit, but with orders to hold the position at the Seven Pines at all hazards, yet it was over three hours after the attack at the front before the re-enforcements from his corps began to arrive at the second line held by Couch's division.

Gen. Heintzelman says Gen. Berry held his position in the woods at the left of Casey's camp till dark. A citation already made from Gen. Berry's report shows that at about 5.30 p.m. he discovered part of his troops falling back by orders of Gen. Kearny, and he then gave orders to the others to retire and all came into camp in order. Gen. Peck, in his report in an excerpt already cited, says he arrived in camp about 6.30 p.m., in company with Gen. Kearny, and took position with Berry's brigade. This indicates that the troops under Gen. Berry returned to camp from their position at the left of Casey's camp in an hour's time, although compelled to retire in a roundabout way, and a part of the time through a woods. Does it not seem strange that it required three hours after the battle was raging fiercely to get these troops in the neighborhood of the position that was to have been held at all hazards?

In paragraph (8) the general says that two regiments, the 63d and 105th, Pennsylvania, were deployed across the Williamsburg road, and "drove the enemy out of the abatis and rifle pits holding their position an hour and a half." Where were these rifle pits located? Were they the rifle pits at Couch's position at Seven Pines, or those at Casey's redoubt near the large wood-pile where the
enemy's battery of artillery was in position? If at the latter, and the enemy were driven out and the position held by these two regiments, why were not the guns captured from Casey an hour or two before brought from the field? In paragraph (9) the general says, that two of Gen. Peck's regiments, together with other troops, were driven back, evidently in much disorder, but were partially rallied and fell back fighting, halting in a narrow strip of wood near the road. Why does he specify the two regiments of Peck's brigade and maintain silence as to the command of the others? Did they belong to Casey, Couch or Kearny? Immediately following this statement in the next paragraph (10) of his report, he says, with the assistance of his "staff and other officers we succeeded in rallying fragments of regiments to the number of about 1,800 men." A portion of these under Col. Hays with two companies of his regiment advanced and "succeeded in repulsing the advancing enemy. This was late in the afternoon," he says, "and the fire gradually slackened and ceased on this part of the field." He then continues: "The enemy never got beyond those woods." How far were these woods in rear of the position at the Seven Pines that he had orders to hold at all hazards? In many unimportant details the general is minutely specific. Why was this important item not made clear? Continuing he says, "A new line was formed in some unfinished rifle pits about one-half a mile in rear, and occupied by the troops of Generals Couch's and Kearny's divisions and such troops of Gen. Casey's as could be collected." Why does he infer that Couch's division was all in position at this point and that but very few of Casey's troops were? Was he not aware that several regiments of Couch's division and the general himself were and had been for several hours completely isolated from the left wing, and but for the timely arrival of Sumner's corps, would have been driven into the Chickahominy or captured? However, in this sentence he specifies the exact point at which his line of battle was reformed, "in some unfinished rifle pits about one-half mile in rear," of the woods the enemy never got beyond. Brig. Gen. John G. Barnard, Chief Engineer of the Army of the Potomac in his official report says:

Soon after passing the Chickahominy at Bottom's Bridge Gen. Keyes was directed to advance and to select and fortify a strong position on the Richmond road. He commenced fortifying a position about a mile in advance of Savage Station and one and one-half miles behind the Seven Pines. (O. R., Vol. XI, part I, p. 113.)

If Gen. Barnard's statement is approximately correct, and Gen. Heintzelman not in error, the Confederates occupied a position a mile beyond the Seven Pines, the point that Gen. Heintzelman had been directed "to hold at all hazards." In paragraph (11) the general amplifies the action of Berry's brigade described in paragraph (8), already cited, as follows:

When the troops on the right of the road near the Seven Pines gave way the enemy pushed several regiments across the main road, placing them between Gen. Berry's brigade, part of Jameson's, and the portion of our troops who gave way from the right of the road. These troops, however, most gallantly held their position on the rebel right flank, and kept up such a deadly fire that no effort the enemy made could dislodge them. They remained
till dark, firing away 60 rounds of ammunition to each man, then supplying themselves with cartridges from the dead and wounded. Their fire completely commanded the open space in their front, and not a mounted man succeeded in passing under their fire. When night came on they fell back about a mile, took the Saw-mill road, and by 8 P. M. joined their division. When we re-occupied their ground again the rebel dead covering their front attested their coolness and accuracy of fire.

It may be asked here why so much space is given in repetition of this part of Gen. Heintzelman’s report that has no bearing on the conduct of the 85th Regiment nor of Casey’s division? In paragraph (18) of his report, Gen. Heintzelman gives utterance to a calumny of the dead of Casey’s division, which is the chief factor for the comprehensiveness of this compilation. Notwithstanding all the slurs cast upon Casey’s division, the force in line of battle aggregating but 4,380 men, its dead and wounded exceeded in numbers the entire corps of Gen. Heintzelman comprising the divisions of Generals Hooker and Kearny. And yet there remains in the official report of the battle of Seven Pines, apparently unchallenged and uncontradicted, this sentence:

“An officer informed me that after we had driven the enemy beyond our first intrenchments he visited Gen. Casey’s camp, and found more men bayoneted and shot within their shelter tents than outside of them.”

When before the Joint Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War in the spring of 1863, Gen. Casey referred to this paragraph of Gen. Heintzelman’s official report, as follows:

Gen. Heintzelman, in his report of that battle, makes a statement that has no foundation in fact. He states that an officer reported to him that more men were killed in their tents than were killed outside. I do not think there was a man bayoneted in his tent. I saw this morning Brigade Surgeon Smith who was there, and he informed me that he examined into that matter particularly, and that he did not find a man who was killed in that way. The truth of the matter is just this: My division was placed in an entirely false position, and unjust aspersions were cast upon it, whether designedly or not those who did it know best themselves. The enemy retained possession of my works until Monday morning, and then evacuated them and retreated. No one drove them out.

In the history of the 105th Pennsylvania Regiment, the historian says:

May 31st, about 10 o’clock A. M., firing began in front, rapidly growing heavier. * * * So impetuous and deadly was this charge that the rebels gave way and were driven across and out of Casey’s camp. * * * The 105th after driving the enemy out of Casey’s camp, pursued them until the entire line on the right gave way.

This description was partly based on a letter written by Brig. Gen. Jameson, under date of Headquarters, First Brigade, Kearny’s Division, Near Fair Oaks Station, Va., June 9, 1862, and was addressed to Dr. Puleston, the Military Agent of the State of Pennsylvania at Washington, D. C. This letter was published in the Philadelphia Press, and republished in the New York Times, in its issue of June 22, 1862. In this letter Gen. Jameson said:

I cannot refrain from expressing to you the pride I feel in the heroic conduct of the Pennsylvania troops in my brigade in the engagement of the 31st ultimo. They more than
realized my fondest anticipation. They were in the thickest of the fight and never once faltered, and only retired from the field when ordered, and after they had been almost entirely cut off—a portion of them being far in advance of the main body of our forces.

* * * Lieut. Col. Morgan of the 63d, in command of eight companies of that regiment, did very signal service in the abatis on the left of the Richmond road, driving a very superior force of the enemy back to where Casey's rout commenced. He was severely wounded in the hips.

Col. Hays had been sent from camp by me a few minutes before I received the order to advance at double-quick, and I could not get word to him in time to enable him to join his regiment before it went into action; but he did good service with two companies of it which had been on fatigue duty, and a small force which he succeeded in rallying as they were retreating from the field, aiding very materially in checking the advancing columns of the enemy. I had disposed of all my command at different points with the exception of three hundred and forty-eight (348) men of the 106th Pennsylvania Volunteers under Col. A. A. McKnight.

At the point where the attack was made upon Casey there are quite a number of open fields. In the rear of Casey's camps there was a narrow skirting of woods, some 10 or 12 rods in width, extending across these fields, and connecting with the forests on either side. These trees had all been cut down, forming a sort of an abatis. Col. McKnight's command was standing just in the skirt of the woods to the left of the Richmond road, just in rear of the abatis, from 20 to 30 rods from the road. Gen. Kearny was with me. We then perceived quite a heavy force coming down the Richmond road (since ascertained to be the 6th South Carolina and Palmetto Sharp Shooters).

All our men had fled from the abatis in the vicinity of the Richmond road. Our only alternative was to make the best stand possible with the handful of men under Col. McKnight. We led them across the open field up the Richmond road, and into an abatis at double-quick, and under the most terrific fire, deploying one-half on either side of the road. For more than an hour and a half this small force held every inch of ground. At last the enemy broke and ran, and McKnight pursued them through Casey's old camp.

During the time McKnight was holding the Richmond road, our line had been gradually giving way, about a quarter of a mile to his right. Just as McKnight succeeded in routing the force in his front, our line gave way entirely at the point above indicated, and the rebel force came pouring into the Richmond road, directly in his rear; and while the gallant McKnight was pursuing the South Carolina chivalry toward Richmond, the rebel force directly in his rear were pursuing our forces towards the Chickahominy. I then received orders to withdraw my men, if possible. With great difficulty they succeeded in filing off to the left, in the woods towards White Oak Swamp, retreating along the edge of the swamp, back to our second line of defence.

In his official report dated June 1, 1862, Gen. Jameson says:

In accordance with a verbal order from Lieut. Hunt, aide-de-camp to Brig. Gen. Heintzelman, I moved the brigade I have the honor to command from the camp near the Burnt Chimneys at about 2:30 P. M. yesterday and advanced to the front upon the railroad as rapidly as possible. Upon arriving at Savage Station I inquired of Capt. McKeever * * * where I should take my brigade to report to Gen. Kearny. He informed me that Gen. Kearny was up the Richmond road. * * * Upon arriving near the scene of action I rode forward to report to Gen. Kearny. Before I succeeded in finding Gen. Kearny I met Gen. Heintzelman, who ordered me to send one regiment to the right to the support of Gen. Peck and bring the remaining two regiments forward to the point where he was then standing immediately. * * * With the remaining two regiments (63d Pennsylvania Volunteers and 106th Pennsylvania Volunteers) I filed off through the woods to the left of the Richmond road. I there met Gen. Kearny who ordered me to advance up the road to the abatis and deploy the 63d Pennsylvania Vols. to the right and left of that
road in the abatis, and to move the 105th Pennsylvania Vols. to the left on the Richmond road to the abatis, and to deploy the same to the right and left of said road. The two regiments having been disposed of as above I ordered them to clear the abatis of the enemy, who were just then entering from the opposite side in large numbers, which they succeeded in accomplishing after a very sharp engagement of about one and a half hours.

Soon after my regiments had engaged the enemy in the abatis I perceived by the heavy firing upon our right that the enemy were pressing hard upon that point. As soon as our line began to waver on the right the men occupying the rifle pits in rear of the abatis broke and ran from the field. They did not belong to Gen. Kearny's division. As soon as I perceived the men abandoning the rifle pits I galloped to the front of them, and used every exertion in my power to prevail upon them to return and hold the pits; but to no avail. The enemy had by that time succeeded in turning our right and our troops on the right were all running from the field. Seeing that I was in great danger of being cut off, with my two regiments I hastened back to withdraw them from the abatis in the woods on the left. It was with great difficulty that I succeeded in returning to my command, the enemy having entered the open field in rear of the abatis.

Upon my return I found my regiments were charging the enemy through the camp in front of the abatis. I immediately ordered them to fall back and to the left as soon as possible, which they succeeded in doing with great difficulty. Before I succeeded in withdrawing my men one of the batteries of the Fourth Corps commenced shelling the abatis and camp which my men were occupying, thereby subjecting them to the fire of the enemy in front and to that of their friends in the rear. By the order of Gen. Kearny I moved back through the woods to a road leading to a steam saw mill (Anderson's, I believe), which road I followed to said mill, thence to the position now occupied by my brigade.

In retreating as hastily as I was obliged to under the circumstances the men became more or less scattered. I commenced immediately to reorganize my regiments, the two detached regiments having returned to the line of works now held by Gen. Kearny's division. I succeeded in rallying between 1,100 and 1,800 men that evening, which I placed in line on the north side of the Richmond road, in rear of the small earthwork near the road, the line extending from said work to the left of the 1st Long Island Regiment, the right of said regiment resting on the railroad. The troops still occupy that line. [O. R., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 843, 844.]

Col. Amor A. McKnight, who was in command of the 105th Regiment during the battle, describes the action of his regiment in his official report, under date of June 2, 1862, as follows:

A few minutes before 3 P. M. of the 31st ultimo I received orders from Gen. Jameson to get ready to meet the enemy. At 3 P. M. we left camp, following the West Point and Richmond Railroad until we arrived opposite the headquarters of Gen. Heintzelman, where we diverged to the left, and after pursuing the road for about two miles came up with the foe.

Seven companies of this regiment, under my command, entered the abatis in front of the enemy at about 4 P. M. and at once commenced a brisk action. The firing was quite animated and told fearfully on the enemy, so much so that we succeeded in driving them back from their position, and also very materially interfered with the serving of a battery which they had in our front.

At this point I was preparing for a charge, when the intelligence was brought me that the rebels were driving our regiments in the rifle pits, and were at that moment actually in our rear, thereby cutting off our communication. I hastened back, and found from personal inspection that such was the case. On my return to our line I found that the enemy, emboldened by the success of their compatriots on their left, had returned to the fight in increased numbers, and were then in the act of making a charge on our position.
The cry of "105th, Charge!" immediately became general, and the men, springing from under cover of the abatis to the open ground in front, delivered a rapid, deadly fire, which caused the foe to fall in great numbers, and under which they immediately retreated, closely pursued until near the summit of the ground in advance of their position, when I ordered a halt.

I thought it best to stop here because of the enemy in our rear, and because a few discharges of grape shot we had had previously suggested to me that to advance unsupported within the fire of the enemy's battery would result in our total annihilation.

We took and held the camps immediately in our front, and from which we kept up a desultory fire until about 7:15 p. m., when the enemy, having been re-enforced, made another advance. From the display of numbers I would judge their force to have comprised a brigade. * * * To retreat seemed almost as hazardous as to advance, the enemy being both in our front and rear. We succeeded, however, in getting off in safety by moving from our left flank, and by double-quicking through the fallen timber and swamps in the woods got by the enemy undiscovered. While the enemy was in possession of the open ground in front of the rifle pits and to our rear the firing was very destructive upon us. We were subjected to a fire from both front and rear, and being close upon the enemy's battery, a number of shells directed against it by our artillery fell short in our midst and doing us considerable damage [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 850, 851.]

Excerpts from the report of Brig. Gen. Hiram G. Berry, commanding the Third Brigade of Kearny's division, dated June 1, 1862:

I moved my brigade from its camping ground, some 3 miles below, to the vicinity of these works, where we bivouacked at 12 M. * * * At 1 o'clock I received an order from your headquarters to place my entire command in the intrenchments. I had scarcely got my men into their several positions when I received an order from your headquarters to have one regiment placed in the woods on the left of the Williamsburg road on our front. I ordered out the 3d Michigan * * *. This regiment I moved across the plain, when I received an order to move the balance of my brigade to the front. * * *

The Third Michigan moved into the woods about one mile in advance of this camp on the left of the road, and by gallant fighting drove the enemy for more than a mile along the left of the woods into and through the slashing. * * * About one hour later a portion of regiments of other brigades came up. I formed these on the left of the troops of my brigade into the timber. We steadily drove the enemy forward so far that I had serious fears of being flanked by the enemy, as they were driving our troops down the road and plain as well as on the right of the road. We were at this time in the woods extending from the edge of the slashings below up the woods and on the left of the camping ground of Gen. Casey's division, completely commanding his old camp and the earthworks with our rifles. * * * We held the enemy in check, and could have driven them back farther had the center and right of our line been able to have held their position. About 5:30 P. M. I discovered the 37th New York moving to the rear. On inquiry I found they had been ordered to fall back by the general of division to prevent being flanked and captured. I then gave orders to the other regiments to fall back also, some portions of which did not get the order in consequence of the thick woods, but all did make good their movement to the rear and came into camp in good order. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 864, 865.]

Excerpts from the report of Col. O. M. Poe, 2d Michigan Volunteers (Berry's Brigade), dated Camp near Seven Pines, Va., June 1, 1862:

Five companies, as soon as concentrated, were conducted by myself to the scene of action, where I reported my command to Gen. Heintzelman, who placed me in position to support a line which was then being formed upon the right of the road. This front line,
when ordered forward, did not number more than 60 men, who broke and passed to our rear without firing more than five or six rounds. At this moment Col. Hays, 63d Pennsylvania Volunteers, urged me to advance, but seeing all our forces on the left of the road in full retreat, with the enemy close upon them, I declined to do so, as it would only be to sacrifice the small force under my command. I then moved the regiment in line of battle to the rear about 500 yards, and took up a position in a wooded ravine, which I was confident I could hold, as the ground over which the enemy would have been compelled to approach us was clear, while we had the advantage of cover. At this time the enemy occupied the edge of the woods nearest to us, with no troops of our army in front or on our flanks. Upon representations made by Col. Hays, Gen. Jameson gave me an order to move forward, which was obeyed with alacrity. We moved over the open space to within 50 yards of the enemy, all the time subjected to a murderous fire from both sides of the road. I soon found that to hold or to attempt to hold the position we were then in was utterly impossible, and with the assent of Gen. Jameson, I gave the order to retreat, which was done in line of battle and in better order than could have been expected, being the last troops to leave the field. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 867.]

Excerpts from report of Lieut. Col. A. A. Stevens, 3d Michigan, dated Berry's Brigade Camp, June 1, 1862:

The engagement now became general, and it was with great difficulty that our corps of sharpshooters * * * and the five right companies of our regiment could penetrate this mass of fallen timber and dislodge the enemy from their strong position; but the steady and cool behavior of our men, and with the telling effect of the deadly aim of their rifles, soon compelled them to fall back, while our regiment pressed forward, charging through this fallen timber and driving the enemy beyond the fence in the rear of the camp of Gen. Palmer's brigade, some 80 rods distant, where they again formed and made another stand. It was during this time that Col. Champlin received a severe wound in the hip which prevented him from taking further part in the action, and with his orders I now proceeded to rally the different companies of the regiment together in line for the purpose of again pressing forward and dislodging the enemy from his new position. While thus engaged the 5th Michigan Regiment came up, and at the same time the order that they were to relieve us. Accordingly our regiment was ordered to remain at a halt, while the 5th Michigan pushed forward and engaged the enemy. It was now about 4 o'clock P. M., and while the contest was as determined as ever * * * there seemed to be a disposition of the enemy to turn both our right and left flanks. It was now about 5:30 o'clock P. M. The enemy crowding the forces back who were engaged upon our right, we found ourselves, together with the remnants of the 5th Michigan and 63d Pennsylvania Volunteers, isolated from our forces of either flank. It was deemed proper by the senior officers present of the different regiments to withdraw to the rear, and I, being the senior officer present upon the ground, gave the order to fall back slowly from the field, which had now become hopeless for us to attempt to hold for the night, owing to the want of ammunition, which was done in good order, returning to the camp about 9 o'clock P. M. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 868.]

Excerpts from the report of Col. H. D. Terry, 5th Michigan Regiment, dated Camp near Allen's, 9 miles from Richmond, Va., June 1, 1862:

The regiment moved forward, halting and firing, until the standing woods on our front was clear of the enemy, who retired somewhat to the right, into a "slashing," as it is called—a sort of abatis of fallen timber adjoining to and between us and a camp which had been occupied that morning by some of the troops of Gen. Casey's or Gen. Couch's division. The enemy's fire from the slashing was very rapid and told upon our men with terrible effect, yet not one of them shrank from his duty or gave ground to his enemy. Our cartridges ran low, and the boxes of the dead and wounded were opened and fur-
nished a limited supply, which enabled us to continue the fire, though sparingly, until about sundown, when fortunately for us the firing from the slashing ceased and all was silent. Instantly was heard very regular and rapid discharges of musketry nearly a mile in our rear, and at or about the point where we had first entered the woods. Finding the enemy thus in our rear, our ammunition expended, no troops to support us, daylight fast disappearing, I directed the troops quietly to withdraw. We retired to the right and rear through the swamp, and I reached camp with the last of the regiment. (Co. H, under Lieut. Walkenshaw) at nearly 8:30 o'clock in the evening. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 869.]

Excerpts from the report of Col. S. B. Hayman, 37th New York Volunteers (Berry’s Brigade), dated June 2, 1862:

The regiment followed the Richmond road to a point near a farm house, located in a clearing, under a heavy artillery fire. It then proceeded to the left until I found the 3d and 5th Michigan Regiments were in front. While I was endeavoring to find a position to co-operate with these regiments under a * * * heavy musketry fire was opened upon my right flank, the enemy evidently designing to operate against our right flank and attack the brigade in rear. I immediately faced my regiment to the right and filed to the right, so as to change my front, for the purpose of checking the movement of the enemy on my right and rear. I was in advance of the leading company, conducting the movement, but before it was completed I observed that my left wing was moving to the front, the cause of which I did not at the time understand, but soon ascertained that this movement had been ordered by Gen. Kearny, and that he was leading it in person to the front. I then forced my right wing to the left and followed the movement. The enemy was checked, and he recrossed the road, where he was strongly re-enforced, when he opened a terrible fire, but the regiment engaged the unequal strife with spirit. The enemy was still moving a strong force to the right and rear obliquely to the right. The regiment retained, however, its position until Gen. Kearny ordered it to file to the rear and incline to the right. It executed this movement, taking its wounded with it, except some few who could not be found, but who have since been nearly all recovered. The enemy did not follow, which shows that his design was abandoned, and which saved the advanced position of the brigade from being threatened in the rear. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 871.]

Excerpts from the report of Lieut. Col. R. A. Bachia, 87th New York (Jameson's Brigade), dated June 1, 1862:

At the end of about two miles we filed across a field into a road, down which we pushed a mile, when the men were halted near the edge of the woods and ordered to load. We then turned to the right and were conducted by an aide of Gen. Peck about a mile, when suddenly we were surprised by firing coming on our left rapid and scattering, as if from pickets. We immediately filed to the right in the woods about 100 paces; formed the regiment in line of battle as rapidly as possible; forwarded two companies * * * as skirmishers under a desultory fire from the enemy, and fifteen minutes later the enemy advanced upon us in force and drove back our skirmishers, who retreated slowly under a galling fire, passing back on the main body. Meantime the enemy, apparently of the strength of a full brigade, continued to advance. At this juncture, Col. Dodge, who was near the left of the line, ordered me forward to change somewhat the position of the skirmishers of the right company. As soon as I got to the ground I observed the enemy were coming up on our right flank. I at once reported back to the colonel, who ordered me to press up the right, which was slowly falling back. The fire now became general, the enemy advancing steadily and in good order, pouring in a heavy cross fire on our front and right flank. The fire on the front at the left of our regiment was specially severe, and here Col. Dodge was wounded while energetically urging the men to stand and advance. During
this time I was on the right and the major at the center pushing the men up and lost sight of Col. Dodge, and when I returned to the left I learned of his being wounded and borne off. Our men, overpowered by numbers, now retreated, facing the enemy and firing in as good order as could be expected under the circumstances, and reformed behind the rifle pits beyond the open field. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 845.]

Excerpts from the report of Lieut. Col. E. W. Woods, 57th Pennsylvania Regiment (Jameson’s Brigade):

Were ordered forward by a general officer into the slashing about 15 rods; formed again; were ordered on again; marched on through the slashing to the swamp, about half way between the field and a camp in view of our front, where we encountered the enemy, the men standing and pouring a deadly volley into them. After about five or six rounds word came that we were firing into friends, and the firing slackened for a moment. Col. Campbell was now wounded and carried off. Our fire was renewed and kept up until I saw the enemy past our right flank. I then gave the order to fall back. From the nature of the ground and the fallen timber it would be impossible to save the men by undertaking to fall back in regular order. The regiment was formed again at the rifle pits, where it remained for the night it being already dark. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 847.]

Excerpt from the report of Col. Alex. Hays, 63d Pennsylvania Regiment (Jameson’s Brigade), dated June 1, 1862:

About 4 o’clock P. M., on the 31st ultimo, by order of Brig. Gen. Jameson, eight companies of the regiment under command of Lieut. Col. Morgan, were led into action. Soon after the engagement commenced Lieut. Col. Morgan was seriously wounded, notwithstanding which the several companies did honor to themselves, to the country, and to the old Commonwealth from which we hail. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 848.]

Excerpts from the report of Lieut. Col. A. S. M. Morgan, 63d Pennsylvania Regiment, dated Continental Hotel, Philadelphia, June 5, 1862:

After you had given the order relative to putting the regiment into line and had left us the regiment moved forward steadily through the abatis. It had not progressed very far before I found the left wing had come up to the line of the 5th Michigan which regiment I found was in line firing by file, the men kneeling and lying upon the ground. An extent of front equal to about three companies came up behind that regiment. On going to the left, I there saw Col. Terry, of the 5th Michigan. After some conversation with him I started to go along the line to the right of the regiment, when my attention was attracted to the head of a column of the enemy’s infantry moving down the main road already quite near to our line. I went back to point out to Col. Terry, to whom some of his men were just calling his attention to it. He said I would have to order the regiment to fall back. I hurried toward the right to provide in the best manner possible for the emergency, and when I reached a point on the right wing of the regiment, and in an open place where I could again see distinctly to the road, I found the head of the column referred to was falling back, and I continued to order the men to push on. The right wing was then not quite as far advanced as the left, and nearly but not quite through the abatis. It was just at this moment I was shot. In a few moments after I could neither stand nor walk, and had to consent to be taken from the field. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 849.]

The commanding general of the division, Brig. Gen. Philip Kearny, in his report, says:

On the 31st ultimo, at 3 P. M., I received an order to send a brigade of my division by the railroad to support Keyes’ corps, said to be severely engaged. Birney’s brigade
was designated, and getting most promptly under arms, advanced accordingly. Capt. Hunt, aide to Gen. Heintzelman, arriving from the field, made me aware of the discomfiture of most of Casey’s division. The retiring wagons and a dense stream of disorganized fugitives arrived near by simultaneously. As a precaution I ordered some picked Michigan marksmen and a regiment to proceed and occupy the dense woods bordering on the left of our position to take in flank any pursuers. I, however, soon received Gen. Heintzelman’s directions to order forward by the Williamsburg road the remaining brigade, camped at the tete-de-pont near Bottom’s Bridge (3 miles in rear), to come up without delay. This order met with Gen. Heintzelman’s approval.

On arriving at the field of battle we found certain zigzag rifle pits sheltering crowds of men and the enemy firing from the abatis and timber in their front. Gen. Casey remarked to me on coming up, “If you will regain our late camp the day will still be ours.” I had but the 3d Michigan up, but they moved forward with alacrity, dashing into the fallen timber, and commenced a desperate but determined contest, heedless of the shell and ball which rained upon them.

The next regiment that came up, the 5th Michigan, again won laurels *. * *. I directed Gen. Berry with this regiment to turn the slashings, and, fighting, gain the open ground on the enemy’s right flank. This was perfectly accomplished. The 37th New York was arranged in column to support the attack. Its service in the sequel proved invaluable.

In the meanwhile my remaining brigade, the 105th and 63d Pennsylvania, came up, under Gen. Jameson, the other two regiments having been diverted, one to Birney and one to Peck. It is believed that they did well, and most probably urgent reasons existed, but I respectfully submit that it is to the disadvantage of a constituted command to take men from their habitual leaders, and not to be anticipated that a brave though weak division can accomplish the same results with its regiments thus allotted out to those whom they neither know nor have fought under, at the same time that it diminishes the full legitimate sphere of the commander of the division. Of these regiments the 105th was placed in the slashings, now vacated by the oblique advance of the 3d Michigan, whilst eight companies of the 63d Pennsylvania, led by Lieut. Col. Morgan, and most spiritedly led by Gen. Jameson, * * * were pushed through the abatis (the portions never until now occupied by us), and nobly repelled a strong body of the enemy, who, though in a strong line and coming up rapidly and in order, just failed to reach to support this position in time, but who, nothing daunted and with a courage worthy a united cause, halted in battle array and poured in a constant heavy roll of musketry fire. * * *

This was perhaps near 6 o’clock, when our center and right, defended by the troops of the other divisions, with all their willingness, could no longer resist the enemy’s right central flank attacks, pushed on with determined discipline and with impulsion of numerous concentrated masses. Once broken, our troops fled incontinent, and a dense body of the enemy pursuing rapidly, yet in order, occupied the Williamsburg road, the entire open ground, and penetrating deep into the woods on either side soon interposed between my division and my line of retreat.

It was on this occasion that, seeing myself cut off, and relying on the high discipline and determined valor of the 37th New York Volunteers, I faced them to the rear against the enemy, and held the ground, although so critically placed, and despite the masses that gathered and had passed us, checked the enemy in his intent in cutting us off against the White Oak Swamp. This enabled the advanced regiments, averted by orders and this contest in their rear, to return from their hitherto victorious career, and to retire by a remaining wood-path, known to our scouts (the Saw-mill road) until they once more arrived at and remained the impregnable position we had left at noon at our own fortified division camp. * * * It is perhaps within the limits of my report to mention Gen. Peck, most distinguished and wounded in Mexico. On the discomfiture of the right and center he rallied near the saw-mill several hundred of the fugitives, and was coming with them
from there again to the field when I directed them to anticipate the enemy and man the intrenched camp. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 838-842.]

Gen. Kearny’s report is dated Headquarters, Third Division, Heintzelman’s Corps, Intrenched Camp, near Savage’s, June 2, 1862. The previous Sunday, he wrote a letter to a friend which is published in the “Personal and Military History of Philip Kearny” (pp. 318, 319) by John Watts De Peyster. In this letter the general describes the appearance of “the race of the fugitives,” as he came onto the scene, and is not quite as enthusiastic over the ardor of his own men, as he is in his report. The principal part of the text of the letter is as follows:

As the battle came off quite unexpectedly yesterday, I hasten to send you a line, knowing how anxious you will be, and to say that I thank God that the great risks (for it was again a crisis of saving a runaway people) I ran have not resulted in even a light wound. I was visiting some friends the other side of the Chickahominy, some five or six miles off, when a rattle of musketry was heard, and I instantly felt that I was concerned in it. So, mounting I galloped back, and was just in time to lead my men some miles to the front, to save a huge corps that had run like good fellows at the first attack. When the enemy got behind us, and the troops in the rear ran like sheep, I flew to them, hurrahed at them, waved my cap, and turning them, led them into the fight again. I had hardly done this, when another large party of the enemy stole in behind my brigade, and I was nearly cut off from my own men; but rushing to a wood near by I made a stand. However, I looked back at my recent borrowed followers, and found them, and all the others—some seven or eight thousand of that line (Keyes Corps)—running like good fellows, and masses of the enemy regularly but surely, rapidly and sternly pursuing them, keeping the only reported roads of retreat. Thinks I to myself, am I cut off, me and mine.

Most fortunately, I had that very morning examined, with a fine guide, all that secret locked up country of forests and swamps. I saw that they hoped to cut me off from retreat by getting between me and White Oak Swamp. By this time a regiment of mine, attracted by the firing in their rear, came along in the woods. I charged the enemy in rear, and would have gained the day but for continuous reenforcements. But I fought them long enough to enable all my intercepted regiments to retire by a secret road through the swamp; got back to my position—a very strong one, from which I should not have been taken—before the enemy arrived there, and again offered the sole barrier, when all else was confusion. Still this was not victory. It was the first time I had not slept on the battlefield, and but for the mismanagement as to our battle at Williamsburg, I would have been victorious here too. Still it is most infecting to be sent to restore a fight, and see hordes of others panic-stricken, disobedient, craven, and downcast. Anywhere it is a disagreeable sight to see the wounded being carried off the field of battle, even from a victorious one. This time it was an old acquaintance in Mexico, Gen. Casey, whose men gave way most shamefully, filling the roads from the battle field to our camp, three and a half miles, and ran away worse than at Bull Run. I am used to many strange sights, but when I saw before the race of the fugitives a whole line of wagons going full tilt, I thought that many a pretty bold man might well have his senses turned. Then came a stream of fugitives, and finally they poured in masses. My superior (Heintzelman) had previously ordered me to leave a brigade in the rear. He then first sent to me to send away one brigade by the railroad, quite away from my control, and then a brigade up to the battle-field.

I accompanied this, ordered up, at my own responsibility, my absent brigade (Jameson’s), and pushed on at a fearful pace. I got under fire, as usual, and was sent
to charge, while thousands of those I came to help were left quietly to be passed by, by me, and crouch down in the rifle pits and fortifications. We put right in, and I drove back the enemy; but McClellan's injustice has changed my men. They followed me, after a fashion, but were cold and slow; still I won everything.

When before the Joint Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, on March 7, 1863, Gen. Heintzelman described Gen. Kearny's mental attitude at the time the foregoing letter was written. In his testimony, Gen. Heintzelman, describing the closing scenes of the battle, and the conditions in the left wing of the army on Sunday, said:

In the morning [Sunday] I went to the front and had not been there long before I heard firing in the direction of Gen. Sumner's forces. I had the half of Gen. Hooker's division there; the other half was at Bottom's Bridge. I immediately sent that half division forward in the direction of the firing. They soon met the enemy, who were repulsed by Gen. Sumner's troops and mine. The whole affair was over in a very short time. That day after the enemy gave way I gave orders to pursue them. Casey's division was utterly broken up. Some of the regiments behaved very gallantly, but after they gave way, none of them could be rallied; and Couch's division was a little shaky. When Kearny found out that I had ordered the troops to advance, he came to me and begged me to stop. He asked me where my supports were and I pointed to them. He asked me if I had confidence in them. I said no. He said I had better let well enough alone; that Gen. McKnight would order a general advance in two or three days. I then countermanded the order. The next morning I learned the enemy had retreated in very great confusion and on Sunday we gained nearly all the ground we had lost the day before.

The letter of Gen. Kearny and the foregoing excerpts from his official report, and also from the reports of his subordinate commanding officers, appear here because of statements made in Gen. Jameson's letter to Dr. Puleston and in the report of Col. McKnight. The latter says:

We took and held the camps immediately in our front, and from which we kept up a desultory fire until about 7:15 p. m.

In his letter to Dr. Puleston, Gen. Jameson says:

Our only alternative was to make the best stand possible with the handful of men under Col. McKnight. We led them across the open field up the Richmond road, and into an abatis at double-quick, and under the most terrific fire, deploying one-half on either side of the road. For more than an hour and a half this small force held every inch of ground. At last the enemy broke and ran, and McKnight pursued them through Casey's old camp. During the time McKnight was holding the Richmond road, our line had been gradually giving way, about a quarter of a mile to his right. Just as McKnight succeeded in routing the force in his front, our line gave way entirely at the point above indicated.

The camps of Gen. Casey's division south of the Williamsburg road and contiguous to it, were within 100 yards of Casey's redoubt and rifle pits at its nearest border, and within 400 or 500 yards at the farthest, or eastern border, in the direction of the abatis. Before any portion of Kearny's division arrived at Couch's line at Seven Pines the Confederates had a battery in position between the rifle pits and camps, and this position was maintained by the battery until after dark on Sunday night.
In the final paragraphs (26-30) of Gen. Heintzelman's official report there are several statements made that are misleading, such as "In every instance in which our troops used the bayonet our loss was comparatively light, and the enemy was driven back, suffering heavily"; "Our troops pushed as far forward [on Sunday] as the battlefield of the previous day"; "In one building at Fair Oaks half a dozen sacks of salt were left; these things indicate their hasty retreat"; "Gen. Hooker [advanced on Monday] far beyond the position we had on Saturday; our pickets got within five miles of Richmond"; "As the enemy * * * was driven back with immense loss, abandoning many of his wounded and leaving his dead unburied, we may well claim victory, and such it certainly was." In his testimony before the Joint Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War (Vol. 2, part I, pp. 351, 352), early in 1863, Gen. Heintzelman said:

The next morning I learned the enemy had retreated in very great confusion and on Sunday we gained nearly all the ground we had lost the day before. I sent Gen. Hooker's half division forward, and sent an officer to Gen. Richardson, * * * and asked him to co-operate with us, and find out what the enemy were doing. He saw Gen. Sumner but he said he could make no reconnoissance without orders from Gen. McClellan. I sent my troops forward and they got within four miles of Richmond. They sent word back how far they got, and I sent word to Gen. McClellan. He ordered me to stop and fall back to the old lines. From information we got from the rebels, I had no doubt but we might have gone into Richmond.

It is due Gen. Heintzelman to give the source of some of his misinformation on which he based this portion of his report: At 11.45 a.m., June 2, he sent the following dispatch to Gen. McClellan's headquarters:

Gen. Hooker reports that he is two miles in advance of Casey's camp and about four miles from Richmond with seven regiments of infantry, and one regiment of cavalry (Gregg's 8th Pennsylvania); the rebel pickets fell back as he advanced. He has seen no large body of the enemy. The roads are impassable for artillery. What order shall I give Gen. Hooker for to-night? He is advancing, with great caution. [O. R., Vol. LI, part I, p. 654.]

Under date of Near Casey's Camp, Va., June 2, 1862, Gen. Hooker sent the following report of his reconnoissance to Gen. Heintzelman's headquarters:

I returned from my reconnoissance about 5 o'clock this P. M. I found skirting the swamp in front of Casey's camp on the Richmond road, two roads: one leading to the railroad, the other branching toward the James River and to the south of Richmond. These were traversed for some distance—the former to the railroad—without important discoveries. In advance of these roads the enemy appeared to have a regiment of cavalry and three of infantry, but as the latter were most concealed in the forest, it was not prudent to determine their number; it may have been much greater. Our pickets exchanged a few shots. On my return my command encamped in rear of Casey's camp, it not being possible to occupy that ground from the stench arising from the bodies of dead animals, and unless steps are taken I shall be compelled to quit the camp now occupied by my command. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, pp. 209-210.]

Had Gen. Heintzelman carefully read all the official reports of the subordinate commanding officers of the divisions of Generals Hooker and Kearny in all
probability his report would have been different in many respects. Notwith-
standing that he and Gen. Hooker, no doubt believed they had gone two miles
in advance of Casey's former position and within four or five miles of Rich-
mond, they never again succeeded in establishing and maintaining the picket
line as far advanced in front of Casey's redoubt and rifle pits at the Williams-
burg road as were Casey's pickets on Saturday, May 31. On Monday, June 2,
at 9 a.m., Gen. Heintzelman sent the following, in a dispatch to Gen. McClellan's
headquarters:

The enemy appear to have fallen back. Yesterday afternoon [Sunday, June 1.] we
re-occupied the ground Casey's division was driven from the day before. We are now
in possession of the rebel earthworks, a short distance in front of our old position. The
half of Gen. Hooker's division with me, I have pushed forward to support our recon-
naissance out the Williamsburg stage road.

When the above information is compared with the actual facts and conditions,
It is readily apparent that the statements about charging through Casey's camps
is likely to have been about as reliable as the commanding general of the left
wing of the army was in the foregoing dispatch.

A battalion of the 71st New York Regiment (Second Excelsior) was the
first to reach Casey's intrenched line. How this position was regained is most
authentically told by Lieut. Col. Henry L. Potter, who commanded the battalion
on June 1. In his report of the affair, dated June 3, 1862, he says:

After the driving in of the rebel lines by our brigade on the morning of June 1,
Gen. Sickles, commanding Excelsior Brigade, ordered a detail of one company, besides
two flank companies already deployed in front as skirmishers, to advance under my com-
mand to take observations of the enemy's lines and to learn the position of the battery
that had been playing upon our lines during the morning. A report of the movements and
observations of this advanced command I beg herewith respectfully to submit.

After passing through the swamp in the rear of the field lately occupied by Gen.
Casey's command we found the enemy drawn up in large force in line of battle at right
angles with the main road, crossing the road on a line with the house near which Gen.
Casey's headquarters were recently established. I posted three companies (A, B, C) as
a reserve in line on the end of the field near the swamp extending from the road to the
left, and advanced with the other three companies (E, F, H) as far as the road that
breaks to the left from the main road, called the Saw-mill road. This road crosses the
fields about half way between the swamp and where the enemy were drawn up in line of
battle, and within long range of the rebel pickets. On this road I posted two com-
panies (E, H), and with Company F, Capt. Donaldson, passed through the wood to the
left of the field and advanced the company to a house in a field beyond this Saw-mill road,
and on the right flank of the rebels as there posted. When in this position we arrested
several of the enemy, two with pieces of white paper in their hats, without arms; two
with arms; two who claim to be residents in the neighborhood; one with the New York
State Volunteers uniform on, but could not account for himself satisfactorily, and some
others of which I took no note. I did not take the names or interrogate any of them,
sending them directly to you to be reported to Gen. Sickles.

On the field within the lines of my command as above mentioned, I found a large
number of wounded of both the rebel army and our own, some in the field, some under
tents, and some in a house and sheds, adjoining on the right of the road. I immediately
communicated directly to Gen. Sickles the distressing condition of those wounded and
asked that he would send ambulances and medical officers for their relief, and to which
communication I am very thankful he gave such prompt attention, all of the wounded
then within our lines being removed before night.

Soon after posting my command, as above-mentioned, a stage, or omnibus, was
observed passing through the enemy's lines towards their advanced pickets. I immediately
detailed three files of best marksmen and advanced in the skirt of the wood until nearly
in range of the rebel pickets on the road, and there halted until the stage had passed
their pickets and was about to turn back, when I hailed the drivers, and informed them
that if they did not turn into the field I would fire on them. After a little hesitation
they obeyed, not however, until the person inside of the stage had jumped out and
escaped, though fired upon. I sent Lieut. Leigh in charge of the omnibus, and the two
drivers to report to you, to be reported to Gen. Sickles.

At "retreat" I was ordered to withdraw my command from the advance and rejoin
my regiment, and as Company F (Capt. Donaldson) filed out of the field where posted
beyond the Saw-mill road the rebel forces filed in, but most unaccountably did not fire
upon Company F as they retired, though within short range as before observed.

Immediately after daybreak, June 2, I was ordered to take command of five companies
and reoccupy the position of the evening previous. Companies A, C, E, F, and H reported
to me, and as we filed through the swamp the lines occupied by the enemy of the previous
evening seemed to be abandoned. I posted my command same as the evening previous,
finding that during the night the enemy had barricaded the side of the road in front of
the field where Company F had been posted for some 600 yards; also had thrown up a
barricade of timber and wood across the road. After finding their position abandoned I
immediately sent report to Gen. Sickles to that effect, and then, taking Company A from
my reserve, advanced with it to the redoubt and line of earthworks occupied by the enemy
the evening previous. I was here joined by Lieut. Latta of the 8th Pennsylvania Cavalry,
who came up with some 6 mounted men.

Scattered over the fields in tents, in the houses, and under sheds were large numbers
of wounded men, both of the rebel and our own, in the most distressing condition, many
having been since Saturday, May 31, without any food or attention. From the wounded
we learned that the enemy had fallen back that morning, commencing the retreat about
midnight, and that their rear had not been an hour gone; in fact, in a small house in
the edge of the woods to the left we found a sergeant and a private, who were asleep
and not aware of the retreat of their army until prisoners.

After advancing all of my command to the line of earthworks in front of where Gen.
Casey's headquarters had recently been, and posting them under command of Capt. Rafferty,
of Company H, with necessary orders, accompanied by Lieut. Latta, of 8th Pennsyl-
vania Cavalry, and some five mounted men, I continued to advance on the main road
until past the swamp and nearly one mile in front of the earthworks above mentioned.
Halting in the edge of the wood looking out upon an open field for nearly half a mile
in extent we could see in the far front of the field some persons moving in the skirt
of the wood. A few of them came up the edge of the field until about half across it,
then three of them came toward where we were until within some 500 or 600 yards.
Lieut. Latta and myself then charged upon them and brought them in without resistance.
They said they belonged to a new company called the Norfolk Grays. As we were return-
ning through the swamp we came upon two more rebels with arms in their hands, who
had come upon our rear by a side road. Though but two of us, with already 3 prisoners,
we had no difficulty in inducing them to drop their arms and pass in ahead of us.

After joining our squad of cavalry at the rear of the swamp, commenced to repair
to the front of the swamp to take observance of the open field again. When nearly half
through the swamp I observed a single mounted person approach. Motioning to the
cavalryman behind me to take cover, I also moved into the bush until the mounted person was quite upon me, when I found it was Major * * *, of the C. S. Army, and easily persuaded him to accompany me to the rear; leaving him with the three cavalrymen, and again returned to the front of the swamp, and after watching the long field for nearly half an hour without seeing any movement whatever, was surprised to hear a bugle sounding the advance, followed by cavalry filing into the far front of the field. I speedily returned to the line of earthworks, and sent one of the cavalrymen with the major to report to Gen. Sickles.

Soon after Gen. Hooker, commanding division, and Gen. Sickles, with the Excelsior Brigade, arrived in advance. I have omitted to mention that the advance of the Excelsior Brigade was so close upon the retreating enemy that they left four of their wagons, loaded with arms, ammunition, and provisions, in the swamp, and large quantities of provisions on the road through the swamp, evidently to lighten the wagons.

Shortly after the Excelsior Brigade had taken position in the earthworks in front of the battle-field of Saturday Gen. Hooker desired me to accompany him to the front of the swamp to point out where the rebel cavalry had been seen. Just as we were returning a party of rebel skirmishers who were concealed in the swamp, fired upon the general, killing one of the horses of his cavalry escort.

After returning to the lines, about 9 o'clock a. m., June 2, the Second Regiment, Excelsior Brigade, was ordered under my command (Col. Hall being too ill to be on duty that day), to deploy as skirmishers on the right of the road through the swamp. The regiment was advanced through the swamp, the right halted and posted upon a large field of "slashing," in front of which passes a road extending from the right of the long field in front of the swamp to the right through the timber to the railroad in front of the pickets of Gen. Sumner's command on the railroad. The left of the regiment was deployed down this road to the edge of the long field in front of the swamp above mentioned about one-third of the field to the front. Across the extreme front of this field was a rebel regiment drawn up in line of battle, their colors being distinctly visible. Both regiments continued in this position until "retreat" when by order of Gen. Sickles the Second Excelsior was drawn within the lines and rested on their arms during the night. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 827-830.]

It should be remembered that the calumny on Casey's dead was credited to an officer who visited Casey's camp after the enemy had been driven back. Lieut. Col. Potter's description of how "we had driven the enemy," and the appearance of the tents and the condition of their inmates is a complete refutation of the calumny of the gallant dead of Casey's division.

The official report of Maj. William O. Stevens' 32d New York Regiment (3d Excelsior), shows where the pickets of Hooker's division were posted the night after the Confederates retreated from Casey's earthworks. He says:

Capt. Bliss occupied the rifle pit upon the right of the turnpike with one half of his company and threw out the other half as outlying pickets upon his front and right flank, the left of these pickets resting upon the turnpike. Co. E, Capt. Toomey, occupied the rifle pit upon the left of the turnpike. Co. D was all thrown out as outlying pickets, the right resting on the turnpike and the left reaching 300 yards to the left of the turnpike; 1 sergeant and 2 men were thrown forward upon the turnpike 150 yards in advance of the right of the pickets of this company. Co. F, Capt. Leonard, and H, Capt. Doyle, were posted in the redoubt, each occupying a face looking to the front. Co. I, Lieut. Fogarty, was posted one-half in the rifle pit on the right side of the road, which runs in rear of the redoubt at right angles with the turnpike and in the direction of the James River; the other half as outlying pickets, the left resting on this last road and
the right stretching to a point near the woods in front of the redoubt; three men from
this company were posted one-eighth of a mile forward upon this road. All the outlying
pickets were posted 200 yards in advance of the supports, were placed in pairs, the men
lying flat on the ground, with instructions not to fire unless a superior force approached,
and in a menacing manner. During the night not a shot was fired by any of the com-
mand. * * * At the first break of dawn our outlying pickets fell back upon their
supports in the rifle pits, and Co. D was then posted in the rifle pit on the extreme left.

Maj. Stevens' report shows clearly that Heintzelman's pickets on Monday
evening, June 2, were not within three-fourths of a mile of the position from
which Casey's pickets were driven on Saturday afternoon, a position that Casey
had established on May 27. Gen. Casey states most emphatically in his official
report that his position at the redoubt and rifle pits was maintained for three
hours against an overwhelming attack of the enemy "WITHOUT THE RE-ENFORC-
MENT OF A SINGLE MAN." On June 4, Col. Samuel H. Starr, who was then in
command of the Third Brigade of Hooker's division, describes the condition in
the advance as follows:

The Fifth and Sixth New Jersey Regiments have been for four days and nights
under arms, in battle, reconnaissance, and in holding the most advanced position on this
flank of the army. They are still under arms, and see no prospect of an hour's rest
for days to come. They have been exposed night and day to deluges of rain, and have
suffered every species of privation incident to an army in the enemy's country; but
among the greatest of their sufferings may be ranked the intolerable stench to which they
have been and are exposed, arising from the unburied bodies of men and horses that
were and are scattered over the ground for hundreds of acres around. I have caused
to be buried all my men's strength and time enabled them to bury, but I suffer many to

The portion of the battlefield described by Col. Starr was that in the advance
where Casey's division had contended single-handed with Longstreet's corps for
three hours, "without the re-enforcement of a single man," as described by
General Casey. An accurate and graphic description of the same part of the
battlefield on the morning of June 4, and immediately subsequent, though
ghastly and gruesome in parts, is told by Capt. H. N. Blake, 11th Massachusetts
Regiment, of Grover's brigade, Hooker's division, in his "Three Years in the
Army," published in 1875. In the preface of his book, Capt. Blake says:

The author enlisted in April, 1861, and was mustered out of the service in June, 1864.
During the period he recorded in a diary every incident of interest which passed under
his observation; and the request of many comrades, who saw him take notes upon the march
or battle-field, induced him to prepare them for general reading. * * * He has perused
many works which have been published upon the present war by quartermasters, chaplains,
and correspondents of newspapers, a class of non-combatants that usually narrate what
was observed by others. The author considers that the facts which he has described in
the succeeding chapters possess the advantages of originality and reliability. Although the
author is aware that we are all prone to error, he has no hesitation in staking his reputation
for veracity upon the truth of the statements of this work, however improbable they may
appear to the reader.
Capt. Blake’s description is as follows:

The brigade [Grover's] joined the troops at Fair Oaks upon the 3rd; and Gen. Casey’s division, which had suffered a severe loss in the battle, and was destitute of tents, clothing, and cooking utensils, that had fallen in the hands of the enemy, occupied Poplar Hill, so that the two commands exchanged positions in the line. The regiment relieved one of the Excelsior Brigade in the midst of a drenching rain and the darkness of the night of June 3, and performed its tour of picket duty for twenty-four hours. Although the defeat of Johnston had been complete in this terrible contest and the authorities in Richmond expected an immediate pursuit of their demoralized forces, the extent of their losses was so slightly understood, that the pickets were always urged to be vigilant, because an attack by the enemy was hourly anticipated at this point; and the men stood in line of battle before twilight. The field was visible in the morning to the eyes of the soldiers, who beheld one of the most ghastly spectacles that has ever been witnessed. Scores of horses, and the swollen and black corpses of hundreds of rebels, were stretched upon the ground, and in spots lay in groups, that showed a fearful waste of life; and myriads of maggots were feasting upon the putrid forms, and swarmed upon the earth, so that it was difficult to walk without crushing them beneath the feet. Many soldiers, in the obscurity of the night, had slept side by side with the bodies of the slain, supposing that they were comrades; and the loathsome worms entered their haversacks, and crept upon their blankets and overcoats. Some who had complained about a foot or boot that had interfered with their personal comfort, or the form of a person over whom they had stumbled when groping the way to their posts, were amazed to discover that a corpse had been the subject of their oaths. Others who collected wood to cook coffee and build light fires, found that they had taken the rude headboards which the rebels had placed over the graves of those they had buried. The stench was continually aggravated in its intensity, until an unyielding military necessity was the only power that made it endurable. The fragments of shells, the debris of the camps of Gen. Casey’s division, and the bivouacs of the enemy, were scattered upon the battle-field, but every article had been destroyed. Every object showed the marks of a great struggle; many camp-kettles had been pierced by bullets; and a Sibley tent, that stood in the midst of a shower of lead, displayed two hundred and forty-six (246) holes. In the forest, small trees an inch and a half in diameter were cut in nineteen (19) or twenty (20) places, and limbs upon the large oaks had been splintered by shells. A cannon ball, three inches in diameter would sever a branch that was five inches thick; but, when it passed through the massive trunk, the elastic fibres closed up the aperture, so that I could not insert my sword to the depth of an inch. 

* * * The division was encamped upon the field in the rear of Seven Pines until June 30; and, during this period, its history comprised a record of labor on breastworks; and, once in three days, Grover’s brigade relieved the Jersey brigade, which relieved that of Sickles’, and performed picket duty for twenty-four hours. Graves were visible in every direction, after the horses had been burned and the dead were buried; and, when the line was advanced, some were seen in the swamp, standing in the posture in which they were killed; and, so rapidly had they decomposed in three weeks, there was no flesh upon their skulls, which had partially bleached.

Brev. Brig. Gen. Rusling, who was a brigade quartermaster of Hooker’s division, in “Men and Things I saw in Civil War Days” [1899] published letters written by him contemporaneous with the occurrence of these events. That they were written in good faith, and that the author believed they were in accordance with the facts is obvious. Any one reading these letters without further knowledge would unquestionably accept the statements made therein, as coming from a trustworthy source, without motive for deception. In a letter
under date of “On the Road, Near Savage's Station, Ten Miles from Richmond, June 2, 1862,” he says:

On Saturday afternoon at four o'clock the brigade moved off hastily toward Richmond. We had heard heavy firing for three or four hours, and the news came that Casey's division had been surprised and driven back by the enemy. Kearny and Hooker moved up promptly to support; and the enemy were checked and driven back.

Gen. Rusling's next letter to the same friends is under date of June 8, 1862. In it he says:

I wrote you a letter in lead pencil, I believe last Monday. That stated something about a fight. It was a desperate one, on Saturday. The fact is, Casey was overwhelmed and badly whipped. We marched to his support at 5 P. M., and reached him at dark. The fight had ceased with his being driven back over a mile, and when night fell, the rebels occupied Casey's camp. Our supports poured in from all points that night; and on Sunday morning at six o'clock, when we moved to the attack, we drove the rebels everywhere. * * * The 5th and 6th went in on Sunday, led by Gen. Hooker in person. As they appeared with solid front, to a swamp, one of Casey's brigadiers suggested that the ground was swampy in there, and the men couldn't get through. Get out of my way, was Hooker's response; I have two regiments here, that can go anywhere. And they did. The rebels fled before them, and by 9 A. M. we had driven them out of Casey's camp, and advanced to our old outposts. That was one week ago, and there we lie now.

There has been no advance beyond Casey's old camp. The papers lie; they lie horribly. They are trying hard to make McClellan a great man; whereas I sometimes fear he is a great donkey. Casey lost everything but his own life, and he was a fool not to have thrown that away. I fear that our loss will not fall short of two thousand killed, and six thousand wounded. The loss on Sunday was trifling in our own brigade, but some sixty in both killed and wounded. There was no fight on Monday. The Herald is mistaken. It was all over on Sunday by 9 A. M. and the Jersey brigade ended it. The rebel loss must have been enormous. * * * Our division has been burying all the week, and the woods are still full of them. The stench from their decaying bodies fills the atmosphere; and life here in camp is simply horrible. On Monday afternoon, just up the road from here, I counted sixty-five dead rebels in a place not so large as your house. They lay in heaps. Our artillery literally mowed them down. We estimate their total loss at least fifteen thousand—say five thousand killed and ten thousand wounded. O, how horrible is war! Do you know I never had any thought of resigning until now, I am so sickened and disgusted with the horrors I daily witness, that I can scarcely refrain from resigning. Nothing but a sense of duty keeps me here. You don't know the one half at home. When we finally get to Richmond this army will send home a tale of suffering and hardship and horror, such as will make your very flesh crawl.

The letter of Gen. Rusling gives evidence of having been written in good faith but he evidently accepted as true a portion of the “newspaper lies”; that part as to the enemy having been driven from Casey's camp at 9 a. m. Sunday. Compared with Lieut. Col. Potter's, this description is amusing. Nearly every history written from the Northern viewpoint, which refers to the battle of Seven Pines, or Fair Oaks, has ignored Lieut. Col. Potter's report, and accepted Gen. McClellan's version that “our troops pushed forward on Sunday as far as the line held by them on the 31st before the attack.” Lieut. Col. Potter's report is corroborated by the official report of the Confederate officer who had
charge of the retreat from Casey's entrenched line, Brig. Gen. George E. Pickett, who described it as follows:

Our troops occupied the same ground that evening, June 1, and that night, which they had done on the one previous. Gen. Mahone, with his brigade, occupied the redoubt, and our line of pickets was thrown well out in advance. I know this of my own personal knowledge, for Gen. Hill sent for me about 1 o'clock at night, or, rather, morning of June 2, and I went to the redoubt in search of him, and still farther on toward our picket line. Gen. Hill gave me special orders to cover the withdrawal with my brigade, which, by the way, proved a much easier task than I had anticipated. I had formed my line of battle, two regiments on each side of the road, some little distance in our rear of the redoubt. The whole of our force filed past by half an hour after sunrise. I then leisurely moved off, not a Yankee in sight or even a puff of smoke. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, Part I, p. 984.]

The Confederate commanding officers whose troops led the advance on Casey's position can best tell the story of the conduct of Casey's troops a mile in advance of Seven Pines. The first brigade to advance on Casey's picket line was the Third Brigade of Maj. Gen. D. H. Hill's division, commanded by Brig. Gen. Samuel Garland. Its position was immediately north of the Williamsburg road. Gen. Garland describes the action as follows:

I formed my brigade in the open field in front of our previous position on the left of the Williamsburg road in the following order, to-wit 5th North Carolina, 38th Virginia, 23d North Carolina, 24th Virginia, 2d Florida. The 2d Mississippi Battalion were deployed as skirmishers along the edge of the woods in front of the brigade, with general orders to keep 150 yards in advance. In the foregoing order, upon hearing the signal, the line of skirmishers promptly advanced into the woods in front, and the brigade followed, moving by the right flanks of regiments at deploying distance and taking direction from the right, which was ordered to keep within a short distance of the Williamsburg road.

Meanwhile Gen. Featherston's brigade (Col. George B. Anderson, commanding) moved a quarter of a mile in rear as a support, while Gen. Rodes and Gen. Rains moved in corresponding position on the opposite side of the road. My line of skirmishers had advanced only a few hundred yards when they encountered that of the enemy. The difficulties of the ground were almost insurmountable. The recent rains had formed ponds of water throughout the woods with mud at the bottom, through which the men waded forward knee-deep, and occasionally sinking to the hips in boggy places, almost beyond the point of extrication. The forest was so thick and the undergrowth so tangled that it was impracticable to see the heads of the several regiments as they moved forward, and the deploying intervals were in consequence very imperfectly preserved. Still all pushed onward with alacrity—so fast, indeed, that when the skirmishers became heavily engaged the regiments pressed upon their heels and the fire became hot along our whole front before emerging from the woods.

The regiments were brought into line of battle to support the skirmishers, who, without retiring behind them to reform, became in many places intermingled in their ranks, and so continued throughout the day. We drove the enemy before us out of the woods back into the abatis, where they had several regiments drawn up behind a fence to support them. I am of opinion that the line of skirmishers upon our right, on the opposite side of the road, did not advance so rapidly as our own, for Maj. W. S. Wilson, of the 2d Mississippi Battalion, reports that the right of our advancing line was subjected to a fire both from the front and flank. We had now reached the edge of the wood, where the abatis impeded our farther advance, and the troops were under heavy fire. Sending my
aide, Lieut. Halsey, my adjutant-general, Capt. Meem, and a courier to order the several
regiments of the center and left to move by the right flank, as previously concerted, and
endeavor to turn the obstacle in front. I repaired to the right of my line to give the
same orders. I now learned that Col. McRae, suffering from previous illness, had been
compelled to retire in a state of utter physical exhaustion. I had relied much upon his
services in looking after the right of our long line in the woods. A portion of his regi-
ment I found temporarily confused from causes no way reflecting upon their gallantry,
and I assisted Maj. P. J. Sinclair to rally them, and they again went forward under his
command. I also assisted Col. Christie, 23d North Carolina, to reform and send forward
a portion of his regiment, which had halted under the impression that some order had been
given to retire. About the same time, Maj. Maury having fallen, I assisted in keeping
the 24th Virginia in its place, some embarrassment and delay having been produced by
his fall. During this time I was without any staff as couriers, having dispatched my aide
and adjutant-general to carry orders, and my unemployed couriers were either wounded,
dismounted or separated from me in going through the woods.

Hurrying forward in person to the abatis, I found that as the regiments emerged from
the woods they overlapped each other as they deployed, and being thus in many places
huddled together, were suffering terribly from the enemy's fire. The regimental com-
mmanders, who had received my orders to move by the left flank, were unable to effect the
movement in good order under the galling fire. The alternative was adopted—to push
the regiments forward through the abatis against the enemy, which was done, the 2d
Florida on the left and in the advance, the 38th Virginia, now next on its right, only a
little behind. I have mentioned the reasons which caused the other regiments to be not
quite so far up at this time. But they were readily reformed (stragglers excepted) and
went forward either by themselves or with other regiments now coming up to their sup-
port, but, as already mentioned, had no messenger to send and could not leave for that
purpose myself. I trusted to Col. Anderson's intuition as an accomplished soldier to per-
ceive that we were hotly engaged, and, as I anticipated, he arrived upon the field at the
proper time.

Meanwhile, my regiments had advanced more or less into the abatis, the 2d Florida
and the 38th Virginia up to the fence, and driving away the gunners and killing the horses
from a section of artillery near the road. We were losing heavily, especially in field and
company officers. Within the space of a few minutes the 24th Virginia had lost its only
field officer, wounded (Maj. Maury); the 23d North Carolina all its field officers, wounded
or disabled, and 8 out of 10 company commanders and 17 out of 29 officers killed or
wounded; the Second Florida 2 field officers and 10 out of 11 company commanders, killed
or wounded; the 38th Virginia its Colonel, temporarily disabled but who again took the
field.

The entire brigade of five regiments and a battalion was in front of the fight, receiv-
ing the first shock of the enemy's force with only six field officers, two regiments without
any, two more with one apiece. Add to this the list of casualties among company officers
shown in the returns, and it is not surprising that regimental lines were not accurately
preserved; yet nothing occurred to the disparagement of the general reputation of the
troops. There were stragglers, few or many, as upon all other occasions.

The supporting brigade advancing at this opportune moment, and the passage of lines
being a feat in tactics which had never been practiced by any of us, large fragments of
these regiments who were left without field or company officers were joined in and con-
tinued with that brigade. The regiments with field officers remaining (the 2d Florida and
38th Virginia especially) preserved a more distinct organization. (O. R., Vol. XI, part I,
pp. 961-963.)

From the report of Col. Daniel H. Christie, commanding the 23d North
Carolina, Garland's brigade:
The regiment was formed in line of battle, occupying the center of the brigade, and moved at the command by right of battalions to the front, endeavoring to preserve regimental distance on our right for the 38th Virginia. Owing to the change of direction of the road to the left, along which the right of the brigade was ordered to move and the thickly-wooded ground through which we passed, I soon found that my command and the 24th Virginia were moving on converging instead of parallel lines. I notified Maj. Maury immediately, but a heavy firing in front indicating the skirmishers would soon be overpowered, I was obliged to bring my command rapidly into line of battle before he had time to gain distance for me. This caused some disorder, which embarrassed me no little, but through the energy of Majors Maury and Christian the line was completed.

We were now suffering from a heavy skirmishers fire, but pressed on through swamp and thicket, officers and men exerting themselves to the utmost to overcome the obstacles in their line of march and obeying strictly the order to reserve their fire. As we neared the edge of the abatis a terrific fire from the opposite side opened on us, which we returned with effect. The fight here for some minutes was stubborn in the extreme. The felled timber was an almost insuperable obstacle to a successful charge against a firm line, and I waited the auspicious moment when they should waver. At this juncture a regiment on my right was ordered to fall back and reform. The order reaching the ears of my company commanders on the right wing, they mistook it for mine, and commenced putting it into execution. That moment I felt to be pregnant with the most dangerous consequences to my command, but by the quick, intelligent co-operation of Lieut. Col. Johnston the movement was stopped, and we again pressed forward, drove the enemy from his strong position, and were entering the abatis when Gen. Garland rode up and ordered me to move by the left flank.

In the execution of this order the three right companies became detached, but were gallantly led by Lieut. Col. Johnston across the Williamsburg road, and co-operating with the Fourth North Carolina, charged in the direction of the battery in the redoubt, officers and men acting nobly but suffering terribly. Having passed the opening and the abatis with what was left of my command, with a part of the 24th Virginia I again pressed forward, the enemy fighting but giving way. The swampy earth and thick undergrowth continued to check rapid movement.

The 2d Florida on my left, was hard pressed. When the 49th Virginia came up cheering upon our right the enemy began again to give way and our line went forward. About this time my horse was shot, and in falling with him I was so much injured as to be incompetent for further service. All the field officers and two-thirds of the company officers were now hors de combat, but several officers and many men joined other commands and fought on until night closed the engagement. (O. R., Vol. XI, part 1, pp. 967-968.)

From the report of Col. George B. Anderson, Fourth North Carolina Regiment, commanding Special Brigade, supporting Garland's brigade:

The brigade was put in motion, as ordered, by the left flank of regiments so as to be about one-quarter of a mile in rear of Garland's brigade. After moving a short distance, word was sent me from Gen. Garland that he was in great need of re-enforcements. The step of the troops was quickened and they moved on rapidly, the whole advance being over ground exceedingly boggy and much of it covered with a very thick growth of trees. The 4th North Carolina, being on the right and somewhat in advance, came first into action, emerging from the woods half a mile or more in front of the enemy's redoubt and breastworks, upon ground which, up to within 300 or 300 yards of the redoubt, was obstructed by the falling of trees.

The other regiments, in the order of their positions in line—49th Virginia, 28th Georgia, and 27th Georgia,—came up successively into action, but the 28th Georgia by mistake, resulting probably from the density of the woods through which it had marched,
came up on the right of the 49th Virginia and remained thus during the action. Having started the three regiments on the right fairly into action, I found myself in the woods on the left of the clearing with the 27th Georgia, and, from the force of circumstances, as the day advanced, remained on this flank during most of the action. This regiment, having formed in line in the woods, engaged the enemy there and charged him over a very difficult piece of obstructed ground; but finding itself in the face of a very greatly superior force and in too advanced a position, one, in fact, which endangered its being completely flanked, it was withdrawn a short distance, its left flank thrown back, and I went into the clearing to endeavor to procure re-enforcements before again advancing. (O. R., Vol. XI, part I, p. 951.)

From the report of Col. Charles T. Zackry, commanding the 27th Georgia of Anderson's Special Brigade:

We emerged from the woods through which we had advanced rapidly and with great fatigue to the men, in the open field just in rear of the 4th North Carolina State Troops, and the 49th Virginia Regiment, who were both engaging the enemy. We were ordered to the left into the woods, and our line reached along an abatis of the enemy 75 or 100 yards in width. Our captain (A. O. Lee, Company I) and several men had been killed before we arrived within this position.

The enemy had concealed himself on the other edge of the abatis, and when we had arrived within this easy range opened a tremendous fire of musketry, with some grape and shell. We replied with greater effect upon the enemy, as shown by their dead and wounded, for a brief period, then charged over the abatis, the enemy's sense of danger on seeing our bayonets intrepidly advancing allowing him to take little advantage of the exposure of our men in crossing such a place. Advancing beyond where the enemy had been and discovering he had flanked us, we fell back across the abatis. Scarcely was our line well in its position before the enemy, with three fiendish yells, opened from the same place on us a terrific fire, which we returned till re-enforced by Col. Jenkins' South Carolina regiment; then charged the abatis again. * * * In the first charge, or while falling back after it, the gallant Capt. Bacon fell mortally wounded. This officer's loss is irreparable. His courage, coolness, and judgment rendered his services on the battle-field invaluable. Between the first and second charge Col. Smith was severely wounded, but kept his saddle. [O. R., Vol. XI, part I, p. 953.]

From the report of Capt. John N. Wilcox, commanding 28th Georgia Regiment of Anderson's Special Brigade:

The regiment entered the field of action in the position assigned it with the brigade under a heavy fire of the enemy's guns and remained on the field until the supply of ammunition was exhausted, when we retired to be replenished. To the best of my knowledge we remained on the field between three and four hours, constantly engaged under the enemy's galling fire. [O. R., Vol. XI. part I, p. 965.]

From the report of Maj. Bryan Grimes, commanding the 4th North Carolina of Anderson's Special Brigade:

After marching to the field agreeably to orders, when near the Williamsburg road the enemy commenced an enfilading fire from a battery stationed in the road, concealed by the woods. I then filed my regiment to the left and brought it into line of battle and ordered it to lie down until the other regiments of the brigade moved up. Just as the next regiment reached us a courier arrived from the front calling for re-enforcements, and you ordered me forward. The woods were very thick and water deep in ponds from recent rains, in places waist deep.
The enemy, during our advance through the woods, playing upon us with canister and shell, it was impossible to keep an accurate alignment; halted at the edge of the woods, rectified the alignment as near as possible before uncovering my men, and then ordered them to advance, which was through a thick and entangled abatis, formed by felling the trees in opposite directions, which was difficult and tedious to march through. At this time I first saw the redoubt of the enemy about half a mile in front, and something to the right of my center, which caused me to right-oblique my command.

The enemy also had a section of a battery (two pieces) which was dealing destruction to my left wing, while my center and right were being mowed down by grape and canister from the redoubt; but the men steadily advanced in admirable order. The enemy fled from the field pieces on my left, and we then concentrated our whole attention to the redoubt. Between this entangled brush wood and the redoubt was a plowed field, rendered very miry by the late rains, in which the men would mire ankle deep at every step; through this we continued our way.

Other regiments at this time were emerging from the thickets both on my right and left, when I gave the order to charge upon the redoubt, which was done by my men in gallant style. When within about 100 yards of the redoubt my horse was killed, catching me under him in his fall. Assistance came and I was extricated uninjured, when we rushed on.

When within 30 or 40 yards of the redoubt, I saw that we were 200 yards in advance of any other regiment and thought best to fall back to a ditch midway between the redoubt and the entangled woods, which I ordered, and the regiment retired in good order; but the color-bearer misunderstanding the order, fell back beyond the ditch to this entangled brush. Those who had taken cover in the ditch then followed the colors, which were then halted, and all ordered to lie down, being still within 250 yards of the redoubt.

About this time our battery arrived and commenced playing upon the enemy. As an evidence of the severity of the fire of the enemy while in front of the battery 46 of my men were found killed within an area of one acre.

After allowing my men time to recover from their fatigue, just then I saw my third color-bearer shot down. Capt. Simonton and myself rushed up to raise the colors, Capt. Simonton reaching them first, placed them in my hands, raising them aloft, calling upon my men to rally around their standard. It was done with alacrity, and, together with several other regiments, we reached the redoubt, the enemy fleeing. [O. R., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 955-957.]

From the report of Col. William Smith, commanding the 49th Virginia Regiment of Anderson's Special Brigade:

On the morning of the 31st ultimo I received your orders to move by the left flank, file right, preserving such a distance from the 4th North Carolina Regiment, on my right, as would afford me room promptly to form in line of battle. I accordingly moved, and unhappily had to make my way through a trackless forest, encountering at almost every step, brush, bramble and pond, and after a most exhausting march of upward of a mile we cleared the woods and entered the open field. Passing through this field to the right we, with the previous orders renewed, entered the next body of timber, which was either occupied in common by, or separated us from the enemy. The 4th North Carolina was on my right and the 27th and 28th Georgia on my left.

Pressing by the right, we were ordered carefully to preserve our distance, that not a moment might be lost in forming in line of battle. I endeavored to obey this order literally, and in so doing was brought in contact with an enormous abatis and with rifle pits, all right in front, and with a redoubt on my right flank.

Here I met with Gen. Garland, who stating that his brigade had been cut to pieces, urged me forward. I gave the word, and my gallant boys dashed into the abatis, pressing
forward with every possible dispatch. My men were falling fast from the fire of an 
unseen foe—indeed, several had fallen in the timber through which we had just passed 
from the shell of the enemy, and yet they gallantly pressed forward and had more than 
half perforated the abatis—had passed the rifle pits, and were under a galling fire from 
front and flank before I opened fire. Never did men behave more like veterans under 
such trying circumstances.

We were under heavy fire upon both of my flanks and direct in front of the enemy, 
and also from the rear by our friends, some of whom skulked behind the brick ruins 
some 300 or 400 yards in my rear, and some from the brush, and galled us with their 
fire, until I had to dash back to the fellows before I could be relieved of their annoyance. 
Our brigade had promptly relieved Garland's shattered columns. [O. R., Vol. XI, part I, 
pp. 957, 858.]

The foregoing excerpts are exclusively from the official reports of the 
commanding officers of the troops making the attack north of the Williams-
burg road. The following excerpts are from commanding officers immediately 
south of the Williamsburg road. Brig. Gen. R. E. Rodes, commanding the 
Third Brigade of Hill's division, the brigade which led the attack south of the 
road, describes the action in front of Casey's redoubt as follows:

When the signal for attack was given only my line of skirmishers, the 6th Alabama 
and another regiment, the 12th Mississippi, were in position. When the signal was 
given my line of skirmishers and the 12th Mississippi Regiment moved to the attack and 
immediately thereafter the action began. Under these circumstances, as each of the 
remaining regiments came up I caused it to move forward to the attack, so that my 
brigade moved to the field of battle en echelon and in the following order: 1st, 6th Ala-
abama Regiment, Col. Gordon commanding, deployed as skirmishers, covering the whole 
front of the brigade; 2d, 12th Mississippi, Col. W. H. Taylor, moving with its left on 
the Williamsburg road; 3rd, Heavy Artillery Battalion, Capt. C. C. Otey commanding; 
4th, 5th Alabama Regiment, Col. C. C. Pegues commanding; 5th, 12th Alabama Regiment, 
commanding, I ordered to proceed by the shortest route to the Williamsburg road, and 
to follow the left of the brigade along that road after the whole of the brigade had 
advanced. Ascertaining the position of the right of the 12th Mississippi Regiment, I 
endeavored to move the remaining regiments rapidly into line of battle with it; but finding 
that the regiment was pressed, I moved the 5th Alabama directly to its support.

The ground over which we were to move being covered with very thick undergrowth, 
and the soil being marshy, so marshy that it was with great difficulty either horses or men 
could get over it, and being guided only by the fire in front, I emerged from the woods 
upon the Williamsburg road under a heavy fire of both artillery and musketry with only 
five companies of the 5th Alabama; the remaining companies, having been separated, had 
moved into the abatis in their front and on the right of the 12th Mississippi. Finding 
that the 12th Mississippi had moved forward into the abatis and was gallantly holding 
itself along its front, and my battle instructions requiring me to operate upon the right 
of the Williamsburg road, I ordered the left wing of the 5th to move through the abatis 
and join the right, and moving toward the right myself, found the battalions of heavy 
artillery opposite their position in line, but halted and lying down in the wood behind 
the abatis, which Capt. Bagby, temporarily in command, informed me was in obedience 
to an order from Maj. Gen. Hill. Ordering them forward, I proceeded farther to the 
right, and found that the 12th Alabama, which had moved over less difficult ground than 
the other regiments had, was considerably in advance of the brigade, and that, together 
with the 6th, still deployed as skirmishers it was engaging the enemy, having driven him 
steadily up to his intrenchments.
Concentrating the 6th, I moved both it and the 12th Alabama about 60 yards to the rear, in order to form the whole brigade in a continuous line preparatory to an advance upon the enemy's earth-works. While arranging the line of battle the left-wing of the 5th Alabama Regiment, under Maj. E. L. Hobson (Lieut. Col. J. M. Hall having been wounded), in its eagerness to engage the enemy at close quarters and having misunderstood my order to move to the right, moved forward without orders into the field in front of the abatis and directly under the guns of the redoubt. After holding its position there a few minutes and finding that its movement was premature, it moved back in perfect order, under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, to the front of the abatis. My line of battle was thus completed. It was formed under a heavy fire throughout its entire extent and seemed about equal in extent to that of the enemy, which was then in front of his camp and was protected by a redoubt and intrenchments.

My instructions for battle required me under these circumstances to move my command the length of a brigade to the right to give place to the supporting brigade, but having discovered soon after my arrival upon the field in front of the enemy's works some of the troops of the supporting brigade on the right of my brigade, I sent to communicate with its commanding officer, and found the whole of his brigade on the right of my men. I therefore determined to attack from the position my brigade then held, and requested Gen. Rains, who commanded the supporting brigade, through an officer of my staff and soon after in person, to move forward his brigade through the woods, so as to protect my right flank while I attacked the enemy in front. He stated to me that he apprehended an attack on his own right flank, and declined, therefore, to move; his brigade had a few moments before occupied a line extending from my right obliquely to the front, and at the moment of our conversation was being thrown back on a line parallel to and a little in rear of that occupied by mine. (O. R., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 971, 972.)

From the report of Col. C. V. Pegues, commanding the 5th Alabama Regiment, Rodes' brigade:

Saturday, about 11 A. M., the regiment moved down the Charles City road 1½ miles, and, filing to the left, approached the enemy's works on the right of the Williamsburg road. After passing through a dense swamp covered with water the regiment emerged from the woods in front of the enemy's camp, which was fortified with a redoubt and a long line of breastworks and rifle pits, and advanced toward it over an abatis formed by thickly felled timber, which in some places was almost impassable. While in the abatis an order was received to move by the right flank and approach the redoubt more in the rear. I immediately moved the right wing in the direction ordered, leaving instructions with Lieut. Col. J. M. Hall to follow with the left wing. In consequence of a wound received in the hand of Lieut. Col. Hall he left the field before executing this order; hence the left wing remained in the abatis in front of the redoubt, being at the time under command of Maj. E. L. Hobson, where it suffered greatly from the enemy's batteries and long-range guns.

The right wing formed line on the left of the 4th Virginia Battalion, and the entire line was ordered by Gen. Rodes in person to charge the redoubt. While making this charge the left wing emerged from the abatis, took its proper place in line and the whole regiment charged over the ditch and embankment into the redoubt, where we captured a stand of colors and six pieces of artillery. (O. R., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 977, 978.)

From the report of Col. John B. Gordon, commanding the 6th Alabama, Rodes' brigade:

I moved my regiment across to the Williamsburg road by the left flank, and having reminded them of the proclamation of the infamous Butler and of the fate awaiting us if defeated, deployed them as skirmishers in front of the brigade, with the left resting on the road. They were moved forward as the skirmishers from the brigade of Gen. Garland,
deployed on the left of the road, approached my left flank. This forward movement was
difficult and fatiguing in the extreme, and can only be appreciated by a knowledge of the
fact that the guide, in order to move with Gen. Garland's skirmishers, was thrown neces-
sarily on the left, where the woods impeded the march much less than on the right, and
center. Passing through swamps and dense underbrush, these portions of the line came
not infrequently in contact with hedges of briars so tall and dense as to render it
necessary for the skirmishers to file around them and retake their places in line by the
double-quick.

The enemy's advanced posts were first reached and attacked by Gen. Garland's skir-
mishers, then by my left, then by my center, and finally by my right, demonstrating that
the enemy's line did not extend across the Williamsburg road at right angles, but nearly
parallel to the general course of the Chickahominy River. As my skirmishers entered
the open field in which the enemy had erected his earthworks a regiment was moved up
in line of battle covering my left wing. Upon this regiment I ordered a forward move-
ment under their fire, in order to get within easy range for my rifles. A few rounds
were exchanged and they retired to their intrenchments. From the woods in front of
my right and center and on the left of the enemy's works he had by this time thrown
forward one or two regiments, protected by a heavy rail fence.

My skirmishers were immediately ordered forward until within easy range, and then,
lying down behind stumps and logs, they poured a most deadly fire for some minutes
into the solid ranks of the enemy, when, re-enforced and assisted by the 12th Alabama
Regiment, this line of the enemy was also driven under cover of the woods. Under this
fire from the enemy some of my best officers and many men fell. Capt. Fox, Company
E, no less brave than accomplished, was killed; Capt. A. M. Gordon, Company D, seriously
wounded. The brigade was now being formed in line of battle just in rear of my line of
skirmishers, where, upon application to Gen. Rodes, I was ordered to form my regiment
on the right of the brigade and charge with it the enemy's earthworks. These were soon
occupied by the brigade. [O. R., Vol. XI, part 1, p. 979.]

From the report of Lieut. Col. B. B. Gayle, 12th Alabama, Rodes' brigade:

On Saturday, May 31, this regiment, in company with the others of Gen. Rodes' brigade, left camp about 12 o'clock for the purpose of attacking the enemy. After pene-
trating a swamp knee-deep in water we were in full view of the foe, and forthwith
received a heavy fire from him. We lay on the ground in the edge of the woods for a
short time, using our long range guns to no bad purpose. An order was then received to
move forward to the right. This was done without hesitation, and the right wing, having
to cross an open field, received a heavy fire. Here several of our men were wounded, but
none, I believe, killed. We did not remain long in this position, for the enemy, seeing that
another regiment to our right was about to flank them, retired.

In a few minutes the whole brigade was in line, and after making a half wheel to
the left commenced to charge upon the breastworks and camp of the enemy. In this
charge the men were exposed to a terrific fire, but their steady movements showed too
clearly to the enemy a determination to cross bayonets with them had they remained a
few minutes longer. [O. R., Vol. XI, part 1, p. 891.]

From the report of Lieut. Col. B. B. Gayle, 12th Alabama, Rodes' brigade:

Hill's division:

Pursuant to instructions of Maj. Gen. Hill, on the field of battle, Brig. Gen. Rodes' brigade being actively engaged with an overpowering mass of the enemy with the two
right regiments of my command, soon followed by the third and part of the fourth, we
penetrated the woods, to take the enemy in rear and drive him from his batteries, now
playing with fearful effect upon our troops. We found ourselves in a swamp, but pressed
on with alacrity until we gained the rear of the enemy.
Here we halted, directed by kind Providence, exactly at the right place, where I made a change of front by a wheel in the thicket, and advancing found ourselves facing the foe. Some of our men had fired on what I was afraid to be some of our own troops, but it proved otherwise from the dead bodies we passed, and the enemy must have been firing there upon one another. As soon as we reached the edge of the thicket, seeing the enemy in front, I ordered the fire. For a moment it ran along the line, not fairly yet in position, and was then followed by a long, loud and continued roll of musketry for full fifteen minutes without cessation. I had heard many a volley before, but never one so prolonged and continuous. We evidently were unexpected there, were near at hand to the foe and struck them like an avalanche. Their shot and cannon balls came like hail into the bushes around us, but the men lay close to the ground and only rose up on the knee to fire. (O. R., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 969, 970.)

The commanding general of the Army of Northern Virginia, Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, gives the following description of the Confederate assault on Casey's position:

The principal assault was made by Maj. Gen. Longstreet with his own and Maj. Gen. D. H. Hill's divisions, the latter mostly in the advance. Hill's brave troops admirably commanded and most gallantly led, forced their way through the abatis, which formed the enemy's external defenses and stormed their intrenchments by a determined and irresistible rush. Such was the manner in which the enemy's first line was carried. The operation was repeated with the same gallantry and success as our troops pursued their victorious career through the enemy's successive camps and intrenchments. At each new position they encountered fresh troops belonging to it and re-enforcements brought on from the rear.

Thus they had to repel repeated efforts to retake works which they had carried, but their advance was never successfully resisted. Their onward movement was only staid by the coming night. By nightfall they had forced their way to the Seven Pines, having driven the enemy back more than two miles through their own camps and from a series of intrenchments, and repelled every attempt to recapture them with great slaughter. The skill, vigor and decision with which these operations were conducted by Gen. Longstreet are worthy of the highest praise. He was worthily seconded by Maj. Gen. Hill, of whose conduct and courage he speaks in the highest terms. (O. R., Vol. XI, part I, p. 994.)

From the report of Maj. Gen. James Longstreet:

The forward movement began about 9 o'clock, and our skirmishers soon became engaged with those of the enemy. The entire division of Gen. Hill became engaged about 9 o'clock, and drove the enemy steadily back, gaining possession of his abatis and part of his intrenched camp; Gen. Rodes, by a movement to the right, driving in the enemy's left. The severest part of the work was done by Maj. Gen. D. H. Hill's division. The conduct of the attack was left entirely to Maj. Gen. Hill. The entire success of the affair is sufficient evidence of his ability, courage and skill. (O. R., Vol. XI, part I, p. 940.)

From the report of Maj. Gen. Daniel H. Hill:

The relieving force not having reached the right of the road, supported by B. Anderson. Each wing was been long delayed in waiting for a quarter of an hour after the left. The right wing was the line, although wading through
I now detached Gen. Rains, to make a wide flank movement to take the Yankee works in reverse, while Rodes moved steadily to the front. Before he reached the Yankee abatis Garland and Anderson had captured a 2 gun battery, enfilading the road.

Gen. Rains had now gained the rear of the Yankee redoubt and opened fire on the infantry posted in the woods. I now noticed commotion in the camps and redoubts, and indications of evacuating the position. Rodes took skillful advantage of this commotion, and moved up his brigade in beautiful order and took possession of the redoubts and rifle pits. So rapid was the advance that six pieces were abandoned by the Yan..kees. We had now captured eight pieces of artillery, the camp, tents, and stores of a brigade, and had successfully driven the Yankees back 1½ miles forcing them to abandon a wide skirt of abatis, rifle pits, and redoubts. My division had beaten Casey's division and all the re-enforcements brought him and had driven him and his supports into the woods and swamps. It was desirable, however, to press the Yankees as closely as possible. I therefore sent back to Gen. Longstreet and asked for another brigade. In a few minutes the magnificent brigade of R. H. Anderson came to my support. By night-fall, nevertheless, the Yankees were driven out of the woods, and we held undisputed possession of all the ground a mile around and in advance of the redoubt, which had been the object of the struggle. The flank attack of Gen. Rains was most opportune and important.

Appended is a list of the killed and wounded. From this it appears that of the less than 9,000 taken into action nearly 8,000 were struck down. The loss was principally in the three brigades which made the front attack. Rains' brigade, which executed the flank movement, suffered but little in comparison. The gallant charge of my division demoralized the Yankees and our re-enforcements were not hotly engaged; the success brought to Casey not fighting so well as his own men. This accounts for the fact that more than half of the entire loss in the two days fight fell upon my division. (O. R., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 945, 946.)

In an indorsement attached to the report of Gen. Rodes, Gen. Hill says:

Gen. Rodes thinks that the battery of Capt. Carter had much to do with the evacuation of the enemy's works. The truth is, he fired but twice at the redoubt. I had a full view of the field from my position and could see no movement toward evacuating the works till Gen. Rains opened fire on the flank and rear. (O. R., Vol. XI, part I, p. 976.)

Gen. Hill paid the following compliment to Casey's division at Richmond, Va., Oct. 22, 1885, in an address at the reunion of the Virginia division, Army of Northern Virginia Association:

It was said for a time that Casey was surprised and that his division was defeated by a sudden rush of mine. His own report and the reports of all his officers show that there was nothing of the kind. He had been waiting for us for hours with his men and guns in position. The sudden rush began at 1 o'clock and Casey's works were captured at 3 o'clock. It is a misnomer to call a deadly struggle for two hours a sudden rush. It is unjust to my division, as well as that opposing me, to say that Casey's men fought badly. They fought better than the re-enforcements sent to help them. Fowler Hamilton, a jolly dragoon officer, was asked in the Mexican war, by some of the newly arrived troops, "Are the Mexicans brave?" "They are brave enough for me," replied he. Casey's men were brave enough for me, and he himself was a veteran of approved courage and conduct. He seems to have been one of the very last to abandon his earthworks.

Gen. John B. Gordon, who commanded the 6th Alabama Regiment in the assault on Casey's intrenched line, gives the following description of the part his regiment took in carrying the redoubt and rifle pits in "Reminiscences of the Civil War:"
Whatever rank may be assigned to the battle of Seven Pines or Fair Oaks, as the Union men call it, it was to my regiment one of the bloodiest of my war experience. Hurled, in the early morning, against the breastworks which protected that portion of McClellan's lines, my troops swept over them and captured them, but at heavy cost. As I spurred my horse over the works with my men, my adjutant, who rode at my side, fell heavily with his horse down the embankment, and both were killed. Reforming my men under a galling fire, and ordering them forward in another charge upon the supporting lines, which fought with the most stubborn resistance disputing every foot of ground. Nearly or quite the half the line officers of the twelve companies, had by this time fallen, dead or wounded. Gen. Rodes, the superb brigade commander, had been disabled. Still I had marvellously escaped with only my clothing pierced. As I rode up and down my line, encouraging the men forward, I passed my young brother, only nineteen years old, but captain of one of the companies. He was lying with a number of dead companions near him. He had been shot through the lungs and was bleeding profusely. I did not stop; I could not stop, nor would he permit me to stop. There was no time for that, there was no time for anything except to move on and fire on. At this time my own horse, the only one left, was killed; McClellan's men were slowly being pressed into and through the Chickahominy swamp * * * but at almost every step they were pouring terrific volleys into my lines. A furious fire still poured from the front and reinforcements were nowhere in sight. Fresh troops in blue were moving to my right flank and pouring a raking fire down my line, and compelling me to change front with my companies there.

The aspersions cast on the pickets of Casey's division and their supporting regiment is best refuted by the reports of Gen. Garland and Col. Christie. Gen. Garland in describing the advance through the woods a mile and a half in advance of Seven Pines says:

When the skirmishers became heavily engaged the regiments pressed upon their heels and the fire became hot along our whole front before emerging from the woods. The regiments were brought into line of battle to support the skirmishers, who, without retiring behind them to reform, became in many places intermingled in their ranks, and so continued throughout the day. We drove the enemy before us out of the woods back into the abatis where they had several regiments drawn up behind a fence to support them.

I am of opinion that the line of skirmishers upon our right, on the opposite side of the road, did not advance so rapidly as our own for Maj. W. S. Wilson reports that the right of our advancing line was subjected to a fire from the front and flank. We had now reached the edge of the wood where the abatis impeded our farther advance, and the troops were under heavy fire.

Col. Christie, commanding the 23d North Carolina, confirming Gen. Garland's statements, says:

A heavy firing in front indicating the skirmishers would soon be overpowered, I was obliged to bring my command rapidly into line of battle. We were now suffering from a heavy skirmishers fire, but pressed on through swamp and thicket obeying strictly the order to reserve their fire.

Col. Christie's battalion advanced on the redoubt immediately in front of the 85th Regiment. The advance is described by the Colonel as follows:

The three right companies were gallantly led across the Williamsburg road, charged in the direction of the battery in the redoubt, officers and men acting nobly but suffering terribly. Having passed the opening and the abatis with what was left of my command,
with a part of the 24th Virginia, I again pressed forward, the enemy fighting but giving way, the swampy earth and thick undergrowth continued to check rapid movement.

Immediately contiguous to the right of the 23d North Carolina Regiment, commanded by Maj. Bryan Grimes. Some incidents which occurred directly in front of the position occupied by the 85th Regiment is related in Maj. Grimes' report will bear repetition here, inasmuch as every regiment of Naglee's brigade had retired before this:

The enemy fled from the field pieces on my left, and we then concentrated our whole attention to the redoubt. Between this entangled brushwood and the redoubt was a plowed field, rendered very miry by the late rains, in which the men would mire ankle deep at every step; through this we continued our way. Other regiments at this time were emerging from the thicket both on my right and left, when I gave the order to charge upon the redoubt, which was done by my men in gallant style. When within about 100 yards of the redoubt my horse was killed, catching me under him in his fall. Assistance came and I was extricated uninjured when we rushed on. When within 30 or 40 yards of the redoubt I saw that we were 200 yards in advance of any other regiment and thought best to fall back to a ditch midway between the redoubt and entangled woods which I ordered, and the regiment retired in good order; but the color bearer misunderstanding the order, fell back beyond the ditch to this entangled brush. Those who had taken cover in the ditch then followed the colors, which were then halted, and all ordered to lie down, being still within 250 yards of the redoubt. About this time our battery arrived and commenced playing upon the enemy.

As an evidence of the severity of the fire of the enemy while in front of the battery 46 of my men were found killed within an area of one acre. After allowing my men time to recover from their fatigue, just then I saw my third color bearer shot down. Capt. Simonton, reaching them first, placed them in my hands, raising them aloft, calling upon my men to rally around their standard. It was done with alacrity, and, together with several other regiments, we reached the redoubt, the enemy fleeing.

Maj. Grimes' and Col. Gordon's regiments had greater numerical losses in this battle, than any other regiments in the Confederate army, not only in this battle, but in any other battle of the Civil War, save one (the 26th North Carolina at Gettysburg), and both participated in the assault on Casey's advanced and intrenched positions. Such testimony as the foregoing from participants and eye witnesses of the scenes related, is a complete refutation of all the calumnies hurled at the troops of Casey's division.

It should be remembered distinctly that Casey's position was manned by Wessells' and Palmer's brigades, and two regiments and three companies of Naglee's brigade. The 52d Pennsylvania, 56th New York and seven companies of the 11th Maine of Naglee's brigade being in no way connected with either of Casey's lines defending the fortified position where Col. Bailey's batteries did such heroic work. These three battalions were on the extreme right, either on picket duty, or supporting the picket line, from the Chickahominy river to midway between the railroad and Williamsburg road. These troops, while not participating in the battle at the positions anywhere near the Williamsburg road, took a prominent part in the battle later in the day at the right and at Couch's positions.
In considering the respective merits of the various divisions participating in this battle, it should be remembered that Casey's division was the weakest numerically, that it sustained its position for three hours without the reinforcement of a single regiment. Furthermore, there is no official record, or any authoritative statement that can be found, stating that even an aide-de-camp, staff officer, orderly or messenger of any kind came from any superior commanding officer to the intrenched line at or near the redoubt, which was the pivotal point of the battle, during the three hours this position was held by Casey's troops. Notwithstanding this division was the weakest in numbers, yet it had more casualties than any other division. The casualties of the respective divisions were as follows: Casey's, 1,429; Couch's, 1,164; Kearny's, 1,091; Hooker's, 154; Sedgwick's, 347; Richardson's, 838.

Reference has already been made to the deference Gen. McClellan has shown to the official report of Gen. Naglee. It is unfortunate for the truth of history that the commanding-general ignored one paragraph in his report, and accepted the statements of Gen. Heintzelman, and others who were not as familiar with the advance position of Casey's division. Near the conclusion of his report Gen. Naglee says:

The statement in Gen. Naglee's report is worthy of repetition here, "Since the battle of Seven Pines, now nearly three weeks, a force ten times that of Casey and Couch have not been able to regain the line of outposts established by the First Brigade on the 26th of May, our present line being half a mile in rear thereof."

No portion of Casey's division participated in the second day's battle at Seven Pines, or Fair Oaks. When attention is called here to the fact that with five other divisions of the army across the Chickahominy River, Gen. McClellan and his subordinate commanders were afraid to make the attempt to retrieve Casey's loss, it is with no purpose of casting a reflection on the gallantry of the generals or the troops of the other divisions of the army. Fifty years and more have passed since these events occurred. Nearly all the participants in these tragic scenes have long since answered to the last "roll call." The few that yet remain will soon hearken to the "tattoo" and "taps," ushering in that long silence preceding the great reveille summoning all in grand review before the Commander-in-Chief. The living comrades of the 85th Regiment responsible for the appearance of this volume, and for bringing this vast array of evidence together at such length, have had no other object in view than to answer and utterly refute the aspersions cast upon Casey's division. The same spirit and motive actuated them in bringing out these facts, that prompted the gallant commander of the division to cry out in agony from a broken and outraged heart:

The blood of the gallant dead would cry to me from the ground on which they fell fighting for their country had I not said what I have to vindicate them from the unmerited aspersion which has been cast upon them.

The 85th Regiment followed its standard on many another battlefield, but in no other battle did it do so much to decide the fate of this Republic as
when it stood in line of battle for three hours at the right of Casey's Redoubt on Saturday afternoon, May 31, 1862—a position that the other divisions of the Army were afraid even to make the attempt to retake, after it had been relinquished to an overwhelming force of the enemy. A hundred years hence when the scions of the men who fought the battles of the great Rebellion are gathered together reciting the deeds of their brave progenitors, no prouder boast will be made than, "My ancestor was with Casey at Seven Pines!"

Lieut. Col. Purviance who was wounded while assisting Col. Howell to rally the Regiment after it had been driven from the rifle pits, and who was killed in front of Fort Wagner, August 31, 1863, in a private letter, written from St. Joseph's Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa., on June 5, and published in the Reporter and Tribune (Washington, Pa.), June 12, 1862, gives the following account of the battle:

I arrived here yesterday by steamer from White House, Va., which point we left on Monday morning. I was wounded in the battle of Saturday. I am shot by a musket ball through the left leg, in the thick part below the knee. The doctors think the ball passed behind the bone, and around it without fracturing. If so, my leg will be saved. I feel very certain it is in no danger.

I suffer too much pain and am too faint to write you any details today. Even worse than my wound, though, does it pain me to observe misrepresentations of Casey's division in connection with the battle. Our division fell back after two hours fighting, and with great loss, it is true; but it was compelled to fall back because unsupported, or be captured. Our own Regiment, which had some shelter from an unfinished rifle pit during part of the engagement, was absolutely the last to retire.

Not until the battery on our left had been spiked and abandoned, and both flanks turned by the enemy, did we fall back. Thousands of the rebels, approaching steadily in line of battle, were within a hundred yards, clouding the air with musket balls, and an enfilading fire was coming in on our right flank. Not a single regiment of our own forces was in view. They had all fallen back, generally in good order, to the rear. We were alone and unsupported, and were compelled to surrender or retire under a murderous fire. Of course we fell back. We had less than 300 men in the fight. Large details had been made that day throwing up intrenchments and digging rifle pits. One full company and part of another were on picket. A hundred sick were in the camp. Our Regiment is a fair specimen of the balance. There were not 5,000 effective men in our division that day to resist an attack of over 30,000.

In a letter to the Genius of Liberty (Uniontown, Pa.), dated June 13, 1862, Robert R. Roddy, of Company H, gives a brief account of the action of the Regiment in its first position at the rifle-pits. This letter was re-published in the Reporter and Tribune (Washington, Pa.), July 3, 1862, as follows:

Our Regiment was formed in rear of some unfinished rifle pits, and for a time was exposed to a galling fire from the enemy which we did not dare return, as our pickets and other friends were between us and the enemy. That, all military writers agree, is the most trying to the nerves of any position in which troops can be placed; but our brave boys bore it bravely and firmly, and though they saw friends falling around them, they never flinched or faltered in the least.

Whilst holding the rifle pits, Col. Howell and Lieut. Col. Purviance sat upon their horses encouraging the men in the most marvellously cool manner, much more coolly than are men generally upon an ordinary parade. There they remained until the colonel
ordered the lieutenant-colonel to dismount, and when Gen. Naglee arrived he peremptorily ordered Col. Howell to dismount. In advance of us was Gen. Casey conspicuous upon his large grey horse, exposed to a storm of leaden and iron hail that was moving down men around him at a fearfully appalling rate. Could those who speak lightly of Casey's division have seen that venerable form as we saw it, calm and collected in that terrific scene of carnage, they would ever afterward speak more guardedly of the events of a fight and carefully sift all flying reports.

Gen. Naglee, with his flashing eye and tightly compressed lips, seemed to revel in the storm of battle; he comes nearer my idea of Mars, the God of Battles, than anything I ever saw. Gen. Wessells was a marked yet pleasing contrast, with the courage of a lion, he was as calm as if enjoying his usual promenade in front of his marquee. The good effect of such conduct was apparent on the men, and the proof is that a division of less than 5,000 fighting men held that picked force at bay until the arrival of re-enforcements which changed the aspects of the fight.

Our volleys from the rifle pits became very destructive as soon as we dared open out on the enemy. The rebel prisoners spoke very highly of the way in which we fought, and we can honestly return the compliment. Never were troops more skilfully handled, and never did a body of troops behave with more determined coolness; their advance at common time was as steady, as resistless, and as overwhelming as it is possible to conceive. We had a full and near view of the enemy and could almost see the white of their eyes. They presented a most formidable appearance, being eight or ten deep, and though the fire of our infantry and artillery was fearfully destructive, they passed these obstacles in the face of it with the sang froid of men already assured of victory. We could take dead aim, and firing in so dense a mass, to miss was almost impossible. At every discharge numbers were seen to fall, and a constant stream of wounded, dying and dead, was being borne rearward. Yet on they came, as resistless as an avalanche. When the order was given the artillery to spike their guns and fall back, in the confusion it was communicated to the infantry and our Regiment was out of the rifle pits and in full retreat.

Col. Howell met and rallied them instantly, a very significant fact, as it was done under a fire that soldiers who had served in the Italian campaign under Napoleon 3, told me in the evening they had seen nothing to compare to it either at Magenta or Solferino. The only thing favorable to us was that our bullets were more destructive than theirs. Our men were slightly wounded, theirs fearfully. When flanked left and right, it became a military necessity to fall back to the abatis. A part of the Regiment held a woodpile of 50 or 60 cords for some time after vacating the rifle pits.

At the abatis the Regiment was reformed, and it was in assisting bravely in leading it forward that the lieutenant-colonel was wounded. But what could the skill and courage of such small numbers effect against such tremendous odds? This is a plain, hastily written sketch by one who was there to see, and did see, and can be relied on as correct.

The revised return of casualties in Casey's division gives the aggregate losses of the division as follows: Killed, officers, 14; enlisted men, 163; wounded, officers, 55; enlisted men, 872; captured or missing, officers, 9; enlisted men, 316; aggregating 1,429. (O. R. W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 763.) While the aggregate of this return is approximately correct, it is quite misleading as to the mortality of the casualties. The 85th Régiment's mortality is given as 8, but a careful revision of the return shows the mortality to have been 23. Should a revision of this return show a similar ratio of increase in the death rate, it would indicate the mortality of the division to have been over 500. It should be remembered, however, that the 85th Regiment during the greater part of the time
the division was engaged at the front had the protection of rifle pits. The killed and mortally wounded of the casualties of another regiment of Wessells' brigade, indicates the fatal casualties to have been much heavier, viz.: The 103d Pennsylvania Regiment, sent to support the picket line. The return gives the mortality among the casualties as 8; a careful revision shows the mortality killed and wounded to have been 35. Taking these two regiments as representing the extremes in this revision, the dead and mortally wounded in Casey's division in defending the position in advance of Seven Pines would be 641.

Following is a complete list of the casualties of the Regiment:


Privates: Colin W. Barr, Co. A; William Braden, Co. B; William Hare, Co. H; Lindsey Hartman, Co. E; William G. Howard, Co. B; Richard F. Lewis, Co. F; John Reily, Co. B; Jacob Younkin, Co. B.


Company B: Capt. George H. Hooker; Privates: James F. Speer, Joshua Torrence, Owen Turner.


Company F: Corp. Morgan Rinehart; Privates: Jesse Chaney, Charles Chapman, Isaac Gray, Isaac De Haveley, Lisbon Scott, Thomas M. Sellers, Samuel Thompson, Jacob Weaver, Jacob West.


Company K: Sergt. Samuel Grim; Private: Matthew Campbell.
Seven Days’ Battles

CHAPTER IX.

Camp Poplar Hill at White Oak Swamp.—Seven Days’ Battles.—Army Changes Base.—Casey’s Troops Accorded Post of Honor.—Arrival at Harrison’s Landing.

From June 4 to July 3, 1862.

Wednesday, June 4, was ushered in with a heavy downpour of rain which had prevailed through most of the night with scarcely a break. No shelter tents had yet been provided for the troops driven from the first line four days before, and the men were forced to lay on the wet ground, wrapped in such covering as they had been able to pick up here and there, canopied only by the royal vault of heaven, where Jupiter Pluvius seemed to be the only reigning sovereign. At the foot of every friendly tree groups of two or three were huddled under one blanket in an endeavor to keep warm. As the lower grounds became inundated by the steady fall of rain many of the men would be forced to grope through the darkness for higher locations to avoid being completely immersed. At day break reveille was sounded and at 6 A.M. the Regiment was in motion at the head of Wessells’ brigade; the men not having been allowed time to prepare even a scanty breakfast. Every gully, brooklet or stream of any kind was overflowing, while the rain continued without abatement, the men frequently marching in water ankle deep, and in fording streams the water would occasionally reach the waists of the shorter men. After marching about six miles a halt was made on the northern border of White Oak Swamp, at a point designated Poplar Hill. Division headquarters were located on a slightly elevated ridge, shaded by a friendly cluster of poplar trees; therefore the name given the camp, indicating a location on high ground which was only two or three feet higher than the surrounding territory, most of which was one vast wooded swamp.

Casey’s division was now the extreme left wing of the Army of the Potomac, having exchanged positions with Hooker’s division, the location of Wessells’ brigade being at a point most open to an attack by the enemy, at the northern approach to White Oak Swamp bridge, which had been destroyed by Hooker when first located here. For three weeks and three days the Regiment lived on the border of this miasmatic swamp—from June 4 until June 28. Nine days of this time the men were without tents, and had very little clothing. Late on June 13, a shelter tent, knapsack and blanket were issued to each mess of three men. The privations the men were forced to undergo after they crossed the Chickahominy on May 22 seemed to have reached the point of culmination during the first ten days at White Oak Swamp. Men of the most rugged physiques, who never before had experienced a day’s illness became helpless, and during this
time the Regiment was without either surgeon, assistant surgeon or chaplain. Notwithstanding disease in mild or violent form affected nearly every officer or man in some degree, there was no reduction in the duties required of the men. Every morning at 4 o'clock the Regiment was called out in line of battle, facing what was then regarded as an almost impassable swamp, and the men compelled to stand shivering in line until a half hour after day break. Whenever the weather permitted there would be drill of some kind. Large details were made daily for picket duty, and frequently the Regiment would be called out after midnight, anticipating an attack because of some rumor carried to headquarters. The general hospital was filled to the limit, and nearly every tent in camp had one man or more, who should have been excused from duty; in fact, disease was so prevalent in camp that many men who were seriously ill refused to report and continued doing duty until prevented from falling into ranks by sheer weakness. At dress parade on one occasion, June 13, more than twenty men were forced to leave ranks, some having to be assisted to their quarters. On June 22, 2d Lieut. Milton C. Black, of Company H, died of fever in his quarters at camp. In fact, the rigors of the Peninsula had told almost as heavily among the officers of the Regiment as with the rank and file. On June 2, 2d Lieut. Huston Devan, of Company I, died of typhoid fever, in a general hospital at Washington, D. C. By reason of impaired health the following field and staff officers had resigned: Lieut. Col. McGiffin, resignation accepted to date May 12; Surgeon Laidley, to date May 14; Maj. Guiler, to date May 31; Adjt. Beazel, to date June 24; Maj. Guiler was succeeded by Capt. James B. Tredwell, of Company H, who was commissioned major to date from June 3, 1862; Adjt. Beazel was succeeded by Lieut. Rolla O. Phillips, of Company D, but before the latter's commission was issued as adjutant he was promoted to the captaincy of Company D, his commission to the latter position dating from July 6, 1862.

While at White Oaks Swamp the Regiment participated in two reconnaissances, on June 7 and 12; the entire brigade participating in the latter, but on neither occasion was there contact with the enemy. On June 15, some knapsacks left at Camp Winfield Scott on May 4 arrived in camp, aiding materially in replenishing the wardrobe of a portion of the Regiment. On June 23, the quartermaster's department made up the deficiency in camp equipage, blankets, clothing, etc. Under date of June 7, Gen. McClellan issued the following order:


As a result of this order the entire Third Brigade of the division was amalgamated with the Second Brigade, commanded by Gen. Wessells, the former commanding officer of the Third Brigade, Gen. Palmer having been temporarily assigned to the command of a brigade of Couch's division. The Second Brigade as newly organized was constituted as follows: 81st New York, 85th New York, 92d New York, 96th New York, 98th New York, 85th Pennsylvania, 101st Pennsylvania, 103d Pennsylvania. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part II, p. 29.]
Shortly after daybreak on June 23, in compliance with orders from corps headquarters, Gen. Casey dispatched a squadron of cavalry to reconnoiter the roads to the left of White Oak Swamp. In his report of the affair made in the forenoon of the day it occurred Gen. Casey said nothing was discovered to occasion any apprehension. Gen. Keyes in an endorsement of the report said:

As the White Oak Swamp dries up I regard the left flank with more and more solicitude. I should like to have two or three good full regiments added to the command near Casey's headquarters and this side. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 1071.]

On the 23d, Gen. McClellan ordered Gen. Casey to have a reconnaissance down the Chickahominy River in the direction of Long Bridge. At 2 P. M., the same day, Gen. Casey reported that a company of cavalry had been sent, but had not yet returned. In this report Gen. Casey said he was about to send another detachment of cavalry directly across the country to the James River, to report whether any of the enemy was passing or had passed at that point. Before receiving a report from his reconnoitering parties Gen. McClellan issued orders assigning Brig. Gen. John J. Peck to the command of the division and assigning Gen. Casey to the White House to "take charge of that important depot," &c. [O. R., W. D., Vol. VI, part III, p. 248.] This order permanently severed Gen. Casey from the command of the troops he so valiantly led in advance of Seven Pines. Gen. Peck assumed command of the division on June 24, and at once made a personal examination of White Oak Swamp contiguous to the position of his command. His conclusion was that that point was quite vulnerable to an attack by infantry, and he immediately increased the details for slashing timber and throwing up rifle-pits. Every possible ford or passage through the swamp was obstructed by felling trees, or moving trunks of trees from other points so as to make it impracticable for troops to move through the swamp. Early in the forenoon of June 25, orders were issued to the men to keep everything in readiness to move at a moment's notice. At 1 P. M. the Regiment was hurriedly called into line of battle. During the forenoon and throughout the day heavy firing to the right indicated that the troops on the immediate right were having a severe contest with the enemy. Although this was but the advance of Heintzelman's corps to establish the picket line at the same position occupied by Casey's pickets on May 31, it proved to be the first of the famous Seven Days' Battles of the Peninsula Campaign known as "Oak Grove." Shortly after midnight large details were made from the respective companies of the Regiment and put at work digging rifle-pits; at daylight other details were made slashing timber on the border of the swamp. The men were all kept at fatigue duty working in relays and constantly urged to rush the work, although on this date an order was issued from corps headquarters to Gen. Peck to "have every man's cartridge box filled with cartridges, * * * and your command prepared for action, but let them rest and keep fresh." [O. R., W. D., Vol. LI, part I, p. 699.] During the afternoon heavy cannonading on the extreme right indicated that a battle was raging east of the Chickahominy River. This proved to be the battle of Mechanicsville, the second days' battle of the week.
On June 27 Gen. Peck received directions from corps headquarters to repair the White Oak Bridge; or to have the material at hand and in shape to readily repair it. He was further instructed as follows:

"You will hold your present position at all hazards. The road to the James River over White Oak Swamp must be kept open. An attack may come upon us from Bottom's Bridge. You will keep your scouts well out to give them timely notice of any such attack, and should it be made in overwhelming force the bridges, both railroad and Bottom's Bridge, will be destroyed. Do not fail to give frequent information of what is going on as the crisis is critical." [O. R., W. D., Vol. LI, part, p. 704.]

After this order was received work was commenced digging rifle-pits in the opposite direction facing towards the Chickahominy. During the afternoon the 85th Regiment was ordered to Bottom's Bridge to re-enforce Gen. Naglee's brigade, which was in position along the Chickahominy from the railroad bridge to White Oak Swamp. The Regiment tore up the flooring of Bottom's Bridge and took position at a redoubt near by, from which pickets were so posted as to form a telegraph line from the redoubt to the river. During the latter part of the afternoon, while the Regiment was destroying Bottom's Bridge, the battle of Gaines' Mill was fought between Porter's troops and the enemy under Longstreet and Jackson on the left bank of the Chickahominy River. At 1 o'clock A.M., Saturday, June 28, Gen. Keyes received orders to place three brigades of the Fourth Corps with their artillery and baggage across White Oak Swamp before daylight that same morning. These troops were to be put in such positions on the south side of White Oak Swamp as to cover most effectively the passage of the other troops. At 6 A.M., the 85th Regiment was in motion returning to its camping ground at Poplar Hill, as both officers and men supposed, but when it arrived there but a brief halt was made, as it was then ordered to proceed across the swamp with its entire camp equipage, supplies, etc., including the sick. Although the orders to Gen. Keyes were to have the troops across the swamp before the break of day, it was two hours after sunrise before a start was made. Gen. Keyes having sent Palmer's brigade of Couch's division to Gen. Peck as one of the three brigades to first cross the swamp, it was given the preference in crossing, the 7th Massachusetts Regiment taking the lead, followed by Wessells' brigade, the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment, in the lead. The sickness described as prevailing in the camp of the 85th Regiment was not confined to that single command. Every Regiment of the brigade was weakened in a similar condition. When the order came to move the enemy had control of the line of communications in the rear, and therefore the sick men were forced to move with the advance. Disease, at every stage, prevailed in the hospitals and in the regimental camps of the brigade. Ambulances and conveyances were taxed to the limit to convey the sick in the brigade and regimental hospitals. There was no provision for moving the sick in the respective regimental camps, and in most cases such had to shift for themselves. One man belonging to another regiment of the brigade reported to the regimental surgeon that he was too weak to move. The surgeon made sport of him for making a request for a conveyance. No one in the brigade possessed a more rugged physique than this man and he was among the very
last to succumb to disease, and at this time had the appearance of being more robust than scores of others in his regiment. He was forced to move on foot. The day's march through the swamp and to the halting place near the "Blacksmith Shop," on the Charles City road was but little more than three miles, and yet it was past four o'clock in the afternoon when the brigade went into bivouac in position to support Palmer's brigade, which held a strategic point a short distance in advance. The robust looking sick man just referred to was found to have kept pace with his regiment. Before his comrades had stacked arms for the night, he had lain down at the foot of a tree, nevermore to join the ranks of his comrades until the long roll is sounded, calling them all into line to pass in review before the Supreme Commander-in-Chief. As the Regiment left its position near Bottom's Bridge on Saturday morning, June 28, the rear guard of the right wing of the army crossed to the right bank of the Chickahominy River, completely severing the entire army from its base of supplies. At the same time the enemy had opened a heavy artillery fire on what was now the extreme right of the army, Smith's division of Franklin's corps in position at Golding's and Garnett's Farms, at a point picketed by Casey's division prior to May 31.

A charge of infantry by a small force of the enemy which was repulsed with considerable loss practically ended the battle of June 28, known as Garnett's and Golding's Farms. During the afternoon the batteries with Gen. Naglee's brigade, still in position on the right bank of the Chickahominy River, had an artillery duel with the enemy on the opposite side of the river resulting in but few casualties on either side. Immediately after sunrise on June 29, an expedition, consisting of 200 infantry from the brigade, a squadron of the 3d Pennsylvania cavalry and a section of Battery M, 5th U. S. Cavalry, were sent to the Chickahominy River in the vicinity of Jones' Bridge, perhaps 20 miles distant. Companies C, D and E of the 85th Regiment were detailed to accompany this expedition, Capt. J. C. Wilkenson, of Company C, commanding the infantry; 1st Lieut. Val. H. Stone the artillery, and Capt. J. Claude White the cavalry. The object of this expedition was to prevent the enemy from crossing at that point and to patrol the right bank of the stream, in order that the army might have the earliest information of any attempt of the enemy to cross. After marching five or six miles at a rapid pace a brief halt was made and the men comprising the infantry were ordered to unsling knapsacks and leave them behind in charge of a small guard. No time was allowed for rest or refreshments. The day was intensely hot and some of the officers and men were overcome by the heat, a few having to drop out by the wayside, among the latter being Capt. Wilkenson. Before dark the force was in position at Jones' Bridge, the artillery planted so as to command the approaches to the bridge and fords, and the infantry picketed along the stream, except such as were in immediate support of the artillery, the rallying point for the pickets if attacked by an overwhelming force.

During the forenoon of Sunday, June 29, the 85th Regiment was established as an outpost on the Charles City road, to cover the debouch of the crossing of White Oak Swamp at Brackett's Ford. As this position was along the route by which Porter's corps crossed the swamp, both officers and men were greeted occasionally by old friends belonging to other regiments, the greetings being quite
numerous as the Pennsylvania Reserves and 63d Pennsylvania passed. During
the forenoon of Sunday five companies of the First North Carolina Cavalry and
the Third Virginia Cavalry, commanded by their respective colonels, charged
down the Charles City and New Market roads, shouting and yelling, driving in
the cavalry pickets. As such an attack had been anticipated every precaution had
been taken to prevent surprise and everything was in readiness to receive the
enemy. Three sections of the 1st Pennsylvania Artillery were masked at a point
near the intersection of the Charles City, James River and New Market roads, in
such a position that they had a commanding sweep of the road. At the first fire
of the pickets every man was in position and before the enemy was in sight, the
guns were loaded with case shot, primed and sighted at points previously meas-
ured, the lanyards in hands ready to pull the instant the order was given. The
first shot staggered the enemy, and the second, which was canister, caused them
to break and retreat in confusion, pursued by a squadron of the 3d Pennsylvania
Cavalry. The whole affair was over in five minutes, four rounds from each gun
being the limit fired. In his official report of the affair, Col. Goode, commanding
the 3d Virginia Cavalry, says:

As we approached Willis' Church we came upon and charged a body of the enemy's
cavalry. Following them a short distance, we were opened upon by several pieces of artil-
le, when we found ourselves in an ambuscade of artillery, infantry and cavalry. My
regiment had one man severely (supposed to be mortally) wounded, and retired in good

Col. Lawrence S. Baker of the 1st North Carolina Cavalry, who was in com-
mand of the attacking party, reports his loss as follows:

Number killed not accurately ascertained, as I was compelled afterward to retreat from
their main camp, which I found to be their main army, or a division covering its move-
ments. Their camp was in a very thick place, and in the pursuit I was in a few yards of it
before I ascertained their force. The fire of the enemy was very heavy and I regret to
report the loss of Maj. Thomas N. Crumpler, severely wounded (since dead); Lieut. Gaines,
adjutant, wounded; 11 privates and non-commissioned officers wounded and brought off; 1
private of the 3d Regiment severely wounded; Capt. Ruffin, Lieut. Fields, and 46 non-com-
missioned officers and privates missing, being wounded, killed, or thrown from their horses.

No further demonstration was made by the enemy from this direction
throughout the day. However, while this affair was on, heavy firing on the oppo-
site side of White Oak Swamp indicated that the enemy was drawing closer from
that direction. This proved to be an attack made on Sumner's corps east of Seven
Pines, he having abandoned his position at Fair Oaks at daylight of that morning.
He was pursued by the enemy, who attacked him at Allen's farm in great force
about 9 o'clock continuing it until 11 A. M., when he retired. An hour later
Sumner took a position near Savage Station where he united his forces with
Franklin's corps. Just as he got his lines formed, about 4 P. M., the enemy
advanced upon him down the Williamsburg road, and continued the attack until
after dark when they retired. The action on the Charles City and New Market
roads, a few hundred yards in advance of where the Regiment was in position,
is known as near "Willis Church"; Sumner's early engagement, as "Peach Orchard," or "Allen's Farm," and the later one as "Savage Station." Late in the afternoon of June 29, Gen. McClellan ordered Gen. Keyes to move the Fourth Corps to the James River, get in communication with the gunboats, and place his troops in position to guard Turkey Bridge, the Mill-pond and stream leading to the river. It was about dark when the Regiment started towards the James River on a cross-road, preceded by artillery and supply trains. Owing to the congested condition of the road slow progress was made, as the halts were frequent and uncertain. Although scarcely more than six miles were covered until a halt was made, about 8 A. M., the next day, this was, perhaps, as fatiguing a march as the Regiment had experienced. The halts were so frequent and short that the men at first would keep on their feet, but later finding the length of the halt to be uncertain, they would drop down by the roadside as soon as the head of the column came to a halt. Frequently they would be down less than a minute when the column would advance, and they would then have to fall into ranks and move, and, at times, take less than a dozen steps, when another halt would be made. Shortly after daybreak, June 30, the James River came in sight, and an hour or two later the brigade was formed in position at the western side of a large plain near Turkey Creek, the first troops to form line of battle on the battleground of Malvern Hill.

At 10 A. M., the enemy appeared in force at Brackett's Ford, where the Regiment had been in position throughout the entire previous day, and attempted to rebuild the bridge across the stream in the swamp which had been destroyed during the night after the Regiment moved from that position. A piece of artillery commanding the position made the attempt too hazardous and they retired. An hour later the enemy advanced down the Charles City road and opened an artillery fire on Slocum's division, which had succeeded to the position occupied by Peck the day before. No attempt was made to attack by infantry but the artillery fire was kept up until almost dark, but Slocum's troops were so well concealed that the casualties were very light, much less than the enemy suffered in less than five minutes the previous day when they so rashly charged into this position. However, it was different farther to the left. McCall's division, to the left of Slocum's division, and Heintzelman's corps adjoining McCall's division were attacked with great spirit, the enemy making repeated assaults, resulting in severe losses on both sides, McCall's division especially suffering heavily, losing the commanding general, who was taken prisoner of war, and Gen. Meade, commander of the Second Brigade, being severely wounded. While this battle was raging most fiercely orders were issued from the headquarters of the commanding general of the army to have Wessell's brigade brought into action. The aide-de-camp, a member of Gen. McClellan's staff, failed to make a proper delivery of the orders, either to the corps, division or brigade headquarters, and consequently Generals Keyes, Peck and Wessells knew nothing of the issuance of the orders until after the battle had terminated, when Gen. McClellan's chief of staff, Gen. Marcy, made complaint to Gen. Keyes' assistant adjutant-general, who forwarded the complaint to the commanding general of the division, Gen.
Peck, who immediately prepared a statement under date of July 1, 1862, and forwarded it to Gen. McClellan's headquarters, addressed to the chief of staff, as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS DIVISION NEAR HAXALLS LANDING, VA.,
July 1, 1862.

Gen. R. B. Marcy,
Chief of Staff:
Sir:

This morning I learned with great surprise that an order had been sent to Gen. Keyes last evening for Gen. Wessells' brigade to proceed in support of our forces in action. This information came from Capt. C. C. Suydam, assistant adjutant-general, who stated he had received it from you. No order of this nature ever reached me or any member of my staff. My remaining brigade was under arms, ready for any service, at the head of Turkey Creek, until about 3:30 P. M., when Gen. Keyes ordered me to prepare to move, and to send an officer of my staff to him for orders. Aide-de-Camp Titus reported, and returned with Lieut. Smith, of Keyes' staff who guided my command to a new position in line of battle on the extreme right where I found Gen. Keyes and with whom I remained during the day and night. This day Maj. Hammerstein, aide-de-camp of Gen. McClellan, called upon me and gave me the following note, viz.:

July 1, 1862.

"An order for General Peck to move on the evening of June 30 one brigade up for action was in my possession but was not delivered because his position was not known to me. I could not look longer for him because I had to move other troops, and knew that his other brigade was already in position.

HAMMERSTEIN,
Major Aide-de-Camp."

Gen. Keyes, commanding Fourth Corps, added to the above: "On the evening of the 30th of June I received a verbal order from Gen. McClellan to send two of Couch's brigades to the front to be guided by Major Webb, who brought the order. I received no order to send forward or to move specifically any part of Gen. Peck's command in any other manner than to form my line of battle on the 30th of June.

E. D. KEYES,

I feel very sanguine that you have labored under some misapprehension, and I desire that this shall be presented to Baron Hammerstein, aide-de-camp, and Gen. Keyes, and with their endorsements to be submitted to the commanding general of the Army of the Potomac, to the end that no injustice shall be done me in these premises.

I am

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN J. PECK,
Brig.-Gen. Commanding Division.


This engagement was bitterly contested until dark and is known as the battle of "Glendale," "Nelson's Farm," or "Charles City Cross Roads."

Companies C, D and E, which left the Regiment on June 29, remained at Jones' Bridge (called also Forge Bridge), with the troops on guard there until
about sunset, June 30. The enemy, consisting of the Fourth Virginia Cavalry, the Jeff Davis Legion Cavalry, and Pelham's battery of 12-pounder howitzers, put in an appearance about 11 A.M., and at 1 P.M. opened fire, two pieces of artillery being advanced within 400 yards of the bridge. An artillery duel was continued until 6 P.M., when the artillery retired, followed later by the infantry and cavalry, Capt. White of the latter command having his horse shot under him. The entire force retreated towards Long Bridge, where a halt was made at 9 P.M. Between 3 and 4 o'clock P.M., June 30, while the Regiment was being mustered for pay near Turkey Ridge, the enemy opened fire from three batteries of artillery, from a position near the river road, leading from Chaffin's Bluff, and within a thousand yards of the James River. The fire of the enemy was directed on the moving columnsretreating towards Malvern Hill. A score of guns from the reserve batteries, planted on Malvern Hill instantly concentrated their fire on these pieces and quickly silenced them. The gunboats on the James River also participated in this action, their hundred pound shells having a very demoralizing effect on the enemy. This affair is known as the battle of "Turkey Bridge," or "Malvern Cliff." Immediately after this artillery combat began Wessells' brigade was moved across an extended plateau east of Turkey Bridge, and established in position as the extreme right wing of the army, and in support of the reserve artillery. Here the Regiment bivouacked during the night along the edge of a woods which skirted the open plain.

The Regiment was in line of battle at daybreak, July 1, anticipating an attack at that hour, but the enemy was not yet ready to renew the combat. During the day the brigade changed position, a new line of battle being formed under personal supervision of Gen. Keyes and Gen. McClellan. The reserve artillery supported by Wessells' brigade was masked along a rail fence, the latter being fringed with bushes on either side of sufficient height to conceal both guns and their supports. It was an admirable position, but the enemy at no time came near it, confining his attacks to the extreme left of the army. The battle of Malvern Hill was principally an artillery contest, the infantry on the Federal side having to remain practically passive throughout the day. The attacks of the enemy were confined to the extreme left, the front of which was occupied by Morrell's division of Porter's corps, and Couch's division of Keyes' corps, the former being on the extreme left of the army, and the latter immediately contiguous. The infantry of the enemy made frequent charges but were generally repulsed by artillery alone. The firing began in the forenoon and did not cease entirely until it was quite dark. The most determined attack of the enemy was made about 6 P.M., when the enemy made repeated charges on the left, continuing it until darkness intervened. Wessells' brigade stood in line of battle until the firing indicated the battle was at an end. The men lay down where they had stood in line, with their muskets stacked in front, hoping and expecting they would not be disturbed until just before the break of day.

About midnight following the battle of Malvern Hill, dated July 2, the following orders were issued from Gen. McClellan's headquarters:
Please order Col. Farnsworth and Col. Averell at once to take all the cavalry that can be collected, with the exception of two squadrons, and go back to assist in covering the rear of our column and in bringing up artillery and troops. Instruct them to go as far back towards Porter's old camp as possible, and to remain in rear long enough to get up all the wagons possible. If they find any impossibilities in getting them along, let them destroy them and drive forward the animals. Tell them especially that the commanding general relies on them to fulfill all that can be done by cavalry. Send other regiments or companies under their command if they can be found, and if Col. Gregg is here let him be sent to assist.

This was endorsed by the adjutant general of the army as follows:

Gen. Keyes will please cause the within instructions to be promptly executed. It is understood that Col. Farnsworth's and Gregg's regiments are with him. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, pp. 288-289.]

Simultaneously with the foregoing order the following dispatch was sent to Gen. Keyes from Gen. McClellan's headquarters:

I have ordered back to your assistance all the cavalry that can be raised here. It is the utmost importance that we should save all our artillery and as many of our wagons as possible, and the commanding general feels the utmost confidence that you will do all that can be done to accomplish this. Permit me to say that if you bring in everything you will accomplish a most signal and meritorious exploit, which the commanding general will not fail to represent in its proper light to the Department. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 289.]

Between 1 and 2 A. M., July 2, the men were quietly aroused and told to get a hurried breakfast, the preparation of which consisted of simply making coffee in their quart tin cups. In less than a half hour the Regiment was in motion, although intense darkness prevailed, and after marching but a short distance, the orders from all the officers being given in a subdued voice, indicating that the enemy were supposed to be near by, it was formed, with the other regiments of the brigade, in line of battle at right angles to the main road running parallel with the James River at this point. The brigade's position was on the crest of a ridge, facing towards Gen. McClellan's headquarters, which were near by. The line was so formed as to leave the main roads open; it being already occupied by moving troops and supply trains, fleeing from the direction of the battle of the previous day. The brigade remained in this position until the entire army, with its supply trains, had passed, including the cavalry. Rain commenced to fall during the night and continued throughout most of the day, and when daylight appeared, the victorious army of the previous day presented a pitiable scene. It was fortunate, indeed, that the enemy had suffered so severely the previous day. The appearance of the army at this time is graphically described by Col. W. W. H. Davis in the History of the 104th Pennsylvania Regiment as follows:

The disordered army poured down in a living stream toward the river. The moment the retreat was resumed, organization, in a great measure, appeared to be at an end, and the troops swept over the country without regard to roads or order. They made short cuts across fields and through woods to the place of destination, and the incessant discharges of
muskets and rifles resembled a fusillade with the enemy. There was a mingling of companies, regiments, brigades, and divisions. It began to rain in the morning and continued to pour down in torrents, at which time the rear guard stood in line or maneuvered to protect the retreat. The movement of so many thousands men and wagons over the roads and neighboring fields, after the rain had fallen, converted them into an almost impassable quagmire.

Very few of the reports of the corps and division commanders that do not imply that the movement of the army was in perfect order in the retreat from Malvern Hill. A brief quotation from the official report of Brig. Gen. John H. Martindale, who commanded the First Brigade, Morrell's division, of Porter's corps, gives some idea of the confusion that prevailed the night after the battle. He says:

At about 10 o'clock, while preparing to bivouac, I learned that we must make a forced march that night 11 miles down the James River to Harrison's Bar. At a later hour the order was given me by Gen. Morrell in person to get in motion. My brigade according to the order, was to lead * * * I rested with the head of my column close to the moving artillery. Soon troops came on and attempted to pass the head of my column. I halted them. They pressed through to the other side of the artillery and moved on. I moved the head of my column down about 100 yards to a bend in the road to see if I could not stop the movement, and halted again. But the tide on the other side rolled on. We were left in the rear, and the order of march was no longer maintained. I sent back an orderly for Gen. Morrell, but no tidings of him were brought to me. * * * We advanced, groping through the darkness. At length we emerged from the long defile, and came opposite the ground where we had encamped the previous day. There I found Gen. Morrell. The troops were retiring in great disorder. It was fortunate for us that we had whipped the rebels so soundly a few hours before. I found that the rear of my own brigade had been following the troops on the other side of the artillery where I had been halting and were already quite in advance of me. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part II, pp. 294-295.]

Wessells' brigade remained in line of battle as formed in the darkness, until every Union soldier in view in its front, on foot or mounted, had passed, and for two days thereafter this brigade constituted the rear guard of the Army of the Potomac, augmented at the last moment by two other regiments of the division, without even cavalry vedettes between it and the enemy.

After all the stragglers in view had passed, the brigade gradually and slowly followed the trains of the retreated army, the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment being the last to retire from the final line of battle formed near Gen. McClellan's headquarters during the night after the battle of Malvern Hill. After moving perhaps a mile and a half, the brigade passed Gen. Naglee's troops in line of battle in a good position. Moving in rear of Naglee's line a short distance, the brigade again formed line, and Naglee's troops then passed on and took position with the main body of the army. Before the Regiment had left its first position, the enemy came in view, keeping along the skirt of a woods to the right out of musket range, until quite late in the afternoon, when they made an attempt to stampede the wagon train by throwing some shells from a couple of pieces of artillery. The gun boats on the James River soon had range of their position and they quickly retired. The brigade fell back slowly, keeping several hundred yards in rear of the last wagon of the supply train. Before night fall it was evident that the
wagon train would not complete crossing the ravine called Kimminger Creek, beyond which the army had taken position, and Gen. Peck notified Gen. Wessells, to put his brigade in position to protect the wagon train during the night. The respective regiments of the brigade were placed in position under the personal direction of Gen. Wessells, who was on the alert, night and day, passing along the lines on foot, sometimes in front, and sometimes in rear, the Regiment being in line of battle along the edge of a woods. This line of battle was maintained throughout the night, small groups being allowed to drop out for a brief period to warm themselves, and to make some coffee, at a fire that was kept up during the night at an obscure point in the woods. A chilling rain continued most of the night, adding much to the discomfort of the situation, causing the men to long for daylight, which finally came bringing with it the intelligence, that a large part of the wagon train was still floundering in the mire near by. Officers and men of the Regiment were alike in ignorance of the destination of the army, and had no notion that it was concentrated nearby, the left wing in strong position within less than half a mile of the precarious situation of the brigade. They did not know that the army was not then fleeing in confusion from the enemy, and many thought that Wessells’ brigade had been left forlorn, without hope of support, further than that offered by the gunboats, should the enemy assault them in overwhelming numbers. Perhaps this latter supposition was as near the truth as the most pessimistic then predicted. The Army of the Potomac was then one incongruous, conglomerate mass, and had the enemy followed up the retreating army with force and vigor as on previous days of the preceding week, Wessells’ brigade, without doubt, would have been annihilated. At 5:30 P. M. July 2, Gen. McClellan sent the following dispatch from “Berkeley, Harrison’s Bar,” via Fort Monroe, to President Lincoln:

I have succeeded in getting this army to this place on the banks of the James River. I have lost but one gun, which had to be abandoned last night because it broke down. An hour and a half ago the rear of the wagon train was within a mile of camp, and only one wagon abandoned. As usual we had a severe battle yesterday and beat the enemy badly, the men fighting even better than before. We fell back to this position during the night and morning. Officers and men thoroughly worn out by fighting every day and working every night for a week. They are in good spirits, and after a little rest will fight better than ever. If not attacked during this day I will have the men ready to repulse the enemy tomorrow. Gen. Terry is here. Our losses have been very heavy, for we have fought every day since last Tuesday. I have not yielded an inch of ground unnecessarily, but have retired to prevent the superior force of the enemy from cutting me off and to take a different base of operations. I thank you for the re-enforcements. Every 1,000 men you send at once will help me much. [O. R., W. D., Vol. II, part III, p. 388.]

On July 3, while the brigade was yet isolated from the army—separated from it by a half mile of almost impassable mire—the following circular was being distributed hurriedly to the commanding officers of corps, divisions, and brigades, none being sent to Wessells’ brigade.

The major-general commanding the army wishes to direct the immediate attention of the general officers commanding corps, divisions, and brigades, to the absolute necessity of collecting and forming the commands ready to take their places in line at once. The safety
of the army, the salvation of the cause, alike require the utmost and most heroic efforts, on the part of the general officers. We are all fatigued, officers and men alike, but to secure the necessary repose and await the coming of re-enforcements, it is imperative that the troops be placed in position for action at once. To fail in this duty now would be as fatal and reprehensible as failing upon the fields of battle. [O. R., W. D., Vol. LI, part 1, p. 714.]

As it became doubtful that the entire supply train would succeed in crossing Kimminger's Creek during the day, July 3, two additional regiments from Naglee's brigade, the 56th New York, and 104th Pennsylvania, and a squadron of the 8th Pennsylvania cavalry, were sent to reinforce the brigade, remaining with it until the entire supply train had crossed the creek, followed by the four pieces of artillery of Miller's battery, which had been attached to the brigade during the entire time.

At 6 P. M. July 3, Gen. Peck sent from the headquarters of the rear guard of the army, the following communication to Gen. McClellan:

At midnight on the 1st I was advised of your movement, and that I was to command the rear guard, consisting of my own small division. Although exhausted by unremitting labors and loss of rest, I made up my mind to give you all my energies and aimed to save your whole train. At 2 A. M. I was in the saddle, with my line of battle formed on the crest this side of your headquarters. I did not dismount until every command, all the batteries, wagons, and stragglers had passed my line. Although my orders were of a nature to warrant my following close to the troops and batteries, I resolved to protect the whole train to the extent of my ability. After the delays consequent upon the heavy rain, I decided that I would halt at the creek or run, and place a brigade and battery on one side, and a brigade on the other side of the heavy timber in supporting distance. Some shells were thrown into the train yesterday and also today, but failed to stampede. After passing the whole day here I am proud to say that every thing of your fine army is over the creek save my guard, and that the loss of property is very trifling. I shall soon pass my guard to the crest of the opposite side, where I have arranged a battery so as to sweep the approaches. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, pp. 292, 293.]

At the same time Gen. Peck sent another dispatch to Gen. McClellan's chief of staff as follows:

It affords me great pleasure to inform you that the entire Army of the Potomac with its immense trains (save my guard), has safely passed the creek or run which had caused us so much trouble and delay. This has been accomplished without any sacrifice of property, and in the face of the greatest difficulties and discouragements. All the attempts of the enemy to stampede the trains by shells from different points proved utterly abortive. So soon as the wagons are clear from the woods, I shall proceed to bring over my command by detachments, covering the movement by a section of artillery from a commanding position. My new line of battle will be formed on the right and left of the main road until otherwise ordered. I shall have the territory across the creek thoroughly picketed. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 293.]

On receipt of the foregoing, in a dispatch to Secretary Stanton, Gen. McClellan said:

A simple summary is, that this army has fought every day for a week against superior numbers, holding its own at least, often repulsing the enemy by day, then retiring at night. Our light and heavy guns are saved, with the exception of one. All the wagons are now
within the line of pickets, and I hope will all be saved. The army is thoroughly worn out and requires rest and very heavy re-enforcements. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 291.]

The supply train moved slowly, and it was about dark when the last wagon crossed Kimminger's Creek. The enemy's skirmishers kept constantly in view until the obscurity of darkness made them imperceptible, and then it was anticipated by both officers and men that under cover of darkness an attack would be made. It was pitch dark when the Regiment retired from the line of battle it had maintained so long. The most difficult march the Regiment made during its service so far, was in moving over the last half mile before taking position with the 4th Corps as the left wing of the Army of the Potomac, just before midnight, July 3, 1862. The ravine known as Kimminger's Creek had become one vast mire of tough mud; even the bridges on which the wagons had crossed, had been so completely submerged that their location could not be identified. At points this mire was more than knee deep, and it would take such a grip on the men that at times the entire column was motionless, apparently unable to extricate itself. But finally, after wearisome efforts, the Regiment was formed in line of battle only a few rods from where it had been mired a few minutes before. Arms were stacked and the men directed to lie down in line immediately contiguous to their muskets. During the entire movement of the night utter silence had prevailed, all commands having been given in whispers or subdued voices. And now, as the men lay down, quietly cautioned to be ready to spring into line and grasp muskets, not a joke, or jibe, was heard uttered at the expense of some officer or man. It was not the order for strict silence that restrained the wags of each company—for that would have been an incentive rather than a curb. The strain of the past week, and especially of the previous forty eight hours on both officers and men, had been so great that within two or three minutes after stacking arms the entire Regiment (except those detailed as watchers) was utterly oblivious of an enemy hovering near. Morpheus had quickly embraced them all, and instead of tramping through mud and mire, munching hardtack and polluted surface water, they were reveling with sweethearts at home, or feasting on Pennsylvania buckwheat cakes and maple syrup, with mother and father and sisters and brothers, or mayhap with wife and children, back in the old Keystone State. In his official report the commanding general of the army referred to the rear guard in the following terms:

The last of the wagons did not reach the site selected at Harrison's Bar until after dark on the 3d of July, and the rear guard did not move into their camp until everything was secure.

In the Century Magazine for August, 1885, Henry E. Smith, Brevet Major, U. S. A., takes issue with Gen. McClellan, for giving Keyes' corps the honor of furnishing the rear guard, crediting a portion of Sykes' division of regular troops as constituting the main part of the rear guard, referring to the official report of Col. Averell of the 3d Pennsylvania Cavalry for confirmation. While it is true that Col. Averell, and the troops referred to by Maj. Smith, covered the re-
treat of the left wing of the army until all had passed Wessells' brigade, the latter covered the retreat of the entire army from 10 o'clock A. M., July 2, until midnight of July 3. Had Major Smith carefully perused Col. Averell's report to the end it is probable that he would not have written the Century article. In the conclusion of his report Col. Averell says:

From an early hour the rain commenced falling and its increasing heaviness assisted to render my operations obscure to the enemy. As soon as the artillery and infantry were well upon the road, I directed my cavalry, under Lieut. Col. Owen, to withdraw leaving 12 wagons without mules ready for them to destroy. The march was continued without incident until the rear crossed Turkey Island Bridge, which was destroyed. A mile farther on I found Brig. Gen. Wessells in excellent position with his brigade, and a mile farther on I found Brig. Gen. Naglee with a second line. Considering our rear perfectly secure, I passed through their lines with my wearied forces and came to this camp. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part II, p. 236.]

The officers most entitled to credit for covering this retreat were Generals Peck and Wessells. The latter was not only with his troops throughout the day-time, but frequently passed along the lines on foot during the wearisome vigils of that long dreary night of July 2, and the early hours of the night of July 3, remaining at the front, giving the final order for the troops to retire. Gen. Peck, who gave personal directions to moving the trains and frequently conferring with Gen. Wessells, in his official report of the affair says:

At midnight I was advised that the army would immediately commence its movement to Harrison's Landing—some seven miles—and that my command would constitute the rear guard. After consultation it was deemed best, in case of being only one road, that the brigades of Wessells and Naglee should cover the rear alternately with the needful supply of artillery.

At 1:30 A. M. I was in my saddle, aiding Gen. Wessells in forming his line of battle on the heights a short distance this side of the headquarters of Gen. McClellan. Miller's battery only was detained. All the principal by-roads were picketed with cavalry, and Naglee's brigade was formed about a mile in the rear in a commanding position.

Stationing myself in the road, I gave my entire time and personal attention to the supervision of troops, batteries and trains. Long trains of wagons and ambulances converging from every quarter toward the road, it became a very important question how to dispose of them under my instructions, which were to operate with reference to the rear of the artillery and troops and not with reference to the trains, save the having of a single regiment in their rear. The plan which I adopted was this—that there should be one unbroken line of troops and batteries on one side of the road and that the trains should move in like manner on the other side; that as long as the troops moved the trains could move, but that upon any detention of the troops the wagon train must be halted; batteries, ammunition, and hospital wagons to have the preference. Where extensive openings bordered the road, steps were taken to shorten up the train by moving in several columns. Reports frequently came in of the movements of the enemy in various quarters, and of reception of one of these Gen. Smith formed line of battle for some half hour to co-operate with me.

About 12 o'clock M., Col. Averell passed by with his fine command, bringing up everything from the direction of Turkey Creek in excellent order and time. As every command, ambulance, wagon and straggler had gone by the rear guard, I directed Gen. Wessells to draw in his pickets and detachments, and move on and take up a new position in rear of Gen. Naglee. About 5 P. M. it was evident that, owing to the terrible condition of the roads,
the whole country being flooded with water, which had poured down on the clay soil uninterruptedly since early in the morning, the train could not reach its destination that night, and without protection would fall in the hands of the enemy, rapidly advancing. I placed Wessells' brigade in position on the other side of Kimmager's [or Kimminger's?] Creek, with Miller's battery and seven small companies of cavalry. The brigade of Naglee, he being unwell, was placed in supporting distance this side of the creek. Soon after the enemy opened with artillery upon the train, for the purpose of creating confusion and stampeding the animals. Two additional regiments were sent to re-enforce Gen. Wessells. Judicious dispositions were made by him, and every step taken to keep the train of wagons moving through the night across the creek.

At daylight on the 3d the crossings of the stream were well nigh impassable, the rain having continued through the night. The drivers and animals were exhausted by want of food and great exertion, and the prospect for the passage of the balance of the train exceedingly dubious. New roads were cut through the woods, teams were doubled, and fresh ones sent for. The enemy's pickets were around us and his advance column not far distant, doubtless held in check by the fire of the gunboats. The work proceeded slowly but surely through the day, and at 7 o'clock P. M. on the 3d I had the proud satisfaction of reporting, for the information of the headquarters Army of the Potomac, that the last vehicle had passed the creek. The opinion is ventured that the history of military operations affords no instance where a train of like magnitude and value was moved so great a distance in the presence of the enemy, and in the face of so many material obstacles, with so trifling a loss.

So soon as the train was fairly out of the way, I brought the rear guard to this side, where I established my line of battle along the crest of the creek, my left resting on the James River. * * * Gen. Wessells has labored most faithfully night and day since I joined the division, and displayed the greatest interest in the service under very critical circumstances. In the midst of difficulties and dangers his judgment seemed most reliable. Colonels * * * Howell, 85th Pennsylvania, and Lieut. Col. Durkee, 98th New York, are * * * meritorious officers, who have rendered the country good service and exerted a salutary influence upon their troops. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part II, pp. 217-219.]

Gen. Wessell's report is typical of his quiet, unostentatious manner during the most critical and exciting periods of the Seven Days Battles, as follows:

In compliance with instructions of yesterday I have the honor to report the movements of this brigade since the 24th ultimo, at which date it was encamped at Poplar Hill, and composed of the 85th, 92d, and 96th New York Volunteers. the 85th, 101st, and 103d Pennsylvania Volunteers, with the 81st and 98th New York Volunteers temporarily attached. Having prepared that camp for defense of the crossings of White Oak Swamp by extensive slashings and rifle pits the brigade moved from its position across the White Oak Swamp on the 28th of June, and bivouacked same day on the Charles City road near the place known as the "Blacksmith Shop."

On the following day, at sundown, the movement in this direction was resumed on a cross road, accompanied by Regan's and Morgan's batteries, arriving early on the morning of the 30th at the farther side of the large opening near Haxall's Landing, and in the evening of that day crossed the open plain or field and encamped on this side of the clearing.

On the day following the brigade changed position, being placed in line of battle and for defense near the road to Harrison's Landing and on the high grounds at this extremity of the large plain referred to, on which were packed the several wagon trains of the army. The march was commenced during the night, and all passed the point occupied by this brigade at about 10 o'clock on the morning of July 2, the rear being handsomely covered thus far by Averell's cavalry and Buchanan's brigade of regular troops.
Averell's command then moved forward, my own brigade shortly following, and the 85th New York Volunteers was detailed as a rear guard for the wagons. As it had now rained for some hours the condition of the road (cut up by such a multitude of wheels) began to be difficult, and the movement was very slow. At a mile and a half I passed Naglee's brigade, of the same division, which in turn fell in rear. Having halted my brigade in the field near this camp it was passed by Naglee's brigade, he moving to this side of the creek now forming a portion of the front of our present position. The crossing here was very difficult, but one wagon passing at a time, and the number had accumulated to near a thousand. The rear guard was followed up by a force of the enemy, consisting of cavalry, infantry and two pieces of artillery. Some skirmishing ensued, without loss, except two men missing from the 85th, and the infantry, supported by Gregg's cavalry, retired to the vicinity of the wagon train. Miller's battery, of four brass pieces, joined the brigade before the commencement of the march.

It being found impracticable to cross the wagons that night, I was directed to remain as a guard, and at once placed the several regiments in the best position for defense, under the immediate supervision of the commanding officer of the division. Two shots were fired into the plain from the enemy's field guns, but were silenced by a few rounds from one of the gunboats. The rain continued most of the night and several hundred wagons remained on the following morning. Additional bridges were finally constructed and the movement was considerably accelerated, so that by about 6 o'clock P. M., all the wagons had passed. During the day I was re-enforced by the 104th Pennsylvania Volunteers and 56th New York Volunteers. Gregg's cavalry remained until the last and performed most efficient service, and to the colonel himself I am indebted for active assistance during the arduous and trying labor attending on this movement.

The train of wagons having crossed, was followed by Miller's battery, with the 56th and 81st New York Volunteers, all taking position in line on this side of the creek indicated by Gen. Peck, who was indefatigable in his personal exertions to preserve order and provide security in this delicate movement. The 92d New York Volunteers and 104th Pennsylvania Volunteers then crossed, and were placed in position like the others. They in turn were followed by the 85th and 101st Pennsylvania Volunteers at a suitable interval, the 98th New York Volunteers in their rear.

The 103d Pennsylvania Volunteers and 96th New York Volunteers also crossed in turn, the 85th New York Volunteers being left as a rear guard. The outposts still remained in position, a cavalry company being stationed on the road and at the opening of the woods in rear of the camp. It was now about 10 o'clock P. M.; the pickets were carefully withdrawn and the rear guard completed the crossing without the slightest accident at about 11 o'clock, and the whole brigade in line of battle facing the rear.

On the following morning the camp was marked out, and the brigade proceeded to strengthen its position by the construction of rifle pits, slashing timber with epaulements for artillery, and is now ready to receive the enemy. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part II, pp. 220, 221.]
Suffolk and Blackwater

CHAPTER X.

Camp Life at Harrison’s Landing.—March Down the Peninsula.—Halt at Yorktown.—Camp Near Hampton.—Suffolk and Blackwater.—Departure for North Carolina.

From July 4 to December 9, 1862.

Before the break of day, July 4, the Regiment was in line of battle, ready to meet the enemy provided he saw fit to renew the contest. The three companies, C, D, and E, detached on June 29 to accompany the expedition to Jones’ Bridge were still absent but supposed to be somewhere within the boundaries of the army. The first day in the new position was occupied by the men in clearing the grounds of brush, and laying out the camp. At noon, of the Nation’s birthday, Gen. McClellan, in a dispatch to President Lincoln, described the position and condition of the army as follows:

We now occupy a line of heights about 2 miles from the James, a plain extending from there to the river. Our front is about 3 miles long. These heights command our whole position and must be maintained. The gunboats can render valuable support upon both flanks. If the enemy attack us in front we must hold our ground as we best may, and at whatever cost. Our positions can be carried only by overwhelming numbers. The spirit of the army is excellent. Stragglers are finding their regiments, and the soldiers exhibit the best results of discipline. Our position is by no means impregnable, especially as a morass extends on this side of the high ground from our center to the James on our right. The enemy may attack in vast numbers, and if so, our front will be the scene of a desperate battle which, if lost, will be decisive. Our army is fearfully weakened by killed, wounded, and prisoners. I cannot now approximate to any statement of our losses, but we were not beaten in any conflict. The enemy were unable by their utmost efforts to drive us from any field. Never did such a change of base, involving a retrograde movement, and under incessant attacks from a most determined and vastly more numerous foe, partake so little of disorder. We have lost no guns except twenty-five on the field of battle, twenty-one of which were lost by the giving way of McCall’s division under the onset of superior numbers. * * * When all the circumstances of the case are known it will be acknowledged by all competent judges that the movement just completed by this army is unparalleled in the annals of war. Under the most difficult circumstances we have preserved our trains, our guns, our material, and, above all, our honor. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 72.]

An hour later in concluding another dispatch to the President he said:

Our whole army is now drawn up for review in its positions, bands playing, salutes being fired, and all things looking bright. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 294.]

During the afternoon the commanding general of the army passed in front of the Regiment, the entire division having been called into position for review
some time previously. His presence aroused great enthusiasm among the troops, clearly manifesting that the army still retained the utmost confidence in its “Young Napoleon.” Later in the afternoon he issued a proclamation addressed to the “Soldiers of the Army of the Potomac,” in which, after recounting the valorous deeds of the army during the preceding ten days, he concluded as follows:

On this, our Nation's birthday, we declare to our foes who are rebels against the best interests of mankind, that this army shall enter the capital of their so-called Confederacy; that our National Constitution shall prevail and that the Union which can alone insure internal peace and external security for each state, must and shall be preserved, cost what it may in time, treasure and blood. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 199.]

For six weeks and a day the Regiment remained in this same position, encamped on a wooded ridge, overlooking Kimminger's Creek, in the extreme front line of the left wing of the army, a half mile from the James River. During the first week heavy details were made from the Regiment to slash timber, construct breastworks and redoubts, the men working in reliefs, night and day. The weather was intensely hot and dry, there being no rain from July 3 until July 10. In addition to the details for fatigue duty each day a company of the Regiment was assigned to picket duty, over two miles in advance of the fortified position.

On July 6 Companies C, D and E returned to the Regiment. They left the vicinity of Long Bridge at 1 o'clock A.M., July 1, and reached the army during the forenoon before the battle of Malvern Hill had fairly started, but the confusion was so great that no one could locate the brigade, so they remained intact at the bottom of Malvern Hill until late in the afternoon, when they were sent to Gen. McClellan's headquarters, and remained there as a guard until the afternoon of July 5. They moved with the army headquarters during the night of July 1 and arrived at Harrison's Landing about 3 A.M., July 2. On July 3, during the forenoon, they were kept in line of battle, under the command of a staff officer at army headquarters, and in the afternoon assisted in moving Gen. McClellan's headquarters to a more favorable location in a pleasant wood. In the afternoon of July 5, they were ordered to the Regiment which they succeeded in finding the next forenoon. Shortly after midnight, July 5, a dispatch was sent from Gen. McClellan's headquarters to Gen. Keyes, saying that,

Information, supposed to be reliable, has reached these headquarters that the Confederate forces under Lee, with Longstreet, Jackson, Johnston, &c., are very near us in front of our whole line, and that an attack may be expected at any moment. The general commanding directs that you have your command under arms a little before daybreak, your batteries in position, your men on the alert, and your pickets as well thrown out as possible. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 303.]

This was followed with voluminous details, indicating that the commanding general had received trustworthy information as to the whereabouts of the enemy. In a dispatch to Gen. Porter, issued almost simultaneously with that sent to Gen. Keyes, the source of the information was attributed to a prisoner. On July 6, Brig. Gen. Wm. H. Emory was temporarily assigned to command
Gen. Naglee's brigade of Peck's division, by order of Gen. McClellan. On July 7, Corporals John N. Brown and John M. Moore of Company A, returned to the Regiment, having been separated from it since June 29. Capt. Van Kirk had sent them on that date in search of the Regimental commissary, and on their return the Regiment had gone and during this interim they had been unable to locate the brigade. During the forenoon of July 8 the following circular was issued from the headquarters of the army:

His Excellency, the President of the United States will visit the troops of this army this afternoon, beginning at 5 o'clock with Sumner's corps, followed by Keyes', Heintzelman's, Franklin's and Porter's, in the order named. He will be received with appropriate honors. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 307.]

President Lincoln was accompanied by Gen. McClellan the general preceding the President, the latter being followed by the staff and body guard of the commanding general of the army, which formed a cavalcade of considerable proportions. The troops greeted the President with cheers, although at that time none of them had any notion that the ungainly looking personage, passing before them, was the greatest character the Nation had yet produced. On July 9, Gen. McClellan reported to Secretary Stanton that he was "confident the enemy is in full retreat, probably destined for immediate vicinity of Richmond." The following morning, July 10, he reported the "enemy certainly beyond Malvern Hill." According to an abstract from the tri-monthly return of the Army of the Potomac at this time, July 10, 1862, the strength of the army was as follows:

Present for duty, officers, 4,327; men, 95,449; present for duty, equipped, 98,631; aggregate present, 117,714; aggregate present and absent, 157,038; field pieces of artillery, 335. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 312.]

On July 10, Brig. Gen. E. D. Keyes, commanding the Fourth Corps, addressed a lengthy communication to President Lincoln, urging the return of the army to the neighborhood of Washington, giving as one of his reasons that, the confinements of this army, would nearly destroy the army in two months, though no armed force should assail it. * * * To bring troops freshly raised at the north to this country in the months of July, August and September, would be to cast our resources into the sea. The raw troops would melt away and be ruined forever. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 313.]

On July 11, Gen. McClellan notified the President that,

The enemy have certainly retreated but it has been in good order. * * * Prisoners all state that I had 200,000 enemy to fight. A good deal more than two to one and they knowing the ground. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 315.]

The first rain after the Regiment arrived at Harrison's Landing occurred on the evening of July 10, continuing intermittently during the following day. On July 12, Col. Howell drilled the Regiment at the breastworks. On Sunday, July 13, Chaplain A. M. Stewart of the 102 Pennsylvania Regiment, conducted religious services in the 85th's camp, preaching from the text, "He that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city." A well attended prayer meeting was held in the Regimental camp in the evening.
On Monday, July 14, orders having been issued to make some changes in the camp, the men went to work with vim, slightly changing the location and repitching tents. The following day they felt some chagrin on receiving orders to raise their tents farther from the ground; this was done and bunks raised in good time to be in readiness for a heavy downpour of rain, which began about dusk. Rumors had been prevalent in camp from the time the army seemed to have settled permanently on the bank of the James River that the paymaster was soon to make his appearance. The expectations of the men in this direction were heightened by seeing the officers working on the muster rolls. These should have been made out and completed by June 30, but the Regimental and Company records having all been lost at Seven Pines, and the Regiment being on the march at the time the rolls should have been prepared, and also at the time of muster, they had been made out in a haphazard way from memory. These not complying to the letter with the rules laid down by army regulations, it was an easy matter for the clerks in the paymaster general’s office to expedite their business by returning them, endorsed, “Respectfully returned for correction.” The dilemma in which this placed the officers caused them to revise the rolls more carefully. As most of the men present had not been absent so as to have received pay elsewhere than with the Regiment, the important feature of the rolls, so far as the paymaster was concerned, was in the column under, “When and where” last paid, for the correctness of which, in the absence of a copy of the last previous pay-roll, the officers could readily vouch. At this time the exchequers of both officers and men were at an extremely low ebb, the privations of the Peninsular campaign having forced the most parsimoniously frugal to part with his last greenback. However, on July 16, Maj. H. A. Hutchins, paymaster U. S. A., arrived and left four months’ pay; the aggregate number of the Regiment receiving pay at this time being 677; less by 229 than were paid April 27.

Another heavy rain and thunder storm occurred in the evening of the day the Regiment was paid.

Before the army changed its base of operations from in front of Richmond the Soldiers Aid Society of Washington County, Penna., sent a committee of five surgeons, consisting of Drs. R. R. Reed, J. R. Wilson, J. Wotring, J. W. Wishart and Thos. McKenna, to visit the army, and contribute to the relief of the sick and wounded soldiers especially those from Washington County. They reached the Peninsula too late to accompany the army on its retreat to the James River, but arrived at Harrison’s Landing before the army had reached that point. On their return home they rendered a report of where they had been, giving a detailed list of the sick they found in the camps and hospitals visited. This report was published in the Reporter and Tribune (Washington, Penna.), July 24, 1862. In part, it was as follows:

We left home on Monday, the 23d of June, and were absent three weeks. We visited Washington City, Annapolis, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Old Point Comfort, White House, Harrison’s Landing and other points, aiding in the shipment of the wounded, ministering to their wants, searching for the sick scattered through the various hospitals; after whom
we were expected to inquire, ascertaining their condition and in various ways assisting in the good work, and giving comfort and relief to those who were suffering. From Fortress Monroe we were forwarded to White House Landing June 20th, where we assisted in receiving the wounded on board the transports and dressing their wounds, and hurrying them off when that point was relinquished by the National forces. We arrived at Harrison's Landing, James River, on Tuesday night, July 1st, and found the army occupying that point the next morning. Here the sick from the different hospitals of the advance, as well as hundreds of wounded, were gathered, and we had much to do, together with the numerous other surgeons in meeting the immense demand upon medical and surgical aid. From the memorandum made while visiting the various hospitals and camps, we have prepared the following list of sick and wounded which may be relied upon as accurate, and will doubtless furnish information to their many friends. [Only members of 85th Regiment are here given.]

In Hospital at Annapolis, Md.: Sergt. Moses McKeag, Company E, flesh wound of arm—[discharged, June 26]; John Paterson, Private, Co. A; flesh wound; doing well; John Low, Co. A, of Paris, wounded in shoulder—severely—improving; [died of wound June 23, 1862].


Camden Street Hospital, Baltimore, Md.: James Carothers, Co. A—convalescent [discharged June 3, 1862]; John A. Mansfield, Co. A—convalescent.

Mill Creek Hospital, Fortress Monroe, Va.: William A. Sutton, Co. G—intermittent fever; convalescent; Rager—wounded in breast, improving.

The following had been at White House Hospital June 15, 1862:


Some of these were returned to their Regiment, but most of them were sent to the Hospitals at Washington City and Philadelphia. Dr. Wilson and Dr. Wishart furnished a list from hospitals which they visited in Washington City.

Union Hotel Hospital: John Boyd, Co. K; dropsy; improving.


Douglas Hospital: [James Henry] McAllister, Co. E; gunshot wound of scalp; almost well; A. M. Musser [no such name in 85th], gunshot wound in thigh—doing well.

We visited the camps of the 85th P. V., and of the 8th and 10th P. R. C. We sent to the * * * 85th lemons, tea, &c, for the sick. * * * In the medical skill and character of Dr. J. W. Alexander, of the 85th, we have entire confidence. * * * We arrived upon the Peninsula, providentially, just before the six days' fighting began and were constantly employed.

The Genius of Liberty (Uniotown, Penna.), of July 3, also refers to the sick at White House hospitals as follows:


On July 17, about noon, Gen. Keyes, the corps commander, inspected the Regiment, minutely examining the arms, after which he made a brief address, complimenting the men for their soldierly appearance after such a rigorous campaign through which they had just passed. Shortly after noon the Regiment was ordered out to support the pickets. During the evening there was another heavy rain and thunderstorm, continuing throughout the night, making the third successive stormy night. About 3 o'clock P. M., July 18, the Regiment was relieved from duty as picket support, and returned to camp, the men very well satisfied to return, because the Southern mosquitoes seemed even more numerous and more pestiferous in the woods along the James River than at White Oak Swamp; in camp they were more readily under control, but along the edge of the woods where the picketing was done, it was simply impossible to contrive any device that would circumvent them. If one took refuge in the shade of the woods to get a little rest, Virginia flies would swarm around him almost as numerous as the mosquitoes had done in the shade, and about as annoying.
Blackberries in abundance in the picket neighborhood offered some compensation for the annoyance by mosquitoes and flies.

A frequent pastime at Harrison's landing was bathing in the James River, the men generally going in groups of a dozen or more, accompanied by a commissioned or non-commissioned officer. On July 24, the brigade was reviewed by Gen. Peck, in fields beyond the fortifications, at the close of which, the respective regiments had dress parade. The following day from 8 a.m. until 1 p.m., the brigade was drilled by Gen. Peck, although the weather was estimated to be the hottest the army had yet experienced on the Peninsula. Many of the men were overcome by heat and were compelled to drop out. During the next fortnight there were frequent drills of the brigade and division, supervised by Gen. Peck, no matter how hot the weather; in fact, the men were of the opinion, that the hotter the day the longer and more severe the drill, which was seldom shorter than three or four hours, and consisted always of evolutions that required men to change positions in double-quick movements, and frequently on a run. Although the days were intensely hot, the nights were generally cool, enabling the men not on picket and other guard duties to be refreshed by restful slumber.

On July 27, after the regular Sunday inspection, Sergt. Swearer of Company C, organized a bible class, and nearly three hours were devoted to a study of the first chapter of the Epistle of St. John. Religious services were held in the afternoon in camp by Private Ross of the 62nd Ohio Regiment, who was said to have been a student at a United Presbyterian Seminary when he enlisted.

On July 25, Maj. Gen. Halleck, who had been recently appointed general-in-chief of all the armies, with headquarters in Washington, visited Gen. McClellan at the latter's headquarters for the purpose of ascertaining the views and wishes of the commanding general of the Army of the Potomac in regard to future operations. Gen. McClellan outlined a plan proposing to cross the James River at Harrison's Landing, attack Petersburg, and cut off the enemy's communications by that route south, making no further demonstration against Richmond. Gen. Halleck pointed out the danger and impracticability of the plan with the forces at their disposal, and urged him, either to advance on Richmond, promising him a re-enforcement of 20,000 or to withdraw the army and unite his forces with Gen. Pope between Washington and Richmond. Gen. Halleck left on July 26, with the understanding that Richmond was to be attacked. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 337.] On July 27, Gen. Keyes, in a communication to the Quartermaster General, M. C. Meigs, said:

It struck me that Halleck underrates the number of enemies opposed to us about Richmond. That number is 200,000, and is more than double our numbers; rely on this as certain and act accordingly. * * * This army cannot take the offensive with a certainty of success with re-enforcements less than 100,000. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, pp. 388, 389.]

On July 30, in dispatches to Gen. Halleck, Gen. McClellan said:

I hope it may be soon decided what is to be done by this army, and that the decision may be to re-enforce it at once. We are losing much valuable time, and that at a time
when energy and decision are sadly needed. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 342.]

Later the same day in another dispatch he said:

Heavy re-enforcements have arrived in Richmond and are still coming. I still feel that our true policy is to re-enforce the army by every available means and throw it again upon Richmond. Should it be determined to withdraw it, I shall look upon our cause as lost and the demoralization of the army certain. I sincerely hope that some decision may be promptly arrived at, and that it may be in accordance with the views I have so frequently expressed. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 342.]

On the same date at 8 P. M., Gen. Halleck sent the following dispatches to Gen. McClellan:

A despatch just received from Gen. Pope says that deserters report that the enemy is moving south of James River and that the force in Richmond is very small. I suggest he be pressed in that direction, so as to ascertain the facts of the case. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, p. 76.]

This was immediately followed by another one, to wit:

In order to enable you to move in any direction, it is necessary to relieve you of your sick. The Surgeon-General has therefore been directed to make arrangements for them at other places, and the Quarter-Master-General to provide transportation. I hope you will send them away as quickly as possible, and advise me of their removal. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part I, pp. 76, 77.]

On July 31, the General-in-Chief sent the following dispatch to Gen. McClellan:

Gen. Pope again telegraphs that the enemy is reported to be evacuating Richmond and falling back on Danville and Lynchburg. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 344.]

On August 1, Gen. McClellan, in a lengthy communication to Gen. Halleck, says:

Your telegrams in regard to the reported evacuation of Richmond are received. I know nothing to confirm that supposition. To press the enemy, as you suggest, we must first gain possession of Malvern Hill, which I will take steps to do tomorrow. I had prepared yesterday to effect that object tonight, but some unforeseen obstacles made it necessary to defer it. The enemy is in some little force at Malvern Hill, and it may give rise to something more than a mere affair of pickets. At all events I wish to catch a portion of his force there, if not the whole.

I will begin tomorrow to remove, with the means of transportation now at my disposal, some of the worst cases of sickness, such as the typhoid cases, etc. * * * I had a large party of cavalry yesterday at Jones' Bridge. Two squadrons crossed the Chickahominy and communicated near Dascund Bridge with the cavalry pickets from Williamsburg. All quiet in that direction. In the direction of Malvern we have the usual daily skirmishers close by Turkey Bridge and beyond the mill. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part II, pp. 935, 936.]

The course of the James River at Harrison's Landing formed a sort of a Peninsula on the south bank, immediately opposite the camps of the army, which was known as Coggin's Point. The sweep of the river around this point, diminished its width to about 1,000 yards. Under cover of timber and houses on a plantation opposite, the enemy was able to get a good view of the shipping
and camps of the Army of the Potomac. During the fore part of the night, July 31, the enemy proceeded to Maycox's farm, opposite Westover, with twelve guns; and at Coggin's Point and vicinity, 29 more field pieces were planted. The enemy had in all 70 pieces of artillery, but could place only 41 guns in advantageous positions. These guns were silently conducted over the difficult grounds and winding roads, and at midnight were in position for action. The officers in command of these batteries had selected the sites beforehand in daytime, and the routes to be traveled over to reach the positions had been assigned them. Stakes had been erected to direct the fire of the guns so as to command the shipping, and camps on the opposite bank. Nothing was done in a haphazard way, but everything was carefully planned to make the fire destructive and cause terror among the troops fired upon.

At an hour when absolute silence prevailed in the camps of the Army of the Potomac, with a murky-clouded sky obscuring all objects from view, at 12:30 A.M., August 1, forty-one guns opened fire upon the vessels in the river, and on the camps in the vicinity of Gen. McClellan's headquarters. So unexpected and unprepared was the army for such an attack that the enemy continued a rapid fire from these 41 guns for fully fifteen minutes before there was any reply from the land batteries. However, in a few minutes the gun boats replied to the fire with their heavy guns, causing more consternation among the enemy than loss of life. Within 15 or 20 minutes after the Union land batteries got into action the enemy retired with an aggregate loss of eight—1 man killed and 7 wounded. The Federal loss was reported by Gen. McClellan to Gen. Halleck as "some 10 men killed, and wounded about 15." During the day a party was sent across the river and fired the Ruffin farm house and out buildings and cut down some timber, and on August 3 and after, this position on the south bank was permanently occupied by a detail from the Pennsylvania Reserves, and later by other troops from Porter's corps.

On August 2, Gen. Hooker's division, with 1,000 cavalry and two batteries of Horse Artillery, left Harrison's Landing to attack the enemy at Malvern Hill. Gen. McClellan directed Gen. Hooker to move his troops so as to have them in position to attack the enemy at daybreak, but owing to an incompetent guide, Hooker found that this would be impossible, and during the same night returned to camp with his division, reporting the failure immediately to army headquarters. At 7:45 P.M., August 3, Gen. Halleck, in a dispatch to Gen. McClellan, said:

I have waited most anxiously to learn the result of your forced reconnaissance toward Richmond, and also whether all your sick have been sent away, and I can get no answer to my telegram. It is determined to withdraw your army from the Peninsula to Aquia Creek. You will take immediate measures to effect this, covering the movement the best you can. Its real object and withdrawal should be concealed even from your own officers.

* * * The entire execution of the movement is left to your discretion and judgment.

[O. R., Vol. XI, part 1, pp. 80, 81.]

At 10:20 P.M., August 3, Gen. McClellan sent the following telegram to Gen. Halleck:
The movement undertaken up the river last night failed on account of the incompetency of guides. The proper steps have been taken today to remedy this evil, and I hope to be ready tomorrow night to carry out your suggestion as to pressing, at least to accomplish the first indispensable step. [O. R., Vol. XIII, part I, p. 77.]

At noon the next day, August 4, Gen. McClellan replied at length to that portion of Gen. Halleck's dispatch ordering the withdrawal of the army to Aquia Creek, protesting strongly against the withdrawal of the army from the James River, saying, among other things:

Several days are necessary to complete the preparations for so important a movement as this, and while they are in progress I beg that careful consideration may be given to my statements. [O. R., Vol. XIII, part I, p. 81.]

Late in the afternoon August 4, Hooker, re-enforced by Sedgwick's division, again advanced towards Malvern Hill, occupying the position shortly after day-break the next morning, the enemy making but slight resistance, the entire Federal loss reported being 3 killed and 11 wounded. After Gen. Hooker had gained possession of the former battle-field Gen. McClellan arrived on the ground and at 1 P. M., August 5, telegraphed Gen. Halleck in part as follows:

Gen. Hooker, at 5:30 this morning, attacked a very considerable force of infantry and artillery stationed at this place and carried it handsomely, driving the enemy toward New Market. * * * This is a very advantageous position to cover an advance on Richmond, and only 14½ miles distant, and I feel confident that with re-enforcements I could march this army there in five days. [O. R., Vol. XIII, part I, pp. 77, 78.]

To this Gen. Halleck immediately replied:

I have no re-enforcements to send you. [O. R., Vol. XIII, part III, p. 259.]

In reply to Gen. McClellan's dispatch protesting against moving the army from the James River, Gen. Halleck replied at noon August 5, saying in part:

It will not be rescinded, and you will be expected to execute it with all possible promptness. [O. R., Vol. XIII, part I, p. 82.]

At 10 P. M., August 6, Gen. Hooker was directed to withdraw his troops from Malvern Hill during that night, with the exception of cavalry pickets. On August 5, the Regiment went in the direction of Malvern Hill two miles as a support to the pickets, remaining there until 4 P. M., the next day; weather intensely hot and mosquitoes and flies more numerous than ever before. On August 7 and 8, there was Regimental drill, and a large detail of the Regiment was on fatigue duty, the latter day, cutting shrubbery some distance in advance of the breast-works, to prevent the enemy's sharp-shooters concealing themselves in case of an attack. Chaplain Pierce returned to the Regiment on August 8. On Saturday, August 9, one of the hottest days of the summer, the division was kept at drill for four hours, and a number of the men were prostrated while in ranks. On Sunday, August 10, inspection was held at 9 A. M.; preaching by Chaplain Pierce, at 10 A. M.; bible class meeting at 11 A. M. Potatoes, onions and cheese, furnished by the Sanitary Commission, were issued to the men. About dark orders were issued to pack knapsacks ready for storing, and have
everything in readiness to move the next day by noon, with two days rations in haversacks. On August 11, the forenoon was devoted to striking tents and getting ready to move. At noon, the Regiment was in line ready to march, but after a short delay the men were ordered to pitch tents, and hold themselves in readiness to move at a moment's notice. On Tuesday afternoon, August 12, the Regiment was ordered out as a picket support, returning to camp the next afternoon. On the 14th the knapsacks were turned over to the quartermaster's department for transportation. On Friday, August 15, the Regiment was ordered to move, and made a start, but after marching less than a mile was ordered to return to its former camp and again pitch tents. On the return to camp on August 15, the following order was issued from Fourth Corps headquarters:

The troops will be immediately put in readiness to march, and will be prepared to move at five minutes notice. When the movement takes place it will be in the following order: First, the wagons of Peck's division, which are to accompany the column; second, Peck's division; third, the wagons of the Reserve Artillery, which are to accompany the column; forth, the Reserve Artillery; fifth, the wagons of Couch's division. On the march the wagons of each division will be preceded by an advance guard of one regiment. The utmost care will be taken to prevent the straggling of the troops, and no sick men will be allowed to fall to the rear. There is no water transportation for them, and all, without exception, must be kept up with the column. Division commanders will detail an appropriate guard to accomplish this object. The headquarters of the corps will be established on the march at the rear of the leading (Peck's) division. [O. R., W. D., Vol. LI, part I, p. 789.]

About 3 o'clock the following morning the men were routed out, and at 4 A. M., the Regiment was in motion, moving towards the Chickahominy River, marching in all during the day, 12 or 14 miles. About midnight of August 16, orders were issued from corps headquarters, in part, as follows:

The corps moves tomorrow morning at daylight in the order of march to-day. Gen. Peck will start his wagons ahead of his troops, so that the first wagon shall be on the road and on its way precisely at 3 o'clock.

Just as the glow preceding dawn appeared on Sunday morning, the Regiment started towards the Chickahominy River, crossing that stream about noon, a short distance from its mouth, on a pontoon bridge, 2,000 feet in length. After marching three or four miles farther the Regiment halted for the night. At 9 P. M., that night, orders from army headquarters were issued to Gen. Keyes directing,

Gen. Peck to march his division with his train at daylight tomorrow morning. August 18, * * * It is important that Gen. Peck should be prompt in starting. [O. R., W. D., Vol. LI, part I, p. 740.]

At the break of day the Regiment was marching towards Williamsburg, passing through that town about noon, and, after proceeding four or five miles farther, in the direction of Yorktown, the Regiment went into bivouac for the night. The Regiment and corps remained in bivouac the next day, orders being issued from corps headquarters during the evening directing the corps to move the next morning (August 20) in the following order:
Couch's division, starting at 4:30 A. M., will be in advance; next the Reserve Artillery, following Couch's wagons, and last Peck's division. The wagons will be in rear of their respective divisions. Gen. Peck will detail a rear guard of one regiment, and will start the head of his column at 6 A. M. [O. R., W. D., Vol. LI, part I, p. 746.]

Immediately after the division halted on the 18th, the respective regiments were mustered, the rolls carefully called, and all absentees noted; rumor said this was done by order of the President, with a view of noting the number of men lost by desertion and otherwise. The official records make no note of this muster and it may have been done on an order of the corps or division commander only. During the halt of the division here on August 19, Gen. McClellan and staff passed; also several other divisions of the army; officers and men so completely covered with dust as to make them almost unrecognizable.

During the march the Peninsula was at its very best in providing wholesome vegetables and fruit for the troops, and the men were enabled to feast on green corn, potatoes, apples and peaches, the latter turning quite red, although very few were completely ripened. Both apples and peaches made excellent sauce, and many of the men took advantage of this long halt to cook them. Owing to some delay in Couch's division getting out of the way, it was nearly 8 o'clock before the Regiment was in motion on the morning of August 20. At 10 A. M., Gen. McClellan issued the following order to Gen. Keyes:

Your corps is to halt at Yorktown until further orders. If you have passed beyond the vicinity of that place when this reaches you, you will at once return to Yorktown and there await further orders, which may not reach you for some days. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 373.]

Later in the day McClellan's Chief of Staff in another order said:

You will probably remain for several days.

The Regiment passed through Yorktown, halting about two miles east, and went into bivouac on the bank of the York River. Here it remained with Wessells' brigade until Sunday, August 24. The halting place near Yorktown, had been the camping ground of Porter's division in April, and when orders were given to pitch tents early on August 21, and details made for guard and police duties, followed next day by the arrival of a heavy mail, both officers and men concluded the Regiment was to make a prolonged stay at this historic place. This notion was confirmed by the arrival of many of the absentees, some of whom had left the Regiment at Harrison's Landing, and others who had been left by the wayside on the march up the Peninsula. On August 22, Gen. McClellan in a communication to Gen. Keyes said:

I hope to have new troops to relieve your men by the time transports are ready for your corps. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XI, part III, p. 380.]

On Saturday, August 23, Lieut. Col. Purviance drilled the Regiment for two hours. However, late in the afternoon orders were issued from corps headquarters as follows:

The brigades of Generals Ferry and Wessells, with the artillery attached to Peck's division, with the exception of the battery now at Gloucester Point, will proceed tomorrow

This was in compliance with directions given by Gen. McClellan on same date. [O. R., W. D., Vol. LI, part III, p. 382.]

At the dawn of day, Sunday, August 24, the Regiment was on the march toward Old Point Comfort. At noon a drizzling rain began adding to the discomfort of a tiresome march. During this march the Regiment passed through Big Bethel, made memorable by the disaster to Union troops so early in the war, June 10, 1861. Late in the afternoon the Regiment encamped near Hampton, in Camp Hamilton, about two miles from Fort Monroe, and here it remained until September 18, the principal duties required of the men at Camp Hamilton beyond the regular routine of camp life, being to guard the approaches to the numerous hospitals located here, and to act as funeral escorts. The rigors of the Peninsular campaign had told more heavily upon the commissioned officers of the Regiment than on the enlisted men.

During the month of July owing to impaired health four captains had resigned; viz.: W. H. Horn (Co. D); John R. Weltner (Co. I); John Morris (Co. F); and John C. Wilkenson (Co. C); also two second lieutenants, viz.: Stephen K. Brown (Co. K), and George J. Vangilder (Co. C). Col. Howell withstood the privations of the Peninsula much better than many of the younger officers, and until after the Regiment arrived at Harrison's Landing he was constantly on duty with his command. In a letter written a short time before the battle of Seven Pines to the Washington (Pa.) Reporter and Tribune, reference is made to this by a junior officer in the following terms: "Col. Howell has not been off duty a single day since the Regiment entered the service. His remarkable powers of endurance have been the subject of universal astonishment and comment." This just description of the Colonel's activities could have been written of him after the Regiment's arrival at Harrison's Landing, as truly as it was a month earlier; especially was it true of him on the retrograde movement of the army from in front of Richmond, after Wessells' brigade had been assigned the important position of standing between the enemy and the fleeing army. He was then in his element, indeed, especially so, when the enemy was in closest range. However, after the Regiment was safely harbored in a fortified position on the banks of the James River he had to relinquish the command of the Regiment for a period, and being granted sick leave, visited the home of his boyhood days at Woodbury, New Jersey, his health being so precarious while there that he made no attempt to visit his Pennsylvania home, returning to the Regiment as soon as he became convalescent.

During the three weeks and three days the Regiment remained in camp near Hampton, reveille was sounded at 5 A. M. sharp, and nearly every week day there was Regimental drill from 8 A. M. until 11 A. M., followed by company drill in the afternoon, and dress parade in the evening. On Thursday, August 28, clothing was issued, the men generally replenishing their wardrobes with an entirely new uniform, the knapsacks shipped via transport from Harrison's Landing not yet having been heard from. At 7 A. M., Friday, August 29, Companies
A and F left the Regiment at Camp Hamilton for Point Lookout, Maryland, taking passage on the steamer, "Mary Benton." The duties assigned these two companies were very similar to the duties of the Regiment at Hampton, furnishing guards for the hospitals located at Point Lookout. While stationed at Camp Hamilton, the men of religious proclivities had frequent meetings for prayer and praise services, which were well attended; in fact, during the entire stay of the Regiment there rarely an evening passed that no prayer meeting was held in camp. A representative of the Sanitary Commission from Pittsburgh, Mr. Harris, visited Col. Howell on August 27, and subsequently the Regiment was favored with a generous donation of vegetables. While here Chaplain Pierce resigned (September 2); also Major Tredwell (September 5), who had been promoted to that position to date from June 3, 1862.

Although two brigades of Peck’s division were assigned to duty with the 7th Corps at Fort Monroe by orders from Gen. McClellan, it was his intention to have this division separated from the Army of the Potomac only temporarily. At 6 P. M., September 9, he sent the following telegram to Gen. Keyes:

Push forward with all speed the embarkation of Peck’s division and artillery for Alexandria. It is needed. [O. R., W. D., Vol. LI, part I, p. 803.]

At the same time he gave orders to the quartermaster’s department at Washington to,

Rush down, if necessary, transportation to bring up Peck’s division and artillery. [O. R., W. D., Vol. LI, part III, p. 804.]

On September 10, Gen. Dix telegraphed Gen. Halleck from Fort Monroe, Va.:

I have just returned from Yorktown, and find a dispatch from Gen. E. D. Keyes, received since I left, saying that he is required to embark Peck’s division for Alexandria. This leaves my force so reduced that it is impossible to hold Suffolk or Yorktown and protect the 7,000 sick here and in the vicinity. To retain them would invite attack. I propose, therefore, to fall back from Suffolk to Norfolk, and to destroy the guns at Yorktown and abandon it. I shall not have any infantry at Suffolk, and at Yorktown only 800 men. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 388.]

To this Gen. Halleck immediately replied:

When Gen. McClellan asked for Peck’s division he was to send you 5,000 new troops to take their place. This he was probably prevented from doing by Gen. Wool stopping troops to guard the railroads. * * * We must not at present abandon either Yorktown or Suffolk, and you must retain troops sufficient to hold them till others arrive. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 388.]

Thinking Peck’s division was enroute to re-enforce his army, Gen. McClellan, at noon, September 11, gave directions to the quartermaster’s department at Washington, as follows:

Instead of proceeding to Poolesville and Offutts Cross Roads and Seneca, Peck’s division will march, immediately upon its arrival, to Rockville, where it will find orders for its further movements. [O. R., W. D., Vol. LI, part I, p. 814.]
Later the same day Gen. McClellan received a dispatch from Gen. Halleck in which the latter said:

Gen. Fitz John Porter's corps has been ordered to move tomorrow * * * to report to you for duty in the field. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIX, part II, p. 255.]

On the receipt of the above, Gen. McClellan immediately replied, saying:

I am much obliged to you for sending me Porter's corps, and I should like the remainder of Keyes' corps as soon as possible. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIX, part II, p. 255.]

At 5:30 P. M., September 12, Gen. McClellan asked Gen. Halleck how soon he might expect the arrival of troops to defend certain points. In his reply to this at 10:45 A. M., September 13, Gen. Halleck said:

Four regiments were ordered to Gen. Dix to replace Gen. Peck's division. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIX, part II, p. 280.]

On September 19, Gen. Halleck telegraphed Gen. Dix to

Send up all of Peck's division, which you can replace with the new troops. His division will be filled up here. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 399.]

To this Gen. Dix replied the following day, saying:

I was all day at Suffolk yesterday, expecting an advance from the Blackwater, where the rebels had sent down a considerable force from Petersburg. I have two of Peck's brigades there and three of the new regiments—perfectly raw. * * * It would be very unsafe to withdraw any of Peck's division at this moment. * * * The rebels have finished the railroad from Petersburg to the Blackwater. The Secessionists were looking for them at Suffolk night before last with the assurance that they were to be there yesterday. I beg you to let Peck's division remain at present. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, pp. 395, 396.]

On the same day Gen. Dix followed the foregoing dispatch with a lengthy detailed communication in which he said:

I requested by telegraph that Gen. Peck's division might not be taken away from me at present, assigning, briefly, the reasons. * * * Suffolk—this is at the moment my most important position. The enemy has just finished the railroad from Petersburg to the Blackwater, 20 miles from Suffolk, and on Tuesday and Wednesday moved a considerable body of infantry to that point. There was a force of cavalry and artillery in the vicinity before.

On Thursday I went to Suffolk with reasonable assurance that there would be an advance on us, and examine the preparations for defense by Gen. Ferry. The gauge of the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad is 5 feet, and the gauge of the Norfolk and Weldon, or Seaboard, 4 feet 8½ inches. Having no locomotives for the former, we altered the gauge to 4 feet 8½ inches from Norfolk to Suffolk, connecting the two roads at the latter point by a Y, so as to use the equipment on either road at pleasure.

Since the enemy have completed their road from Petersburg to the Blackwater I have been altering the gauge from Suffolk to Blackwater, so as to render it useless to them and advantageous to us if we wish to throw a force down from Suffolk, thus enabling us to control this communication as far as the Blackwater. We are out some 6 miles, and are altering 3 miles a day * * * I have ordered a reconnaissance in force to be made today in the direction of the Blackwater. * * * If Peck's division is taken from me I shall have but 9,000 effective men left, and of these more than one-third are entirely new. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, pp. 396, 398.]
On September 21, Gen. Halleck replied to this as follows:

The ordering up of Peck’s division was at Gen. McClellan’s urgent request. In the advance of the enemy’s army against this place and Maryland he did not deem it necessary on the Peninsula. If you require it, keep it and discharge the transports. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 399.]

In a further reply to Gen. Dix’s communication of September 20, Gen. Halleck said:

The defense of the points occupied by you is necessarily left to your discretion. You will retain Peck’s division. *** I do not insist upon your holding all points now in your possession. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 401.]

In a telegram to Gen. Halleck on September 27, 10 A. M., Gen. McClellan says:

I would be glad to have Peck’s division as soon as possible. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIX, part I, p. 71.]

Again in another telegram, dated 4:30 P. M., October 6, he says:

It is important in making my decision regarding the route to be taken, by the army that I should know *** what description of troops I am to be re-enforced with; *** whether they are to be old or new troops *** If possible, I should be glad to have Peck’s division sent to me, if it can be got here within a reasonable time. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIX, part III, p. 387.]

To this Gen. Halleck replied at 12.45 P. M., October 7:

Peck’s division is at Yorktown and Suffolk. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIX, part III, p. 393.]

Fifteen minutes after Gen. Halleck forwarded the foregoing, the request was repeated by Gen. McClellan, as follows:

I would again ask for Peck’s division. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIX, part I, p. 11.]

The frequent and persistent requests of the commanding general of the Army of the Potomac for the return of Casey’s former division is the best of evidence that he regarded the troops of this division as entirely trustworthy and troops to be relied upon in any emergency.

At 10 o’clock A. M., September 18, the Regiment embarked on the steamer S. R. Spaulding at Fort Monroe, arriving at the wharf at Norfolk, Va., about 3 P. M., disembarked, and about dark took passage on the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad, arriving at Suffolk about 9 P. M., bivouacking in a field just beyond the town limits. For two months and eighteen days, from September 18 until December 5, the Regiment (with the exception of Companies A and F, detached at Point Lookout, Md.), with Wessells’ brigade, remained at Suffolk. During this time it was not idle. The men were constantly employed fortifying the town, building winter quarters, on picket duty, or at company, regimental or brigade drill. During the first week the Regiment remained at the same location at which it bivouacked the night of its arrival. On September 25, camp was moved a short distance and tents pitched in more uniform order. On September
27th, the Regiment was supporting the picket line, in anticipation of an attack by the enemy, returning to camp the next day.

On October 3, the Regiment was ordered to fall in with two days' rations, and at 3 o'clock P. M., started in the direction of the Blackwater River with a force commanded by Gen. Wessells, and after a march of about ten miles went into bivouac in a woods near Western Branch Church, until 4 P. M. the following day, when it started back towards Suffolk, arriving at camp about 9 P. M. During the month of October the principal duties required of the men were fatigue duty, building redoubts, breast-works, and slaughtering timber. After the fortifications were completed brigade drills were frequent. On October 21, the brigade was reviewed by Gen. Wessells, and the following day the entire force at Suffolk was reviewed by Gen. Peck. During the last week of October orders were issued to erect winter quarters, and details were made from the respective companies to cut timber in the adjacent woods for that purpose. At 2:30 P. M., October 30, the Regiment formed part of an expedition that left Suffolk about the middle of the afternoon for the Blackwater River, twenty-five miles distant. The advance met the pickets of the enemy at daybreak, and, after driving them in, four pieces of artillery opened fire on the town of Franklin. This was continued for a half hour, the enemy making no reply, when the entire force about faced, and marched as rapidly towards Suffolk as it had marched from it during the previous night, making no halt until noon, when it went into bivouac until 7 P. M., when it continued to journey homeward, reaching camp about midnight. On November 1, the Regiment was mustered for pay, the reconnaissance of the previous day interfering with muster at the regulation time. During the first week of November the Regiment participated in brigade drill every afternoon the weather was favorable.

On November 7, a snowstorm heralded the approach of winter. On November 12, the troops at Suffolk were reviewed by Gen. Dix. On Sunday, November 16, the hospital tents, erected the previous week for religious services, were dedicated by Chaplain Bird, of the 103d Pennsylvania Regiment. Another reconnaissance started to the Blackwater on November 17, the Regiment remaining in camp, the men, however, not feeling perfectly at ease at not being along the following day when hearing the cannon reverberations in the direction of the Blackwater. However, the troops returned to camp November 19, reporting but a few slight casualties in Dodge's Battalion of New York Mounted Rifles.

On November 26, the Regiment was ordered to prepare three days' rations and be in readiness to move at noon; however, this order was countermanded at the designated hour for starting, on account of a heavy rain, which had been falling during the forenoon with no indication of stopping. Gen. Peck wired Gen. Dix on that date, "Have organized attack upon Ivor with at least 5,000. The move would have been this day save rain and mud." [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 464.] Thursday, November 27, being Thanksgiving Day, there was a cessation of fatigue duty and drill; the only religious services in the Regimental camp was prayer meeting in the chapel tent. The following Sunday afternoon Chaplain Bird, of the 103d Pennsylvania Regiment, preached from Psalm, 73;
ver. 24: "Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterward receive me to glory."

Again on December 1, another reconnaissance started towards the Blackwater, the Regiment again remaining at or near camp, a portion of it being sent to take position at Fort Nansemond. On December 2, at reveille, orders were issued for the Regiment to hold itself in readiness to march at a moment's notice; cannonading in the direction of the Blackwater indicating that the troops from Suffolk were engaging the enemy. This was the final reconnaissance from Suffolk, in which any regiment of Wessells' brigade participated. The troops comprising it returned to Suffolk about 10 o'clock P. M., December 3, and the next day orders were given for the troops comprising Wessells' brigade to have three days' rations cooked and in haversacks, knapsacks packed and stored, and everything in readiness for an early march the following day, the hour designated being 4 o'clock A. M. On December 1, Maj. Gen. John G. Foster, commanding the Department of North Carolina, arrived at Fortress Monroe to confer with Gen. Dix. The following day, at the suggestion of Gen. Dix, a conference was held at Norfolk by Generals Foster and Peck, after which the latter sent the following dispatch to Gen. Dix:

The interview with Gen. Foster today was all that could be desired. He is an old friend, and we canvassed matters fully. Have memoranda which will govern moves for some days. I proposed to demonstrate strongly on a given day, which he did not expect, and which pleased him very much. I very much desire that the new troops should arrive before Wessells' brigade moves. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XXIII, p. 469.]

The memorandum of understanding between Generals Peck and Foster, agreed upon at their Norfolk conference, December 2, 1862, and referred to in the foregoing dispatch of Gen. Peck to Dix, was as follows:

(1) Wessells' brigade to be at the landing on the Chowan, near Gatesville, some time during day or night of the 6th (weather permitting), the transports being there to receive them. (2) It is probable that a movement will commence as follows, viz: (3) Get down at night to mouth of North River, Albemarle Sound. (4) Start then—the transports to the Chowan. (5) Arrive at mouth of river (Chowan). (6) Come up river. (7) Embark. (8) Start for W. (9) Arrive at W. (10) Prepare for march. (11) Start out 8 miles. (12) March to Kinston. (13) Attack Kinston. (14) March toward G. (15) Make preliminary attack. (16) Forcible attack. (17-18) Pretty sure of being before G.

J. G. Foster,
Major-General, Commanding.

[O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 41.]

On December 5, Gen. Peck, in a dispatch to Gen. Halleck, referring to Gen. Wessells, says:

I have but one general graduate of West Point and I have loaned him to Gen. Foster with his brigade. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 472.]

On December 6, Gen. Halleck, in a dispatch to Gen. Dix, says:

You speak of sending a brigade of your troops to Gen. Foster; by whose authority is this done? [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 473.]
To this Gen. Dix replied immediately, in part, as follows:

When in Washington, on October 3, you desired me to communicate with Gen. Foster and co-operate with him in harassing the enemy. * * * He came here * * * and on conferring with him I agreed to let him have a brigade for ten days to attack Goldsborough and cut the railroad at that place. I directed Gen. Peck to meet him at Norfolk and arrange the time. The brigade under Gen. Wessells left Suffolk yesterday to march to Gates' Ferry, near Gatesville, where transports will be ready to receive it. I shall regret greatly if in this I have mistaken your wishes or exceeded my authority. It is not too late to recall Gen. Wessells, if it be thought best and I receive your order at once. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 473.]

On December 7, Gen. Halleck wired Gen. Dix as follows:

The temporary detachment of the brigade to assist Gen. Foster is approved. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 473.]

On December 7, Gen. Peck wired Gen. Dix as follows:

Wessells arrived at noon on the 6th; reports no transports there; a barren waste, stripped of almost everything; no cattle there. He will get along without difficulty through the 7th F. [Flusser] will be there today unless some terrible storm sweeps the coast. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 474.]

In a dispatch to Gen. Peck on December 10, Gen. Dix says:

Gen. Halleck advises me that my command must be ready to move the moment Wessells returns. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 476.]

On December 12, Gen. Peck, in a communication to Gen. Foster, said:

The brigade of Wessells was ahead of time and reached you in good order and will do good service. * * * At noon yesterday all my available force left for the demonstrations on the river. The command should have been across Blackwater at daylight, but has been delayed by the terrible condition of the roads, five hours having been required to move 4 miles. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 42.]

During the two and a half months the Regiment lay at Suffolk the men of religious proclivities had ample opportunity to attend religious services, having prayer and praise service nearly every night in the chapel tents with neighboring regiments, or at a private house in Suffolk. The last night at Suffolk, December 4, the Chaplain of the 176th Pennsylvania Regiment (drafted troops) preached what proved to be a farewell Suffolk sermon to the 85th men, many of whom were present. At 3 o'clock A. M., the men were routed out from sound repose and shortly after 4 A. M., with Wessells' entire brigade, were rapidly marching on the Somerton road towards the Chowan River. Shortly after daybreak it began raining, making the roads muddy, filling the gullies and ditches to overflowing, making the march much more tiresome and difficult, especially so to the men who had recently returned as convalescent from the hospitals. However, 23 miles were covered before a halt was made for the night. The following day, December 6, the column was in motion at daybreak, and after a march of only 7 or 8 miles, during which the Regiment passed through Gatesville, N. C., bivouacked a mile or two beyond, not far from the Chowan River.
The above map embraces all the points traversed by the Eighty-fifth Regiment from Fort Monroe to Norfolk on the Steamer S. R. Spaulding, thence to Suffolk by rail; the reconnaissances in the direction of the Blackwater; the march from Suffolk to the Chowan River; the journey on the transport Lancer down the Chowan, through the Albemarle, Croatan and Pamlico Sounds, up the Neuse River to New Berne; from New Berne to Morehead City, where it embarked on the transports Ranger, Fort Royal, and Maple Leaf, for South Carolina; also the point at which it did duty last in Virginia, Norfolk and Portsmouth. The smaller one embraces all the points the Regiment traversed after it arrived on the Peninsula. It is reproduced here by courtesy of the Century Company.
On Sunday, December 7, the Regiment moved to the Chowan River and boarded the transport Lancer, which steamed down the river into Albemarle Sound, passing Edenton about sunset, arriving at Roanoke Island in the early morn of the following day. While passing through Croatan Sound the Lancer grounded two or three times. The remains of a marine, accidentally killed by falling down a hatchway on the Lancer, was taken ashore at Roanoke Island for burial. The Lancer arrived at Newbern, about 3 o'clock P. M., December 9, the Regiment immediately disembarking, pitching camp about a mile beyond the town limits. The journey from Suffolk to Newbern is described by M. L. Gordon, of Company G, in a letter to the Waynesburg (Penna.) Messenger, which appeared in its issue of February 23, 1863, as follows:

On Friday, December 5, we "packed our traps," and just as day was breaking, started out from camp, for, we knew not where. We marched in the direction of Somerton, and after a hard day's march we bivouac'd for the night five miles from that place. Saturday we continued the march, and by Sunday noon found ourselves on the banks of the Chowan River, at a point near Gatesville. We found the Steamers "Lancer," "Northerner," and several others awaiting us, and our brigade embarked and immediately proceeded down the river. There are many beautiful plantations along the Chowan, and the fine buildings give evidence of taste and refinement. We came into Albemarle Sound in the evening, passed Edenton, and early next morning arrived at Roanoke Island. * * * Leaving Roanoke we came into Pamlico Sound and up the Neuse River to Newbern. Newbern lies at the junction of Neuse and Trent Rivers, and is quite a pretty place. The streets are broad, regularly laid out and well shaded.

Companies A and F, who left the Regiment August 29, at Hampton, Va., for Point Lookout, Maryland, received orders at the latter place, on December 4, to return to the Regiment at once. They left Point Lookout at 4 P. M., on that date, arrived at Suffolk between 5 and 6 P. M., December 5, twelve hours after the Regiment had left for North Carolina. They remained at Suffolk until December 30, 1862, and did not join the Regiment until about sunset January 6, 1863.

When Wessells' brigade left Suffolk for North Carolina it was merely loaned to Gen. Foster for ten days, but the exigencies of the service prevented it from returning to the command of Gen. Peck, evidently to the regret of the latter. Three days after the departure of the brigade from Suffolk, December 8, 1862, Gen. Peck, in a communication to Gen. Dix, said:

Had Wessells' old troops remained, I proposed making clean thing of Franklin; but I am weaker than before. These new men do not know their facings, and their hearts are not in warfare. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 39.]
The Goldsboro Expedition

CHAPTER XI.

THE GOLDSBORO EXPEDITION.—BATTLES OF KINSTON, WHITEHALL AND GOLDSBORO.—RETURN TO NEWBERN.—DEPARTURE FROM NEWBERN.

FROM DECEMBER 10, 1862, TO JANUARY 25, 1863.

The day after the Regiment's arrival at Newbern was devoted to "seeing the town," and making preparations for an extended reconnaissance, the men drawing three days' rations, and receiving orders to have haversacks ready for an early start on December 11. There was such a vivid contrast in the dress and general appearance between the troops comprising Wessells' brigade and the other troops at Newbern that the new arrivals were readily distinguished from the others. Wessells' men had lost everything except what they were wearing at Seven Pines, and, again, by sending their knapsacks by transports from Harrison's Landing. When clothing was issued there was little regard paid to the proper fitting, so long as the blouse or trousers could be worn with any degree of comfort. In fact, except to a very few, there was no choice, the sergeant delivering the clothing, selecting for each man what he deemed the proper size, which, generally was large enough not to be uncomfortable, and was accepted as the proper thing without protest. The large majority of the other troops had been chiefly engaged in doing garrison duty at Newbern and other towns along the coast and their uniforms were exceptional tidy and neatly fitted. Some of the Massachusetts soldiers were not even wearing the regulation clothing, but had uniforms made of finer material than that furnished by the government. The marked difference in clothing and general deportment of the men had a tendency to cause invidious remarks to be passed in the hearing of the party commented on, and for a time more or less ill feeling was manifested between portions of the "Peninsula veterans" and the "Sunday soldiers." The contrast between the officers was fully as marked as that between the men. Wessells' officers had received no pay for nearly six months, and many of them were wearing the uniforms of enlisted men, and occasionally, without even the insignia of rank. The same tendency to superciliousness existed between the line officers, the aggressors, in both cases, generally being the newcomers.

At 4 o'clock, Thursday morning, December 11, reveille was sounded and the men hurriedly struck tents, prepared and ate breakfast, only to loll for more than an hour behind stacked arms, after they had formed for the onward march. The 9th New Jersey Regiment headed the infantry column in the advance, followed by Wessells' brigade, of which the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment was in the lead. After a march of about sixteen miles the road was found to be obstructed by heavy, felled timber, extending for fully a half mile. This com-
pulled a halt about 4 P. M. The Regiment bivouacking in a corn-field for the night. Contraband pioneers were immediately put to work and the road was cleared, so that at daybreak the next morning the Regiment was in motion, and, although not to exceed 12 or 14 miles were covered during the day, the Regiment did not go into bivouac until some time after dark, the delay being caused by the advance cavalry having frequent skirmishes with the enemy, during which 18 of the latter were captured. The men were routed out at 5 o'clock A. M., December 13, and advanced at daybreak, but at about 10 A. M. a halt was made near South-west Creek and line of battle formed, the Regiment supporting Battery B, 3d New York Artillery, the enemy having given evidence of making a stand on the west side of the creek with a section of artillery. After the artillery had fired some forty rounds, Gen. Wessells ordered Col. Howell to send forward two companies as skirmishers in the woods and swamps, bordering the creek, to feel the enemy. Companies B and D, under command of Capt. George H. Hooker, were deployed as skirmishers. Shortly after the skirmishing companies advanced, the Regiment followed, and, by felling some trees, succeeded in crossing the creek, the skirmishing companies, however, having forded the stream, charged upon the enemy on his flank, and completely routed him, following him some distance, the latter abandoning a piece of artillery on the road, which should have been a trophy of the Regiment. However, the 9th New Jersey immediately following Capt. Hooker’s skirmishers from another point, finding no one with the gun, claimed it as their prize, although under protest by Col. Howell, who called attention to the fact that the timely arrival of Capt. Hooker’s command saved the New Jersey regiment from meeting a severe loss. The affair is reported by Maj. Abram Zabriskie, the commanding officer of the 9th New Jersey, as follows:

On the morning of December 13, at 11 A. M. we came up with the enemy in a strong position on the west bank of Southwest Creek. Two of the companies were ordered to cross the stream on the right, while the remainder of the regiment crossed at a mill-dam about a mile above on the left. When we arrived at the breastwork thrown up by the enemy I found it deserted both by their artillery and infantry. However, discovering the enemy half a mile farther up the road the regiment charged on them at a run, and succeeded in capturing a gun and caisson, 6-pounder, besides wounding 3 of the enemy and taking 6 or 8 prisoners. Skirmishing with the enemy continued through the whole day, our loss being 1 man wounded and 1 taken prisoner. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 94.]

Col. C. A. Heckman, of the 9th New Jersey, to whom the foregoing report was made, also renders a report of the affair as if he had been in command of his regiment. His report is as follows:

On the morning of December 13th, at 11 A. M., we came up with the enemy, who had two guns in position on the west bank of Southwest Creek, supported by infantry. I here found Capt. Cole, 3d New York Cavalry, with his men dismounted, warmly engaged with the enemy. Lieut.-Col. Mix had placed Lieut. Day’s section of Morrison’s battery in a good position and was sending shell into them rapidly. I immediately ordered Companies C, H and G to cross the stream on the right, while with the remainder of the regiment I crossed at a mill-dam about a mile above on the left. On arriving at their works from their rear I found it deserted and the guns withdrawn. My whole command joined me, I stationed one company at the bridge and with the balance, having sent you
word of my intention, proceeded up the road, and when about a mile from the creek was saluted by a round of canister from a 6-pounder and musketry. I charged on the double-quick, and a Yankee yell, and secured one 6-pounder and caisson, killed 3, wounded several, and took 8 of the enemy prisoners. Skirmishing continued through the whole day, my loss being 1 wounded and 1 taken prisoner. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, pp. 91, 92.]

Col. Howell's report of the affair is as follows:

I have the honor to report that on December 13, instant, while on the march on the recent expedition, to Kinston, etc., at the southwest creek, when the firing at that place began I was ordered by the general to take my Regiment to the right of the road leading to the bridge, and on the right of the battery attached to our brigade, to support the battery. Soon after I had placed my Regiment in the position ordered, I was ordered by the general to send forward two companies as skirmishers, to examine the woods and swamps as far as the creek to see if a crossing were practicable and to feel for the enemy.

In obedience to the order I sent forward Companies B and D under command of Capt. Hooker (Company B), senior captain. Shortly afterward I was ordered to move the Regiment forward and cross the creek if at all practicable, and attack and drive the enemy if we found them on that side of the road. By felling trees across the creek and with much difficulty and labor we affected a crossing. We had not only the creek to pass over but swamps on both sides of it. While crossing the creek we heard sharp and rapid firing in the advance of us, and on coming out on the road ascertained that the two companies (B and D), under Capt. Hooker, on their approach to the road from the wood, had come in contact with a party of the enemy (First Mississippi Light Artillery), who had a piece planted on the road. They were promptly attacked by Capt. Hooker, and driven from their gun—repulsed with a loss of 4 men killed.

In the conflict our men received two discharges of grape and canister from the enemy before they were driven from their gun. The enemy were driven up the road, and in the earnestness of pursuit it was omitted, unfortunately, to leave any one in charge of the piece captured. The 9th New Jersey, coming up immediately thereafter, took the piece into their possession, and from the circumstance might have the entire credit of having captured it awarded to them; whereas the credit of the capture belongs to the two companies of my Regiment exclusively. I do not believe, however, that that gallant regiment would claim the credit to the prejudice of my companies—I wish to state here that the timely arrival of Capt. Hooker with the companies and the gallant achievement in capturing the gun and driving the enemy manifestly saved the brave regiment (the 9th New Jersey) from being seriously cut up.

I desire, captain, to communicate to the general, in the very highest terms of commendation and praise, the promptness and gallantry manifested by the brave officers and enlisted men engaged in that affair; and I also desire to do the same justice to the other gallant officers and enlisted men of my Regiment for their untiring zeal and indefatigable industry and energetic efforts made and exhibited in effecting the crossing of the creek, overcoming difficulties that seemed almost insurmountable, and also for the rapid movement forward (exhausted as they were) after the crossing was effected. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, pp. 101, 102.]

Gen. Wessells' report is as follows:

An expedition having been planned and organized to move in the direction of Goldsborough, the column was put in motion on the morning of the 11th, the advance taken by Heckman's 9th New Jersey Volunteers, followed by my own brigade, to which was attached Morrison's battery, 3d New York Artillery. No serious obstacles were interposed by the enemy until arriving at Southwest Branch 6 miles from the town of Kinston, where it was found the main road crossing the creek was well watched and strongly guarded both by artillery and infantry. A skilful feint having been made towards this
point, the main body moved by an upper road, crossing the creek about a half mile below on a mill-dam.

The bridge was found to be partially destroyed and the enemy covering it with two guns and a force of infantry. This position was at once reconnoitered by the 9th New Jersey Volunteers with their usual intrepidity, and a crossing was effected by the mill, threatening the enemy's right.

At the same time by direction of the commanding general, I detached the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. Howell, with orders to force a passage below the bridge by felling trees or fording, and engage him on the right. This difficulty was handsomely performed. Howell's skirmishers, led by Captains Hooker and Phillips, pushed boldly through the swamp, engaged the enemy's battery under a shower of grape, and by well directed fire of musketry drove the cannoneers from the ground and Heckman's advance appearing simultaneously from the left, the enemy fled leaving one of their guns in our possession.

The brigade in the meantime crossed at the mill, and being joined by the 23d Massachusetts Volunteers, moved forward about 3 miles and bivouacked for the night, the 9th New Jersey Volunteers with Morrison's Battery taking up a position about 1 mile in advance. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 96.]

Brig. Gen. Nathan G. Evans, who was in command of the Confederate forces at Southwest Creek, says in his report:

On Saturday, the 13th instant, the enemy approached Kinston in considerable force and attacked the line of our forces under the immediate command of Col. James D. Radcliffe, North Carolina Troops, who had taken position on the west side of Southwest Creek. At 10 o'clock I arrived on the grounds and assumed command, and ordered Col. Radcliffe to take command of the left wing at the crossing of the upper Trent road. The enemy was then attacked at Hines' Mill while he attempted to cross the creek.

After a sharp engagement of an hour I fell back toward the Neuse River, keeping line of battle and arresting his approach about two miles from Kinston Bridge. He then attacked in considerable force but retired after an engagement of ten hours. I rested on my arms that night in this position, the enemy ceasing fire after nightfall. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, pp. 112, 113.]

M. L. Gordon, of Company G, in a letter to the Waynesburg (Penna.) Messenger, Feb. 25, 1863, describes the reconnaissance from Newbern to Southwest Creek as follows:

On the morning of the 11th, the principal part of the forces under command of Gen. Foster left this place with 10 days' rations—three in haversacks, and marched towards Goldsboro. After marching 15 miles, we discovered the rebels, anticipating our approach, had blockaded the road by felling trees across it; we were therefore compelled to halt for the night. Contrabands were engaged during the night clearing the road, and by morning we again moved forward.

During the second day, our cavalry engaged some rebel cavalry and routed them, killing and wounding several, and taking a few prisoners. On Saturday the advance found a considerable force of rebels drawn up at Southwest Creek, about 5 miles this side of Kinston. At this point the creek runs through a swamp which extends about a mile from the creek on either side. They had destroyed the bridge, making it impossible for cavalry to pass. A battery of artillery cannonaded the road, making it certain destruction, almost, for infantry to pass that way.

A battery opened upon them; but as the infantry were concealed it had little effect. The 9th New Jersey was thrown forward to the left of the road, and our Regiment to the right, and both moved on to the swamp. The water in some places was 4 or 5 feet deep,
and it was with the greatest difficulty we forced our way through. Two companies were deployed as skirmishers and succeeded in flanking the rebels, and compelled them to skedaddle in fine style, leaving one piece of artillery on the field. The rebels retreated to Kinston Bridge where it was believed they had a force of six of eight thousand.

The Washington (Penna.) Reporter and Tribune, in its issue of March 11, 1863, publishes a communication from Lieut. Col. Purviance, prefaced with the following explanatory note:

The following article which was prepared shortly after the occurrence of the events it attempts briefly to describe was intended for publication in an Eastern Journal, but through some inadvertence or neglect, the purpose of the writer was not accomplished. Accidentally meeting with the manuscript the other day, it was suggested that its publication, though somewhat unseasonable, might serve even yet, to interest Washington County readers; inasmuch as four companies of her gallant volunteers participated in the work to which the article refers.

A restless desire to do justice to a brave brigade, which, as a part of Gen. Casey's Division suffered such frightful loss at Fair Oaks, and afterwards such painful and undeserved censure in connection with that sanguinary battle, is my only apology for soliciting the publication of the following brief account of the battle of Kinston, N. C. The brigade is made up of six regiments of Pennsylvania and New York troops, as follows: 85th, 101st and 103d Pennsylvania; 85th, 92d, and 96th New York, and known as Wessells' Brigade. These regiments, which contained a force of nearly six thousand troops when they entered the service have been reduced to less than two thousand five hundred by the casualties of war.

On the 5th of December we left Suffolk, Va., on some secret service, the nature of which was not known even to the commanding general and reached the Chowan River at a point near Gatesville, N. C., on the 7th. Here we met Gen. Foster with transports, and embarking on the latter, reached Newbern, N. C. on the 9th, after a pleasant passage through Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds.

On the morning of the 11th a column of four brigades of which that of General Wessells, formed the advance, preceded by two companies of the 9d New York Cavalry, and the 9th New Jersey as skirmishers, took up the line of march on the Kinston road. After marching about sixteen miles, formidable obstructions, making the road impassable for a distance of half a mile, were encountered. These consisting of immense pine trees, felled in great numbers across the road by the enemy, who had manifestly been apprised of our coming for several days. Here we were forced to halt and encamp. During the night the road was cleared out by the corps of pioneers, contrabands all, and by daylight we were in motion again. About twenty miles from Newbern, we encountered the enemy's advance pickets, consisting of a company of horse and two companies of infantry. After a brief but lively engagement, they were routed by our cavalry vanguard, with a loss of one man killed, four wounded, and four or five prisoners. We lost two horses and two men wounded.

Skirmishing with the enemy's pickets continued until the 13th, on the morning of which we found him in force on the west bank of Southwest Creek, the bridge of which he had destroyed. In reconnoitering the stream, one of the New York cavalry was killed. The enemy was found strongly posted and supported by artillery; it was, therefore, found necessary to halt the column and dispose our forces to attack him. Morrison's battery was accordingly ordered into position on the high ground above the creek and directed to shell the opposite woods. This was done; but it was evident that the skirmishers of the enemy still held their position under cover of the dense and heavy timber ready to dispute our advance. The 85th Pennsylvania was therefore ordered to move about three hundred yards to the right of the road. To throw forward two companies of skirmishers and then the whole to move down to the creek, and, if possible, effect a crossing.
The 85th plunged into the woods, and were soon lost to view. They descended the hill, a rough and rugged steep, where progress being greatly impeded by rank and tangled undergrowth. Not less difficult to overcome was the swampy lowlands, extending from the foot of the hill to the bank of the creek, a distance of not less than three hundred yards. The men sank to the knee at every step, but staggered bravely on over stumps of mouldering cypress trees and crumbling remains of stalwart pines, and through the dark semi-fluid earth of the foul morass. The skirmishers reached the creek and, with guns uplifted, dashed boldly through, expecting each moment to receive the fire of a concealed foe. Meanwhile the body of the Regiment, halting on the banks of the stream, in conformity with their orders, commenced felling trees across, to serve as a temporary bridge. It was but indifferently done; for our skirmishers having found the enemy, the woods were singing with the crack of a hundred rifles. To the dusky pioneers were the finishing touches of the bridge, and the Regiment, leaping into the sluggish stream, was soon pressing through the woods beyond, directed by the sharp detonations of their comrades' rifles, and the sullen thunder of the enemy's artillery.

Our skirmishers, Companies B and D, of the 85th, had advanced almost five hundred yards beyond the creek, when they received the fire of the enemy's infantry, formed on the edge of the woods in an open field. Our boys replied promptly, pouring in a rapid, and, as was subsequently shown, effective fire. A field piece on the Kinston road to our left, opened upon our two companies with grape and canister; but our right swinging rapidly round, the grey-back, infantry, artillery, and all, were soon flying from the field and the road, leaving their gun, a fine Napoleon 6-pounder, a trophy in the hands of our intrepid lads. Four of the dead were left upon the field, and six prisoners taken.

The 9th New Jersey, which had succeeded in crossing near the site of the old bridge some time after our skirmishers had passed over, appeared on the road at this time, and moving rapidly forward, co-operated with our skirmishers and took some prisoners. But it must not be forgotten that the enemy was first encountered, driven from the field, and a fine piece of artillery captured by Company B, Capt. Hooker, and Company D, Capt. Phillips, of the 85th Regiment P. V. Both these companies are from Washington County.

Wessells' brigade re-enforced by the 23d Massachusetts Regiment, with the 9th New Jersey in advance as skirmishers, advanced beyond Southwest Creek to within three miles of Kinston, bivouacking along the edge of a woods, which bordered an open field, several hundred yards wide, in the direction of the Neuse River. Company C was detailed for picket duty, and was posted on the farther side of the field.

Sunday morning, December 14, 1862, broke with a heavy fog on the banks of the Neuse River in Eastern North Carolina. However, by the time the sun had fairly risen the fog had disappeared, leaving the sky perfectly cloudless. The men of the Regiment had been routed up before daybreak and before they had finished breakfast sporadic firing ahead gave indication that the enemy was not far away. The 9th New Jersey, the skirmishing regiment, was deployed on the right of the main road leading to Kinston, and the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment was deployed to the left of the road. A section of Morrison's battery, of the 3d New York Artillery, supported by the 103d Pennsylvania Regiment, moved down the road, the right wing of the supporting regiment being on the right of the battery and the left wing to the left of the battery. The position chosen by the enemy was regarded by him as impregnable. The natural formation of the ground of itself, without artificial supplementing, was a formidable breastwork. This was protected on both flanks by the Neuse River, and in front by a deep
swamp, which extended in a semi-circular form from the river on the enemy's right to the river on his left, all of which was regarded by the enemy as impassable by troops. The swamp was filled with impenetrable clumps of bushes, making it impossible for troops to advance in any sort of alignment. The only practicable approach being the defile through which the Newbern-Kinston road crosses the swamp, and the enemy had this point so thoroughly covered by artillery and infantry that it could only have been carried by a useless waste of human life. So confident was the Confederate commanding general, Brig. Gen. N. G. Evans, that his position was impregnable that he telegraphed the Richmond authorities on Sunday morning as follows:

Gen. Foster attacked Kinston yesterday with 15,000 men and nine gunboats. I fought him ten hours. Have driven back his gunboats. His army is still in my front. I have only four regiments, and will await his attack this morning. I think I can hold my position.

The position chosen by the enemy was a mile east of Kinston, on the opposite bank of the Neuse River. The conformation of the ground was such that the Confederate commander had sufficient force to form a complete line of battle in a semi-circle around the approach of a bridge crossing' the Neuse River along the line of the main road between Newbern and Kinston, with two batteries of artillery, in position to sweep the defile through the swamp. The Federal commanding general and his subordinates were completely ignorant of the lay of the ground over which the attacking force had to approach the enemy's position. The 9th New Jersey in advancing on the enemy kept to the right of the main road, and Gen. Wessells ordered Col. Howell to advance through the woods to the left of the road. A section of Morrison's battery, of the 3d New York Artillery, was ordered to take position along the main road supported by the 103d Pennsylvania Regiment, the right wing of the latter being on the right of the road and the left wing to the left of the road. The 85th and 96th New York, and 101st Pennsylvania Regiments were ordered to feel the enemy on the extreme right. The 98d New York and 45th Massachusetts were sent forward to relieve or support the 9th New Jersey, the latter regiment having shifted to the extreme right. Later several regiments of the other brigades were sent forward to support Wessells' brigade, and the entire force moved gradually forward, converging toward the approach to the bridge, the only avenue by which the enemy could retreat, and realizing that they were about to be cut off from the bridge they broke in confusion and fled across the bridge, however, leaving between 400 and 500 behind, who waved a white flag as a token of surrender.

The bridge, which had been previously covered with inflammable material, was fired but the flames were soon subdued by the energetic action of Col. C. O. Gray, of the 96th New York Regiment, who was the first to dash with two companies of his regiment to the bridge. While giving directions to his men, a musket ball of the enemy pierced his breast, and a few moments later the gallant colonel was dead. The enemy retreated through Kinston and made no further attempt at making a stand until they had fallen back two miles beyond the town.
Wessells' brigade, the 9th New Jersey, and 17th Massachusetts Regiments were at once advanced to Kinston, and bivouacked in advance of the town. The Regiment's casualties were exceptionally light, 1 man killed, Private Thomas W. Cox, Company C, two mortally wounded; Corp. Charles K. Pullin, Company H, died January 1, 1863, and Private Samuel R. Daniels, Company H, died January 9, 1863, and five others wounded. M. L. Gordon, in his letter to the Waynesburg (Penna.) Messenger, in its issue of February 25, 1863, a portion of which already appears in this chapter, describes the battle of Kinston, as follows:

Sunday morning a brisk firing along the picket lines brought us to attention and we were soon on the move. There is a bridge across the Neuse about a mile below Kinston, and it was there that the rebel General Evans intended to repulse us. The 9th New Jersey was thrown forward as skirmishers to the right of the road and the 8th took the left, while Morrison's battery, with the 109th Pennsylvania as a support, advanced cautiously down the road. Soon the firing became quite lively and gave promise of a good day's work. It was now discovered that by throwing our forces considerably to the right of the swamp, perhaps the enemy could be flanked. Several regiments of our brigade were sent round the swamp, but the enemy stubbornly disputed the ground and it was only by the hardest fighting that they were compelled to give way. The fighting had now shifted to the extreme right and our Regiment was brought back near the battery, which was still advancing down the road. We were now nearly through the swamp, and the rebels were plainly visible about 150 yards distant. Just then the order, "forward, double quick," was given, and it would have done you good to see them going over the fence, and up through the corn field.

The rebels had excellent range of us, and threw a perfect shower of canister into our ranks; at the same time our forces on the right advanced, and the rebs gave way in confusion and broke for the bridge. They had covered the bridge with pitch, and, in their flight applied the torch. In an instant it was in flames, but our men rushed forward and extinguished the fire before the bridge had been damaged. It was here that the brave Col. Gray lost his life. While engaged in putting out the fire a rebel bullet pierced his breast, and he was borne off the field by his devoted men. He was a splendid officer, and his loss is deeply felt by both officers and men.

We captured 400 prisoners, 11 pieces of artillery, and a large quantity of small arms. Our loss was quite heavy, but our Regiment escaped, as if by a miracle. We lost two killed and seven wounded, while the Regiment on our immediate right lost eighty men. Our forces now entered Kinston. We found that the rebs had destroyed a large amount of corn and cotton on their retreat, and many of the women and children fled to the woods on our approach. They were, however, soon induced to return to their homes, and a few appeared glad to see the "Old Flag," and to hear the soul stirring notes of "Yankee Doodle" once more.

In his letter, published in the Washington (Penna.) Tribune and Reporter of March 11, 1863, a portion of which already appears in this chapter, Lieut. Col. Purviance gives a description of the battle, as follows:

On Sunday morning, about 9 o'clock, our advance encountered the enemy on the east side of the Neuse, near Kinston. They had formed their line of battle in the open fields of what had been an extensive cotton plantation lying along the river, and thrown their skirmishers forward into the woods by which these fields were surrounded, save on the river side. Their main force seemed to have been to the right of the Kinston road; that is, to our right. Here a dip in the ground, running parallel to our line of battle, afforded them an excellent cover, and enabled them, as we afterwards discovered at a fearful cost, to assail us with perfect safety to themselves. Our skirmishers were scarcely fairly en-
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gaged, when Gen. Wessells had made a suitable disposition of his six regiments. The 85th Regiment was sent forward into the woods on the left of the road, to feel for the enemy in that direction, and, if occasion offered, to turn his right. The 92d New York was sent forward into the woods to the right of the road, to support the 9th New Jersey. The 103d and 101st Pennsylvania and the 85th and 96th New York were held in hand for the moment, until the designs and position of the enemy should be more fully developed.

The 85th Pennsylvania moved straight forward with great difficulty, through a deep swamp; but finding the enemy's fire swinging farther round to the right, it moved over to the road by the right flank, when it was held for a few moments as a support to a battery, its right resting on the road. The 103d Pennsylvania was upon its right, and the 96th New York on the right of the 103d, the three regiments being formed in echelon, with the right, advanced. The 23d Massachusetts, 101st Pennsylvania, 85th New York and 10th Connecticut formed the second line. The 96th New York, pushing forward its right wing, swung round on the enemy's flank. When the movement was completed, its right rested on the river road, completely flanking the enemy in that direction, who now concentrated all their force against our center. The 10th Connecticut resolutely pushed forward into the first line, and advanced on the right of the 103d Pennsylvania. These regiments emerged from the woods into the open fields together, at the edge of which they were met by a withering fire from a heavy rebel force, screened and protected by the natural trough or dip of the ground, to which I have already referred. At and near this point the 103d Pennsylvania lost sixteen men killed, and forty-eight wounded. Besides the protection afforded by the peculiar conformation of the ground, the rebels were sheltered by a church in the open field near the edge of the woods, from the windows and corners of which was passed a stream of fire on our brave soldiers, who, despite the iron hail, drove the enemy from their position, and pushed those they could not capture beyond the bridge.

Simultaneously with the advance of the regiments to the right, the 85th Pennsylvania moved forward on the left driving the enemy from the woods in front. Upon passing into the open field, a battery of three pieces, on the opposite side of the stream, opened a heavy fire of grape and canister upon them. They advanced rapidly to the centre of the field, and then moved by the right flank across the road, in the face of a continuous and heavy fire from the enemy's battery, which was less than five hundred yards distant, losing only ten men wounded, three of them mortally.

At this time the enemy were retreating, rapidly and in great confusion, across the bridge, their artillery covering their flight. One of their colonels fell at the very entrance of the bridge, as he was hurrying forward his shattered and disordered column. The doomed incendiaries who were appointed to burn the bridge, fell as they applied the torch, and the blazing edifice became their funeral pyre. Our braves were on their heels. The 96th New York, advancing by the river road, was first at the bridge. Here, while spurning the flames in his eagerness to cross, Col. Gray was killed, and six of his men were wounded. But our brave lads passed over, emptying their canteens upon the flames as they sprang across, and actually extinguished them, although pitch and turpentine had been poured upon the timbers to ensure the work of destruction.

Very little remains to be told. We defeated a force of nearly six thousand rebels. We captured five hundred prisoners. We took eleven pieces of artillery. Wessells' brigade, the 9th New Jersey and the 10th Connecticut fought and won this battle.

Col. Howell, in his report of the battle says:

On December 14, instant, at the battle of Kinston, I was directed by the general, at the very commencement of the fight, to deploy my Regiment in line and move it forward through the woods and swamps which lay on the left of the road leading to Kinston. That order was promptly obeyed—as promptly as the almost impassable character of the ground admitted of. After getting through we came to the open field on the left of the road, on the line with the fire of the enemy and in advance of the fire from our side. We met with some of the enemy in our passage. I sent my adjutant back to inform the general of our position (having received an order to halt), and to ask for further orders. The adjutant
returned with orders to return to the road and there support the battery which was under the command of Capt. Morrison, which order was obeyed.

I found, however, a part of the left wing of the 103d Pennsylvania Volunteers directly in front of us. Our position was on the left of the battery and left of the road. Shortly afterward, in obedience to an order of Lieut. Beegle, aide to the general, I moved my Regiment, deployed in line of battle, forward, preceded by a part of the left wing of the 103d Pennsylvania Volunteers. On coming out of the wood and swamp we came to an open field in front of us, and there we received sharp, rapid and continuous fire from the enemy. I should think we were under fire there for an hour. We returned their fire as rapidly. The firing on our part was splendidly done. We then moved forward across the field, driving the enemy from the wood in front of us and from the church. We passed through the wood to a large open field lying between the wood and the river. The fire of the enemy during this time was very heavy, but the gallant officers and enlisted men of my Regiment and of that part of the 103d Pennsylvania Volunteers which was with us dashed forward, with a shout and cheers, through the fire without flinching.

When about midway over the field I discovered, by ascending a slight elevation which we were approaching, that my own Regiment and the 103d would be cut to pieces by pursuing that line, and that I should accomplish as much by moving to the right, which I did. We succeeded, as I have before stated, in driving the enemy from our front and from the position in the church. It gives me the greatest pleasure to refer the general to the gallant conduct of my officers and enlisted men in this engagement and to be able to speak in the very highest terms of their coolness, firmness and courage during the whole time of the fight. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, pp. 102, 103.]

Gen. Wessells describes the action of the brigade as follows:

On the following day (December 14) the line of march was resumed at an early hour and in the usual order. Heckman's skirmishers were soon engaged with the enemy's outposts, and to support him, I directed the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers to move through the wood on the left of the road with a view to act against the enemy's right. A section of Morrison's battery was also ordered forward, supported by the 103d Pennsylvania Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Maxwell, with directions to take a suitable position and open fire. The 85th New York, Lieut. Col. Wellman, was then thrown forward and to the right of the road, with instructions to engage the enemy on the flank and press him vigorously toward the left. His regiment was soon followed by the 101st Pennsylvania Volunteers, Maj. Taylor, and the 96th New York Volunteers, Col. Gray, with similar orders.

In the meantime being informed that a portion of the 9th New Jersey Volunteers were failing in ammunition I directed the 92d New York Volunteers, Col. Hunt, to move down the road to relieve or support Col. Heckman as circumstances might require. All these movements were executed by the several regiments with alacrity and precision, deserving the highest praise. My whole brigade was now in position before the enemy's line; the firing was heavy and almost incessant; the wounded were being rapidly brought to the rear, and the enemy, concealed by the wood, and posted behind an almost impassable swamp, maintained his position with stubborn obstinacy.

At this time, and on my application to the major-general commanding, I was re-enforced in succession by the 17th, 23d, and 45th Massachusetts Volunteers. These five regiments took their positions with the coolness and precision of veterans, and the whole line was then directed to advance and push the enemy at every point. The major-general commanding having arrived on the ground made further disposition of the troops and conducted the affair to a rapid and successful termination.

Under my orders to advance, the whole brigade, supported on the left by other regiments, moved gradually forward, converging toward the enemy's line of retreat, driving him from the church and throwing him back toward the bridge, over which the main body escaped, leaving several hundred prisoners in our hands. The retreat of the enemy was
closely followed by the 85th and 103d Pennsylvania Volunteers on the left (the latter suffering severely in crossing the open field, while the 96th and 85th New York and 101st Pennsylvania Volunteers charged from the right; the 92d moved along the road in support of the battery.

The bridge was fired in several places by the enemy and exposed to a destructive fire of artillery and musketry from the opposite bank, but every regiment, including those from other brigades seemed to vie with each other in emulation, and pressed forward with unflinching determination.

That gallant officer, Col. Gray, 90th New York Volunteers, with his face to the foe and the colors of his regiment first on the bridge, fell mortally wounded in the hour of victory. The flames were extinguished without serious injury to the bridge, and my brigade being reformed on the opposite bank of the river continued its march through the village of Kinston and bivouacked for the night on the Goldsborough road. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, pp. 96, 97.]

Maj. Gen. Foster's official report of the battle is as follows:

Sunday, the 14th instant, I advanced the column, and when about 1 mile from Kinston, encountered the enemy in strong force. They were posted in strong position in the wood, taking advantage of the ground, which formed a natural breastwork. Their position was secured on their right by a deep swamp and their left was partially protected by the river. The 9th New Jersey was deployed as skirmishers and Gen. Wessells' brigade, with Morrison's battery, 3d New York Artillery, was ordered to advance to the right and left of the road, the battery being sent to our extreme right supported by one of Gen. Wessells' regiments. Col. Amory's brigade was then advanced, the 17th Massachusetts Volunteers being sent to support Col. Heckman on the right, and two regiments (20d and 45th Massachusetts) advanced up the road. My artillery, (three batteries) I posted in a large field on the right of the road and about three-fourths of a mile in rear of our line of attack, the only position they could be placed in. I then ordered Col. Stevenson's brigade, with Belger's Rhode Island battery, forward. The 24th Massachusetts supported this battery, and the 5th Rhode Island, 10th Connecticut, and 44th Massachusetts were ordered forward, the two former on the left of the road and the latter on the right, to support the regiments there in pushing the enemy and turning that flank. The 10th Connecticut advanced steadily to the extreme front, relieving two of Wessells' regiments which were short of ammunition, and after receiving a terrible fire for some twenty minutes, made a most gallant charge in conjunction with the 90th Regiment New York Volunteers of Gen. Wessells' brigade, which, with the advance already made (slowly but surely) of the entire line forced the enemy to retreat precipitately for the bridge over the Neuse, which they crossed, firing the bridge, which had been prepared for the purpose.

Several regiments were so close, however, that about 400 prisoners were taken from the enemy. A line was formed to the river and the fire extinguished before great damage was done. The 9th New Jersey and 17th Massachusetts Regiments and Gen. Wessells' brigade were at once crossed, pushed into the town and halted. I ordered the bridge to be at once repaired for the crossing of cavalry and artillery. Gen. Evans retired about two miles from town with his command and formed line of battle. I sent a flag of truce to inquire whether he proposed to surrender. He declined. I immediately prepared to attack him, but knowing that he had three light batteries and one section to start with, was unwilling to sacrifice my men and waited for my artillery to cross. * * * Before I could attack the enemy they had retired, and it being by this time night I was unable to pursue; moreover, my object was accomplished. The troops bivouacked in the field beyond the town that night. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, pp. 55, 56.]

The total number of persons captured on the south bank of the Neuse River on December 14 was slightly in excess of 400. These prisoners were immediately
paroled on the battlefield, it being impossible to carry the prisoners with the army
on the forced marches, not only on account of the guard required, but also on
account of the limited supply of commissary stores with which the army was fur-
nished. The captured men agreed, in addition to parole signed by them, not to
leave the town of Kinston for 48 hours after the departure of the Federal troops
from that place. An exact copy of the list paroled was subsequently sent to

On Monday forenoon, the entire force under Gen. Foster retraced the line
of march of the previous day to the Kinston battlefield, recrossing the bridge and
advanced towards Goldsboro on the south bank of the Neuse River. After
covering 15 miles a halt was made about 9 o'clock P. M., the Regiment bivouac-
ing along the road until 9 o'clock A. M., Tuesday, December 16, when the advance
was resumed. As the head of the column approached the hamlet of Whitehall,
situated on the south bank of the Neuse River, consisting of two or three stores
and warehouses with a few dwellings stretched along a straggling street, the
enemy opened fire from the north shore of the Neuse River. During the previous
night the enemy had burned the bridge which spanned the river at this point, the
northern bank of which was bordered by a swamp in which there was a dense
growth of timber. A number of trees had been felled along the bank and in the
swamp which afforded admirable protection for the enemy's infantry. The 9th
New Jersey and Amory's brigade were formed along the south bank of the river
and opened fire, and several batteries were posted on a hill overlooking the
enemy's intrenchments which kept up a heavy artillery bombardment for over
an hour; in the meantime, Wessells' brigade passed on without making a halt,
along the main road, only two or three hundred yards from the enemy's sharp-
shooters, making a halt at night about eight miles from Goldsboro, the Regiment
bivouacking in a cornfield near a turnip patch and "potato hole."

Shortly after daybreak on Wednesday, December 17, Wessells' brigade was
in motion and during the forenoon was halted and formed in line of battle on
a hill overlooking the railroad, holding this position while the artillery, planted
near by, exchanged fire with the enemy's artillery on the opposite side of the
river. In the course of two or three hours the railroad bridge, crossing the Neuse
River near Goldsboro, was fired and several miles of railroad track torn up, thus
accomplishing the object of the expedition. Late in the afternoon Wessells' brigade
countermarched in the direction of Newbern and had covered nearly two
miles on the return march when the enemy charged upon the rear guard at the
railroad, Wessells' brigade was about faced and "double-quicked" to the scene of
action, remaining in line of battle until the artillery had all retired.

The brigade then resumed the countermarch, bivouacking on the same plan-
tation on which it had halted during the previous night. During the next day a
march of 20 miles was made. On Friday, December 19, the brigade passed the
battlefield of Kinston, bivouacking over night, six miles beyond, in the direction
of Newbern. On Saturday, march was resumed shortly after daybreak, the Regi-
mnt bivouacking over night about 13 miles from Newbern. At daybreak, Sunday, December 21, the column was in motion and at 1 o'clock P. M., the Regiment arrived at Newbern, and pitched camp at the outskirts of the town. The first three or four days after the Regiment returned to Newbern very little duty was required of the men, beyond the necessary daily details for guard and police duty, the men being allowed to have a complete rest from drill.

On December 24, clothing was issued, and while the men were thereby enabled to dress in holiday fashion for Christmas, they would have greatly preferred to have had a visit from the commissary, as most of them had empty haversacks on Christmas morning. However, about noon the commissary made his appearance and bread and meat were supplied for dinner. A well-attended prayer meeting was held in the Regimental camp, Christmas evening, at which Chaplain Theodore Bird, of the 103d Pennsylvania Regiment exhorted the men to prove true to their professed faith. On December 26, Gen. Foster issued the following order:

The commanding general desires to thank the troops under his command for the new proof of their courage and steadiness afforded by the recent expedition. The veteran brigade of Gen. Wessells and the troops of this department alike did their duty as soldiers well.

Under date of December 29, 1862, the following farewell address as brigade commander was issued by Gen. Wessells:

Having shared with this brigade its hardships and privations during the past seven months, it is with great reluctance that I have to announce my separation from its immediate command. The fortitude and cheerfulness exhibited by the several regiments under the most trying circumstances give proof of endurance and full confidence in future efforts. With harmony and good feelings, with bold self-reliance and mutual support you are invincible. You have won a name on fields of strife. Friends at home watch your footsteps with anxious eyes, and their hearts swell with emotions of pride and love when your name stands high on the bulletin. My associations have been agreeable and it will afford me the highest gratification to hear of your happiness and success, both as individuals and as a brigade.

These two orders were published in the Waynesburg (Penna.) Messenger, in its issue of February 11, 1863, accompanied by the following note from Col. Howell:

The editors will oblige me by publishing in their paper, the foregoing orders, for the gratification of the friends of the members of the 85th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, who are residents within the circulation of your paper. I will add that the 85th is the leading Regiment in Wessells' Brigade. Will you also state this fact?

Maj. Lewis Stackpole, Judge-Advocate and Brevt. Lieut. Col. U. S. V., read a paper before the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts on March 2, 1887, published in Vol. 9, Mass. Hist. Society Papers, in which the major made the following disparaging reference to Gen. Wessells and his brigade:

In addition to the nine months regiments there arrived a brigade commanded by Gen. Wessells from Casey's division of the Army of the Potomac, more recently with Gen. Peck at Suffolk. Although these troops had chiefly been known in connection with their move-
ment to the rear at Fair Oaks, they were pointed out to soldiers in the department as exemplars it would be well for them to imitate, and Gen. Wessells was always referred to as that old Veteran, the old reliable Wessells. As a matter of fact, he was a super-annuated army officer with little ability, and his men shone but dimly even when compared with the fresh levies from Massachusetts. They were ill-disciplined, and had a habit of straggling, which, when they became aware of firing at the front, amounted to positive genius. * * *

On Sunday, the 14th, the enemy were encountered in force. The 9th New Jersey was deployed as skirmishers, and Gen. Wessells' brigade sent in on the right, while a portion of Col. Amory's brigade advanced down a road leading to the enemy's right. * * * Gen. Wessells having sent in his four regiments, being unable to follow them unless he dismounted, and knowing little of their whereabouts, was riding helplessly about, like a brood hen without her chickens. Finding matters dragging in this way, Gen. Foster called up the 10th Connecticut, made them a short address, and ordered them to advance and attack the enemy without delay. He likewise directed a member of his staff to dismount and accompany them. The regiment advanced through the woods and swamp in line of battle and successively passed by three regiments formed in line in the woods, which appeared to be out of ammunition or in doubt about the order of battle. On reaching the border of the woods, where they were joined by some of the troops whom they had passed, the 10th Connecticut opened fire upon the enemy, who were strongly posted on the other side of a field about 75 yards in width, their center being an old church and some out buildings, through the windows of which they opened fire. After sustaining a very heavy fire for about twenty-five minutes, the 10th charged with a cheer, driving the enemy from their position down over the bridge over the Neuse, which had been prepared for burning and which they unsuccessfully endeavored to fire. Within a few minutes of the charge the 96th New York and 24th Massachusetts came from the woods on the other side of the road, and the 45th Massachusetts from the same side and took part in the pursuit. The loss of the 10th Connecticut was about one-third of their whole number and included nine commissioned officers.

Gen. Wessells' brigade consisted of six regiments, instead of four as stated by the valiant major, and these were distributed from the extreme right to the extreme left. At the time the 10th Connecticut advanced the 92d New York was supporting a portion of Morrison's battery of the 3d New York Artillery and the 103d Pennsylvania Regiment was engaging the enemy on both sides of the road leading to the bridge crossing the Neuse River. The 85th Regiment was on the extreme left, a portion of the right merged with the left companies of the 103d Regiment. Merged with the right of the 103d Regiment was the 45th Massachusetts, the colors of the two regiments being in close proximity to each other, to the right of the road, at a point where the enemy's artillery had a commanding sweep. It was at this point the 10th Connecticut advanced, not marching erect after crossing the swamp, as might be inferred from the official reports, but cautiously creeping forward, as it was certain death to stand erect a moment at this point. It was not until the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment on the left and the 96th New York Regiment on the extreme right closed in on the enemy, that the fire of the enemy was diverted from this position, making it possible for the center to advance, and by the time these regiments had been segregated from each other the enemy was broken and was fleeing in confusion. Lieut. Col. Leggett, in command of the 10th Regiment says in the report:

According to an order received from Gen. Foster I advanced my regiment over three regiments already formed in line in the woods. On reaching the second line the regiment came under a severe fire from the enemy, but went steadily forward to the first line, which
was engaged with the enemy and somewhat in disorder. The regiment formed in line with the advance and opened fire upon the enemy. After being under fire about thirty minutes the fire of the regiment was directed to the bridge, across which the enemy were retreating and which they were endeavoring to burn. In some five minutes the enemy broke and my regiment moved at a double quick down the road. A portion of the enemy formed in line of battle in a corn field on the opposite side of the bridge and opened fire on us as we came on. Immediately on taking the bridge, where we captured about 50 of the enemy, we extinguished the flames. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 84.]

Lieut. Col. Leggett makes no claim of passing the first line, but refers to it as being "somewhat in disorder," which was true, due to two reasons, the configuration of the ground, and the position of the enemy. However, the lieutenant-colonel does not claim to have remedied the "disorder" further than "the regiment formed in line with the advance," &c.

The 85th Pennsylvania Regiment, and part of the left wing of the 103d Pennsylvania Regiment, formed the front line on the left of the Kinston road and at no time was any of the 10th Connecticut merged in or near the 85th Regiment until after the enemy was routed.

The farewell order of Gen. Wessells was due to his promotion to the command of a division, thus severing his close relations with the men he commanded at Seven Pines and with whom he also covered the retreat of the fleeing Army of the Potomac from Malvern Hill to Harrison's Landing. Although his promotion did not immediately or completely separate him from his old brigade, he felt, as did the officers and men, that the bond formed between them henceforth would not be so close as it had been.

As Gen. Wessells has been designated as "a super-annuated army officer with little ability," a brief sketch of his military career should be of interest. He was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, February 20, 1809. He graduated from West Point Military Academy in 1833. He served in the Seminole Indian War of 1837-40; also in the Mexican War. In recognition of distinguished services in the latter war, the State of Connecticut presented him with a jewelled sword, the presentation being made with military ceremony. He served continuously in the regular army and was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers April 25, 1862. He, and a portion of the brigade to which the 85th Regiment had belonged during the Peninsular Campaign and Goldsboro expedition, surrendered to an over-whelming force of the enemy at Plymouth, N. C., April 20, 1864. He was paroled on August 3, 1864; was appointed Inspector and Commissary General of Prisoners with headquarters at Washington, D. C., on November 11, 1864; was brevetted brigadier-general of the regular army on March 13, 1865; retired from the service January 1, 1871; died January 12, 1889, lacking but a few weeks of being an octogenarian. Maj. Stackpole, who had no acquaintance whatever with Gen. Wessells, has passed his opinion of the general's ability. The official records of the navy department give the recorded opinion of one of the bravest naval commanders who fell during the Civil War, Lieutenant-Commander Charles W. Flusser, who had an intimate acquaintance with Gen. Wessells. In an official communication to his superior commander, Acting Rear-Admiral Lee, dated April 6, 1864, Lieut.-Com. Flusser says:
BRIG. GEN. HENRY W. WESSELS.
I have the information * * * from Gen. Wessells. Where he obtained it I do not know, but he deems it reliable, and he, I think, is always correct. He certainly possesses the art, in a greater degree than any one else I know, of sifting evidence, reconciling or rejecting conflicting stories, and seizing the truth and the importance from out of a wordy mass of seeming irrelevant talk. [O. R., N. W., Series 1, Vol. 9, p. 587.]

Gen. Peck's testimony as to the conduct of Gen. Wessells, while in charge of the rear guard of the Army of the Potomac, during a most crucial period in the history of that army will bear repetition here:

Gen. Wessells' has labored most faithfully night and day since I joined the division, and displayed the greatest interest in the service under very critical circumstances. In the midst of difficulties and dangers his judgment seemed most reliable.

Gen. Wessells always possessed the full confidence of the officers and men under him, and it was with no little regret that the officers and men of the 85th Regiment left his command. On New Years day the Regimental camp was moved east of the Trent River about three miles from Newbern. Chaplain J. P. Caldwell arrived at the Regiment on New Years day, and made an exhortation address at prayer-meeting the night after his arrival. Chaplain Caldwell's first sermon to the Regiment was preached in camp east of Trent River on Sunday, January 4, 1863, from the text, "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul." Matthew, Chap. 16; verse 26. Under date of January 6, 1863, Col. Howell addressed the following communication to Adjutant General A. L. Russell, Harrisburg, Penna.:

"I have the honor to present to you the following names for promotion and commissions: 1st Lieut. William H. Kerr to be captain of Company A, to fill vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Capt. Vankirk; commission to date from November 7, 1862. 1st Sergt. Socrates McGregor to be first lieutenant to fill vacancy occasioned by the promotion of Lieut. Kerr; commission of same date.

2d Sergt. James M. Welch to be second-lieutenant to fill vacancy occasioned by the resignation of 2d Lieut. Robert J. Wishart; commission to date from November 20, 1862.

2d Lieut. Absalom S. Dial to be 1st Lieut. of Company B, to fill vacancy occasioned by the resignation of 1st Lieut. J. Murphy, commission to date from December 4, 1862.

2d Lieut. Ross R. Sanner to be first-lieutenant of Company H; commission to date from the time of Lieut. W. E. Beall's commission as Regimental Quartermaster (I think June 3, 1862).

3d Sergt. Norman B. Ream to be second-lieutenant, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the promotion of Lieut. Sanner; commission same date.

I respectfully ask that his Excellency, the Governor, will cause these commissions to be forwarded at the earliest moment.

Conforming to Col. Howell's request, the following action was taken by Gov. Curtin:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, MILITARY DEPARTMENT,
HARRISBURG, Feb. 7, 1863.

SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH: Commissions should be issued as follows:
Edward Campbell, Fayette County; Major, to date from September 6, 1862;
William W. Kerr, Washington County, Captain Company A, to date from November 8, 1862;
Socrates McGregor, 1st Lieutenant Company A, to date from November 8, 1862;
James M. Welch, 2d Lieutenant, Company A, to date from November 20, 1862; Absalom S. Dial, 1st Lieutenant, Company B, to date from December 4, 1862; David Wood Shields, 2d Lieutenant, Company B, to date from December 4, 1862; Ross R. Sanner, Somerset County; 1st Lieutenant, Company H, to date from August 15, 1862; Norman B. Ream, Somerset County, 2d Lieutenant, Company H, to date from August 15, 1862.

By order of the Governor,

ROBERTS, A. D. C.

Lieutenant Ream, whose commission was issued in compliance with the foregoing order, was the youngest commissioned officer in the Regiment, and was among the very youngest commissioned officers in the service during the Civil War, if not the very youngest officer commissioned from the ranks. This question is raised by Adjutant Elbridge J. Copp, 3d New Hampshire Regiment, in his “Reminiscences of the Rebellion,” issued in 1911. In a lengthy preface to this work, Mr. Copp makes claim that he was the youngest commissioned officer so far as known, who rose from the ranks. He comes to that conclusion after some years of investigation. In substantiation of this claim he says, “I was commissioned on January 1, 1863, five months and eight days after my eighteenth birthday.” Lieut. Ream’s commission was issued three months and two days after his eighteenth birthday, but its provisions carried it back to take effect two months and twenty days before he had reached his eighteenth year. Although the youngest non-commissioned officer in his company [H], his promotion to a lieutenancy was the unanimous choice of the rank and file of his company, his comrade file-closers acceding to his promotion without protest although many years his senior in age. During the charge of the Regiment on the enemy at Kinston, Col. Howell, who had noticed young Ream’s activity in hurriedly aligning the Regiment preparatory to the charge, addressed him in presence of the company, saying: “Hereafter, sir, consider yourself first-lieutenant of your company,” although, at that time there was no such vacancy in the company.

During the last week of December, 1862, the Eighteenth Army Corps was organized in compliance with General Orders, No. 214, dated War Department, A. G. O., December 24, 1862, as follows:

By direction of the President the troops in North Carolina will constitute the Eighteenth Army Corps, and Major General John G. Foster is assigned to the command.

On December 28, Gen. Foster issued an order (G. O. 84) announcing the organization of a division and unattached brigades, and their commanders. Brig. Gen. Wessells was assigned to the command of the First Division consisting of two brigades, viz.: First Brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. Lewis C. Hunt; Second Brigade, by Col. Thomas G. Stevens. The 85th Regiment was assigned to the First Brigade, which included five other regiments, viz.: 85th, 92d and 96th New York, and 101st and 103d Pennsylvania. The new brigade commander, Gen. Hunt, was graduated from West Point in 1847, and served in the Mexican War and had been an officer in the 4th Infantry until May 21, 1862, when he was appointed colonel of the 92d New York; ten days later he was severely wounded.
at the battle of Seven Pines and had but recently returned to his command, in
time to participate in the Goldsboro campaign. He soon relinquished his connec-
tion with the 18th Corps, and was assigned to command a draft rendezvous at
New Haven, Conn., remained there from July, 1863, to March, 1864; after three
months' duty in Missouri and Kansas he was assigned to command the defenses
of New York Harbor, remaining there until 1866; from New York Harbor
defenses he was transferred to the regular army, in which he continued to serve
until his death, which occurred at Fort Union, New Mexico, September 6, 1886,
at the age of 63 years.

Companies A and F arrived at Newbern and rejoined the Regiment about
sunset on January 6, after an absence of four months and a week. On January 8,
Gen. Hunt, the new brigade commander, reviewed the troops of his command.
Soft bread was issued to the Regiment. Chaplain Caldwell conducted prayer
meeting in the evening. On January 9, the respective companies of the Regiment
had company drill during the forenoon; Col. Howell commanded the Regiment
during the afternoon in battalion drill from 2 to 4 P. M.; January 10 was a
rainy day, and with the exception of details for guard duty the men were per-
mitted to rest in their quarters. On Sunday, January 11, there was the usual
Sunday inspection in the morning and dress parade in the evening. Preaching at
2 P. M., by Chaplain Caldwell who took his text from 2 Timothy, Chap. 2; Ver.
3: "Endure hardships, as a good soldier." On January 12, it was rumored in
camp that Col. Howell was promoted to be brigadier-general. The 18th Corps
having been augmented by an additional force from Gen. Dix' command, it was
reorganized in January into five divisions; the First Division, commanded by
Brig. Gen. I. N. Palmer; Second Division, commanded by Brig. Gen. Henry M.
Naglee; Third Division, commanded by Brig. Gen. Orris S. Ferry; Fourth Divi-
sion, commanded by Brig. Gen. Henry W. Wessells; Fifth Division, commanded
by Brig. Gen. Henry Prince; Artillery Brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. James
H. Ledlie. The 85th Regiment was assigned to the Second Brigade of the Third
Division, commanded by Gen. Ferry, which consisted of two brigades, the First
Brigade, commanded by Col. Francis A. Osborn (24th Mass.), comprising the
39th Ill., 62d and 67th Ohio and 176th Pennsylvania. Second Brigade, com-
manded by Col. Joshua B. Howell, comprising the 56th New York; 58th, 85th

Col. Howell appointed two officers of his Regiment on his staff, viz.: Adju-
tant S. L. McHenry as assistant adjutant-general, and Quartermaster W. E. Beall
as brigade quartermaster. Lieut. Lewis Watkins, Company E, was appointed
acting adjutant and Lieut. John E. Michener, Company D, as acting quar-
termaster of the Regiment.

On January 13, the Regiment moved across the Trent River and encamped
between two and three miles from Newbern, on the bank of the Trent River, on
the plantation of Nicholas Berry, the site of the camp having been planted in corn
the previous season. Lieut. Col. Purviance being in temporary command of the
101st Pennsylvania Regiment, Capt. Abraham, Company G, assumed command
of the 85th Regiment. There was dress parade the first day in the new camp, and prayer-meeting in the evening. On January 15, 1863, the following general orders (No. 18) were issued from the 18th Army Corps headquarters:

In consideration of and as a reward for their brave deeds at Kinston, White Hall, and Goldsborough, the commanding general directs that the regiments and batteries which accompanied the expedition to Goldsborough inscribe upon their banners those three victories.

Kinston, December 14, 1862,
White Hall, December 16, 1862,
Goldsborough, December 17, 1862.

The commanding general hopes that all future fields will be so fought that the record of them may be kept by inscription on the banners of the regiments engaged. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, p. 60.]

During the remainder of the Regiments’ stay at Newbern, whenever the weather was not too inclement there was drill by companies in the forenoon and battalion drill in the afternoon, and dress parade in the evening, and rarely was there an evening when the weather would permit that prayer-meeting was not held in camp.

On Sunday, January 18, Chaplain Caldwell was too ill to conduct religious service. During this, the last week at Newbern, an attempt was made twice for a review of the division, but, owing to the inclemency of the weather, it was abandoned. Several days during the week the Regiment was engaged in skirmish drill. On January 23, orders were issued to have cartridge boxes replenished with ammunition, and three days’ rations in haversacks and to be in readiness to move at any moment. Sunday, January 25, was an ideal winter morning for the eastern coast of North Carolina, following a week of rainy, inclement weather. The various companies of the Regiment had been inspected and immediately afterward six days’ rations were issued, accompanied by orders for the men to have three days’ rations cooked and in haversacks, the remainder to be put in boxes, and to hold themselves in readiness to move. At 3 P. M., religious service was held in camp, Chaplain Caldwell preaching a practical sermon from Proverbs, Chap. 23; Ver. 26: “My son give me thy heart; and let thine eyes delight in my ways.” Shortly after dark orders were given to strike tents and the Regiment marched into Newbern, and after midnight boarded a train at the depot on the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, arriving before daybreak, January 26, at Morehead City, twenty miles distant from Newbern.
Saint Helena Island

CHAPTER XII.

DEPARTURE FROM NORTH CAROLINA.—CONTROVERSY BETWEEN GENERALS HUNTER AND FOSTER.—CAMP LIFE AT SAINT HELENA ISLAND, S. C.

FROM JANUARY 26 TO MARCH 25, 1863.

The re-enforcements sent to Gen. Foster after the organization of the 18th Corps were to strengthen his command with the purpose of having him attack Wilmington, N. C., in co-operation with a naval fleet. While preparations were under way for sending the expedition to Wilmington the loss of the Monitor made this impracticable, as it was the only iron-clad vessel in service of sufficient light draught to enter the new inlet of Cape Fear River. Gen. Foster was then ordered to send the expedition to South Carolina and co-operate with Admiral Dupont in attacking the defences of Charleston. The troops, as well as the commanding officers, were kept in absolute ignorance of the change of the destination of the expedition, although elaborate rules and regulations were issued to division commanders before the troops left Newbern to govern the embarkation of the troops, to be in the following order:

First, Gen. Naglee's division; second, Gen. Wessells' division; [subsequently Gen. Wessells' division was ordered to remain in the Department of North Carolina]; third, Gen. Terry's division. The vessel will be ordered to the wharf, and immediately on her arrival the troops, baggage, and camp equipage destined for her will be placed on board with as little delay as possible, when the vessel will immediately leave the dock and anchor in the harbor. The baggage and camp equipage of the regiments will be placed on board the same vessel with the troops. The baggage for the men will consist only of their tents (shelter tents if possible, knapsacks and cooking utensils, camp kettles); that of the officers of only one trunk, valise or carpet-bag and mess kit; no heavy mess chests will be allowed. The men will be provided with three days cooked rations, in haversacks, and 40 rounds of ammunition in cartridge boxes, before leaving New Berne; 40 rounds of additional ammunition for each man, in boxes, will also be placed on the vessel. After embarkation * * * a guard must be placed over the fresh water, so that it may only be used for cooking (by order of the proper authority) and for drinking. Officers and men must alike use salt water for washing purposes. [O. R., W. D., Vol. 18, p. 516.]

It was planned to have the expedition move early in January, but through various causes the fleet did not sail from Beaufort Harbor until January 29. On January 17, Gen. Foster notified Gen. Halleck that he had not been able to embark owing to the non-arrival of siege ammunition and water, "but am now embarking, and will continue until I am all ready and then start at once." Three days later, January 20, he informed Gen. Halleck that

Naglee's division is embarked at Beaufort. The other divisions will embark as soon as their transports reach Beaufort. I shall sail as soon as all are on board, probably by Friday or Saturday.
Although it was 1 o'clock A. M., on Monday, January 26, when the train bearing the Regiment left Newbern, it did not arrive at Morehead City, only twenty miles distant, until 4 A. M. Lieut. Col. Purviance, on account of illness, remained at Newbern, Capt. Abraham, of Company G, commanding the Regiment. Morehead City was then the terminus of the railroad, and, although denominated a city, contained less than two score frame houses. The depot and wharf were substantial structures, built on cast-iron piles, with a double track running out to the end of the wharf, one on each side, with sufficient water for vessels of large tonnage to lie alongside to receive or discharge cargo, with a water depth of 25 to 30 feet. East of Morehead City was the town of Beaufort, on the opposite side of Beaufort Harbor, and on the southern shore was Fort Macon, the surrender of which, April 26, 1862, was the culminating victory of the Burnside expedition. Beaufort Harbor is the first one of any importance south of the Chesapeake Capes, and in the days of light-draft sailing vessels before the war, it was of considerable importance. While the channel afforded a depth of 25 and 30 feet inside the harbor there is a bar at the entrance, when at times there is only 15 feet. Since the war the railroad from Morehead City has been extended to Beaufort across the harbor on a pile trestle.

The Regiment began embarking about seven o'clock A. M., January 26, on the steam transports, Ranger and Port Royal, but later in the day Companies A, B, D and F were transferred to the Maple Leaf. Accompanying the Regiment were the other regiments of the brigade, all under the command of Col. Howell.

The embarkation of ten thousand troops, with baggage and camp equipage, artillery and horses was no easy task, as many of the troops were carried out to the large transports in tug-boats, a high wind making it impracticable for heavy draught vessels to come to the wharf. After the embarkation of the troops, the last of whom were on board on Tuesday afternoon, January 27, the vessels would move out into the harbor and cast anchor. The day the Regiment embarked was an ideal winter day for the eastern coast of North Carolina, but on Tuesday morning a cold drizzly rain made it disagreeable on deck and on Wednesday morning a gale had set in, and the tempestuous rolling billows mountain high, on the Atlantic did not presage a pleasant voyage to the men on board the fleet, especially as the rolling of the vessels at anchor in the harbor were giving many of them a foretaste of what was to be expected when these vessels would be riding over mountains and valleys of water. The wind abating somewhat on Thursday, January 29, although a light rain was falling, about 4 P. M. anchor was weighed, the vessels containing the Regiment passing Fort Macon a little before 5 o'clock, the Maple Leaf being the eighth vessel of the fleet to leave the harbor. Col. W. W. H. Davis, in command of a brigade of the expedition, describes the departure of the fleet as follows:

The signal to get under way was made about noon, and immediately the transports hove up their anchors and stood down the harbor. The sailing vessels took the lead, and it was an unusually fine sight to see them hoist their sails like birds spreading their wings, and glide away over the glittering waters. The steamers followed in the wake of the flagship, which passed out over the bar at 5 P. M., and turned to the southward. When fairly
over the bar I counted thirty vessels in sight, deployed in a semi-circle of several miles in extent.

When it became dark there was presented one of the most charming sights I have ever witnessed at sea. Each steamer carried at the mast-head a signal lamp that she might be distinguished in the darkness; and the many colored lights thus displayed behind us resembled an illuminated avenue lit up by fairy hands. The motion of the vessels as they were swayed to and fro by the moving waters added greatly to the picturesqueness of the scene. This watery avenue of variegated lights followed us through the night, now and then a vessel dropping so far astern that the glimmer of her lamp could hardly be distinguished from the twinkle of the most distant star.

Our course was parallel with, and about twenty miles from the coast. In the morning there were only five or six steamers of the whole fleet in sight, all the sailing vessels having been left far behind in the night. When off the mouth of Cape Fear river, on which Wilmington is situated, the secret instructions were opened, and our destination made known for the first time. This was found to be Hilton Head, on Port Royal Bay, South Carolina.

Lacking one day of two weeks the 85th Regiment remained aboard the steamers on which it had embarked on Monday forenoon, January 26, not touching the land until Sunday, February 8. The best conception of life during this voyage obtainable is found in Com. Sergt. John B. Bell's diary, from which a few extracts follow:

Jan. 26, '63. We embarked on the Port Royal and were transferred to the Steamer Maple Leaf at 2 P. M. with Co's. B, D and F. The boys were rather noisy for some time after getting on board.

Jan. 29, Raining this morning. We lay in the harbor until 4 P. M. when the expedition put to sea. Gen. Foster passed our vessel just before anchor was weighed There are about twelve large steamers and a great many smaller vessels and a number of schooners in the expedition. We were the eighth vessel to pass Fort Macon, but were not long in passing all those in advance except the Convoy, said to be owned by the Adams Express Co., and on board of which were a number of women of the Christian Commission.

Jan. 29. Three days' rations of salt beef, commonly termed "salt horse," by the boys, was issued to the men.

Jan. 30. We are quartered in the lower cabin and I awoke in the early part of the night nearly suffocated. A water cask had rolled in front of my bunk—in the lower tier (three tiers in all in the cabin), and sending it to the other side of the cabin by a heave. I soon made my way to the deck for fresh air, but immediately began to heave "Jonah" and say "New York," with a vengeance. At 11 A. M. we passed Wilmington, N. C.

Jan. 31. At day break we passed Charleston Harbor, having a good view of Fort Moultrie, but Fort Sumpter was not discernible. A shot from one of the blockading squadron passed in our front as a warning that we were getting too close to the danger line. At 3 P. M. we cast anchor in Port Royal Harbor. We drew five days' rations of coffee and sugar and three days of hard tack and salt beef. The boys are busy skirmishing for "greybacks," as we have had a hard time keeping them under control since we came on board; the boat was alive with them. Had it not been for these pests, notwithstanding the sea-sickness, we would have had a pleasant voyage.

Sabbath, Feb. 1. Chaplain Caldwell held religious services, preaching to the soldiers in the morning, and again in the evening, the latter sermon being directed to the sailors, although the audience was chiefly made up of soldiers.

Feb. 2. Drew one ration of fresh beef.

Feb. 3. Drew potatoes and salt and had potato soup for a change. The boys have become very fond of playing cards.
Feb. 4. The Maple Leaf moved towards the land and farther into the harbor, passing
two large war vessels, one carrying 64 guns (the Wabash) and the other 84. I think the
latter was the Vermont.

Feb. 5. Drew five days' rations of coffee, sugar, rice and potatoes; three days hard
bread and salt beef. Moved down the harbor nearer the Ocean.

Feb. 6. Stormy and wet; drew a ration of soft bread. The Paymaster came on board
this evening. John R. Kline and I are cooking salt beef tonight by running a steam pipe
into the barrel. A fine way of cooking salt beef.

Feb. 7 Signed pay roll today. The men at first refused to sign because of deductions
for clothing, drawn in excess of that provided for in Army Regulations, but after some
delay, decided nothing was to be gained by refusing. The dissatisfaction was due to the
fact that clothing over drawn was to replace clothing unavoidably lost through the casualties
of war for which they were in no sense responsible.

Feb. 8, Sabbath. Chaplain Caldwell held religious services preaching from Jer. 8 Chap.
and 22 ver. "Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there? The closing hymn,
"There is a fountain, &c," was being sung when the vessel started for the landing and the
service was brought to an abrupt closing at the end of the second verse. We landed on
St. Helena Island, north of the harbor, and pitched camp on the banks of the Broad river
about five miles from Hilton Head.

Before the Regiment disembarked from the transports on which the men had
been confined for nearly a fortnight the officers and men were both made glad by
the appearance of Major E. L. Moore, paymaster. However, when the rolls
were presented to the men they were not so anxious to sign them as on former
occasions, and they hesitated and protested quite vehemently before doing so.
At the battle of Seven Pines on May 31, 1862, they had lost everything except
what they were wearing, through no fault of themselves; again before leaving
Harrison's Landing they were ordered to pack all their effects into their knapsacks,
except what they were wearing, and these were placed on board a barge
or some kind of transport on the James River, near Harrison's Landing, and
before the transport reached Yorktown it had been sunk, and by the time it was
raised and the men had received their knapsacks they found everything to be
utterly worthless. Some of the men had drawn in excess of the allowance nearly
all of the four months pay they received although six months were due them.
A "High Private," under date, Hilton Head, S. C., February 11, 1863, wrote to
the Waynesburg (Pa.) Messenger, March 11, 1863, of this incident as fol-
lows:

The paymaster paid us a visit last week, but his presence did not create the pleasure it
generally does. We expected to be paid up to December 31, at least, but he would only pay
to October, and what was worse, we would have to pay for the clothing lost during the
past year. This would so reduce our receipts that we would have little, if any, to remit
to our friends. It is to explain this that this letter is written.

When we left Camp LaFayette we were supplied with a uniform complete, many taking
shirts, socks, shoes, &c, when they did not need them, merely because they supposed they
had to take them and there was no one to tell them better. This made our account $28.00
to begin on, and we were only allowed $42.00 for a year.

This was followed by the account of the losses of clothing which occurred at
Seven Pines and on the transports. That ten thousand troops should be kept
huddled in transports for eight consecutive days in a harbor where the landing
facilities were most favorable would indicate that they were held there to meet an expected emergency. But the record speaks differently. Whether it was due merely to misunderstandings, or to petty jealousy and rivalry between the commanding generals of the 10th and 18th corps the official record will have to decide. When the troops arrived at Port Royal Harbor Gen. Naglee was in command of the expeditionary forces, Gen. Foster not yet having arrived. On the day the fleet arrived Gen. Hunter requested Gen. Naglee to land the troops on Saint Helena Island, but the latter suggested that as Gen. Foster was expected to arrive at any minute, it would, perhaps, be better to await his coming. [See Hunter's letter to Naglee Feb. 12, '63, O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, p. 405].

Gen. Foster arrived a day or two later, February 2, and on February 7, issued an order indicating that he expected to act independent of orders from Gen. Hunter. The order was as follows:

During the temporary absence of Gen. Foster the detachment of the Eighteenth Army Corps in the department will be under the command of Brig. Gen. Naglee. As the detachment is only intended to co-operate with the troops in this department the command will be considered distinct. The troops will be immediately landed at Saint Helena Island and the transports will be thoroughly cleansed and supplied afresh with subsistence stores, coals and water for ten days. Requisition will be made on the Quartermaster's Department for surfboats and scows, which will be put in order for the disembarkation for troops. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, p. 395.]

That it was Gen. Foster's expectation to be the commanding general of the forces co-operating with the navy is made clear in a confidential communication to Gen. Naglee, supplementary to his orders of the 7th of February, in which he said:

I now write this note to inform you in confidence that it is understood by Gen. Hunter and myself that the immediate command of the whole force to operate in the present expedition is to be in my hands. This is also the wish of the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton. Of course in my absence, after the opening of the operations, you will be second in command only to myself of the operating force. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, p. 408.]

The following day, February 8, the troops disembarked and encamped on Saint Helena Island, remaining there until April 1. The disagreement between Gen. Hunter and Gen. Foster might not be germane to a regimental history, were it not for the fact that in the correspondence arising from it, Gen. Hunter, in a letter to Gen. Halleck casts uncalled for reflections on the troops of the division to which the 85th Regiment was an integral part. In his report to the Joint Congressional Committee Gen. Foster lauded these troops in the highest terms, crediting them as being the best disciplined in his command. In a letter to Gen. Halleck, under date of February 17, Gen. Hunter refers to them in the following terms:

I find, with the exception of Gen. Naglee's division, that the re-enforcements received from North Carolina are in a greatly demoralized and undisciplined condition, and are far inferior on the average to the original troops of this department, who, during the long and for the most part peaceful period of their service here have attained very high excellence in all soldierly qualities of drill and discipline. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, p. 104.]
Such an imputation on the brigade and division to which the 85th Regiment belonged makes it necessary to present a brief history of the contention between the commanding generals of the 10th and 18th Army Corps, not with any purpose of passing judgment as to the merits of the controversy, but merely to show that Gen. Hunter, in passing censorious comments on gallant troops before he or his staff officers had taken the trouble to inspect them, or even to pass through their camp, must have had them suggested to him by "extraneous influences."

Gen. Foster arrived at Hilton Head at 9 A.M., February 2, and remained until 8 A.M., February 10. On his arrival he called on Gen. Hunter, and subsequently on Admiral Dupont. He learned from the latter that it would be at least a fortnight before the naval fleet would be in readiness to co-operate with the troops in an attack, and left for Fortress Monroe, after reconnoitering the coast from Charleston to the Ogeechee. His object in visiting Fortress Monroe was to obtain heavy guns and ammunition. The same day that Gen. Foster left Hilton Head, an aide-de-camp of Gen. Hunter called on Gen. Naglee with a communication from Col. Halpine, assistant-adjutant general of the 10th Army corps. Gen. Naglee had been left in temporary command of the troops in South Carolina from the 18th Corps during the absence of Gen. Foster. Col. Halpine's communication was a request for an immediate report of the number of troops in Gen. Naglee's command. Gen. Naglee made this report under protest, claiming it to be in direct violation of the written and verbal orders of Gen. Foster. On the 11th of February Gen. Naglee followed his protest with a lengthy statement in which he said that Gen. Foster, prior to his departure, ordered that "during his temporary absence his detachment should be kept distinct" and detached from those of the Tenth Corps, and further stated that he had come to South Carolina for an especial purpose, and that as soon as that was accomplished, if not before, it would return to his department, and that it was expressly understood between Gen. Hunter and himself that the immediate command of the force to operate in the present expedition was to be in his hands, in accordance with the wish of the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, pp. 398-400.] To relieve him from "further responsibility and embarrassments," Gen. Naglee closed his statement by asking, Gen. Hunter to formally announce "his intention to assume the command of the troops brought to South Carolina by Gen. Foster." On the same day, February 11, Gen. Hunter promulgated General Orders No. 13, [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, p. 397] in which he assumed command of the re-enforcements recently arrived from North Carolina, such troops, on their arrival here having become a portion of the Tenth Army Corps. This order provided for Naglee's and Ferry's divisions remaining intact as then organized and designated Gen. Naglee as commander of the forces on Saint Helena Island, with the exception of those stationed at Bay Point, who had been there previous to the arrival of Gen. Foster's troops. Gen. Foster receiving a copy of Gen. Naglee's protest, submitted it to the Secretary of War, and on February 15, Gen. Halleck, in a letter to Gen. Hunter, a copy of which was furnished Gen. Foster at the same time, decided the position of the two commanding officers as follows:
There seems to be a misunderstanding in this matter on both sides. Gen. Foster and his command, while serving in your department, was to be subject to your general orders and directions; but that command was to form no part of the Tenth Army Corps. It was organized as the Eighteenth Army Corps by the President, and no subordinate authority could change its organizations. You will therefore rescind so much of your orders as consolidates it with the Tenth Corps. But while this command remains as a distinct organization, with its own officers, as assigned by its proper chief, the command itself, so long as it remains in your department, will be subject to your orders.

The transportation which belongs to the 18th Army Corps will so continue. It will, of course, be used for any temporary purposes you may direct, but you will afterward be restored to the North Carolina forces, to which it properly belongs. In fine, general, these forces are merely assigned for temporary duty under your orders, and their organization, both in men and material, will be retained, so that the corps can at any time be returned entire (except casualties) to its proper department. Gen. Foster will, as you requested, immediately return to South Carolina to take the direct charge of the expedition (under your direction), and will remain so long as he may deem it safe to be absent from his own department. This letter has been submitted to the Secretary of War and to the President, and is approved by them. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, p. 400-1.]

On even date with the foregoing letter of Gen. Halleck, Gen. Hunter wrote to him that,

As the conduct of Maj. Gen. Foster has been disrespectful, insubordinate, and tending to excite mutiny and insubordination among the troops ordered to re-enforce this department, in this matter I shall deem it my duty should Gen. Foster return here, immediately to arrest him. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, p. 396.]

In replying to this, under date of February 16, Gen. Halleck says:

If Gen. Foster or any part of the 18th Army Corps while in your department shall attempt to act independently of your authority or in violation of proper orders from you they will be liable to censure and punishment. But it is not understood that Gen. Foster makes any such claim; on the contrary, on being furnished with a copy of my letter to you of yesterday, he expressed himself entirely satisfied, as he considered himself and his corps, while in your department subject to your orders. Your threatened arrest of Gen. Foster is therefore disapproved.

It is to be regretted, general, that on the eve of important movements, when the most cordial co-operation of all the officers of the Government is imperatively required, anything should be permitted to occur which is calculated to disturb the harmony of the service. If the plans of the Government should fail to be carried out for want of harmony, those who have endangered or fostered animosities and jealousies will incur a very serious responsibility.

Gen. Naglee’s protest to you being disapproved, the Secretary of War has directed that he be relieved from duty in your department.” [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, pp. 400-401.]

On February 24, Gen. Hunter replied to the foregoing communication at some length, and with considerable spirit, inclosing a certified copy of Gen. Foster’s secret instructions to Gen. Naglee. Among other things he said:

Your remarks with regard to those who have fostered animosities and jealousies I do not take to myself. I hope they were not [obviously not was used inadvertently] intended for another quarter. You should know that I am not troubled in this way. * * * The last time I had the pleasure of seeing you at your own house I believed Gen. Foster to be a good soldier, and it struck me that his local knowledge might be of great service in the operations against Charleston. Sincerely wishing that no expectation on my part to com-
mand in this department should interfere with the public weal, I then candidly asked you to send Foster to command in this department and to give me another command elsewhere. Your reply was, "Foster cannot be spared from North Carolina." * * * I am fully convinced, general, that you have been deceived in this case, and that on reviewing it you will send me word that no soldier could have done differently. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, pp. 411-412.]

On February 23, Gen. Hunter by General Orders, No. 15, revoked the consolidation of the re-enforcements from North Carolina with the Tenth Corps, stating that "such re-enforcements will hereafter be regarded and returned as a detachment of the Eighteenth Army Corps, serving in the Department of the South, and forming a portion of this command. The division organization of these troops will continue as at present." [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, p. 412.]

A certified copy of this order was transmitted with the foregoing letter of the 24th to Gen. Halleck. On February 16, Gen. Halleck wrote Gen. Foster in part as follows:

As the course pursued by Gen. Naglee in objecting to furnish his superior officer with proper returns and the spirit of his protest are disapproved, the Secretary of War directs that you release him from further duty in the Department of the South. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, p. 402.]

On even date Gen. Foster replied to this saying in part:

It is with regret that I receive your order to relieve Gen. Naglee, because he only carried out my instructions. Gen. Hunter will probably regard it as a triumph over the respectful action of Gen. Naglee, and this will, I fear, lead to interferences and mortifications inflicted on me when I return. This action, after I left in direct violation of our verbal understanding, leaves me little to expect from his magnanimity.

I would respectfully suggest that some other officer of experience, as Gen. Burnside, be sent down instead of me, since he will go free from all misunderstanding, and thus be able to render greater service. I therefore respectfully request to be allowed to return to my command in North Carolina and to make all the diversion possible with my remaining forces. I propose to send Gen. Palmer or Gen. Prince to relieve Gen. Naglee. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, p. 402.]

To this communication Gen. Halleck replied by a dispatch on February 17, saying:

It is optional with you to return to South Carolina or not, and, if you go, to remain or not. It was determined when Gen. Burnside was relieved from the Army of the Potomac that he should resume command in North Carolina, either immediately or on the expiration of his leave. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, p. 405.]

On the same day Assistant Adjutant-General Townsend who was then at Fortress Monroe and had seen Gen. Foster, after receiving Gen. Halleck's dispatch, sent the following to Secretary Stanton:

Gen. Foster, on Gen. Halleck's dispatch of this date, decides not to go back to South Carolina, but await further orders. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, p. 405.]

On February 17, Gen. Hunter transmitted to Gen. Halleck certified copies of Gen. Naglee's protest, together with his reply thereto. In his direct reply to Gen. Naglee under date of February 12, he says:
Knowing that Gen. Foster had not originally been ordered to accompanying the re-enforcements brought down by you, but had come here on my invitation, as an officer well acquainted with Charleston Harbor, and therefore likely to be of much service by his suggestions, and by the interest he would feel in the operations, I confess I regarded him rather as a guest, than as a subordinate, and from a spirit of courtesy forebore as much as possible from giving any orders that would look like a too hasty assumption of command.

All my "requests," on which you lay so much stress, were regarded by me as orders to be promptly obeyed, the word "request" being frequently substituted by army usage for "order" in the case of superior officers. Thus when I requested you to land your troops, the first day of your arrival, on Saint Helena Island, it was by me regarded as an order, and should most certainly have been adhered to and enforced had you then given me the least reason to infer that you doubted my competency to issue orders to your command. As you did not raise the question, however, but represented merely that Gen. Foster was following you and might be expected at any moment, I waived the request or order for the time being, and consented that the troops should remain on board the transports until further advised.

I did not know that Gen. Foster was going to leave the department, it being reported to me that he was about to visit Stono Inlet on a reconnoissance, from which he might be expected back in a couple of days. In conclusion, general, let me add that the tone of your letter is so far removed from the tenor of your conversation upon these points that I cannot but regard it as suggested by extraneous influences. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, pp. 406-7.]

There is a significance in this last sentence when compared with a sentence in Gen. Hunter's letter to Gen. Halleck inclosing this correspondence, in which imputations were cast upon all the troops from the 18th Corps save those under the command of Gen. Naglee. Although Gen. Hunter, in vigorous terms, represented Gen. Naglee's protest against his assuming jurisdiction over the troops of the 18th Corps, it is evident that their personal intercourse was quite friendly and intimate, at the time Gen. Hunter passed this reflection on the troops from North Carolina. On February 27, Col. Chas. G. Halpine ["Miles O'Reilly"] assistant adjutant-general of the Tenth Corps assures Gen. Naglee that Gen. Hunter regarded his conduct blameless in the matter and that he had only done his duty, closing the communication by saying that

Gen. Hunter uses the discretion given him by Maj. Gen. Halleck to retain your services in this department; and that, fully appreciating your many excellent qualities as a brave, experienced and efficient officer, it is his hope that you will have no cause to regret your service in this department. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, p. 413.]

On February 19, in a communication to Gen. Halleck, transmitting the order directing the members of Gen. Foster's staff to quit his department, Gen. Hunter says:

I have been reluctantly compelled to adopt this decisive measure by the unbridled license of the statements made by various members of Gen. Foster's staff; by repeated acts of insubordination on their part, and by their persistently deliberate and systematic adoption of a course directly tending to create a general dissatisfaction, if not an organized mutiny, amongst the re-enforcements brought from North Carolina to this department.

I am happy to be able to add that the spirit and course of conduct herein described were confined strictly to the personal attaches of Gen. Foster, Generals Naglee and Ferry having taken no part therein (further than Gen. Naglee's formal protest). [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, p. 409.]
On March 7, in a letter to Gen. Halleck, transmitting a certified copy of the order relieving Gen. Naglee from duty in the Department of the South, Gen. Hunter says:

I gave ready credence to Gen. Naglee's verbal protestations that all difficulties were now at an end, and frankly and in good faith accepted his assertions that he was no party to the course calling in question my authority, but that he had acted throughout the affair exclusively with a view to preserve a record which could not be used to his disadvantage in case he should at any time be returned under Gen. Foster's command. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, p. 426.]

On February 17, he had written Gen. Halleck saying:

I am happy to state that my official relations with Brig. Gen. Naglee have been very satisfactory. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, p. 404.]

In the very next paragraph of the same letter he says:

I find with the exceptions of Gen. Naglee's division, that the re-enforcements from North Carolina are in a greatly demoralized and undisciplined condition.

To any one who has carefully scanned the conduct of Gen. Naglee towards Gen. Casey, and has seen how he influenced Gen. McClellan to give the credit to his brigade of defending Casey's Redoubt at Seven Pines, there can be little doubt that the same sinister influence was responsible for this aspersion cast on the troops of which the 85th Regiment was a part. These troops had arrived in Gen. Hunter's department on February 1, and had been kept crowded in transports in Port Royal Harbor until February 8, when they disembarked on Saint Helena Island. Gen. Hunter had not seen these troops until a week after he cast this imputation on them, nor were they even inspected or reviewed by a member of his staff. What could have influenced him to discredit them to the General-in-Chief of the Army before he had seen them? Notwithstanding the Regiment was stationed on Saint Helena Island for nearly two months there was a constant uncertainty as to the tenure of the Regimental camp, and, during the entire stay on the Island, both officers and men were under expectation of orders to move at a moment's notice. Every day the weather would permit, the respective companies would have drill for at least two hours with Regimental dress parade in the evening. Frequent inspections were made and the Camp was kept in excellent condition, the shelter tents having been supplanted by "A" tents.

On February 17, after dinner, orders were given to be in readiness to move at 4:30 A. M. the following day, with three days' rations cooked and in haversacks. Reveille at 4 A. M. the next morning, February 18, aroused the men, and shortly after daybreak the Regiment was marching towards the dock, the men having struck tents and carrying their entire camp possessions that were of a nature to be carried, with them, expecting they were taking final leave, embarked on a transport, remained on board for a brief time, disembarked and marched back to their former location to find all the camp accessories left behind confiscated by comrades of other regiments who had supposed the departure of the Regiment to be permanent. This movement was no doubt in
compliance with an order issued from Gen. Hunter's headquarters to have Gen. Ferry's division transported to Daufuskie Island under date of February 16, 1863, as follows:

In view of future operations, Brig. Gen. Henry M. Naglee, commanding U. S. forces, Saint Helena Island, S. C., will cause the division commanded by Brig. Gen. O. S. Ferry to be immediately embarked and transported to Daufuskie Island, where they will establish a camp, Gen. O. S. Ferry becoming post commander of Daufuskie Island, and hereafter reporting direct to these headquarters. [O. R., W. D., Vol. LIII, p. 83.]

This order was countermanded on February 18, in the following terms:

The division commanded by Brig. Gen. Orris S. Ferry will remain on Saint Helena Island until further orders, the orders sending it to Daufuskie Island being suspended. [O. R., W. D., Vol. LIII, p. 84.]

Again on March 8, everything was put in order for an immediate movement, as orders had been issued to that effect. The continuous sound of heavy guns from the bombardment of Fort McAllister, which could be plainly heard on Saint Helena Island, removed all doubts from the men as to their immediate departure and destination. The cannonading at Fort McAllister, however, was not intended as a serious attack, but rather as an experiment with the iron-clads before the movement against the defences of Charleston was made. On March 5, Gen. Hunter issued General Orders, No. 16, which was read at dress parade. This was in the nature of an address to the men to inspire them with courage on the eve of an impending battle. It was addressed to the "Soldiers of the Department of the South," and gave prospect of immediate active service in the following words:

After long and wearying delays, due to causes over which no one in this department had control, we have at length the cheering prospect of active and very important service. * * * Officers and men of the command, you are adjured to the performance of every duty. All who earn distinction, no matter how humble their positions, have my pledge that their services shall be honorably acknowledged and the acknowledgment pressed to their advantage.

Commanding officers of divisions, brigades and regiments will give the name of every officer and a full descriptive list of every non-commissioned officer and soldier of their commands who has attracted their observation as behaving with special gallantry or good conduct, in order that the names of all such may be published with honor at their own homes; and all who are thus mentioned may rely that no effort shall be lacking on the part of the major-general commanding to secure their promotion.

Should any officers neglect their men or evince the least disposition to shrink at any moment from the proper responsibilities of their commissions they will be likewise reported and held amenable to the severest penalties announced by military law for misconduct in presence of the enemy. Should private soldiers distinguish themselves while officers become liable to censure it would be treason to the country not to compel an exchange of places. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV, pp. 419-420.]

The following day, March 5, the Regiment was thoroughly inspected and drilled by a staff officer from division headquarters, and received words of commendation from him for its appearance and efficiency. On the evening of March 10, a meeting of the officers of the Regiment was held in the Regimental camp
to take action in regard to reports that were coming from the four counties from
which the Regiment had been recruited, to the effect that a large number of
the citizens were holding meetings demanding that the Government should sue
for peace with the enemy. On motion of Lieut. Col. Purviance the meeting was
called to order by the selection of the following officers: President, Col. J. B.

On taking the chair, Col. Howell made a lengthy address, taking the position
that the war should be prosecuted with even more vigor, and that no offer of
compromise or suggestion of peace should be made to the enemy until they had
unconditionally surrendered. The colonel's remarks were greeted with en-
thusiasm, and on motion the following were appointed to draft resolutions;
Brown, Lieut. Ross R. Sanner. Voluminous resolutions were prepared in har-
mony with Col. Howell's address and adopted, 27 officers attaching their sig-
natures thereto.

No change came in the daily routine of camp life until March 16, when
the Regiment was marched to the bay and drilled in embarking and disembar-
kling from transports in the absence of docks and landings, by using small boats,
wading to and from them in shallow water. This was the first drill of this kind
that the Regiment had undergone, although Gen. Hunter, in a communication
to Gen. Halleck on March 7, said:

Everything being now in a state of complete readiness for the forces under my com-
mand to take the part assigned to them, the troops designated for the service having all
their preparations completed and having had all the necessary drill in the surf-boat exercise
and in the practice of embarking and disembarking.

The delay in the attack on Charleston was explained to Gen. Halleck in a
communication under date of March 13, because,

The recent experiments with the iron-clads against Fort McAllister have demonstrated
certain defects grave enough in the opinion of the admiral [DuFont] to call for a post-
ponement of active operations until they shall have been remedied. Owing to these causes a
delay of some weeks would appear now inevitable—a thing to be regretted, but which is
wholly unavoidable.

On March 27, Gen. Hunter informed Gen. Halleck that he has sent
A brigade of troops to occupy North Edisto, also a regiment to occupy Cole's Island,
at the mouth of Stono Inlet. All the troops to take part in the expedition are in complete
readiness to move whenever the necessary repairs and additions to the iron-clads shall have
been made. I hope by the middle of next week that the joint expedition will be under way.

Commissary Sergeant Bell's diary, supplemented here and there by others,
will give some idea of the activities of the Regiment, while encamped on Saint
Helena Island.

Monday, February 9, 1863. There are few inhabitants on Saint Helena Island; the fields
on which our camp is located has the appearance of having been a cotton field. As soon as
the boys got their tents in good shape they went to work demolishing the "grey backs" that
...disembarked with them. In the evening Sergt. James A. Swearer conducted a prayer meeting near the Color Guards' tent on Regimental Street.

February 10. Drew two days' rations; no roll call or drill today; Company inspection of arms in the forenoon; some of the men were at the landing today and purchased a cheese, a barrel of onions and some tobacco. Wm. D. Shaw, of our mess, was one of the party.

February 11. I saw an alligator today that had been killed near our camp by some comrades of the 67th Ohio; it measured seven feet and two inches in length. Stories are afloat in camp that rattlesnakes and copperheads are numerous on this Island. We are now in the First Brigade of Gen. Ferry's division. Lieut. Col. Purviance was in command at dress parade this evening; the first time he has appeared with the Regiment since we left North Carolina, he remaining behind sick.

February 12. Drew three days' rations of mess pork, crackers, coffee, sugar, rice and beans. Regimental inspection at 2 P. M.; dress parade at 6 P. M.; prayer meeting in the evening.

February 13. Company drill from 9 to 11 A. M., followed by inspection of arms. Owing to misconduct by soldiers in the section occupied by contrabands, roll call has been ordered every two hours. Col. Howell is now in command of the brigade and Adjt. S. L. McHenry is his assistant adjutant general, and Quartermaster Beall is brigade commissary. 1st Lieut. Watkins of Company E, is acting adjutant of the Regiment.

February 14. Valentine day was ushered in with rain, but before noon it ceased; company drill in the afternoon; also dress parade. The choicest valentine a soldier can receive (a letter from home) was received by many of the men as a heavy mail came in the afternoon.

Sabbath, February 15. General inspection in the forenoon; preaching at 2 P. M., Chap. Caldwell preaching again from the same text used at Newbern on January 10, from 2d Tim., chap. 2, ver. 3. "Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." The day was closed with prayer meeting led by Comrade William Green of Company G; drew 5 days' rations of coffee, sugar, beans, rice, salt, soap and candles; two days' rations of pork and three of salt beef.

February 16. Company drill from 9 to 11 A. M.; dress parade at 6 P. M.; an interesting prayer meeting was led by Comrade Swearer in the evening, notwithstanding quite a number of the men had been quite hilarious during the day.

February 17. Company drill in the morning from 9 to 11. In the afternoon orders were given to be in readiness to move at 4.30 A. M. the following day; three days' rations were issued.

February 18. Reveille was sounded at 4 A. M., and at day break tents were struck, and through a heavy rain the Regiment marched to the dock and embarked on the transport Eastern City; but before the men had gotten comfortably situated on board the vessels they were ordered to disembark, and the Regiment returned to its former location and pitched tents, the men to find most of their abandoned material, conducive to comfort in tent habitations gone.

February 19. Clear day; company drill for two hours in the forenoon and dress parade at sunset.

February 20. Clear; company drill for two hours in the forenoon and dress parade at sunset; oyster soup was substituted for rice soup at dinner today, a very desirable change.

February 21. Clear. The usual routine of company drill and dress parade; oyster soup for dinner. Greer Hair, Company A, has been detailed to help coal the Steamer Ranger and he has become known as "Stevedore" Hair.

Sabbath, February 22. Many flags are afloat in the harbor, in memory of the "Father of our Country." Early in the morning the men were ordered to be ready for brigade review and inspection; but as the men were falling into line they were informed the review was deferred until 2 P. M. At that time the Regiment was reviewed and carefully inspected by Col. Howell; Jacob Richardson was accorded the honor of having his gun
pronounced in the finest condition; soft bread was issued for the first time in South Carolina; no dress parade; prayer meeting shortly after sundown.

**February 23.** Company drill for two hours in the forenoon; dress parade at 6 P. M., at which orders were read for a review of all the troops on the Island at 10 A. M. tomorrow by Gen. Hunter.

**February 24.** The Regiment was formed into eight companies and marched, with the other regiments of the brigade, about two miles northeast of the camp, where the several brigades were reviewed by Gen. Hunter. Gen. Hunter is a very fierce looking officer and his manner would indicate that in his own opinion, he is a man of very great importance.

**February 25.** A beautiful day; company drill as usual, for two hours, with dress parade in the evening; Sergt. Howard Kerr, and Corp. Deffenbaugh, Company I, member of the Color Guard, have applied for commissions in colored regiments, now being recruited in this department; prayer meeting in the evening.

**February 26.** Company drill and dress parade as usual. Gen. Ferry's headquarters are on board the transport "Maple Leaf;" Gen. Naglee's on the "Secor."

**February 27.** A clear day. A detail from the Regiment was taken to the harbor to coal a vessel. The Regiment was mustered for pay by Capt. I. M. Abraham; Lieut. Col. Purviance is ill with neuralgia.

**February 28.** The muster yesterday was evidently a mistake as the Regiment was again mustered today, both Capt. Abraham and Maj. Campbell being present; five days' rations were drawn today of coffee, sugar, beans, potatoes, onions, and two days' rations of flour and salt beef; the choice of flour or hard bread is given to the men as they prefer.

**Sabbath, March 1.** Inspection in the morning and dress parade in the evening; at which an order was read announcing the promotion of Capt. Edward Campbell of Co. E, as major of the Regiment. A number of the men went to hear Chaplain Gries of the 104th Penn. Regiment preach from the text, "Deal courageously, for the Lord helps the good;" a heavy mail arrived today. Corp. Greer Hair has declined serving as corporal longer, because of what he regards unjust promotions in his company.

**March 2.** Regiment moved camp about a half mile east of the former location. 1st Lieut. J. W. Acheson, is now in command of Company K.

**March 3.** Orders were given to be in readiness to move at a moment's notice; continuous cannonading heard in the direction of Savannah throughout the day; Lieut. McGregor is acting adjutant.

**March 4.** Having received notice that the Regiment will be inspected by a staff officer from department headquarters today or tomorrow the men put in their spare time preparing for it.

**March 5.** At 10 A. M. the Regiment was minutely inspected by Capt. Louis J. Lambert, formerly A. A. G. of the 10th Corps, acting inspector general. In the afternoon the Regiment was again called out and was thoroughly drilled by Capt. Lambert, and was complimented by him for its efficiency; drew five days' rations.

**March 6.** Company drill and dress parade as usual. A visit to Hilton Head and a view of the shipping in the Harbor indicates that the vessels that transported the detachment of the 18th corps to this department are in readiness to convey it elsewhere.

**March 7.** Company drill and dress parade; the boys are now increasing their regular menu by visiting the farms on the island and returning with sweet potatoes and eggs.

**Sabbath, March 8.** Company inspection by Capt. Dawson in the forenoon and dress parade in the evening; prayer meeting at the usual place at sunset.

**March 9.** Company drill for two hours in the forenoon, and dress parade in the evening.

**March 10.** Company drill and dress parade as usual; drew five days' rations; no change in the variety; mail boat arrived in the evening.

**March 11.** Company drill and dress parade; Capt. Hager has resigned; also Lieut. Lancaster; the latter lost an arm on the picket line at Seven Bines, May 29, 1862. Lieut. Col. Purviance started home on sick furlough.
March 12. The Regiment was ordered to fall in with packed knapsacks at 10 A. M., to practice surf-drill but when the dock was reached it was found that the wind was too strong and after a brief delay returned to camp. A culprit of Company I was sentenced by court martial to carry a knapsack of sand for three hours for seven consecutive days.

March 13. Brief company drill today; informed that the value of rations not drawn will be paid to the men; rumored that another man of Company I is to be court martialed, his offence being insubordination at the guard house some time ago.

March 14. Col. Howell gave orders for the Regiment to practice surf-drill today, but it did not go; reported through the camp that Maj. Campbell had it excused today by appealing to Gen. Ferry; drew a ration of fresh bread and fresh beef; new "A" tents were received by a portion of the Regiment; prayer meeting led by George Orbin, at sunset.

Sunday, March 15. Company inspection in the forenoon, and dress parade in the evening; after which prayer meeting; unusually large attendance.

March 16. For the first time the Regiment engaged in surf-drill, the object being to make the men efficient in disembarking in close proximity to the enemy, when there is no landing place. The Regiment was embarked on scows, using small boats to take them from near the shore, the latter held in sufficient depth of water to prevent grounding when laden. In disembarking the men, properly officered, would quickly jump into the small boats, which would be either rowed, poled or sculled as near the shore as the load would permit, when the men would hurriedly jump into the water and wade rapidly to the shore, form into line quickly and advance as though about to attack the enemy.

March 17. Company drill this A. M. and Regimental drill this P. M.; Capt. Kerr commanded the Regiment at drill; prayer meeting in the evening.

March 18. Company drill in the forenoon, and in the afternoon the Regiment was drilled by Capt. Phillips; Lieut. Michener has been acting quartermaster for some time.

March 19. Company drill in the forenoon; Regimental drill in the afternoon, with Capt. Dawson in command; Thomas J. Barr, who has been at brigade headquarters for some time acting as brigade bugler returned to the Regiment.

March 20. Drew five days' rations with no variation with the exception that flour was drawn by some companies in part, in lieu of crackers. In the afternoon the Regiment with the exception of Company B, marched to the camp of the 81st New York Regiment to make an exchange of arms. Several companies left their Austrian rifles with the 81st, but Companies A, F and D returned with the Austrian rifles they had used in the Peninsula campaign.

March 21. A cold, drizzling rain continued throughout the day; no drill nor dress parade; drew one day's rations of soft bread; some of the companies received arms from the 62d Ohio.

March 22. The day broke bright and clear. Company inspection in the forenoon, at which a critical inspection of arms was made; Maj. Campbell also inspected the quarters of the Regiment.

March 23. The 100th N. Y. Regiment left today, whither we know not. Company A marched to the camp of the 81st New York and left their Austrian rifles; caliber 54; in the evening new ones were issued, caliber 58; a heavy mail was received today.

March 25. Brigade drill today; Walter O. Donald returned to the Regiment today; he had been on detached service in Fitch's battery for over a year. Company A held a meeting in the evening to protest against unpatriotic utterances of citizens of Washington County. The following officers were elected: President, Sergt Crisswell; Vice-Pres., Matthew Templeton; Secretary, John M. Moore; Committee on resolutions, J. B. Bell, Alex. Vance, R. B. Thompson, Sergt. Andrew Gilkeson and Sergt. Robert Caldwell; the meeting adjourned to meet tomorrow evening when the Committee on Resolutions will submit a report.

March 26. Company drill in the forenoon. Gen. Hunter reviewed all the troops on the Island in the afternoon; dress parade in the evening; prayer meeting at sunset; at the adjourned meeting of Co. A the Committee on Resolutions submitted a letter addressed to
the press of Washington County as the sentiment of the soldiers from Washington County towards those favoring peace at any price; the 56th N. Y. left St. Helena Island today.

March 27. A beautiful day; company drill in the forenoon; ball playing is becoming a popular pastime on the Island; the Regiment is now brigaded with Western troops, viz.: the 89th Ill., 62d and 67th Ohio; Col. Howell is in command of the brigade. The Monitor Keokuk has arrived and lying at anchor in the harbor.

March 28. Company drill for two hours in the forenoon; dress parade in the evening; weather cool and cloudy; Lieut. Wm. E. Beall, Regimental quartermaster, returned today.

Sunday, March 29. Day broke with a cold, drizzling rain which continued intermittently during the entire day; company inspection at 9 A. M. but owing to rain did not last long; a package of tracts addressed to Sergt. John B. Bell, Harrison's Landing, Va., were received by him today, having been mailed at Philadelphia, in August, 1862.

March 30. Company drill in the forenoon from 9 to 11; dress parade in the evening; heavy mail arrived at Regiment; many of the men playing ball.

March 31. Foggy morning; company drill from 9 to 11 A. M.; drew five days' rations.

April 1. Cool morning; company drill from 9 to 11; receive orders at 1 P. M. to hurry and pack knapsacks and strike tents; in less than an hour the Regiment was marching to the dock and immediately embarked on the propeller "Ranger," the same vessel that transported the Regiment from Morehead City.
Folly Island

CHAPTER XIII.

DEPARTURE FROM SAINT HELENA ISLAND.—BRIEF STOP ON COLES ISLAND.—ARRIVAL ON FOLLY ISLAND.—BATTLE BETWEEN IRON-CLADS AND CHARLESTON FORTIFICATIONS.—LIFE ON FOLLY ISLAND.

FROM MARCH 26 TO JUNE 2, 1863.

The Detachment of the 18th Army Corps in South Carolina was reorganized on March 26, 1863. By the reorganization the 85th Regiment was transferred from the Second Brigade to the Third Brigade of the Second Division, the brigade now embracing the following regiments: 39th Illinois, 62d and 67th Ohio, and 85th Pennsylvania, under the command of Col. Howell; the division being under command of Brig. Gen. C. A. Heckman.

On Wednesday afternoon, April 1, the Regiment broke camp and hurriedly embarked on the transport Ranger, one of the vessels on which the Regiment had come from Beaufort Harbor. Although haste in breaking camp and embarking seemed to be urgent the Ranger, after receiving its cargo of human freight, leisurely moved out into the harbor and cast anchor and remained there until 7 o'clock the next morning, April 2, when anchor was weighed, and she then moved across to Hilton Head, sheered off towards Beaufort, and after procuring a number of surf boats, returned to Hilton Head and cast anchor, remaining there until night had set in. Immediately after the fleet left Port Royal Harbor a heavy gale struck it and the surf boats on board the Ranger were soon adrift on the sea. The vessel pitched and rolled with such violence that it was impossible for landsmen to stay on deck, and officers and men were forced to remain below. Between eight and nine o'clock next morning, April 3, the Ranger dropped anchor in North Edisto Inlet where eight iron clad monitors were moored. At noon anchor was again weighed, and the Ranger was soon breasting the sea wind, arriving at Stono Inlet, at 5:30 P. M., where anchor was cast for the night. In moving up the Inlet the next day, April 4, the Ranger ran aground, and it was nearly dark before the entire Regiment was disembarked on Cole's Island. A few of the men succeeded in pitching tents, but most of them contented themselves to be canopied by a starry sky. The next morning, Sunday, April 5, three days rations were issued and orders were given directing the men to pack their baggage to remain behind and have every thing in readiness to move after nightfall, a strict prohibition against lights and fires being enforced. About midnight the Regiment embarked on scows, barges and various sorts of craft; these were then towed across to Folly Island: the men disembarking in surf boats, which were rowed until the water became too shallow for them to approach nearer to the beach, when officers and men would jump into the
water and wade to the shore. It was about 3 A. M., April 6, when the Regiment landed on Folly Island. Ranks were immediately formed and the Regiment advanced along the eastern shore of the island, preceded by the 100th New York and followed by the 39th Illinois and 62nd Ohio. Two or three howitzers, drawn by marines, comprised the artillery accompanying the troops on land. Maj. Geo. H. Stowitts, in his History of the 100th N. Y. Regiment published in 1870, describes this disembarkation as follows:

The regiment struck tents at 4 P. M., went on transports at 10 P. M., and was beached from small boats, on the South point of Folly Island, in the surf, on ebb tide, water breast high, two hundred yards from shore. That was a struggle for the soldier with his armor on, and as for us, we felt our safety to be in the presence of the tall forms about us, buoying us on to the shore of sand and barrenness. The tide was running out, and hence the difficulty in landing. It was 1 o'clock in the morning when the regiment stood on shore. Marched till 9 A. M., halted till 12 M., lunched, rested, and marched till 1 P. M.

As each soldier calls to mind that night's work of embarking from Cole's Island, and this embarking on the shores of Folly Island, the struggle with the tide, boats beached and whole companies in water breast high, moving toward dry ground; led by Col. Otis, in that march along the beach, the sun shining warmly, the "halts" and "forwards," as the skirmishers felt their way through the tangled thickets of that uninhabited isle; the halt at noon-day, the lunch and rest, preparatory to the advance; as the soldier remembers all these events, he is startled in thought, and at this date, asks himself this question: Was I there? Is it not a dream? No! No! It is a vivid reality, a real fact, which the shadows of coming years cannot cover or hide from contemplative thought. A campaign had been opened. A battle with other enemies than that of our fellow-countrymen was to be fought. A struggle with clime, vermin and delays, filled the head and heart of the soldier during his sojourn on those desert sandy isles. The landing was the opening of an avenue crowded with death and disaster.

Col. W. W. H. Davis in the history of his regiment, 104th Pennsylvania, refers to this march on Folly Island as follows:

On the evening of the 5th Col. Howell's brigade, consisting of the 100th New York, 85th Pennsylvania, 39th Illinois, and the 62d Ohio, was landed on the south end of Folly. Under cover of the darkness the troops felt their way up the island, with skirmishers in front, through jungle and bushes almost thick enough to stop the passage of a rabbit. Three regiments halted at the point where the lookout was afterward erected, but the 100th New York went forward to the head of the island, then covered with a dense thicket. Not an enemy was to be seen. These troops were joined in a day or two by the 67th Ohio, but none others were disembarked during the present operations.

In his History of the 39th Illinois Regiment, published in 1889, Surgeon Charles M. Clark, gives the following account of the expedition:

In the latter part of the month of March, 1863, we were called upon to make preparations for a move, and on April 1st, we embarked on steamers to take part in Gen. Hunter's expedition to Folly Island. For several weeks previous to starting the men had been drilled in the management of surf-boats.

On the morning of April 3d we arrived opposite Stono Inlet, but the storm, which had been furious during the night, had not abated, and we were compelled, together with the balance of the fleet, to lie-to for several hours; and besides, several of the transports had lost their surf-buoys during the gale. We were in close proximity to the blockading squadron off Charleston harbor, and the scene presented at this time was novel and exciting. Matters began to look like business again, and we were all glad to have the drill and monoto-
nous routine of camp-life dissolved. About noon of this day we steamed up to Edisto Island and soon came to anchor in the quiet waters of Edisto River, where were found seven monitors and five gunboats, aside from other craft. During the day the steamer “Ben De Ford” came in and anchored near us, bringing Gen. Hunter and Admiral Dupont.

Early the succeeding morning we got under way again and had a comparatively smooth passage to Stono Inlet, at the mouth of which we found the tug “Harriet Weed” in waiting to pilot us up the river to Cole’s Island, where we commenced disembarking by means of the surf boats and rafts. The men made rather bungling work at first in handling their oars, but soon came down to work. The 39th was first to reach the island, where we found the 100th New York Volunteers already in camp. The 62d Ohio, 67th Ohio and 85th Pennsylvania Infantry soon followed us. We made our encampment near the shore and close to Folly Island, which was in possession of the rebels.

The entire camp equipage was landed before sunset, and the tents soon pitched, and supper, the first decent meal of the day, partaken of. Near the camp were several old forts and intrenchments, and during the evening some of us took up position on the parapet of a fort where we could plainly see the camp fires of the rebels—their signal lights and rockets, which were flashing out intelligence of our approach. April 5th the brigade commenced the work of throwing up rifle-pits, and otherwise fortifying the position, for an attack at any moment was possible. From the head of the island, a mile or so distant from camp, the rebel pickets could plainly be seen, together with squads of men here and there, busy in perfecting their line of earth-works and mounting cannon. At 7 P. M., of this day an order came to put out all lights, as Gen. Ferry was under the impression that we could be shelled by the rebels. At ten P. M. of this day, orders came to strike tents and move to the landing, and at midnight we got on board the tug “Harriet Weed” and were ferried over in detail of companies to Folly Island. On landing the regiment stacked arms and lay down for a little rest.

At sunrise the following morning we commenced moving up the sea-beach, preceded by a large body of skirmishers, and two pieces of twelve-pounder artillery under the charge of marines and drawn by hand. Several halts were made in our progress, which were necessitated by the slow movement of our skirmishers, they being spread across the island in order to make a clean sweep. The slow movement was mostly attributable to the dense undergrowth, trailing vines, hedges, etc., that had to be cut away by the pioneers before progress could be made.

At noon the regiment halted in a palmetto grove for dinner, and a siesta was taken until three P. M.; then we started on again and continued until 4 P. M., when an order came to bivouac. There was an implied order against building fires, and a cold lunch of ham and hard-tack sufficed for supper. At ten o’clock A. M., we were awakened with a muffled order to “fall in” and march, and were soon enroute again, with nothing to disturb the quiet except the song of the mocking bird and the thud-thud of the many footsteps along the level beach—the clatter of the canteens against the knapsack or the gun; but all this was drowned, except to the participants in the march, by the dull and monotonous cadence of the ocean, whose waves often washed over our footsteps. We reached the head of the island at daybreak without meeting the enemy.

Our fears had been greatly excited at times from the fact that the skirmishing party would exercise us by firing off their guns, and at one time we thought that we had been attacked in the rear,—all occasioned by the careless handling of firearms. At the head of the island we reconnoitered Morris Island by peeping through the thick foliage that skirted Light House Inlet. Folly Island is some seven miles in length and was densely timbered with palmetto, pine and magnolia trees, together with a dense growth of under-brush throughout the greater portion. There was no habitation except at the foot of the island, consisting of a two-story frame house and one or two out-buildings, all of which were latterly used for our accommodations—the house for the General’s headquarters and the out-buildings for hospital purposes.
In our position at the head of the island we had a full view of Forts Sumter, Moultrie, Johnson, and the various sand batteries on Morris and Sullivan's islands, and in the foreground were numerous "graybacks" perched on the sand hills intently engaged in looking in our direction. At times they would approach the water's edge on the opposite shore and deliberately fire their muskets toward us. We had an unobstructed view of the blockading squadron seaward, and the monitor fleet that was entering the ship channel to engage the various harbor batteries.

The city of Charleston, S. C., the objective point of this expedition, is situated at the head of Charleston Harbor, on the point of a narrow peninsula formed by Ashley and Cooper Rivers. It is distant seven miles from the outer edge of the bar which stretches across the entrance to the harbor. This entrance is bounded by Sullivan's Island on the north, and Morris Island on the south side, each about three and a half miles in length, low, narrow, and sandy, and separated from the main land adjacent to it toward the interior by soft and impracticable marshes, varying in width from one and a half to three miles. These marshes are submerged by spring tides, and are traversed by numerous streams that are generally very narrow, deep and crooked. The inner ends of these islands reach to within three and a half to four miles from the city.

The harbor inside is bounded by the main land on the north and by James Island on the south side. The shortest distance between Sullivan's and Morris Islands is 2,700 yards. Col. Howell's brigade on this, the first attempt to capture Charleston, notwithstanding Gen. Hunter's imputation on this part of the troops of the 18th corps, was entrusted with the advanced position, occupying Folly Island, the most northerly portion of the coast of South Carolina then in Federal possession.

The greater portion of Folly Island was very thickly wooded, the undergrowth being dense and almost impassable. Near the north end, for the distance of nearly 2,000 yards, it was extremely narrow, perfectly barren, and so low that the spring tides frequently sweep entirely over it. At the extreme north end, however, the sand ridges, formed by the gradual action of the wind and tide were covered with a thick undergrowth favorable for concealment, and here Col. Howell had his picket line established, that of the enemy being on the opposite side of Light-House Inlet, within musket range. From this point of vantage the land forces had an excellent view of Admiral Du Pont's fleet when it made the assault on Fort Sumter on the afternoon of April 7, 1863. That the men were inactive while the fleet were undergoing this fiery ordeal was in no sense the fault of the troops or their commanding officers. The determination to capture Charleston at this period originated with the Naval Department and the expedition was virtually under the direction of Admiral Du Pont. In a letter to Maj. Gen. Banks, under date of May 11, 1863, Gen. Halleck says:

The Charleston operation was not by my advice. It was entirely a Navy plan. The troops sent there were mere auxiliaries, to assist in carrying out the plans of the Navy. They were virtually under Admiral DuPont's direction, that is, they were merely to assist in carrying out his plans. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XIV., p. 726.]
As early as May 13, 1862, Secretary Welles sent confidential instructions to Admiral Du Pont when the latter was yet flag officer, in which he said:

This Department has determined to capture Charleston as soon as Richmond falls. The glorious achievements of our navy, inaugurated by yourself, give every reason to hope for a successful issue at this point, where rebellion first lighted the flame of civil war.

Again under date of January 6, 1863, in confidential instructions to Rear Admiral Du Pont, he says:

The new Ironsides, Passaic, Montauk, Patapsco, and Weehawken (iron-clads) have been ordered to, and are now on the way to join your command, to enable you to enter the harbor of Charleston and demand the surrender of all of its defences, or suffer the consequences of a refusal. Gen. Hunter will be sent to Port Royal with about ten thousand men, to act as shall be deemed best after consultation with yourself. The capture of this most important point, however, rests solely upon the success of the naval force, and it is committed to your hands to execute, with the confidence the department reposes in your eminent ability and energy. [Report of the Secretary of the Navy, 1864, pp. 51, 52.]

Under date of May 22, 1863, Gen. Hunter wrote President Lincoln, sending the letter by special steamer to Fortress Monroe, by one of his aides-de-camp who was instructed on receiving a reply to return by same steamer, saying:

It is more than six weeks since the attack by the iron-clads upon Charleston—an attack in which, from the nature of the plans of Admiral DuPont, the army had no active part. On the day of that attack the troops under my command held Folly Island up to Light-House Inlet. On the morning after the attack we were in complete readiness to cross Light-House Inlet to Morris Island, where, once established, the fall of Sumter would have been as certain as the demonstration of a problem in mathematics. Aided by a cross-fire from the navy, the enemy would soon have been driven from Cummings point; and with powerful batteries of one and two hundred pounder rifled guns placed there, Fort Sumter would have been rendered untenable in two days fire. * * *

On the afternoon after the iron-clad attack on Fort Sumter, the troops on Folly Island were not only ready to cross Light-House Inlet, but were almost in the act, the final reconnaissance having been made, the boats ready, and the men under arms for crossing, when they were recalled, as I hoped merely temporarily, by the announcement of Admiral DuPont that he had resolved to retire, and that, consequently, we could expect no assistance from the enemy.

Immediately the admiral was waited upon by an officer of my staff, who represented the forwardness of our preparations for crossing, the evidently unprepared condition of the enemy to receive us, while any delay, now that our intentions were unmasked, would give the enemy time to erect upon the Southern end of Morris Island, commanding Light House Inlet, those works and batteries which he had heretofore neglected. To these considerations, earnestly and elaborately urged, the admiral's answer was that, "he would not fire another shot." I most urgently beg of you to liberate me from those orders to co-operate with the navy, which now tie me down to share the admiral's inactivity. [Report of the Sec. of the Navy, 1862-63, pp. 110-111.]

Col. Howell's brigade, holding the advanced position of the troops co-operating with the Navy in the first serious attempt to capture the first trophy the Confederates had won two years previously, gave the men an excellent opportunity to witness a grand display of daylight pyrotechnics. At noon, April 7, Rear Admiral Du Pont signalled the iron-clad vessels comprising the fleet selected for the assault to weigh anchor, and proceed to attack Fort Sumter.
The reason the attack was not made earlier in the day, was owing to the state of the tide, the pilots reporting it not safe to make the attempt earlier. Although the regiments of Col. Howell’s brigade were merely spectators of this artillery battle, had the naval guns succeeded in demolishing the Confederate fortifications, they would have taken the advance of the land forces in approaching Charleston, and they were therefore a part of the attacking force, held in reserve, thus making a brief description of the battle germane to a history of the Regiment. This can best be told by excerpts from the official reports of the naval commanders:

The order of battle was as follows: Weehawken, Passaic, Montauk, Patapsco, with a raft on the bow to explode torpedoes; followed by the New Ironsides (Flag ship), Catskill, Nantucket, Nahant and Keokuk. The vessels were ordered to pass without returning the fire from the batteries on Morris Island; when within easy range of Fort Sumter they were to open upon it and take position to the north and west, at a distance of 800 yards, firing low, and at the center embrasure. The necessity for precision of fire was enjoined. [O. R., N. D., Vol. XIV, p. 9.]

Of these nine ships the New Ironsides was a big broadside steamer with heavy iron plating, carrying two 150-pounder rifles and fourteen 11-inch Dahlgren guns. The Keokuk was a sort of Monitor with two fixed turrets, and the other were new monitors carrying one 15-inch Dahlgren, (the solid shot of which weighed 440 pounds), and one 11-inch Dahlgren, with the exception of the Potapscro which carried a 150-pounder rifle instead of the smaller Dahlgren. The chain of the Weehawken, the leading vessel, had become entangled in the grapnel of the pioneer torpedo raft, and the vessels did not get started from their mooring place until 1:15 P. M., when the Weehawken moved on, followed by the Passaic and others in the regular order of battle. On the way up the leading vessel, the Weehawken, caused a Confederate torpedo to explode but sustained no serious injuries. At 2:00 P. M., the Weehawken signaled obstructions in her vicinity, which seemed so formidable that no attempt was made to pass through or beyond them.

Not being able to pass the obstructions, the Weehawken, and successively the Passaic, Nahant and others, were obliged to turn, which threw the line into some confusion as the other vessels approached. This was particularly the case with the flagship, which became, in a measure, entangled with the monitors and could not bring her battery to bear upon Fort Sumter without great risk of firing into them. She was obliged, on her way up, to anchor twice to prevent her from going ashore, and on one of these occasions, in consequence of having come into collision with two of the iron-clads.

The monitors and the Keokuk were able to get within easy range of Fort Sumter at distances from 550 to 800 yards, in which positions they were subjected successively to a tremendous concentrated fire from all the batteries on Sullivan’s Island, Morris Island, Sumter, and others of the most formidable kind and from guns of the heaviest caliber. Not being able to place the New Ironsides where desired, though she was in a distance of 1,000 yards, and evening approaching, at 4:30 signal was made to withdraw from action. * * *

No ship had been exposed to the severest fire of the enemy over forty minutes, and yet in that brief period, * * * five of the iron-clads were wholly or partially disabled. The Keokuk had only been able to fire three times during the short period exposed to the enemy, and was obliged to withdraw from action to prevent from sinking, which event occurred the following morning. The Nahant was most seriously damaged, her turret being so jammed as effectually to prevent its turning, many of the bolts of both turret and pilot house were broken, and the latter became nearly untenable in consequence of the nuts and ends flying across it.

Capt. P. Drayton, in the Passaic, after the fourth fire from his 11-inch gun, was unable to use it again during the action, and his turret also became jammed, though he
was, after some delay, enabled to get it into motion again. The Patapsco lost the use of rifled gun after the fifth fire, owing to the carrying away of the forward cap-square bolts. The Nantucket after the third shot from the 15-inch gun, the port stopper became jammed * * * preventing the further use of that gun during the action. The other iron-clads, though struck many times severely, were still able to use their guns; * * * Only 139 shot and shell were fired by our vessels, though during that same period the enemy poured * * * an incessant storm of round shot and shell, rifled projectiles of all descriptions, and red-hot shot. [O. R., N. D., Vol. XIV, pp. 5, 6, 7.]

The day following the attack on Sumter Rear-Admiral Du Pont, in a communication to Gen. Hunter, reported the affair as follows:

I attempted to take the bull by the horns, but he was too much for us. These monitors are miserable failures where ports are concerned; the longest was one hour and the others forty-five minutes under fire, and five of the eight were wholly or partially disabled. [O. R., N. D., Vol. XIV, p. 437.]

On even date, after the receipt of the above, Gen, Hunter sent the following to Admiral Du Pont:

Not knowing yet what have been the results of your attack of yesterday, so far as Fort Sumter is concerned, I cannot but congratulate you on the magnificent manner in which the vessels under your command were fought. A mere spectator, I could do nothing but pray for you, which, believe me, I did most heartily, for you and all the gallant men under your command who sailed so calmly and fearlessly into and under and through a concentric fire which has been never heretofore had a parallel in the history of warfare. That you are uninjured and so many of your vessels still fit for service, is a cause of deep gratitude to Almighty God. I confess when the Weehawken first ran under Sumter's guns, receiving the casemate and barbette broadsides from that work simultaneously with the similar broadsides from Fort Moultrie, and all the other works within range, I fairly held my breath until the smoke had cleared away, not expecting to see a vestige of the little vessel which had provoked such an attack. With each of the others the same scene was re-enacted, my interest in the fate of the Ironsides being perhaps the keenest from the knowledge of her comparative vulnerability and of the deep loss the country would sustain if anything were to happen to you.

Thank God for the results so far as they go, and may He have you in His keeping through whatever chances are yet before you. No country can fail that has men capable of facing what your iron-clads had yesterday to endure. God bless you and keep you safe, admiral, and believe me, with the highest esteem, ever your true friend and servant. [O. R., N. D., Vol. XIV, pp. 438, 439.]

The withdrawal of the fleet from the bombardment of Fort Sumter on April 7, was not due to the damage inflicted on the iron-clads, according to Rear-Admiral DuPont, but because he regarded it too late in the day to attempt to further force the obstructions that night. In a communication to Secretary Welles, under date of April 22, he says:

When I made the signal to withdraw from action, on the evening of the 7th, the Ironsides was but slightly injured, though she had been under a heavy fire. I did not know then the condition of the monitors, and I recalled the ships only because it was too late to attempt further to force the obstructions that night.

Subsequently, when I learned from the several captains, the difficulties they had encountered, the extent of the damages they had sustained in their hulls and turrets, and the fact that five out of eight of their vessels were, for the time, either wholly or half
disabled as to the use of their guns, it was made perfectly clear to my mind that, once entangled among the obstructions, should we attempt to pass them under a fire so crushing as that from the forts had been, even the extraordinary power of endurance pertaining to these monitors could not sustain this fire again, during another hour of attack. [O. R., N. D., Vol. XIV, p. 53.]

The commanders of six of the monitors sustaining injuries were unanimous in the opinion that it would be unwise to renew the attack at that time. In a signed statement under date of April 24, 1863, they say:

After the experience gained under the fire of the enemy, we were unanimously of the opinion that a renewal of the attack would be unwise in the extreme, and for the following reasons:

Our vessels had been very much injured before passing the first of the three lines of defenses which protect Charleston, and perhaps, considering the obstacles to be met with farther up, not the strongest of the three. In receiving these injuries they had not been able to do any damage to Fort Sumter, at least, to slacken its fire; and even supposing this point passed, there still remained to go over more than 3 miles of water before reaching the city, part of which, we could see, was obstructed by piles, and all of which offered the utmost convenience for torpedoes, cables, and every other known means of stopping an advancing naval force, to say nothing of the guns.

When, in addition to this it had been proved that any heavy blow on the turret was very apt to disorder and stop it, that our side armor and decks were penetrable, and the pilot house, where is the steering apparatus, and from which is the only lookout, could be made untenable, as two of them to a great extent had been, it is scarcely surprising that we should have arrived at the above conclusions. [O. R., N. D., Vol. XIV, p. 46.]

In the issue of the Baltimore American of April 15, 1863, C. C. Fulton, a correspondent, described the failure to renew the attack as, "A disgraceful result," severely criticizing Rear-Admiral DuPont, although he had been a guest of the fleet. It was this criticism that called forth the communication from the six commanders of the monitors receiving severe injuries. The article in the American bears date, Off Charleston Bar, April 8, 1863, and is as follows:

Yesterday was a bright day, but nothing to compare to the clearness of the atmosphere this morning. We can see the bruises and indentations on the walls of Sumter; the flags flying from all the forts, and even the smoke curling up from the chimneys of the houses in Charleston; the steeple of St. Philip's, St. Michael's, the Cathedral, and Grace Church can be recognized, as well as the observatory on the Mill's House. Everything is distinct and clear to the vision this morning, and just sufficient wind blowing to carry the smoke rapidly off if the bombardment be renewed. Fort Pinckney, which is far up in the harbor, opposite the wharves of the city, is distinctly visible, with its flag, whilst Fort Sumter stands out clearly in the foreground of this magnificent panorama.

The Ironclad Keokuk returned from the conflict badly pierced with shot, seventeen balls passing through her armor, five of which were below the water line. She was with difficulty kept afloat during the night and at 8 o'clock this morning sank near the end of Folly Island, about 3 miles from Sumter. She lies in about 2½ fathoms of water, and her smoke-stack is visible above the water line.

But now comes the saddest and most sorrowful part of my statement. The seven Ericson monitors were all examined this morning by Mr. Stimers, inspector of monitors, and with the assistance of his workmen had them all in as good condition for service as they were yesterday before noon. Half past 1 o'clock was the hour fixed upon for a renewal of the bombardment, and officers of the different vessels were all in readiness and most of them anxious for the renewal of the conflict.
The order for the movement was momentarily waited for, but the order never came. At 3 o'clock it was ascertained throughout the fleet that the admiral had decided that "Charleston is impregnable, that Sumter cannot be taken with the vessels and apparatus placed at his disposal by the Government." [Naval Records, Vol. XIV, pp. 57-58.]

Henry S. Tafft, Captain and Chief Signal Officer, Department of the South, in his report to the Signal Office of the U. S. Army, under date April 14, 1863, says:

Maj. Gen. Hunter and Staff, on the morning of the 6th, moved up to Charleston Bar, where they were lying at anchor the naval blockading fleet and iron clads. * * * During the preceding night the column of our forces under command of Col. Howell arrived at the head of Folly Island. The signal officers with them opened communication at once with the flagship, thus giving the first information to the commanding general by signals of our possession of the island.

At 3 P. M., 7th instant, the attack upon Fort Sumter by the ironclads was made, our fleet remaining in action about two and a half hours under the most terrific fire. Immediately after the conclusion of the attack the admiral reported by signals to Gen. Hunter the result of the engagement as follows:

"Gen. Hunter: Delayed in getting under way by accident, orders not reaching the leading ship. We attempted to pass into the inner channel, but were obliged to anchor to prevent going ashore. Engaged the forts, but found it too late to continue. Casualties few. One ironclad disabled; two partially so. Ironsides very slightly; struck very often. Please inform senior naval officers. DuPont."

The succeeding day Gen. Hunter was informed by signals that the attack would be renewed as soon as the disabled ironclads were in order. We awaited such movements until the afternoon, when I received from Lieut. Town a confidential dispatch to the effect that no further engagement would take place for the present. This information I gave unofficially to Gen. Hunter, being, I suppose, the first notice he had received of such determination on the part of the admiral. In the afternoon Gen. Hunter left the Ben De Ford and in a small boat went to Stono.

On the 11th the general again came on the Ben De Ford and sailed for Port Royal, followed by all the land forces with the exception of one brigade left in possession of Folly Island, and one brigade at Edisto. Signal officers remained with these forces. A line is established from one end of Folly Island to the other at Edisto between the gunboats and land forces. [Naval Records, Vol. XIV, pp. 95-98.]

The troops at the head of Folly Island had an excellent view of the naval attack on Fort Sumter and the terrific fire concentrated from almost every direction on the fleet of iron-clads. It was about 3 o'clock P. M. when the Weehawken crossed the bar, followed by six other monitors, the Ironsides, (the flagship) and Keokuk. Shortly after crossing the bar they received a rapid fire from Fort Sumter, soon seconded by the guns from Fort Johnston. The ironclads held their fire until they got in good range and the first shot that struck Sumter was plainly visible. Between five and six P. M., the ironclads withdrew, apparently for the night and before 6 P. M. quietness prevailed, as both forts and vessels had ceased firing.

On the following afternoon the Regiment was ordered to move about four miles south, and before night the men had pitched tents on the beach about midway between the north and south extremities. Col. Howell was relieved of the command of the brigade by the following order from Gen. Hunter, dated April 8, 1863:

The Regiment remained on Folly Island until Saturday, July 18, when it moved across Light House Inlet to Morris Island. The best conception of life on Folly Island during the Regiment's encampment there can be derived from Commissary Sergeant Bell's diary, supplemented occasionally by extracts from two or three others, as follows:

_Monday, April 6, 1863._ We landed on Folly Island about 3 A. M. and marched along the sea beach to the north end, about ten miles. Fort Sumter is in full view, and said to be six miles distant, Morris Island, lying between Folly Island and Fort Sumter. The 100th New York preceded us and the 39th Illinois and 62d Ohio followed. Some marines accompanied us dragging two howitzers. No enemy in sight on Folly Island. Co. A was detailed for picket and had only been posted a little while until relieved by Co. E.

_April 7._ During the night the Regiment was hurriedly called out into line as the pickets reported that a gunboat of the enemy was approaching. The boat proved to be an old float with nothing on it. We had only coffee and hardtack for breakfast. We can hear the enemy's drums very distinctly. At 8 A. M. Companies A, C and F marched to the west side of the island where we found a pond of fresh water covered with a green scum; as we had no fresh water for some time that was not brackish, the men helped themselves as though it were clear spring water. Returned to camp about 2 P. M. At 3 P. M. the Ironsides and Monitors crossed the bar and soon thereafter a shot was fired from Fort Sumter and then for two hours a rapid fire belched forth from the guns of Fort Sumter and Fort Johnson. The Ironclads did not reply until they got into good range. I witnessed the first shot that struck Sumter. The firing ceased at six P. M. when the ironclads withdrew and passed outside the bar.

_April 8._ After receiving a short ration the Regiment moved south on the Island for three or four miles and encamped on the beach.

_April 9._ Moved camp a short distance—near the center of the Island which is about ten miles in length and from one and one half to two miles in width. West of the Island there is a marsh from two or three miles in width. Brig. Gen. Israel Vogdes has relieved Col. Howell, and has headquarters in what seems to be the only house on the Island, and the only plantation with improvements.

_April 10._ Col. Howell has assumed command of the Regiment. We have been on short rations for some time, and our camp is made of shelter tents.

_April 11._ Drew three days rations of hard bread, meat, sugar, coffee and beans. A detail of the Regiment pulled a small cannon from the beach to Gen. Vogdes' headquarters.

_April 12._ Chaplain Caldwell returned from the north where he has been since Feb. 12. W. A. Scott of Co. A returned with him; the latter left the Regiment in June last at White Oak Swamp. Adjutant McHenry has been assigned as assistant adjutant-general on the staff of Gen. Vogdes.

_April 13._ Gen. Orris S. Ferry has been relieved by Gen. Seymour, Chief of Staff to Gen. Hunter. It is rumored that Gen. Ferry is in arrest. Companies A and F are detailed to guard Gen. Vogdes' headquarters tonight.

_April 14._ An officer who strayed beyond the picket line last night, and falling to halt when challenged was shot in leg by the picket and bled to death.

_April 15._ A detail from the Regiment was sent to Cole's Island for tents and baggage; most of the baggage still remains at the south end of this Island.

_April 17._ Rumored that Gen. Hunter has been relieved of this command. The gunboat McDonough shelled a battery of the enemy on James Island, planted there to shell our camp, but too distant to reach us.

_April 18._ Lieut. McHenry of Gen. Vogdes' staff mustered the Regiment, in order to see how many of the men were able for duty; Co. A has lost 31 from death and dis-
charge; 53 were present; 17 absent, rumored the Regiment has to be filled with recruits.

**Sunday, April 19.** A beautiful day; the Chaplain returned from Hilton Head bringing some mail; prayer-meeting in the evening but no further service during the day; rumored the reason there was no service because Gen. Vogdes is afraid of attracting the attention of the enemy only three or four miles away. Co. C was on guard at Gen. Vogdes' headquarters during the night.

**April 20.** The paymaster, Maj. Moore, visited us today and left four months pay. Chaplain Caldwell preached his farewell sermon tonight prior to taking his final departure for home. His reason for leaving is due to the indifference of the officers as to religious service of late; formerly the Regiment was marched to religious service, but of late the men struggle to service if they are inclined to and remain away if they so desire.

**April 21.** Chaplain Caldwell left for home, taking quite a sum of money belonging to the men who sent it to their families.

**April 22.** "A" tents arrived from the south end of the Island. An officer and private of Co. F, were noisily intoxicated; the private was put in the guard house; the officer was reprimanded by Col. Howell; prayer meeting in the evening; Company A, was detailed to guard Gen. Vogdes' headquarters during the night.

**April 23.** The men put bunks in tents and planted bushes so as to shelter the tents from the heat of the sun. Men bathe daily in Atlantic ocean.

**April 24.** Lieut. Col. Purviance returned from a furlough home; Co. A marched to his quarters out of compliment and he made a speech, his subject being, "The Copperheads at Home."

**April 25.** Mail from the North brought a copy of the Washington (Pa.) Reporter with an account of the Goldsboro Expedition written by Lt. Col. Purviance; also a number of copies of the United Presbyterian with an account of the trip from Newbern, N. C., to Port Royal Harbor by Com. Sergt. Bell.

**Sunday, April 26.** General inspection by Col. Howell; an excellent prayer meeting, led by Elias Duvall of Co. F, was held in the evening; no other services during the day.

**April 27.** Col. Howell inspected quarters; drew one day's rations of flour, potatoes and onions; cloudy in forenoon but raining all afternoon.

**April 28.** Inspection by Maj. Campbell in the morning, as inspector-general of the division.

**April 29.** Received fresh beef and potatoes; W. H. Hines and John R. Kline, left on guard at Saint Helena Island, returned today. Prayer meeting in the evening, led by Elias Duvall of Company F.

**April 30.** Today is an appointed Fast Day by proclamation of President Lincoln; mustered for pay by Lieut. S. L. McHenry, of Gen. Vogdes' Staff; prayer-meeting in the evening led by William P. Green; no singing, it being prohibited by Gen. Vogdes for fear of drawing the enemy's fire. A mortar on a schooner in Folly River, near the general's headquarters threw some shells at the enemy on James Island. Scarcely a day goes by that the men do not bathe in the ocean.

**May 1.** Lieut. Col. Purviance got a letter out of a small sail boat at the north end of the Island, evidently sent over by the enemy making dire threats; drew five days rations; Com. Sergt. J. B. Bell, Serg't Thomas M. Harford, and Corp. John M. Moore, were detailed to assist Maj. Campbell inspect and correct the muster rolls of the division.

**May 2.** Prayer meeting in the evening; mosquitoes and gnats are a great pest.

**Sabbath, May 3.** A most delightful morning; prayer-meeting in the evening, a number of men from the 100th New York Regiment being present; the most interesting meeting held for a long time. Tattoo was sounded for the first time since the Island has been occupied by Federal troops.

**May 4.** Co. E, sent to the south end of the Island on guard duty; fortifications are now being erected on the Island; prayer-meeting in the evening attended by a number; from the 100th New York Regiment.
May 5. A short drill at 6.30 A. M.; no drill during the main part of the day, owing to the intense heat; Co. F went to the South end of the Island for guard and fatigue duty, to remain there seven days; prayer-meeting in the evening.

May 6. Drill at 6.30 A. M.; dress parade at 8 A. M., at which Lieut. Col. Purviance made an address on the importance of cleanliness of person and of camp, in order to prevent disease; 1st Lieut. John M. Crawford is acting quartermaster, as Q. M. Beall is acting as brigade quartermaster on Col. Howell's staff; prayer-meeting in the evening.

May 7. By order of Lieut. Col. Purviance tents were raised some distance from the ground; Sergt. J. A. Swearer led prayer-meeting in the evening.

May 8. Co. drill at 7 A. M. and dress parade at 9 A. M., as is usual every week day the weather permits; followed by bathing in the Atlantic Ocean.

May 9. Reveille at sunrise as usual; Co. drill at seven; dress parade at 9; Co. A went to the south end of the Island to relieve Co. F, on guard and fatigue duty, building fortifications; prayer-meeting in the evening.

Sunday, May 10. Inspection at 9 A. M.; heavy mail via Washington, D. C., arrived today; prayer-meeting in the evening; about midnight the Regiment was ordered out to capture some of the enemy said to have landed on the Island; failed to capture them.

May 11. Regiment returned to camp at day-break, having a fruitless errand. Company drill at 7 A. M.; some of the men killed a shark three feet in length; prayer-meeting in the evening at Sergt. Swearer's tent.

May 12. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; prayer-meeting in the evening.

May 13. Hot, sultry day; Co. drill at 7 A. M.; as the tide was receding a shark was noticed in a depression, evidently caught there while feeding on fish; in capturing him Wm. Mahaffey of Co. E, drove a bayonet into his flesh which caused the shark to make a splurge, throwing Mahaffey ten or twelve feet; a man from another regiment caught the shark by the tail, when, quick as a flash, a leg of the man was in the jaws of the monster, and the bone broken; the shark was clubbed to death; its weight was 318 pounds; rumored in camp that Hooker has taken Richmond.

May 14. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; Gen. Vogdes visited the fortifications being erected at the south end of the Island and complained that the men were shirking work, notwithstanding the intense heat.

May 15. Rainy and misty all day; Co. drill at 7 A. M.; ocean very rough.

May 16. Rain continues; no drill; the pickets secured a copy of the Charleston Mercury from the enemy's pickets yesterday with an account of Stonewall Jackson's death and of the defeat of Gen. Hooker's army.

Sunday, May 17. Inspection at 9 A. M.; at 1 P. M., Federal batteries opened fire on the enemy; prayer-meeting in the evening.

May 18. Pleasant day but quite warm by noon; Co. A returned to camp from picket and fatigue duty late in the evening.

May 19. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; Co. cooks appointed, and orders issued that all rations must be served cooked, and at the call of the drum; the men prohibited from carrying off more than they eat; a number of comrades started north on thirty days' furlough; prayer-meeting in the evening.

May 20. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; beautiful day throughout and the men enjoyed bathing in the Atlantic.

May 21. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; considerable firing by blockading squadron; John B. Bell detailed to act as commissary sergeant in the absence of Com. Sergt. Abraham Miller on over-due furloughs; Lieut. Crawford acting as quartermaster; prayer-meeting in the evening.

May 22. Reveille at sunrise; Co. drill at 7 A. M.; dress parade at 8 A. M.; ration of fresh beef issued; a singing club from 6th Conn. Regiment, gave a vocal concert at Capt. Phillips tent; Lieut. Remley and Lieut. John W. Brown left on furlough.

May 23. Co. drill as usual; mail from the north; prayer-meeting in the evening.

Sunday, May 24. Inspection at 9 A. M.; no dress parade; prayer-meeting in the evening.
May 25. Reveille at sunrise, Co. drill at 7 A. M.; dress parade at 8 A. M.; for sanitary reasons camp was moved a short distance; officers tents pitched on a ridge and the enlisted men's tents between the old and new position of the officers' tents; the distance was only a few yards.

May 26. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; cool and misty in forenoon turning to rain in evening; received ration of fresh beef.

May 27. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; cloudy and misty in A. M. turning to rain in P. M.; received rations consisting of beef, pork, hard tack, flour, coffee, tea, sugar, beans, rice, peas, hominy, desiccated potatoes; desiccated vegetables, molasses. The foregoing was the usual full ration when conditions were normal and in addition occasionally, onions, new potatoes, cabbage and carrots.

May 28. Misty day with a rough ocean; the rolling breakers tempting many of the men to breast them, although the mist had turned to rain.

May 29. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; dress parade at 8 A. M.; camp inspection by post inspector; mail from north; drew ration of fresh beef.

May 30. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; dress parade at 8 A. M., followed by battalion drill; commissary received two days rations; prayer-meeting in the evening.

Sunday, May 31. Anniversary of battle of Seven Pines; beautiful morning; inspection at 9 A.M.; gun boats shelling James Island in forenoon; rumored in camp that Col. Howell is endeavoring to have Regiment returned to the State to fill its ranks; prayer-meeting in the evening.

June 1. Co. drill 7 A. M.; dress parade and battalion drill at 8 A. M.; eclipse of moon at night.

June 2. Reveille half hour after day break; bayonet drill at 7 A. M., and dress parade at 8 A. M.; thunder storm in the evening.

June 3. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; dress parade followed by battalion drill at 8 A. M.; day exceedingly warm and the men were ordered to cover their tents with palmetto leaves and branches as a shelter from the sun.

June 4. Bayonet exercise at 7 A. M.; dress parade and battalion drill at 8 A. M.

June 5. Co. bayonet drill at 7 A. M.; dress parade and battalion drill at 8 A. M.; clothing issued during the day; prayer-meeting in the evening.

June 6. Co. drill at 7 A. M. followed by battalion drill and dress parade at 8 A. M.; men building ovens to bake bread.

Sunday, June 7. A day of rest, exceedingly warm; preaching in the evening at 100th New York Camp by Dr. Wright of the Christian Sanitary Commission with music by a brass band.

June 8. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; battalion drill at 8:30 A. M.; prayer-meeting in the evening led by W. P. Green.

June 9. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; squad drill in the evening.

June 10. Co. drill, bayonet exercise, at 7 A. M.; squad drill in the evening; prayer-meeting led by Sergt. Swearer; blockade runner grounded, William H. Sias, and William McMullen, detailed as Regimental bakers.

June 11. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; bayonet exercise; a number of men absent sick returned today; squad drill in the evening followed by a thunder storm.

June 12. Co. drill, bayonet exercise at 7 A. M., followed by dress parade at 8 A. M.; a detail of two men from each company to act as sharp shooters to prevent the enemy from boarding the blockade runner grounded between Folly and Morris Island; squad drill in the evening. The enemy's batteries threw some shells into the camps of the 39th Illinois and 62d Ohio Regiments, but without effect.

June 13. Co. drill in bayonet exercise at 7 A. M., followed by battalion drill at 8:30 A. M.; Sergt. James A. Swearer, a corporal and nine men were detailed for guard duty on board the Steamer Nantasket, the marine headquarters of Gen. Vogdes.
Sunday, June 14. Inspection at 9 A. M.; a continuous fusillade all day at the north end of the Island between the sharpshooters of both sides to prevent each other from boarding the wrecked blockade runner.

June 15. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; squad drill in the evening.

June 16. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; battalion drill and dress parade at 8:30 A. M.; David Woods Shields, detailed to take charge of Regimental bakery.

June 17. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; squad drill in the evening; heavy firing by the enemy from James Island.

June 18. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; rain in the evening.

June 19. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; dress parade at 8:30, at which orders were read that Col. Howell was in command of the brigade, consisting of the following regiments: 85th Penna., 39th Ill., 6th Conn. and 100th New York, with Capt. Geo. H. Hooker, assistant adjutant-general, Lieut. William E. Beall, quartermaster of the 85th, brigade commissary, and Lieut. S. C. McGregor, as aide-de-camp, and Lieut. Absalom Dial, to be adjutant of the Regiment. A rigid inspection of the Regiment was made by the inspector-general of the division in the afternoon.

June 20. Gen. Q. A. Gillmore visited Folly Island today.

June 21. Cloudy morning, inspection at 9 A. M.; five days rations drawn in the afternoon; rain in the evening, prayer-meeting.

June 22. Co. H, relieved Co. F, from fatigue duty at the north end of Folly Island, assisting in mounting heavy guns; draw two months pay for March and April.

June 23. An incident of camp life is worth recording; a first sergeant was reduced to the ranks for a trifling cause by Lieut. Col. Purviance, against the protest of his captain; a favorite officer of the Lieut. Col. was so intoxicated that he ordered him in arrest; the captain insisted that the officer either must be court martialed or the first sergeant restored to his position; the captain won.

June 23. Cloudy morning, but pleasant. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; battalion drill at 8:30 A. M.; squad drill in the evening.

June 24. Capt. Kerr and 60 men detailed to go to the south point of Folly Island to unload heavy guns from a schooner. At grand guard mount Lt. Col. Purviance ordered that men detailed as guards should come out in full uniform with shoes polished and every button shining bright.

June 25. Co. drill at 7 A. M. followed by battalion drill and dress parade at 8:30; rain in the evening; heavy mail today, but none for the Regiment; evidently a mistake somewhere; Gen. Gilmore criticized Gen. Vogdes quite openly for having fortifications erected on the south end of the Island and scarcely any on the north end. He asked the general if it was his intention to swing the island around to meet the fire of the enemy. Company C is provost guard at Gen. Vogdes headquarters, with Capt. Hughes as provost marshal.

June 27. Co. H relieved from fatigue duty at head of Folly Island by Co. K; the fortifications are progressing rapidly, the men working night and day, concealed from the enemy.

Sunday, June 28. Inspection at 9 A. M.; wet day.

June 29. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; battalion drill and dress parade at 8:30 A. M.; squad drill in the evening.

June 30. Mustered for pay at 7 A. M. by Capt. Geo. H. Hooker, A. A. G. on Col. Howell’s staff; Gen. Vogdes has his headquarters on the Steamer Nantasket at night; Sergt. Swearer and detachment still on duty on Nantasket; camp gossip is that the general believes he has secret enemies who wish to get rid of him; a ball struck his house which had been accidentally fired from a sentinel’s musket.

July 1. Co. drill at 7 A. M.; battalion drill and dress parade at 8:30 A. M. and squad drill in the evening. Com. Sergt. Abraham Miller returned to Regiment but was returned to his company because he had overstayed the time allowed him on his furlough.

July 2. The Nantasket with Gen. Vogdes on board was fired upon by the Ironsides because it was inside the blockade line.
July 3. A slight change in the order of the day; Reveille at 5:30; Surgeons call at 6; drill at 6:30 to 7:30 and grand guard at 9 A. M.

July 4. Salute fired by the blockading squadron in honor of the day; Companies D and G, went on fatigue duty on fortifications at north end of the Island.

July 5. The daily routine of camp life; four regiments arrived on the Island today.

July 6. Reveille at 5:30, drill at 6:30; squad drill in the evening.

July 7. There are now 15 regiments on Folly Island commanded by Gen. Truman Seymour, consisting of two divisions; commanded by Generals Vogdes (1st) and Strong (2d); Col. Howell commanding the 1st Brigade of the 1st Division.

July 8. Regiment received marching orders with three days' rations; every man required to go not excused by the Surgeon; the Regiment marched to the head of the Island, and bivouacked.

July 9. The Regiment returned to its camp in the forenoon; the monitors are anchored outside the harbor bar; Lieut. John Remley resigned, left for home; Lieut. Levi M. Rogers is now in command of Co. F, during the interim of Remley's resignation and his departure.

July 10. The Regiment was held in readiness to move all day and marched to the head of the Island in the evening.

July 11. Regiment held in readiness for action at head of Island; all men on picket duty relieved and returned to Regiment.

July 12. Regiment remains at head of Folly Island awaiting orders to move at a moment's notice; mail arrived from the north bringing the first news of the battle of Gettysburg.

July 13. Companies A and I, under Capt. Richard W. Dawson, sent to James Island on picket duty; Companies F and H, at headquarters guarding prisoners, (10 officers and 114 enlisted men) the other companies of the Regiment at the head of Folly Island. A transport of the enemy bringing supplies from Charleston to the troops in Fort Wagner and Gregg came in range of the guns of a battery planted by Gen. Gillmore, and was abandoned on the Folly River; Capt. Paris (or Pains) of the 100th New York, took a row boat and set it on fire.

July 14. Col. Howell is now in command of the Regiment; Maj. Campbell is Asst. Inspector-General of Gen. Seymour's staff; Companies F and H have rejoined the Regiment.

July 15. Regiment held in readiness to move at head of Folly Island.

July 16. The enemy attacked the Federal troops on James Island at early morn and were repulsed by the colored troops stationed there; rained hard in the evening.

July 17. Regiment still at the head of the Island in readiness to move at a moment's notice. Company E returned to Regiment.

July 18. Regiment crossed to Morris Island the day the assault was made on Battery Wagner by Gen. Strong, Col. Putnam and Col. Shaw.
Folly Island (Continued.)

CHAPTER XIV.


From June 3 to July 17, 1863.

By direction of the President, Gen Halleck, on June 3, 1863 ordered Brig. Gen. Q. A. Gillmore to temporarily relieve Maj. Gen. David Hunter from the command of the Department of the South. Gen. Gillmore arrived at Hilton Head on June 11, and assumed command the following day. In relinquishing the command of the Department of the South, Gen. Hunter paid a high compliment to his successor. However, his removal caused him much chagrin, as he regarded it as a censure of his conduct while in that command. This is made clear in a communication which he addressed to President Lincoln within a fortnight of the time of his removal, in which he requested permission to publish such official papers necessary to set him right in the eyes of his friends. In reply to this request President Lincoln assured him that the change of commanders was made "for no reason which conveyed any imputation upon his energy, efficiency and patriotism." In reference to the publication of the papers the President closed his reply in the following terms:

I cannot, by giving my consent to a publication of whose details I know nothing, assume the responsibility of whatever you may write. In this matter your own sense of military propriety must be your guide and the regulations of the service your rule of conduct.


Immediately after assuming command Gen. Gillmore made a reconnaissance of Morris Island and its surroundings next to Folly and James Islands, and gave orders to Gen. Vogdes, then in command of Folly Island, to plant batteries behind the sand-hills on the north end of Folly Island, and to conduct the operations of this work secretly and without being seen by the enemy. At the time Gen. Gillmore assumed command of the Department of the South, the aggregate force present in the Department was 21,323.

On June 30 the troops stationed on Folly Island under the command of Gen. Vogdes consisted of two brigades of infantry. The First Brigade consisting of the 4th and 7th New Hampshire Regiments and 62d and 67th Ohio Regiments, commanded by Col. Haldimand S. Putnam; Second Brigade, consisting of the 6th Connecticut, 39th Illinois, 100th New York and 85th Pennsylvania, commanded by Col. Joshua B. Howell. In addition to the foregoing there were several batteries of artillery, a company of cavalry, and four companies of
the 1st New York Engineers, that were not brigaded. On the evening of July 5, Brig. Gen. George C. Strong's brigade, consisting of 48th New York, 3d New Hampshire, 76th Pennsylvania, 9th Maine and an Independent Battalion of New York Volunteers, and Brayton's battery arrived on Folly Island. On the arrival of above forces, in compliance with an order of Gen. Gillmore issued July 4, the following temporary disposition was made of the troops on Folly and adjacent islands: The 86th Pennsylvania, 39th Illinois, 32d Ohio, 67th Ohio, 100th New York, 4th New Hampshire, 2d Battalion New York Vols. [Enfans Perdus], and the detachments of 3d New York Artillery, 3d Rhode Island Heavy Artillery, and 1st Massachusetts Cavalry were formed into a brigade under Gen. Vogdes; the 7th Connecticut Battalion, 3d New Hampshire, 76th Pennsylvania, 9th Maine, 48th New York, 6th Connecticut and Brayton's Battery were formed into a brigade under Gen. Strong, and Brig. Gen. Truman Seymour, former chief of staff of the department, assigned to the command of all the troops on Folly and adjacent islands.

On July 6, a temporary re-organization of the troops on Folly and adjacent islands constituted the forces into two divisions, the First Division commanded by Brig. Gen. Alfred H. Terry; the Second Division commanded by Brig. Gen. Truman Seymour. The latter division consisted of two brigades as follows: First Brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. I. Vogdes, consisting of the 85th Pennsylvania, 39th Illinois, 62d and 67th Ohio, 7th New Hampshire and Independent Battalion New York Vols. [Enfans Perdus]. Second Brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. George C. Strong: 7th Connecticut, 3d New Hampshire, 76th Pennsylvania, 9th Maine, 48th New York and 6th Connecticut Volunteers. Between the 15th day of June and the 3d day of July, the troops under command of Gen. Vodges (consisting of the 85th Pennsylvania, 39th Illinois, 62d and 67th Ohio, 100th New York, 4th New Hampshire; detachments of the 3d New York Artillery, 3d Rhode Island Heavy Artillery, 1st U. S. Artillery and 1st New York Engineers), placed in position, in revetted and embrasured batteries, under an almost constant artillery fire of the enemy, estimated at 2,000 shots, twelve 10 inch; four 8 inch mortars; twelve 30-pounder, ten 10-pounder Parrotts, and six 12-pounder Wiard guns—48 guns in all; with magazines and splinter-proofs and each piece was supplied with 200 rounds of ammunition. These were carried to their position during the night, and so effectually were these movements concealed that, up to the time of opening the fire of the batteries, the enemy had not the slightest idea of their existence, although he had a lookout overlooking the position, not far away, near Secessionville on James Island.

The establishment of these batteries was a complete surprise to the Confederate commanders and called forth severe criticism from the Confederate authorities at Richmond. The War Department at Richmond in a communication under date of July 12, having deprecated the lodgement of Federal troops on Morris Island, Gen. Beauregard, in a preliminary report in reply thereto, under date of July 20, promised that a "full report will be made as soon as subordinate officers shall have placed these headquarters in possession of the
official facts connected with their operations." Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, indorsed this report as follows:

I hope some clear comprehension of the causes which enabled the enemy to approach Morris Island with batteries before being observed will be given in the promised report.

Under date of July 22, Brig. Gen. R. S. Ripley, the Confederate commanding general of the district, in his official report, says:

On the morning of the 10th, the enemy opened a heavy fire upon our positions from little Folly, with from twenty to thirty long-range guns, which he had placed in battery during the night. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XVIII, part I, p. 370.]

Mr. Porcher Miles, a member of the Confederate Congress, and also an aide on the staff of Gen. Beauregard, in a letter to the Confederate Secretary of War, James A. Sedden, under date of August 15, 1863, said:

The enemy took advantage of our weakness to attack us when we could not have a sufficient force of infantry on Morris Island to effectually resist them. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XXVIII, part I, p. 282.]

To this, under date of August 21, Sec. Sedden replied in part as follows:

The true cause of the lodgement made by the enemy on Morris Island, according to my conception, was not the want of infantry force at the command of that department, but as I had before supposed was universally admitted, the want of adequate works of defense at the lower end of the island, known long to be the external gate of the city, and the establishment by the enemy, without the knowledge of the military authorities, of powerful land batteries on Folly Island, screened and concealed, until fully prepared to open upon us with all the effect of a surprise, by the woods which had been allowed to remain unfelled on that island. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XXVIII, part I, p. 297.]

This communication called forth an indignant protest from Gen. Beauregard to the adjutant and inspector general of the Confederate army, when submitting his official report of operations on Morris Island during the months of August, July and September, 1863, under date of September 18, 1864, in which he said:

I doubt not that after the perusal of this report the honorable Secretary of War will admit that he did me unintentional injustice.

Under date of August 28, 1863, Gen. Beauregard submitted to Brig. Gen. R. S. Ripley, commanding the First Military District, which included Morris Island, 32 interrogatories, the replies to which were intended by him to be a refutation of the imputation of the Confederate Secretary of War. In his reply Gen. Ripley said:

Up to the 8th or 9th of July, the enemy, as far as could be ascertained, had constructed no works on Little Folly, excepting to shelter his pickets from our shells. An expedition had been organized to cross the inlet, drive in his pickets, and ascertain his works as early as the 6th, but had been delayed by the weather and the character of our boats. His works, such as they were, were discovered on the 9th, and a scouting expedition under Capt. Haskell, on the night of the 8th, reported a fleet of boats moored as if in readiness to attempt a crossing.
There is no doubt from the character of the guns which he used, of which there were about thirty of different caliber, from 30-pounder Parrots down, that they had been placed on temporary platforms, behind the sandhills for the most part. Any shot heavier than a 30-pounder Parrott fired on the 10th came from the gunboats or from works on Big Folly. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XXVIII, part I, pp. 94-97.]

During the night of July 9, the brigade of Gen. Strong was embarked in launches and small boats, at Campbell’s house, near the south end of Folly Island, and moved up Folly River to the Junction with Light House Inlet, halting there to await further orders. Four regiments of Gen. Vogdes command, the 100th New York, 7th New Hampshire, 62d and 67th Ohio, remained in the trenches at the head of Folly Island, while the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment bivouacked in front of the intrenched line at Camp Howell. At 5 o’clock in the morning, the concealed batteries at the head of Folly Island opened a heavy fire on the enemy in position at the south end of Morris Island. This fire was so well directed and so concentrated on the enemy, and he so taken by surprise, that his fire was very ineffective in comparison with that of the Federal batteries, which was so rapid, incessant and accurate as to soon drive the enemy from his guns.

At about 7 A. M., two hours after the artillery opened fire, at a signal from Gen. Gillmore, the infantry under Gen. Strong landed and charged upon the enemy’s works, capturing successively eight batteries of one heavy gun each, besides two batteries, mounting together, three 10-inch sea coast mortars. As soon as the boats that had carried Gen. Strong’s troops were free, they returned to Folly Island and transported the 100th New York, 48th New York and 7th New Hampshire Regiments across. The aggregate loss in killed and wounded on the Federal side was 106, 15 killed and 91 wounded. Eleven officers and 139 men of the enemy were captured. The Federal troops continued to advance on Morris Island until within musket range of Battery Wagner. On the following day, July 11, at daybreak, pursuant to instructions from Gen. Gillmore, an assault was made on Battery Wagner by the 76th Pennsylvania, Ninth Maine, and 7th Connecticut Regiments. This assault was repulsed with heavy loss, aggregating 350 casualties. [Vol. XXVIII, pt. I, pp. 354, 355, 356.] The Confederate commander, Brig. Gen. R. S. Ripley in his report of the attack on Morris Island says:

On the morning of the 10th, the enemy opened a heavy fire upon our positions from Little Folly, with from twenty to thirty long range guns, which he had placed in battery during the night. Soon after, four monitors took position to the northeast of the position, enfilading it and taking some of the batteries in reverse.

After about three hours furious shelling from the enemy, to which our guns steadily replied, a large number of barges filled with troops came up little Folly River, and, under cover of their fire, succeeded in effecting a landing on Oyster Point and the main shore of Morris Island. The enemy advanced immediately, driving back our inferior force of infantry, and succeeded in expelling our troops from the south end of Morris Island and capturing the artillery. * * * This was not effected without a severe struggle, in which we lost 294 killed, wounded and missing. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XXVIII, part I, p. 370.]

Of the assault on the morning of the 11th of July Gen. Ripley says:
This occurred at dawn on the 11th, when the enemy advanced upon the work in two columns and made a desperate assault, which was gallantly and decidedly repulsed, with a loss to the enemy which may be safely estimated at over 800 men. Our burying parties interred over 100 inside of our line and 130 were taken prisoners. Our loss was 1 officer and 5 privates killed, and 1 officer and 5 privates wounded. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XXVIII, part I, p. 371.]

The failure of the assault on Fort Wagner of July 11, coupled with information acquired from various sources of the strength of that work, induced Gen. Gillmore to establish counter batteries against it. Conferring with Rear-Admiral Dahlgren, who had succeeded Rear-Admiral Dupont on July 6, it was determined to attempt, with the combined fire of the land batteries and gun-boats, to dismount the principal guns of the work, and either drive the enemy from it or open the way to a successful assault. Batteries were accordingly established, and were ready to open fire on the morning of July 18. Gen. Gillmore, according to his report, had greatly under-rated the formidable character of Fort Wagner, and the difficulties to be overcome in approaching it. The width of the island, at its narrowest part, near and just south of the fort, had been reduced by the encroachments of the ocean considerably from the width shown from the latest previous coast survey charts, and during spring tides and heavy weather the waves frequently swept entirely over it, practically isolating that position defended by Fort Wagner and Battery Gregg, thus greatly augmenting the difficulty to be overcome in capturing the position, whether by assault or gradual approaches. According to the report of Gen. Gillmore, Morris Island at that time was about 3¾ miles long. Its width above high-water varied between very wide limits (25 to 1000 yards), while its area was 400 acres, approximately. The center of the island lies in a south-easterly direction from Charleston and is 5¾ miles distant from it. Cumming's Point, the northern extremity, is exactly 6,616 yards distant from the nearest point of the city, and 2,700 yards distant by the shortest line from Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island. Fort Sumter is 1,390 yards distant from Cumming's Point. Morris Island was widest at its southern extremity, where it was made up of a succession of irregular sand hills and ridges, the highest of which rose to a uniform height of 36 feet above ordinary high-water level, while just south of the location of Wagner the width was reduced to 25 yards and the depth to two feet. At this point the sea broke frequently entirely over the island during the spring tides.

During the first month or two after the Federal army crossed from Folly Island the loss in many places was one foot per day. The stratum of mud, of which the salt marsh which separates James and Morris Islands is composed, passes under Morris Island and cropped out on the beach between high and low water mark. The island, in fact, was simply an irregular mass of sand, which, by the continued action of wind and sea, had been accumulated upon the bosom of the marsh. The material of which Morris Island was formed and of which the batteries, trenches and other siege works were constructed was a fine and almost white quartz sand, weighing, when dry, 86 pounds to the cubic foot.
24 pounds (about 3 gallons) of water, it was found by experiment, would saturate 1 cubic foot of this sand, thereby decreasing its volume 5 per cent. Its power of resisting the penetration of shot was also found to be lessened by wetting, while a steady and gradual accumulation of pressure, like the moving of heavy wheels over it, produced a greater effect by at least three-fold, upon the dry than upon the wet sand.

The field works upon Morris Island being composed of dry, hard, flinty sand, on a windy day, was constantly blowing about, and at times to such an extent did it fill the air that it was a most severe annoyance to officers and men. Brig. Gen. John W. Turner, Chief of Artillery under Gillmore, attributed to it as an element that contributed materially to the bursting of so many heavy Parrott guns, 16 in all (8 inch and 100 pounders), between August 24 and November 28. At times when the wind was blowing strongly it was almost impossible to keep the pieces free of it; and at all times the sponge and rammer staves, moist from the hands of the men, striking the sides and soles of the embrasures, would carry into the guns a considerable quantity of the same. Gen. Turner says:

No doubt this difficulty was an extreme one with us in the position of our batteries, and I am of the opinion that it entered to some considerable extent, as an element causing the destruction of the guns which have burst lately, though by no means sufficient in itself. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XXVIII, part I, p. 223.]

After the failure of the assault on Fort Wagner on July 11, it was decided to make no further attempt to carry that stronghold by an infantry assault until preceded by a heavy artillery fire from the combined land and naval forces. The guns and material at the north end of Folly Island were transferred to Morris Island and several batteries were erected and designated by Gen. Gillmore in a general order by the following names: Battery Reynolds, in advance, 1,380 yards distant from Fort Wagner, comprising five 8-inch siege mortars, two 30-pounders, and six 10-pounder Parrots, four 3-inch rifles, and two WIard rifles; Battery Weed, in rear of right of Battery Reynolds, comprising four 10-inch mortars, 1,460 yards distant from Fort Wagner; Battery Hays, in rear and on the left of Battery Reynolds, comprising nine 30 and four 20-pounder Parrott rifles, 1,830 yards distant from Fort Wagner; and Battery O'Rorke, in rear of the right of Battery Hays, comprising five 10-inch siege mortars, 1,920 yards distant from Fort Wagner.

On July 17 Gen. Gillmore issued orders for these batteries to open fire on Fort Wagner immediately after daybreak, July 18, but unexpected obstacles delayed the opening of the bombardment until noon. Not long after midday all these batteries were in full operation and the navy, closed in opposite the fort and took an active and effective part in the engagement. During the afternoon Gen. Gillmore sent word to Rear Admiral Dahlgren that he intended to storm the work about sunset. The time of twilight was chosen for the storming party to move to the attack, in order that it might not be distinctly seen from the batteries on James and Sullivan's Islands, and from Fort Sumter. Brig. Gen. Seymour commanded the attacking column. Brig. Gen. Strong's brigade led
the assault. It was composed of the 54th Massachusetts (colored), Col. Robert G. Shaw; the 6th Connecticut, Col. Chatfield; a battalion of the 7th Connecticut; the 48th New York, Col. Barton; 3d New Hampshire, Col. Jackson; the Ninth Maine, Col. Emery; the 76th Pennsylvania, Col. Strawbridge. The immediate support was Col. Putnam’s brigade comprising his own regiment, the 7th New Hampshire, Lieut. Col. Abbott; the 100th New York, Col. Dandy; the 62d Ohio, Col. Pond; and the 67th Ohio, Col. Voris. As the head of the column debouched from the first parallel, the guns in Wagner, Gregg, Sumter, and also those on James and Sullivan’s Islands opened upon it rapidly and simultaneously, and when it approached so near the work that the firing from the naval vessels and that of the Federal land batteries had to be suspended, a destructive musketry fire was instantly delivered from the parapet by the garrison, which, up to that moment, had remained safely ensconced in the bomb-proof shelter. The troops went gallantly on, followed by the supporting brigade, gaining a portion of the works on the southeast, but after an unequal contest of nearly three hours the troops were compelled to retire, the advantage which the darkness and the perfect knowledge of the interior arrangement of the work gave the enemy rendered it necessary to relinquish it.

As this assault on Fort Wagner was the most sanguinary conflict on the Federal side which occurred in the state which first fired upon the National flag during the four years of civil strife, 246 officers and men being killed, and 880 wounded, and 389 captured or missing, a more detailed account will not be out of place. This is given in the official report of the affair by Brig. Gen. Truman Seymour, who had direct command of the division making the assault. He says in part:

My instructions from Brig. Gen. Gillmore were to open fire at daybreak, but an excessively heavy rain had fallen during the preceding night, so flooding the works and deranging our affairs generally that it could not be commenced until after 9 o’clock. A deliberate experimental fire was first directed, which gradually became as rapid as accuracy would allow. The monitors, the Ironsides, and other vessels moved up, and from about noon until nightfall the fort was subjected to such a weight of artillery as had probably never before been turned upon a single point. The garrison remained closely under shelter, returning only an occasional gun, and there was no evidence, from close personal observation, that any material damage had been done to the artillery or to the fort. Our own guns were, in fact, too far distant for accurate dismounting fire, and a portion of the right battery was so far useless, from improper location, that its gunners could not even see the object at which they fired. Nevertheless, it was presumed that, under such intense fire, some demoralization must have been effected within.

About an hour before sunset, I received instructions from Brig. Gen. Gillmore to arrange for an assault. It was suggested to me that the brigade of Gen. Strong would suffice, but it was finally understood that all the force of my command should be held ready for the work. The division was accordingly formed on the beach and moved to the front. It consisted of three fine brigades. The First, under Brig. Gen. Strong, was composed of the, 48th New York, Col. Barton; 76th Pennsylvania, Capt. J. S. Littell; 3d New Hampshire, Col. Jackson; 6th Connecticut, Col. Chatfield; 9th Maine, Col. Emery; and, temporarily, the 54th Massachusetts, Col. Shaw. The Second Brigade, under Col. Putnam, 7th New Hampshire, consisted of the 7th New Hampshire, Lieut. Col. Abbott; 100th New York, Col. Dandy; 62d Ohio, Col. Pond; and 67th Ohio, Col. Voris.
The Third Brigade was commanded by Brig. Gen. Stevenson and consisted of four excellent regiments. Gen. Strong was to take the advance. I had informed him that he should be promptly supported if it were necessary. Col. Putnam was instructed to keep his brigade ready for following up the First, while Gen. Stevenson was held in reserve. That moment was chosen for moving forward when the dusk of the evening still permitted the troops to see plainly the way, already well known to the First and Second Brigades, but was yet sufficiently indistinct to prevent accurate firing by the enemy. Our troops were to use the bayonet alone. Half the ground to be passed over was undulating, from small sand hills, affording some shelter, but not so rough as to prevent free movement of troops. That part of it next the fort was quite smooth and unobstructed to the very ditch.

The 54th Massachusetts, a colored regiment of excellent character, well officered, with full ranks, and that had conducted itself commendably a few days previously on James Island, was placed in front. Brigade commanders were advised to form in column of deployed regiments. The 54th Massachusetts only being too large to admit this development, was in two lines. Once in advance of our batteries, a few encouraging words were given to the men and the First Brigade launched forward. It had not moved far before the fort, liberated somewhat from the pressure of our fire, opened with rapid discharges of grape and canister, and its parapet was lit by a living line of musketry. More than half the distance was well passed, when present myself with the column, I saw that to overcome such resistance, overpowering force must be employed. Major Plimpton, 3d New Hampshire, my assistant inspector-general, was sent to order the Second Brigade forward at once. To my surprise this officer returned from Col. Putnam, stating that he positively refused to move, with the explanation from Col. Putnam that he had received orders from Gen. Gillmore to remain where he was. At this moment the wounded, and many unhurt also, were coming thickly from the front, along the beach. Gen. Strong had urged his command on with great spirit and gallantry, but his losses had been so severe that his regiments were much shaken, and the consequent confusion was much heightened by the yielding of the leading regiment, large portions of which fell harshly upon those in their rear. Fragments of each regiment, however,—brave men, bravely led—went eagerly over the ditch, mounted the parapet and struggled with the foe inside. But these efforts were too feeble to affect the contest materially.

Prompt support was not at hand, and the First Brigade, as a mass, had already retired, although detached portions, principally from the 48th New York and Sixth Connecticut, with the colors of those regiments, still clung to the fort. After a painful and unnecessary interval, Col. Putnam, knowing that I had expected him to come up closely and to take an energetic share in the assault, had without further orders moved his command forward. This gallant brigade went steadily on, in spite of much loss and not a little falling to the rear, and, clearing rapidly the intervening space, came to the aid of the noble followers still battling on the parapet.

By a combined and determined rush over the southeast angle of the fort, the enemy was driven from that portion of the work. Some hundred men were now inside, with Col. Putnam at their head. The bastion-like space between the bomb-proof and the parapet was fully in our possession. Some of our officers and men mounted the bomb-proof itself, which completely commanded the interior of the fort. Strong efforts were made by the enemy to drive our brave fellows out, but unsuccessfully, and rebel officers and men were captured and sent to the rear. For more than an hour this position was maintained by Col. Putnam, assisted by Col. Dandy, 100th New York; Maj. Butler, 67th Ohio; Maj. Coan, 48th New York; Capt. Klein, 6th Connecticut, and a number of other very brave and devoted officers.

And now Col. Putnam, while patiently awaiting for expected succor, and urging his men to maintain the advantage that had been gained, was shot dead, on the parapet, as brave a soldier, as courteous a gentleman, as true a man as ever walked beneath the stars and stripes. Gen. Strong had long since been wounded. Col. Chatfield, 6th Connecticut; Col. Barton, 48th New York; and Col. Shaw, 54th Massachusetts, had fallen, after the
most gallant efforts, in front of their commands; and during the advance of the Second Brigade I had been struck by a grape-shot and was compelled to retire. But I had previously sent Maj. Plimpton to order up Gen. Stevenson's brigade, which order was reiterated after my being hurt. You [Brig. Gen. J. W. Turner, Chief of Staff, Dept. of the South], were sent by Gen. Gillmore to take further command, and the Third Brigade had no further part in the attack.

Finally despairing, after long waiting, of further assistance, the senior officers at the fort withdrew our men (with exception of about 100, who could not be reached, and who were soon after captured), and what had been so dearly bought was abandoned to the enemy. And the failure must be ascribed solely to the unfortunate delay that hindered Col. Putnam from moving promptly in obedience to my orders, and to his not being supported after he had essentially succeeded in the assault. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XXVIII, part I, pp. 344, 345.]

Although the 85th Regiment had taken no part in the capture of Morris Island or the assaults upon Fort Wagner, it had not been inactive. From the time Gen. Gillmore assumed command of the Department of the South constant changes had been made in the composition of the brigade and division to which the Regiment was a part, Col. Howell, most of the time, having command of the latter. On July 6, as announced by General Orders, No. 399, by temporary organization, Gen. Vogdes assumed command of the First Brigade of the Second Division, Brig. Gen. Truman Seymour, being in command of the division. The brigade at this time was composed of the 85th Pennsylvania, 39th Illinois, 62d Ohio, 67th Ohio, 7th New Hampshire, and Independent Battalion New York Volunteers [Enfans Perdus].

During this time the men were kept constantly engaged on picket and fatigue duty on different parts of the island. The Regimental camp was about the center of the island and in close proximity to it were the camps of the 39th Illinois and 62d Ohio, all being known as "Camp Howell." Although a long distance from the north end of Folly Island, heavy details were employed there in erecting the fortifications at that point, two or three companies from the Regiment being detailed daily for that purpose. On July 4, Companies D and G, reinforced by details from the other companies were the fatigue party. At this time reveille was sounded at five A. M., breakfast call at 5:30; surgeon's call at 6; drill call at 6:30; recall from drill 7:30 and grand guard call at 9. On July 8, with three days rations, the Regiment marched to the head of the island, but returned to Camp Howell the next morning, remaining there until the afternoon of the 10th when it was again ordered to the upper end of the island, remaining there in bivouac engaged in constant picket and fatigue duty until July 18.

Companies F and H were detailed at headquarters guarding the prisoners captured on Morris Island on the 10th, remaining there until July 14, when they returned to the Regiment; Companies A and I were sent to James Island on July 13 on picket duty; Companies E and F returning to the Regiment on July 14, from guard duty on Folly Island. At this time Col. Howell was in command of the Regiment and Maj. Campbell was assigned to the staff of Gen. Vogdes as assistant inspector-general. During the period the Regiment remained at the head of Folly Island heavy details were kept busy night and day dismantling
the batteries at the head of Folly Island. Gen. Vogdes in his official report says:

By the direction of the general commanding, I remained in command at Folly Island. I immediately commenced dismantling the works at Camp Seymour and transporting the guns and materials, ordnance and engineering, to Morris Island. This was executed in less than six days. Great difficulty was experienced in making this transfer, owing to the deficiency both of land and water transportation. I was ably seconded by Maj. Campbell, 85th Pennsylvania, and Capt. Brayton, 3d Rhode Island Artillery. [O. R., W. D., Vol. XXVIII, part I, p. 353.]

While the Regiment was engaged in this arduous labor of dismantling these batteries, the heat of the sun was most enervating, and the nights were almost invariably wet—there being a succession of heavy rain-storms, which kept everything in and about the camps soaking, even damaging the hard tack in reserve at the commissary department, to such an extent that much of it was unfit for use. The fortifications on Folly Island being completed, the Regiment was ordered to cross to Morris Island on July 18, and early the next day it was sent to the front and began work on the "first parallel." This was a strong defensive line, intended to resist formidable sorties of the enemy.

A row of inclined palisading, reaching entirely across the island, was planted about 200 yards in advance of the line, with a return of 50 yards on the right. This return was well flanked by two guns on the right of the parallel. The parapet between the guns was arranged for infantry defense, a bomb-proof magazine was constructed, and the armament of the line modified and increased, so that the parallel contained eight siege and field guns, ten siege mortars, and three (Requa's) rifle batteries.

These works were all completed by July 23. The camp of the 85th was pitched about half-way between the south end of the island and Fort Wagner, and as there was no vestige of woods on the island, it was intensely hot throughout the day. As the men did most of the fatigue duty at night they were expected to get their rest during the daytime, during which time they were disturbed by sand flies and fleas, which aggravated the debilitating effects of the heat. At night when at work or trying to sleep, the mosquitoes kept annoying them, and night or day it was no unusual occurrence for them to be aroused from a sound sleep by a deluge of sand blown in through openings in the tents, sometimes filling the eyes, nose and mouth. An excellent description of Morris Island and soldier life thereon, during July, 1863, was written by Col. Francis A. Osborn of the 24th Massachusetts Regiment, who kept a daily record of events, and who was a profuse letter writer while in the service, copious extracts therefrom appearing in the history of his regiment published in 1907 under the auspices of a regimental committee, compiled by Alfred S. Roe, a veteran of the Civil War. Col. Osborn describes it as follows:

Morris Island is long and narrow. The western side is a marsh, while the eastern or seaside is a succession of sand hills, thrown together in the utmost confusion, and looking like the waves of the sea on a magnificent scale. This strip is only about half a mile wide, and all the troops have to be encamped on these billows, so that to look at the tents almost makes one seasick. Next the marsh is a narrow flat, then an enormous ridge, after which
the beach. Between this mammoth ridge and the beach are our tents. Mine is on a little mound on the edge of the beach, and looks out upon the harbor in full view of the blockading fleet and the ironclads. The surf is excellent, and I take an early bath, for all the troops stand to arms from 3:30 to 5 A. M., between which and breakfast there is an hour unoccupied. The sand hills cease at our works and the land beyond is perfectly flat, being mostly marsh, except a small strip next the beach, where we made the attack.

There are no trees, and scarcely a bush on the island, and we have great trouble to get fuel, which has to be brought from Folly Island. There is no shade, and the power of the sun is terrific. Under that and the heavy work the men are sickening rapidly. I have 250 sick and 275 well. Think of that for a regiment that has always been so healthy! The soil is the finest of fine sands, and continually fills the air. It covers everything and penetrates everywhere. We eat and drink it in quantities. No idea can be formed of its annoyance except from experience. I think this is the meanest place that I was ever in without exception, but we are all gay and we are bound for Charleston.
Morris Island.

CHAPTER XV.

Life on Morris Island.—Siege of Fort Wagner.—Death of Lieut. Col. Purviance.—Daily Record of Events.

From July 18, to October 15, 1863.

The Regiment remained on Morris Island three months, lacking three days—from July 18 until October 15. During all this time both officers and men were on constant arduous duty, in close range of the enemy, a portion of the time within speaking distance. Lieut. Col. Purviance and ten enlisted men were instantly killed, eight men mortally wounded, and several score more or less severely wounded at the extreme advance in front of Fort Wagner. Using Commissary Sergeant John B. Bell's diary as a base, supplemented with copious extracts from the diaries of First Sergeant James A. Swearer of Company C; Sergt. William E. Chick and Corp. Crawford H. Scott of Company I, all of whom were in close touch with the Regiment during the siege of Fort Wagner and while it was on duty in the Department of the South; supplemented also from the official reports from the commanding officers on both sides, fortified by information written at the time by credible persons who participated in the events narrated, and published in regimental histories, the activities of the 85th Regiment, and the conditions under which the troops conducting the operations on Morris Island during the siege of Fort Wagner and the reduction of Fort Sumter are fully described in detail, day by day, as follows:

July 10. The south end of Morris Island having been carried, a flying-scow ferry across Light-House Inlet was established over which the artillery and horses of the staff and quartermaster's department and several regiments were transported. The 85th Regiment moved to the head of Folly Island late in the afternoon. Companies F and H were detailed to report at headquarters, where they were assigned to duty guarding the captured "Johnnies."

July 11. An unsuccessful assault was made on Fort Wagner. The erection of a bridge across Light House Inlet, which had been previously prepared, was abandoned because of lack of transportation, and also because the flying-scow ferry worked so well; all details of the 85th Regiment on picket duty were relieved by details from the 39th Illinois, and ordered to the Regiment at the head of Folly Island.

Sunday, July 12. At eight o'clock in the evening details from 1st New York Engineers and 3d New Hampshire, between 400 and 500 men, began work on first parallel distant 1,350 yards from Fort Wagner.

July 13. Companies A and I were detailed for picket duty on James Island with Capt. R. W. Dawson in command. Companies F and H are still guarding prisoners at headquarters at the south end of Folly Island; heavy details from Regiment are dismantling batteries at head of Folly Island; the erection of a pier at the head of Folly Island began; piles worked in by hand.
July 14. Strong wind blowing throughout the entire day. Heavy details of the Regiment engaged dismantling batteries and moving guns to Morris Island. Companies F and H return to the Regiment from guarding prisoners at headquarters. The Monitor Roanoke has joined the fleet in the harbor. Col. Howell is in command of the Regiment and Maj. Campbell is detailed as assistant inspector-general on Gen. Seymour's staff. Details worked all night on pier at north end of Folly Island.

July 15. Heavy details from Regiment dismantling batteries and moving guns to Morris Island; first gun mounted at first parallel in front of Fort Wagner. Department headquarters established on Morris Island, S. C. Pier finished at north end of Folly Island.

July 16. Sites for breeching batteries to be used against Fort Sumter selected; also directions given for laying telegraph cable across Light-House Inlet, one previously put down having been dragged up by a steamer's anchor. Heavy details from Regiment still engaged dismantling batteries and moving guns to Morris Island. Confederate forces attack Federal troops on James Island at day-break but with assistance of gun-boats they are repulsed with slight loss to Federal side. Heavy rain in the evening.

July 17. Regiment drew three days' rations; Company E returned to Regiment.

July 18. Bombardment of Fort Wagner, with forty-two siege and field guns and siege mortars began in the morning. Unsuccessful assault made on the fort in the evening. The 85th Regiment crossed Light-House Inlet and encamped about midway between the south end of Morris Island and Fort Wagner.

Sunday, July 19. 85th Regiment went on duty in front of Fort Wagner for first time. The construction of a seacoast mortar battery was begun at the Beacon House.

July 20. Regiment lay in front of Fort Wagner. Two monitors kept up a continuous fire on Fort Wagner from 10 A. M. until noon; during the afternoon the Ironsides, two monitors and three wooden gunboats poured shot and shell into Wagner, ceasing at dark, the land batteries continuing the fire throughout the night. The Regiment returned to camp in the evening the latter being located about one mile from the south end of Morris Island.

July 21. The men signed the pay rolls, but no paymaster appeared. Regiment permitted to have a complete rest.

July 22. Gen. Gillmore issued an order for a recruiting party from the Regiment to return to the State as follows: The following named commissioned officers and enlisted men of the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers will proceed to Philadelphia, Pa., and report to the officer in charge of Rendezvous at that place, for the purpose of recruiting and conducting to this department the men of the draft assigned to fill up the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers: 1st Lieut. J. W. Brown, Lieut. J. W. Acheson, Lieut. D. W. Shields, Sergt. W. D. Shaw, Co. A; Sergt. Samuel Wood, Co. E; Sergt. Joseph King, Co. H; Sergt. W. A. Faulkner, Co. C; Sergt. A. B. Kern, Co. K; Corp. W. N. Hoskinson, Co. F. Regiment went to the extreme front of the advance line taking position within 500 yards of Fort Wagner.

July 23. Before daylight Regiment fell back out of musket range of the enemy, but continued in front line until after dark when it returned to camp. Heavy shower in the afternoon; baggage brought up from Folly Island. First parallel completed before midnight.

July 24. Second parallel began at a distance of 870 yards from Fort Wagner shortly before 1 A. M., and six defensive howitzers placed in it, before daybreak; Regiment called into line of battle at 3 A. M., a detail of 150 men of Regiment sent to the front.

July 25. The enemy opened fire on the advanced position from batteries on James Island for the first time. A detail of 25 men was made to assist Sergt. Bell bring Regimental baggage from old camp on Folly Island. First heavy gun used against Fort Sumter from Morris Island mounted in Battery Hays. Another monitor joined the fleet today. Regiment went on duty in front of Fort Wagner about dark. Several casualties occurred from enemy's fire but none in Regiment.

Sunday, July 26. Regiment relieved from duty at front at 8 P. M. and returned to camp at 9 P. M. Second parallel reported as strong as Fort Wagner and the first parallel aban-
doned as a defensive line. Breaching batteries against Fort Sumter began in the second parallel.

**July 27.** Regiment called out at 4 A. M. and held in line of battle for an hour. Troops inspected by Gen. Terry in the afternoon followed by Regimental dress parade. Continuous fire from batteries on both sides throughout the day.

**July 28.** A regimental sutler named Clark was arrested and put at work at the front for 24 hours for selling his supplies to others than his regiment. Dress parade in the evening, and after dark Regiment went to the front in advance of second parallel. During the night an attempt was made by the Volunteer Engineers to put in an abatis across the beach from the right of the second parallel, beginning at low water mark, but when some 15 or 20 yards had been planted the enemy came out on the beach in front of Wagner, and poured a heavy fire of grape and canister from four field guns, killing several of the horses which had been used in bringing up the material, while others stationed 800 yards in rear took fright and ran off taking with them 23 wagons which had not yet been unloaded. A number of attempts were made to continue the work, but before the materials could again be brought together and the work proceeded with, the tide had risen so much as to make it impracticable. Several casualties occurred among the working party.

**July 29.** Regiment remained at the front throughout the day returning to camp at 10 P. M. The first casualty in the Regiment from Fort Wagner's fire occurred; John McDonald of Company G, losing his right arm and left hand. Construction of seaward defensive barricade on right of second parallel renewed during the night.

**July 30.** Regiment lay in camp throughout the day and night. Sergeant Major Douds received his commission dated July 1, 1863, as first lieutenant and adjutant of the Regiment.

**July 31.** Regiment ration returns show 469 men present. Regiment went to front at dark.

**August 1.** Regiment on duty in front of Fort Wagner throughout the day; relieved shortly after dark. Seven platforms are laid for heavy rifled guns in second parallel. John B. Bell, who had been acting commissary sergeant since May 21, was appointed commissary sergeant to date from July 22, 1863.

**Sunday, August 2.** Inspection at 9 A. M.; dress parade at dark. Prayer meeting was held in Regimental camp on Morris Island for the first time; heavy detail from Regiment sent to front for fatigue duty. Ordnance corps mounted the first breaching gun in the second parallel used against Fort Sumter. Portable telegraph line constructed on Morris Island.

**August 3.** Regiment remained in camp all day, and the men were treated to two surprises; first, informed that they would not have to go to the front during the day; second, Paymaster R. G. Usher appeared and left two months' pay; also drew a day's ration of fresh bread. Regimental dress parade at sunset.

**August 4.** The weather extremely hot and heavy details made from the Regiment daily for fatigue duty at the front, erecting obstacles in front of second parallel.

**August 5.** Weather continues extremely hot; sand hot enough to roast eggs; heavy detail from Regiment for fatigue duty in front of second parallel, completing obstacle in front of second parallel.

**August 6.** Company B, and one man from each of the other companies of the Regiment detailed as provost guard at Gen. Terry's headquarters. Heavy detail for fatigue duty at 300-pounder battery.

**August 7.** Brigade reviewed by Gen. Gillmore in the afternoon. Heavy detail from the Regiment for fatigue duty at the front.


**Sunday, August 9.** Regiment remained at front during the day, the enemy's fire resulted in only one casualty, one man in Company C being wounded. Regiment relieved shortly
after dark, too late to hold prayer-meeting in camp. Third parallel, 540 yards from Fort Wagner, opened during the night and approach to it by flying sap.

August 10. Regiment remained in camp; inspection in the morning and dress parade at sunset; pleasant day; calcium light used on Cumming's Point during the night.

August 11. The calcium light drew a heavy fire from the enemy compelling a cessation of work at front for the first time after dark. Regiment went to the front at dark. Completed seaward defensive barricade at third parallel.

August 12. Regiment returned to camp in the morning and at 8 A. M., was inspected and counted by an aide-de-camp on Gen. Terry's staff. Intensely hot, the thermometer registering 111 degrees Fahrenheit in the shade, the warmest day so far experienced on Morris Island. First experimental shot from Battery Hays fired at Fort Sumter.

August 13. Orders issued by Gen. Gillmore prohibiting mention of the strength of force when writing letters. A swarm of locusts appears on Morris Island. Dress parade, after which Regiment was ordered to the front, much to the surprise and chagrin of the men, as it had been freely rumored through camp that a regiment on Folly Island was to go to the front in place of the Regiment.

August 14. The Regiment returned to camp shortly after daybreak. The day very sultry with appearance of rain, which would be welcomed by the men.

August 15. Regiment remained in camp all day; dress parade at sunset; a patent bake oven erected in camp ready for operation, but there is a lack of skilful bakers.

Sunday, August 16. Inspection at 9 A. M.; drew five days' rations; 150 men detailed for fatigue duty at front at sunset; about midnight a shell from Fort Johnson penetrated the splinter-proof shelter used as headquarters and telegraph office, in the second parallel, wounding Col. Howell, who was general officer in command of the trenches; the same shell seriously wounded two others, one of whom was Sergt. Emerson of the Signal Corps.

Col. Howell, in a letter to his brother, under date of August 19, 1863, describes his injuries as follows: "While in command of the Front, on Sunday night, I was hurt by the explosion of a shell. My left eye and left part of my head were hurt. I was insensible for a good while and was supposed to be killed. I cannot write much. My escape from death was most miraculous. It was a 10 inch shell. A brother Colonel brought me down a piece of it which I shall keep. I am doing elegantly well; will be all right in a day or two. I think it no violation of orders to say that we are knocking Fort Sumter to smash."

Again under date of September 5, in a letter to his brother he refers to his injuries again as follows:

"I wrote to you as soon as I was able after I was wounded, fearing you would hear of it through the papers, and would be anxious about me. I was supposed to have been killed and was so reported to Gen'l Head Qrs. My speech is getting pretty straight again, when I talk slow, I get along very well; stammer and hesitate and forget how to pronounce some words when at all excited. One thing favorable is the intolerable itching all down my back along the backbone. It shows that circulation is being restored and that I am getting well. I have reported myself three times for duty; I want to be at the front again. Gen. Terry, himself, issued an order, ordering me to continue on the sick report for the present. He has called three times to see me. I have been greatly gratified at the anxious interest of all the troops, my own brigade particularly, in my recovery. One of my orderlies, who helped to carry me down from the front on a stretcher, to the ambulance, was telling me, a day or two ago, a little matter that gratified me much. He said, "When we were carrying you through the trenches the question would be asked, 'What officer is that?' The answer was 'Col. Howell, commanding 2d Brigade; he is killed.' The men sprang to their feet and raised their caps as we carried you by them," and that he never heard such bitter lamentations. I tell you I was gratified for these troops belonged to other brigades than mine and were under my command only as general officer of the day in command of the front. I am very grateful for your kind and affectionate offer to come to me in case of necessity. If there should be need of it, that would be attended to by my friends, Gen.
Gillmore, Gen. Terry and Col. Hall. Don't think of it. Too much is involved in your presence at home. Sumter is in ruins, and Charleston, by the blessing of God, will be ours soon."

**August 17.** Regiment called into line at 2 A. M. and moved to the front and during the day was engaged at fatigue duty, filling gabions to strengthen the fortifications. Marsh Battery was completed ready for mounting gun. The first bombardment of Fort Sumter from Morris Island began at daybreak and continued until dusk in the evening with the exception of an intermission of a few hours during the heat of the day.

The following vessels of the Navy participated in the bombardment directing their fire on Fort Wagner and Battery Gregg: Weehawken, Ironsides, Montauk, Nahant, Catskill, Passaic, Patapsco; gunboats Canandaigua, Mokaska, Ottawa, Cimarron, Wissahickon.

**August 18.** Firing on Sumter continued; shortly after noon a heavy northeasterly storm began to blow, causing the spring tide, then at its height, to overflow the narrow neck of land between the third parallel and Fort Wagner. Nearly the whole line of trenches contained water, varying in depth from a few inches to two feet. One-third of the parapet of the surf battery was carried away, the sea breaking over it so furiously that its two guns had to be removed. This structure formed the right of the second parallel, extending across the beach from high to low water line. Full sap from left of third parallel started but little progress made because of high water.

**August 19.** Work was resumed on the full sap at 2 A. M., the water having sufficiently subsided to render it possible. The enemy's sharpshooters opened on the head of the sap as soon as they observed the progress in the morning, and kept firing at it all day. At the request of the officers in charge of the sap special instructions were prepared for the guard of the advanced trenches. The 85th Regiment, 3d New Hampshire and 100th New York, were assigned to alternate as guard at the advanced trenches, the 3d New Hampshire the first to go on duty, at dusk, August 19th. Regiment in camp all day.

**August 20.** Company B returned from provost guard duty at Gen. Terry's headquarters. The engineers and men assisting them with the full sap made but little progress owing to a heavy and constant fire from Fort Wagner; three sappers were slightly wounded during the day. The Regiment went on advance guard shortly after dark.

**August 21.** The enemy to prevent the extension of the fortifications kept up a constant fire of grape and canister from Fort Wagner throughout the entire night ceasing a little before daylight. As daylight appeared the enemy's sharpshooters were seen to be concealing themselves in some old ruin between the advanced line and Fort Wagner, under cover of which they could keep up a deadly fire on the sappers. Sharpshooters from the Regiment had already been stationed in a position to command the approach to these ruins, and they soon compelled the enemy to abandon this cover and retire into the fort. At about 9 A. M. Fort Wagner opened up a heavy fire during which time the sharpshooters of the Regiment kept up a constant fusillade which proved quite effective. Between 11 A. M. and noon Gen. Gillmore sent a letter to Gen. Beauregard under a flag of truce, via Fort Wagner, demanding the immediate evacuation of Morris Island and Fort Sumter. In concluding the letter Gen. Gillmore said, "Should you refuse compliance with this demand I shall open fire on the City of Charleston from batteries already established within easy and effective range of the heart of the city."

During this truce the enemy's sharpshooters ensconced themselves in the ruins before referred to, but a fire from the naval fleet soon subdued the fire from Wagner. The casualties in the Regiment during the night and day were twenty-five, among whom were John Miller, Company H, instantly killed; 1st Sergeant William J. Graham, Company E, mortally wounded (died August 30, 1863); William H. Bowers, Company G, mortally wounded (died September 4, 1863); Joseph Woods, Company C, mortally wounded (died September 17, 1863). The following were among those more or less severely wounded: Corp. Matthew Templeton, Thomas Griffith and Philip Martin, Company A; Abraham S. Tinley, Company D; James W. Mayhorn, Company E; Henry Fry, Company F; Lieut. R. R. Sanner, John
Kelso and Francis Morrison, Company H; William E. Brown, Company I. The Regiment was relieved after dark by the 100th New York and returned to camp. The fourth parallel was established during the night within 350 yards of Fort Wagner.

August 22. Regimental inspection in the afternoon by Capt. Richard W. Dawson, brigade inspector-general. Under cover of flag of truce Gen. Beauregard returned Gen. Gillmore's letter of yesterday, as the latter had inadvertently omitted his signature. No attempt was made during the day to advance the sap. The sappers and infantry detail were employed in strengthening the fourth parallel, widening trench and building banquette tread and loophole for sharpshooters.

Maj. Brooks, in a report to the general commanding on this date, said: "I think it will be impossible to continue the sap in the day time under Wagner's artillery fire. But if our picket line continues to advance, which can only be done with considerable loss, we may make some progress each night. Should the enemy's pickets retire inside his work, which they will soon be forced to do, he will then maintain an artillery fire from his light guns in the fort which will make it impossible for the sap to progress night or day until this fire be subdued or kept down. His light guns are now run behind the merlons of the work to avoid our shot; hence it is only by destroying the parapet of the fort with our heavy guns in the second parallel, thus uncovering them, or by rendering their service impossible by a superior fire from light pieces which can be mounted in the fourth parallel, assisted by a strong force of sharpshooters, that we can proceed with certainty. Instructions for super-intending engineer officers, approved on August 22 by the general commanding, stipulated that, "one-third the length of the sap must be fitted for infantry defense. The advanced guard of the trenches will furnish a constant detail of 20 infantry for duty in the sap, in accordance with written instructions given them." George Grim, Co. K, on duty as sharpshooter, instantly killed, bullet entering under right eye. Considerable rain during the day.

Sunday, August 23. Fourth parallel extended to the marsh and, by means of gabions, a short distance out upon it. At daylight the enemy opened on this new work with artillery from Wagner, and completely destroyed it, knocking the gabions to pieces, and caving the parapet back into the trench for 12 yards in length. This part of the work had to be abandoned, and as it was not thought advisable to start the sap-roller, the day was spent in improving the fourth parallel. The enemy in Wagner had become very expert in filling the throats of their embrasures with sand-bags after each discharge which made it difficult for the sharpshooters to draw a bead on them. The Regiment went to the front after dark and after the men were placed in position a small redan was built in front of the left of the fourth parallel by the flying sap, the enemy's pickets being within 25 yards. This increased the development of the parallel, perfected its flanking arrangements, and gave cover in reverse against our own line, and, what was still more important, against the fire of the batteries on James Island, from 2,000 to 4,000 yards distant.

In Maj. Brooks' Journal on this date he says: "The fire of James Island * * * is producing more casualties among our troops than at any previous time, averaging, in the special guard of the advanced trenches, 10 per day. On one day one of these regiments, the Eighty-fifth Pennsylvania Volunteers, numbering 300 men, lost 20 men. One Requa battery was placed in position on the left of the fourth parallel this same night, and a return of 25 yards, extending along the marsh, was made from its extreme left to protect the flank."

August 24. During the day while the Regiment was on the advance guard the enemy's pickets concealed behind a ridge, were within 25 yards of the Regiment, the ground between the two positions being low and wet and during spring-tides completely submerged. During the day Fort Wagner opened a mortar fire from which there were several casualties. The Regiment was relieved shortly after dark and returned to camp. During this last 24 hours the casualties were seven—2 killed and 5 wounded. The killed were David Kern and Levi Vantissue of Company K; among the wounded was James Torrence of Company B.

August 25. Very little progress was made in advancing the sap, as the enemy's sharpshooters had an excellent position in front of the left of the fourth parallel, and as they
were on lower ground they were enabled to see when our loop-holes were darkened by the heads and rifles of our sharpshooters. In order to flank, and thus dislodge this troublesome enemy, an attempt was made this morning to prolong the right face of the redan from the salient; but the mortar fire, and, what was worse, the water, which constantly filled the trench as it was dug, rendered the progress so slow that the enemy had time to protect his pits. During the evening an attempt was made to drive the enemy from behind the ridge by mortars and a Requa battery fire, but it proved a failure. The enemy's fire from batteries on James Island was very accurate during the day, resulting in many casualties.

Major Brooks in his report and journal, notes this day as the saddest of the siege. "Less has been done in existing works," he says, "than on any other; no advance has been made, nor does any seem possible. Something besides spades and sharpshooters will have to be tried. The troops seem to be resting from the labor and excitement of demolishing Sumter, and do not yet take much interest in the operations against Wagner. The engineer officers of the sap express the earnest wish that the enemy be driven out of the ridge with the bayonet, and that our superior artillery fire be directed against Wagner. This would enable us to cross the very difficult ground immediately in our front, obtain a lodgment in the ridge which is very favorable, and thus make a long stride toward the fort."

The Regiment remained in camp throughout the day and night. John A. Firestone, Company H, was mortally wounded at the front (died Dec. 15, 1863). Quartermaster William E. Beall, who had been acting assistant commissary of subsistence of the brigade returned to the Regiment, relieving Lieut. John Minor Crawford, who had been acting as Regimental quartermaster during Beall's absence. The day was damp and windy, with considerable rain in the morning.

August 26. No work on trenches worthy of record during the day. Gen. Gillmore ordered Gen. Terry to take and hold the ridge in front held by the enemy's sharpshooters. The 85th Regiment went on duty as advance guard shortly after dark, and took position within 100 yards of Fort Wagner, the 24th Massachusetts and 3d New Hampshire Regiments having charged the ridge held by the enemy's sharpshooters just before the Regiment got on the ground. During the night the men made use of spades and shovels to protect themselves from a heavy fire of grape and shell from Fort Wagner. Rained hard during the night and turned quite cold. William B. Lash, of Company D, was wounded during the fore part of the night. The moment the ridge had been gained by the charge of the 24th Massachusetts and 3d New Hampshire Regiments, the work of intrenching was begun, the fifth parallel from the sea to the marsh was opened, a distance of 140 yards. The right of this parallel was 245 yards from Fort Wagner. From the right of this line an approach was at once opened by the flying sap, which was extended to the marsh, and later in the night the sap was continued to the beach, within 100 yards of Fort Wagner, by a second line running near the edge of the marsh.

The prisoners captured on the ridge last evening gave as a reason for not falling back when the Federal troops charged on them the danger from their own torpedoes. The probabilities were that they had too little time to get back, as they evidently were taken unawares. Those torpedoes were planted was soon made evident. One exploded shortly after the position was gained throwing a colored soldier on fatigue duty, 25 yards, and depositing him entirely naked, with his arm resting on the plunger of another torpedo, which facts gave rise, on his being discovered next morning, to the absurd story that the enemy had tied him to the torpedo as a decoy.

August 27. The enemy kept up a continuous fire with light guns and mortars from Fort Wagner throughout the night, one shell exploding over the position held by Company E, causing more than a dozen casualties in that company, killing two instantly, Privates John H. Linn and Joseph Neely, and mortally wounding two, Privates John I. White (died August 31, 1863), and William H. Marquis (died September 12, 1863). Henry J. Rigdon was also so seriously wounded that he received his discharge after suffering in the hospital for more than a year, dying shortly after receiving his discharge from the effect of the wounds.
Among the others wounded were Privates E. M. Hall and James W. Mayhorn. The Regiment was relieved shortly after dark and returned to camp. Quartermaster Beall again detailed for duty elsewhere.

**August 28.** Regiment remained in camp throughout the day and night, enjoying the rest after 24 hours' arduous work in the advance; morning pleasant with a heavy rain in the evening. Continued improvements in the fifth parallel, three Coehorn mortars mounted in it. Owing to moonlight, nightwork on the advanced branch of the approach had to be abandoned. The heavy rain settled the advanced parapet and the tides had filled the trenches. The enemy's torpedoes were made harmless by boring a small auger hole through the wood of which they were constructed, and pouring water in on the powder.

**August 29.** Col. Purviance protested at headquarters because of the constant and heavy service required of the Regiment, claiming that it was an injustice to the men of his Regiment; this protest was called forth by the increased number excused by the surgeon on account of sickness; 175 being excused on this day. However, shortly after sunset he led the Regiment to the front where the men were placed in the extreme advance. It was a bright moonlight night, and the enemy kept up such a heavy fire of musketry and light artillery, that the men working on the advanced line of sap were forced to discontinue. One shell killed and wounded six men of another command.

**Sunday, August 30.** A dark day in the calendar of the 85th Regiment. Between midnight and daybreak Privates William W. Garber of Company D, and George W. Grover of Company I, were killed while on duty in the trenches. During the forenoon while the fire was brisk, from both sides, Lieut. Col. Purviance was killed by a shell from one of our own batteries, prematurely exploding; the shell exploding immediately above him, carrying away the whole back part of his head, a fragment of the shell passing through the body near the heart, and another fragment lacerating the right arm, in a horrible manner. The remains of the Lieut. Col. were sent north while the Regiment remained on duty in the trenches, four companies of the 104th Pennsylvania Regiment acting as an escort to the dock.

A week previous to Lieut. Col. Purviance's death the 85th Regiment had been relieved by another regiment. Lieut. Col. Purviance had assisted in placing the new men in their proper positions and was about to return to camp with his Regiment when the colonel commanding the relieving regiment accosted him as follows: "Colonel, where am I to stay? Where are your headquarters?" The Lieutenant Colonel replied: "My headquarters are with my men." The indications for that night threatened rain, and the other asked, "Where do you get shelter when it rains?" Col. Purviance replied, "I have the same shelter during rain and storm that my men have." Private Charles Stull of Company K was killed during the day, and eight or ten wounded, one mortally; Private Josephus, Company F (died October 12, 1863); among others wounded were Corp. Benjamin Marshall, Privates Henry Bush, Harvey Cox and Hirman Haver, Company D; Sergt. Robert H. Ross, Company G; Lieut. Joseph M. Johnson, Privates George W. Balsinger and George W. Chick of Company I. The Regiment remained on duty in the trenches until after night fall, returning to camp at 9 P. M.

**August 31.** The Regiment remained in camp during the day and night, a high wind prevailing; mustered for pay in the afternoon by Capt. I. M. Abraham. The firing on Sumter, which began on August 29 and resumed on the 30th, ceased in the evening. During the night three of the advance guard were killed by the explosion of a torpedo, over the plunger of which one of the men crept in taking his position.

**September 1.** The Regiment went to the front, reaching the trenches shortly after dark. The enemy opened from Fort Wagner and kept up a heavy, steady fire, our lines slowly advancing, the casualties in the Regiment being six wounded, four in Company C, including Capt. R. P. Hughes; the men wounded were Joseph Woods, John M. Richards and William Gould, the other two wounded belonged to Companies D and G, one each. At 11 P. M. the Ironsides and six monitors opened on Fort Sumter.

**September 2.** The naval fleet attacking Sumter retired at 4:15 A. M., during the past 24 hours the Confederates fired 982 shots and the Federals 691. The Regiment remained
at the advanced line until after dark, when it returned to camp with one additional casualty, John Vaux, Co. K, who was instantly killed by a fragment of a shell from the enemy's battery.

September 3. The sap at the front was continued, but its progress was very slow, owing to the enemy's artillery fire, and that of his sharpshooters, who attained a position on the left of Wagner, which nearly enfiladed the trench. Capt. Sueu, who was directing the sappers, was disabled by a shot from one of the enemy's sharpshooters, cutting off all the fingers from his right hand as he was in the act of placing a gabion. The 100th New York, 88th Pennsylvania and 3d New Hampshire Regiments, comprising the three regiments detailed on the 19th of August as the guard of the advanced trenches, were today relieved from this responsible and hazardous duty. Their aggregate number of casualties in this brief period was 105, or ten per cent of the whole force; four-fifths were caused by the enemy's artillery fire.

In his report Maj. Brooks refers to these Regiments in these terms: "The engineers will long remember these regiments as their special guard during the most critical part of the siege; also for their assistance in the sap, at which work a detail was constantly employed." The Regiment remained in camp during the day and night, Maj. Campbell having assumed command after Lieut. Col. Purviance's death. Not a shot fired at Fort Sumter during the day, and this former stronghold was so helpless as to have but a single smooth-bore 82-pounder that could be fired.

September 5. The sap had not been extended 25 feet when work on it had to be abandoned owing to the severity of the artillery fire of the enemy. A detail of 150 men of the Regiment, with similar details from the 104th Pennsylvania, the 100th New York and 7th Connecticut Regiments, under command of Maj. Sanford of the latter regiment, was made in the evening about dusk to make a surprise attack on Battery Gregg at the head of Morris Island.

The expedition was to embark in small boats lying in the creek in rear of our batteries, but sufficient boats had not been provided and half of the men were left behind. As the small force was approaching the landing between Fort Wagner and Battery Gregg, the moon, hitherto concealed by clouds, made its appearance, and in consequence a surprise was impossible. However, the light of the moon revealed a small boat of the enemy departing from Battery Gregg, which was overhauled, and proved quite a capture as it had on board two officers and ten men of the enemy's garrison. The expedition then returned to await a more propitious opportunity to take the battery by surprise.

September 5. The land batteries and the Ironsides opened the bombardment on Fort Wagner, every gun commanding the position having been brought into requisition. This concentrated fire so subdued the guns and sharpshooters in Fort Wagner that the sap was advanced more than 150 yards without losing a man. The head of the sap being opposite the ditch of Wagner and so close that a fragment of a shell could be thrown from the sap into the ditch. The close proximity of the sap to Fort Wagner prevented the distant batteries of the enemy from firing at it for fear of hitting and demoralizing his own men.

Another detail of 150 men was made from the Regiment which joined a similar detail from the 104th Pennsylvania, 100th New York and 7th Connecticut Regiments at the creek on the west shore of the Island to make another attempt to assault Battery Gregg by a surprise attack. The attempt of the previous night had put the wary enemy on the alert and he had taken every precaution not to be taken by surprise. As the leading boat was nearing the shore it was greeted with a shower of grape and canister from a small piece of artillery on the beach and a shower of musket balls. Two men were wounded, but as it was evident the enemy had anticipated the assault the expedition returned without attempting to land. Corp. James H. Miller, Co. K, was wounded.

The enemy's signal corps had intercepted the following signal message from Gen. Gillmore to Rear-Admiral Dahlgren during the day: "I shall try Cumming's Point tonight, and want the sailors again early. Will you please send in two or three monitors just at dusk, to open fire on Moultrie as a diversion? The last time they were in they stopped
re-enforcements, and may do so tonight. Don't want any fire in the rear from re-enforce-
ments. The signal for assault will be the hauling down the red flag on the Ironsides. I
shall deploy skirmishers between Wagner and Gregg; don't fire into them. Let the monitors
engage the enemy by 9 o'clock."

Sunday, September 6. Company inspection in the morning. A number of the Regi-
ment attended religious service at the camp of the 104th Penna. Regiment. Chaplain
Gries preaching from the text in Hebrews, 9 Chap, 27 Ver.: "It is appointed unto man
once to die." During the sermon a perfect hail of deadly missiles were poured into Fort
Wagner from the land batteries and the Ironsides. The fire from the latter was very
accurate. A United States flag was kept flying constantly at the head of the sap to direct
her fire. The shells from her heavy guns would strike the sea face of Fort Wagner a
little in advance of the flag, ricochet over the parapet, fall, explode very regularly, and
reach every part of the work not protected by the bomb-proof.

At dark the Regiment took position in the advanced trenches and witnessed the final
bombardment of Fort Wagner, which was inaugurated at day break, September 5, and
terminated at midnight. For forty-two consecutive hours the spectacle presented was of
surpassing grandeur. Seventeen siege and Coehorn mortars unceasingly dropped their
shells into Wagner over the guards in the advanced trenches, and the 85th Regiment held
this position when the last gun was fired at Fort Wagner.

As the 85th Regiment took position in the advanced trenches, within a stone's throw
of Fort Wagner, Gen. Gillmore was issuing orders to have the fort carried by assault at
the hour of low tide, the following morning, while simultaneously with the issuance of
this order Gen. Beauregard sent the following telegram to the authorities at Richmond:

"Terrible bombardment of Wagner and Gregg for nearly thirty-six hours. First work
damaged; repairs impossible. Approaches of the enemy within 40 yards of the
salient. Casualties over 150. Garrison much exhausted. Nearly all guns disabled. Com-
munications with city extremely difficult and dangerous, Sumter being silenced. Evacua-
tion of Morris Island becomes indispensable to save Garrison. It will be attempted tonight.
This is the fifty-eighth day of attack." [O. R., W. D., Vol. XXVIII, part II, p. 342.]

September 7. A deserter from the enemy having gone out into the water called out
to the advance guard on the shore between 1 and 2 A. M., that he was alone and wished
to come into our lines. He brought information that Fort Wagner and Battery Gregg
had been evacuated before midnight. An advance was made on Fort Wagner cautiously
the Regiment losing one man, Elias Duvall, Company F, mortally wounded by the explosion
of a torpedo planted in front of Fort Wagner. [Duvall died four days later, September
11, 1863.] In reporting the capture of Fort Wagner Gen. Gillmore claimed to have captured
75 prisoners. Gen. Beauregard's attention having been called to this dispatch said, "Seventy-
five men were not taken on Morris Island, for only two boats' crews, about 19 men and
27 soldiers, or about 46 in all, were captured by the enemy's armed barges between Cummings'
Point and Fort Sumter." [Vol. XXVIII, part I, p. 92.] Early in the morning after the
evacuation of Fort Wagner Rear-Admiral Dahlgren sent a flag of truce to Fort Sumter,
demanding its surrender, notifying Gen. Gillmore by signals that if the demand was not
complied with, he should move up with all the iron-clads and engage it. This message
was handed to the commandant of Fort Sumter by the naval officer of the enemy, who
had met the flag of truce, the former receiving the summons, sending word that a
definite reply would be returned as soon as he could communicate with the commander
of the department. The demand was refused, Maj. Elliott, Jr., being directed by Gen.
Beauregard's chief of staff to "inform Admiral Dahlgren that he may have Fort Sumter
whenever he can take and hold it; that such demands are puerile and unbecoming; and
that no further flags of truce will be received from him or Gen. Gillmore until they satis-
factorily explain their firing on flags of truce from these headquarters on several recent
occasions." [Vol. XXVIII, part II, p. 344.]

Between 6 and 7 P. M., the naval fleet (five monitors and the Ironsides) took position
and engaged Fort Moultrie, throwing an occasional shot at Fort Sumter. They kept up

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a heavy fire for several hours, the enemy’s batteries replying with considerable spirit. The Regiment returned to camp in the evening, and, as if to celebrate the fall of Fort Wagner, a half ration of whiskey was issued to the men, the first received while on duty in the Department of the South.

**September 8.** The Regiment remained in camp, the day being extremely hot and sultry, some of the men taking advantage of the lull in operations to visit the ruins of Wagner and view the combat between the fleet and the enemy's batteries. The Weehawken became grounded opposite Fort Moultrie, and as soon as the enemy discovered the predicament the monitor was in, a concentrated fire was kept on her. While aground, a shot or shell, fired from the Weehawken, struck the muzzle of an 8-inch columbiad in Fort Moultrie, and glanced into some shell boxes, producing an explosion, killing 15, and wounding 12 men of the South Carolina Infantry. The fleet coming to the assistance of the Weehawken, the monitors taking positions varying from 900 to 1,400 yards, and the Ironsides 1,500 yards distant, all directing their fire on Fort Moultrie and the batteries adjoining. For five hours a terrific cannonade occurred when the fleet retired. During the night a naval force attempted to carry Fort Sumter by assault but was repulsed with heavy loss. Maj. Elliott, Jr., describes this assault in part as follows:

“At 1 o’clock this morning I saw a fleet of barges approaching from the eastward. I ordered the fire to be reserved until they should arrive within a few yards of the fort. The enemy attempted to land on the southeastern and southern faces. He was received by a well directed fire of musketry and by hand grenades which were very effective in demoralizing him; fragments of the epaulement were also thrown down upon him ** *. His loss is 4 men killed, 2 officers and 17 men wounded, and 10 officers and 92 men captured. We secured five stand of colors and five barges.” [Vol. XXVIII, part I, p. 725.]

**September 9.** One of the stand of colors captured during the assault on Fort Sumter was sent to the governor of South Carolina by Gen. Beauregard as the one that Maj. Anderson had taken from Fort Sumter when he surrendered, the general’s reason for believing it to be the identical flag, he states, was because, “the appearance of this flag, and the circumstances under which it was found, and it had been so reported by some of the prisoners.” [Vol. XXVIII, part I, p. 724.]

This attack on Sumter was entirely a naval affair. Gen. Gillmore had made arrangements to make a similar attack with troops, before he had been informed by Rear-Admiral Dahlgren of his intentions to storm the fort, and had a force assembled for that purpose in the creek west of Morris Island, but owing to low tide, the boats to convey the land force could not leave their place of rendezvous until after the failure of the naval attack, when the project was abandoned.

**September 10.** Regiment remained on duty at the front throughout the day, returning to camp in the evening, there being no casualties during this turn of duty. The enemy's batteries continued firing slowly throughout the day.

**September 11.** The Regiment lay in camp all day with the exception of a small detail on fatigue duty. In addition to 10 days rations from the post commissary, the Regiment received 2 barrels of cabbage, 1 barrel of potatoes, 1 bbl. of onions, 100 lbs. of codfish and a bbl. of cakes from the Christian Sanitary Commission. The enemy's batteries continued throwing an occasional shell on Morris Island. During the afternoon one of our batteries opened with two 30-pounders, firing 30 or 40 rounds. The Regiment was inspected late in the afternoon; prayer-meeting in the camp in the evening.

**September 12.** Regiment lay in camp all day, with no duty but inspection. The enemy's batteries kept up a slow fire on Morris Island; a mortar fire from Fort Moultrie was continuous night and day. About 5 P. M. one of our batteries returned the fire from Fort Moultrie but only for a brief time.

**Sunday, September 13.** Inspection in the morning at 8:30 A. M.; Chaplain Gries of the 104th Penna. held religious service at the Regimental Hospital; Regiment went on picket duty in the evening. A continuous mortar firing on Morris Island, from Fort Moultrie, night and day, but no casualties in the Regiment.
September 14. The Regiment returned from the front and the men received a ration of whiskey. Quartermaster Beall returned to Regiment and relieved Lieut. Crawford who had been acting quartermaster in his absence. No cessation in the intermittent fire from the enemy's batteries. No firing from the Morris Island batteries.

September 15. The Regiment lay in camp all day; a detail was sent to the front on fatigue duty. Regiment inspected by Capt. Dawson, assistant brigade inspector. A magazine of the enemy on James Island—Battery Cheeves, called by our soldiers the "Bull in the Woods," exploded today at 11:05 A.M., killing an officer and four men, and wounding 2 men; cause of the explosion unknown, but supposed to have been caused in attempting to extract a short time fuse to be replaced by a longer one. The report of the explosion was plainly heard on Morris Island.

September 16. The Regiment lay in camp until evening, when, after a dinner of fresh beef, it went on fatigue duty, building splinter bomb-proofs at the head of the island. During the night a heavy wind and rain storm prevailed, which caused the enemy's batteries to suspend fire during the night.

September 17. The Regiment returned to camp in the morning suspending fatigue work owing to storm and rain which continued all day, wrecking many tents and causing the tide to flow into some of the neighboring camps. The enemy's batteries kept up an intermittent fire but received no response from our batteries, nor from the navy.

During the storm the Ironsides and four monitors lay at anchor in the channel off Morris Island, and appeared to weather the gale with but little difficulty. The wooden vessels were rolling and pitching heavily, while the ironclads had but little motion. Joseph Woods, Company C, died in Regimental Hospital today from wounds received Sept. 1; Henry Wilson of Company H, died of disease in Hospital.

September 18. The day broke clear and pleasant after the equinoctial storm. A detail of 100 men sent to the front at 5:30 A.M.; and a similar one at 9 A.M., both of which returned to camp in the evening. A continuous mortar fire was kept up from the enemy's batteries on Sullivan's Island. No casualties in the Regiment. S. M. H. Bebout and four others start home on furlough.

September 19. The morning was exceedingly cold—cold enough to make overcoats desirable. A detail of 100 men went to the front on fatigue duty, and 100 more relieved them in the evening, assisting in strengthening the old batteries and re-erecting new ones, the enemy's batteries keeping up a slow but regular fire.

Sunday, September 20. Heavy detail at the head of the Island at 7 A.M.; inspection at 9 A.M.; a number of the Regiment attended religious services at the Regimental Hospital in the afternoon; preaching by Chaplain Gries of the 104th Pennsylvania Regiment: another detail of the Regiment went on fatigue duty at the front at dark. The enemy's fire was continuous, with an average shot every five minutes, night and day, aimed at the fatigue parties; our batteries firing but few shots.

September 21. Cool morning; detail of regiment for fatigue duty at 5:30 A.M. at Fort Gregg, which returned at 9 P.M.; also detail for grand guard at 300-pounder. The usual fire was kept up throughout the day from the enemy's batteries but no casualties in the Regiment.

September 22. Usual detail from the Regiment goes to the head of the Island to work on Battery Gregg, and a detail for grand guard at the 300-pounder battery in the evening. Four casualties occurred in the working party from the Regiment on duty at Battery Gregg, by the explosion of a shell fired from Fort Moultrie, among whom were James M. Edingfield, Company E, mortally wounded [died October 2, 1863]; Sergt. Wm. E. Brown, Company I, and Joseph Banks, Company C; the fatigue party returned to camp at 9 P.M.

A salute was fired during the day in honor of the promotion of Gen. Gillmore to be major-general of U. S. Volunteers. The 47th New York Regiment celebrated the occasion by parading with a decorated wagon drawn by eight horses on which they carried
an eagle, preceded by the band of the 104th Pennsylvania Regiment; the eagle was subsequently presented to Gen. Gillmore and was kept at his headquarters.

September 23. Cloudy and windy day; orders issued for a review on Sept. 24; all details but the grand guards to be called in to participate. Details for fatigue duty at the front left at 6:30 A. M.; the detail on duty during the past 24 hours returned to camp about 9 P. M.; the enemy kept up his usual fire but received but few shots in return.

September 24. The day was pleasant with considerable wind; the entire force on Morris Island, except those on guard and excused by illness, were reviewed by Maj. Gen. Gillmore taking up three hours; the column, if witnessed by the enemy, would have had a depressing effect for it was a magnificent spectacle. The enemy's batteries gave no evidence that he was aware that the fatigue parties were not at work today as his firing was kept up as usual and concentrated at the points where the fatigue parties were supposed to be at work. A detail for fatigue duty left camp for the front at 11 P. M.

September 25. Detail for fatigue duty on Black Island left at 5:30 A. M.; the detail that left during the night returning at 7 A. M. The usual firing was kept up night and day from Fort Moultrie and other batteries of the enemy on the working parties. Inspection in the evening.

September 26. The usual detail for fatigue duty at the front; Gen. Gillmore's headquarters moved to Folly Island; Fort Moultrie and the other batteries on Sullivan's Island kept up a slow but regular fire at the fatigue parties at work on the upper end of Morris Island.

Sunday, September 27. Pleasant morning; inspection at 8:30 A. M.; details for fatigue duty and grand guard as usual; Sergt. Caldwell and Com. Sergt. Bell took dinner to the fatigue party at work near Battery Wagner; Fort Moultrie and Batteries Bee, Simpkins, and Haskell, fired at various times but the Federal batteries made no reply. The fatigue and picket details returned to camp about dark with no casualties. At 11 A. M. a number of the men attended religious services at 104th Penna. camp; Chaplain Gries, preaching from the text, "If the righteous scarcely be saved where shall," etc., 1 Peter, 4 Chap., 18 Verse.

September 28. Pleasant morning; usual fatigue and picket details went to the front; the Federal batteries on Morris Island fired 100 shots at Fort Sumter during the afternoon; the enemy's batteries on Sullivan's and James Islands fired about as usual; Private Henry Bettler, Co. C, died in Gen. Hosp., Beaufort, S. C.

September 29. Major R. G. Usher, paymaster, left two months' pay with the men, much to their delight; the usual detail for fatigue duty went to the front; the enemy's batteries kept up an occasional fire on the fatigue parties; the Federal batteries again opened fire on Fort Sumter; after firing 94 shots, a few shots were aimed at Battery Simpkins. Lieut. Norman B. Ream, of Company H, indicating he wanted to raise a company for artillery duty, readily had 160 men to enroll; more than he desired; Lieut. Michener, Company D, enrolled 50 men for cavalry service.

September 30. Usual details for fatigue and camp guard at the front; the enemy's batteries fired occasionally at the fatigue parties; our batteries opened on Sumter at 11.40 A. M., and later on Fort Johnson; Battery Simpkins on James Island, replied with considerable vigor to the batteries firing on Sumter and Johnson; detail from Regiment left for the trenches at dark.

October 1. The detail at the front returned to camp at 7 A. M.; Fort Moultrie and Battery Simpkins kept up a slow, irregular fire throughout the night; during the day our batteries opened vigorously in the morning on Sumter, Johnson and Simpkins, which was continued throughout the day; at sunset the entire Regiment was ordered to the front as grand guard in the trenches.

October 2. During the night there was a continuous fire from the enemy's batteries which was kept up irregularly throughout the day; the Regiment remained on duty in the trenches until sunset, when it was relieved, and returned to camp without any casualties.
October 3. The enemy's batteries kept up a slow, irregular fire; our batteries below the Beacon House opened on Forts Sumter and Johnson with an occasional shot at Batteries Simkins and Cheeves; the Regiment lay in camp, no details being made beyond the regular camp guard and police squad; several men of the Regiment who had left camp without permission to view the enemy's position from the top of the sand ridges were arrested by the provost guard and taken to division headquarters where they were punished by being tied, Gen. Terry having issued orders prohibiting the men from strolling from camp; also orders prohibiting the men from doing any huckstering in camp.

Sunday, October 4. Inspection at 8:30 A. M.; a number of the men of the Regiment attended religious services at the camp of the 104th Pennsylvania; Chaplain Gries preaching an interesting sermon, using the 23d Psalm as his text; at sunset 150 men of the Regiment were detailed for grand guard at Fort Wagner; there was no material change in the fire from the enemy's batteries; the Federal batteries did comparatively little firing.

October 5. The detail on guard in the trenches at Wagner were relieved at daybreak and returned to camp without any casualties; the firing from the enemy's batteries much lighter than usual, and concentrated on the northern end of the island from Fort Wagner to Battery Gregg; between 9 and 10 P. M., the Regiment was quickly called into line of battle by the long roll call; musketry firing in the harbor indicated that the enemy was making an assault on one of the naval vessels, which proved to be true.

A small submerged steamer of the enemy started from Charleston, and proceeded down the main ship channel, passing several of the vessels at anchor in the harbor, and succeeded in reaching the Ironsides and exploding a torpedo beneath her, which did little or no injury. The apparent apathy and indifference of the navy is explained in a communication from Rear Admiral Dahlgren to Gen. Gillmore under date of Sept. 29, 1863, in which he says the monitors, have already expended nearly two-thirds the endurance of their cannon and sustained a loss of six weeks in repairing in consequence of a cooperation of sixty day in the reduction of Wagner. [O. R., N. D., Vol. XIV, p. 683.]

October 6. Notwithstanding the Regiment was held in line of battle for two hours last night, breaking ranks after midnight, the men were called out at 3:30 A. M. and stood in line until after daybreak; at 7 A. M. a detail of 100 men was sent to the head of the Island for fatigue duty; the firing today was not very heavy on either side, the enemy firing about 150 shots in all; there was a heavy wind and rain storm in the evening; detail on fatigue duty at front returned to camp after dark.

October 7. Cool morning after the storm of last night; a contest of authority in the Regiment between a captain and the surgeon occurred today; a member of the former's company, who had been ill in the Regimental Hospital having become convalescent had been acting as nurse by direction of the surgeon; the captain, without consulting the latter, sent a guard to the hospital to bring the man back to the company, but as the assistant surgeon was present and refused to let the man leave, the captain went himself and brought the man away; the surgeon appealed to Maj. Campbell and the man was returned to the hospital. 100 men sent to the front on grand guard; only a few shots exchanged today between the two forces.

October 8. The detail on duty at front returns at 7 A. M. Clothing issued to the men today. The enemy fired about 150 shots today. Our batteries did not reply to the fire of the enemy. A detail of 100 men from the Regiment left at sunset for grand guard at the front.

October 9. Fatigue detail went to the front at 7 A. M., just as the grand guard detail from the front returned; a steady fire was kept up by the enemy's batteries against our position on the north end of the island from Gregg to Wagner; detail for grand guard went to the front at sunset, and fatigue detail returned to camp; no casualties in regimental details.

October 10. The grand guard detail returned to camp at 7 A. M.; orders issued that hereafter no bread to be baked in Regimental bakery; the post bakery to furnish fresh
bread; the enemy's batteries on James and Sullivan's Islands kept up a slow fire throughout the day; in the afternoon our batteries near the Beacon House opened fire against Fort Johnson; the shells from the mortars fell short but the range of the rifled pieces was perfect, nearly every shell bursting in or over the enemy's stronghold; in the evening, at sunset the Regiment went to the front on grand guard.

Sunday, October 11. The Regiment returned from the front at 7 A. M.; inspection at 8.30 P. M.; religious service in Regimental camp at 11 A. M.; a member of the Christian Sanitary Commission by the name of Emmons or Simmons preached from 2d Kings, 6 Chap., 16 verse: "They that be with us are more than they that be with them." Chaplain Gries preached at Regimental Hospital at 4 P. M.; the Regiment received a ration of cabbage today instead of peas; the enemy kept up a brisk fire on Gregg and Wagner; our batteries remaining silent until the afternoon, when a mortar battery fired a few shots at Battery Simkins; Gen. Gillmore, in a communication to Gen. Halleck, stated that from a recent conversation with Admiral Dahlgren,

"I am led to the belief that no offensive operations against Charleston with the naval force now here will be attempted. The programme of operations in this quarter, which I submitted to you while at Washington, and which met the approval of not only the War and Navy Departments, but of the President also, and to secure the execution of which it was deemed proper to supersede the former naval and military commanders in this department, is doubtless fresh in your memory. It was as follows: 1. To make a descent upon, and obtain possession of, the enemy's fortified position on the south end of Morris Island. 2. To reduce Fort Wagner and Battery Gregg on the north end of Morris Island. 3. From the positions thus secured, to demolish Fort Sumter. 4. The monitors to enter, remove the channel obstructions, run by the batteries on James and Sullivan's Islands, and reach the city. 5. Subsequent operations of the two branches of the service to be governed by circumstances. The entire program was to be executed by a cordial and energetic co-operation of the army and the navy, excepting item 4 which was considered a specialty for the ironclads alone. The first three parts of the programme have been successfully carried out. Fort Sumter is incapable of harming our iron-clad fleet, and I have received the written assurance of the General-in-Chief that the land forces have done all that I proposed to do with them, 'and all that was hoped or expected. I desire to record my belief that the whole programme can be carried out, but that every day's delay is rendering its execution more difficult." [O. R., W. D., Vol. XXVIII, part II, p. 105.]

October 12. The Regiment went to the front on fatigue duty at 7 A. M., at Fort Wagner; as the Regiment was relieving the regiment on duty, a man belonging to the latter regiment was instantly killed by a fragment of the enemy's shell; the enemy's batteries kept up a continuous fire throughout the day, eliciting no reply from our batteries until the afternoon; when a few shells were thrown from a mortar battery; the Regiment returned to camp at dark.

October 13. A detail of 150 men of the Regiment went on fatigue duty at Fort Wagner at 7 A. M.; less than 100 shots were fired by the enemy during the day; our batteries remaining silent; a detail of 50 men from the Regiment went on guard duty on the gunboat McDonough at dark; Q. M. Sergt. Pershing and a detail of 10 men were sent to Folly Island for poles for a shed for horses; fatigue detail returned to camp at dark.

October 14. Raining and hazy morning; detail on guard gunboat McDonough returned shortly after day-break; by order of Gen. Terry camp guard turned out with knapsacks at guard mount, to be carried while on post; only two days ago several of the men came to camp delirious, the result of arduous duty and exposure; in the evening orders were received for the Regiment to be ready to move at 7:30 A. M.; destination said to be Black Island.

October 15. Tents were struck shortly after daybreak and the Regiment marched to the south end of Morris Island and embarked in small boats, through a steady, heavy,
rain which continued until noon; Black Island lies between Morris and James Islands, and is less than a mile in length and about one-fourth mile in width; it had a small earthwork and bomb proof, and was in much closer range of the enemy's batteries on James Island than the forts on Morris Island, but so far, had received no attention from the enemy's batteries; very little firing from the enemy's batteries during the day, our batteries not firing a shot.

While the Regiment was being transported from Morris to Black Island a submarine vessel of the enemy, in attempting to run under the Confederate navy receiving ship, in Charleston Harbor, went to the bottom, the captain and seven men losing their lives. The men had their tents pitched before dark in the new camp, and although nearer the enemy's guns, they enjoyed a restful night in their new quarters. Gen. Gillmore requested that the detachment of the Eighteenth Army Corps serving in the Department of the South be transferred to the Tenth Army Corps; Rear-Admiral Dahlgren, in a communication to Gen. Gillmore, said:

"Under date of October 9, the Navy Department observes—it would be satisfactory to be informed of Gen. Gillmore's views as well as your own, as the movement progresses, in regard to future operations. Now, general, I shall be very glad to give this information to the Department, if you will enable me to do so. May I ask, therefore, whenever it may suit your convenience, to put it in my power to meet the wishes of the Honorable Secretary of the Navy, if you feel so disposed." [O. R., W. D., Vol. XXVIII, part II, p. 108.]
Black and Folly Island.

CHAPTER XVI.

Camp Life on Black Island—Again on Folly Island—Concentrated Fire on Sumter—Bombardment of Charleston.

From October 16 to December 6, 1863.

The Regiment remained on Black Island two weeks and a day, from October 15 until the 30th. From Black Island it again was ordered to Folly Island, where it remained one month and twenty-two days, from October 30 until December 6. During the time the Regiment was on Black Island the men were constantly engaged on guard and fatigue duties, causing the ranks to grow thinner day by day. The change to Folly Island, however, afforded the men an opportunity to rest and recuperate. Under date of November 8, 1863, in a letter to his brother, Col. Howell wrote:

We were ordered here to rest and recruit health and strength. My poor boys have seen such hard and severe service on Morris Island that they need rest.

While the Regiment remained on Folly Island, Fort Sumter was gradually meeting its doom, and the bombardment of Charleston was begun. The important part the 85th Regiment played in the reduction of this citadel of the Rebellion, at the approach to the hot-bed of treason, makes it here germane to give a detailed history of its destruction, which required hundreds of tons of powder and iron shot and shell to complete its demolition. From August 12 to December 31, 1863, 26,687 shots were fired at Fort Sumter, 19,808 of which were effective in striking the fort, and 7,059 missed. During this time the total casualties in the fort aggregated 208, as follows: killed, 1 officer, 37 men and 5 negroes; wounded, 13 officers, 129 men and 23 negroes. Supplementing the diaries of Comrades Bell, Swearer, Chick and Scott with information derived from the official daily reports from the journal of engineer operations of Maj. T. B. Brooks, assistant engineer of Morris Island, and from the daily reports of the Confederate commanding officers of Fort Sumter (O. R., Vol. XXVIII, part 1,), the activities of the Regiment during its stay on Black and Folly Islands are recorded in this chapter as follows:

Oct. 16. Heavy detail from the regiment for fatigue duty on earthworks in the morning, and detail in the evening for grand guard; countersign, Moscow; less than 50 shots were fired from the enemy's batteries and none from the Morris Island batteries.

Oct. 17. There is no fresh water on Black Island, so it is brought from Morris Island; all the supplies are brought in small boats, as there is not sufficient water for heavy draught boats; there was practically a suspension of the firing today, the enemy's battery
firing about 30 shots, and our batteries not firing a shot; Gen. Gillmore replied to Rear Admiral’s communication of the 15th inst., in part as follows: “First.—That I am now awaiting the repairs on the Monitor’s which, according to your letter of the 29th ultimo, were expected to be finished in a couple of weeks from that time. You explained to me the day before yesterday, in an interview on board your ship, the reasons for the delay. Second.—When those repairs are completed, the monitors, agreeably to arrangement between us, and in fulfillment of that part of the original program to which they are supposed to be peculiarly adapted, are to enter the inner harbor, and I am to keep down with my batteries any fire, of whatever kind, from Sumter and from other sources, as much as possible, while the obstructions are being removed and passed. I have confidence in my ability to do this. I also believe the outer obstructions can be removed at night without drawing any fire from Sumter. The picket-boats pass around the fort frequently undiscovered. Third.—I have placed Morris and Folly Islands in such a condition of defense, that they can be held by a small force, to enable me to spare from them enough men to take advantage of any success the iron-clads may achieve in the inner harbor.” [O. R., Vol. XXVIII, part II, pp. 108-109.]

Sunday, Oct. 18. The heavy details made from the Regiment almost daily while on duty on Morris Island has reduced the number of men in ranks able for duty to 305, and these are kept constantly on duty since the Regiment moved to Black Island; inspection at 8 A. M.; a large detail was made for fatigue duty in the morning and another detail was made in the evening for grand guard; since the 85th Regiment left Morris Island the enemy has been firing only an occasional shot and the Federal batteries remain perfectly silent; Brig. Gen. Truman Seymour was assigned to the temporary command of the troops on Morris Island during the absence of Gen. Terry.

Oct. 19. The entire Regiment, not otherwise engaged, was detailed for fatigue duty at the fortifications on Black Island; a detail of 10 men assisted Com. Sergt. Bell to bring provisions from Morris Island; mail arrived today bringing news that Gov. Curtin had been re-elected, which was cheering news for the men at work; about 50 shots were fired from the enemy’s batteries, while our batteries on Morris Island, remained perfectly silent; a detail sent on guard at the Lookout at dark.

Oct. 20. The detail on guard at the lookout returned to camp at 7:30 A. M.; a detail of 100 men went on fatigue duty at the fortifications on Black Island; the Regiment was inspected in the afternoon by Capt. R. W. Dawson, assistant inspector-general of the brigade; a detail from the Regiment went on picket duty at dark; the usual, slow fire from the enemy’s batteries was kept up on Morris Island, while our batteries remained perfectly quiet; Gen. Seymour visited the Island during the day, and inspected the fortifications; Gen. Gillmore informed Gen. Halleck that he considered Wagner and Gregg impregnable against any attack, excepting a regular siege; he reported the armament as, one 10-inch Parrott rifle, two 8-inch Parrott rifles, eight 100-pounder Parrott rifles, one 10-inch columbiad, two 10-inch sea-coast mortars, and two 10-inch siege mortars. This armament was exclusive of light defensive guns.

Oct. 21. The detail from the Regiment on picket duty returned to camp at 7:30 a. m.; 100 men were detailed from the Regiment for fatigue duty on fortifications on Black Island, during the day; at dark another detail went on picket duty; the enemy’s batteries kept up a brisk fire at the north end of Morris Island, while our batteries remained perfectly silent, firing not a single shot.

Oct. 22. The detail on picket duty came off in the morning, returning to camp at 7:30 a. m.; the day broke cloudy and misty, but cleared up in the forenoon and proved to be a fine day; a detail of 100 men went on fatigue duty in the morning and remained at work on the fortifications until evening; the enemy’s batteries continued a slow fire on the forts at the north end of Morris Island but received no response from our batteries.

Oct. 23. Day broke with a drizzling rain, and from 7 a. m. to 10 a. m. there were heavy showers causing a suspension of operations on the fortifications during the forenoon; 100
men were detailed for fatigue duty during the afternoon; 100 men detailed for grand guard in the evening; countersign was Farmington; the enemy’s fire was light today, less than 50 shots were fired; our batteries remained quiet; a detail from the Regiment for picket in the evening; day rainy and cold, making soldier life very uncomfortable.

Oct. 24. The day opened with rain which continued at intervals until 4 p. m.; the detail on picket returned to camp at 7 a. m. 100 men were detailed for fatigue duty on fortifications; Quartermaster Beall visited the Regiment today; he still retains his quarters at the old camp on Morris Island; Hospital Steward Bebout returned to the Regiment today from furlough; the same boat that brought him also brought a mail to the Regiment with letters from home; the enemy’s fire was light; not to exceed fifty shots were fired, while our batteries remained perfectly quiet; Lieuts. John W. Acheson, and D. W. Shields, and recruiting party returned to Regiment from Pennsylvania.

Sunday, Oct. 25. The detail from the Regiment on picket returned to camp at 7 a. m.; inspection at 9 a. m.; small detail on fatigue duty; in the evening a heavy detail was made for picket duty; countersign was Richmond; the enemy fired only eight shots during the day, all from Battery Simkins; our guns remained silent.

Oct. 26. The detail on picket guard returned at 7 a. m.; a detail of 100 men was made for fatigue duty in the morning; about 12.30, the guns in Forts Wagner and Gregg, and the midway battery opened on Fort Sumter, Sullivan’s Island, and Fort Johnson, directing most of their fire on Johnson and Sumter. 188 shots were fired at the latter work, of which 169 struck, and 23 passed over; later in the afternoon, a wooden gunboat joined one of the monitors and fired 10 shots at Fort Sumter; one of these penetrated the sand bag traverse about the hospital in Fort Sumter and wounded a negro; this was the only casualty during the day in the fort; 72 shots were fired from Battery Simkins from a rifled gun and 10 shells from mortars but both proved ineffective; 23 shots were fired from Battery Cheeves.

Oct. 27. The picket detail from the Regiment returned to camp at 7 a. m.; a detail of 100 men went on fatigue duty at the fortifications; at 7 a. m. our batteries at the head of Morris Island opened fire on Fort Sumter, directing a portion of the fire on Fort Johnson until noon, when all the guns were concentrated on Sumter, with some occasional shots from monitors; the aggregate number of shots fired at Fort Sumter at dark was 625 of which only 90 missed; our guns ceased firing for a short period, and then re-opened with two guns from Battery Gregg, a few shots from a monitor, and a mortar from a battery east of Gregg; to prevent the enemy from making a reconnaissance around the fort an occasional charge of shrapnel and grape was fired in the channel after dark; at noon a shot penetrated the magazine of a battery at Fort Johnson causing an explosion of 125 lbs. of powder resulting in two casualties; the sea-face of Sumter was seriously injured, the arches of the second tier being all breached and the material falling outside; the remains of the north wall were breached in several places. Three shells were thrown at the City of Charleston, two of them falling short; an 100 pounder Parrott gun burst in Fort Gregg.

Oct. 28. The picket detail from the Regiment returned to camp at 7 a. m.; 100 men were detailed for fatigue duty on fortifications at 7 a. m.; during the day orders were received to move to Folly Island, but before any preparation was made towards getting ready the orders were countermanded; the fatigue detail remained at work until 6 p. m.; a detail was then made for picket duty; the bombardment of Sumter was but a repetition of the previous day 679 shots being fired at Sumter, 591 being effective; Howell’s (Second) brigade was transferred from Terry’s to Gordon’s division [Vol. VIII, part II, p. 117], commanded by Brig. Gen. A. Schimmelfennig during Gen. Gordon’s absence on furlough; the following General Orders (No. 94) were issued from headquarters Department of the South: “Medals of honor for gallant and meritorious conduct during the operations before Charleston will be awarded by the commanding general to a number of the enlisted men of this command not exceeding 3 per cent. of the present aggregate strength of those regiments that have been in action, or on duty in the batteries or trenches. Candidates for
these honors will be nominated by company officers, acting for their respective companies in the capacity of a board. The recommendations of these boards will be forwarded to post commanders, through the usual channels, accompanied by remarks of approval or disapproval of the intermediate commanders, set opposite the name of each candidate. The lists thus obtained will be examined and pronounced upon by boards convened by post commanders, and composed exclusively of field officers, and will then be forwarded to these headquarters. In honor of some of brave men who have fallen on Morris Island during the present campaign, the following names are adopted for the works herein designated, viz.: The work at Cummings Point will be known as Fort Putnam; the next to it, on Morris Island, as Battery Chatfield; Fort Wagner as Fort Strong; the new work near the south end of Morris Island as Fort Shaw; that on Oyster Point as Battery Purviance, and that on the north end of Folly Island as Fort Green.” [Vol. LIII, p. 94]; on same date Gen. Gillmore issued Special Orders No. 581, which embraced the following paragraph: “The brigade of Col. Howell, consisting of the Sixty-Second Ohio, Sixty-Seventh Ohio, Thirty-Ninth Illinois, and Eighty-Fifth Pennsylvania Volunteers, will proceed to the south end of Folly Island and report to Brig. Gen. A. Schimmelfennig, commanding post.” (O. R., Vol. LIII, p. 94.)

Oct. 29. The details from the Regiment on picket and grand guard duty returned to camp at 7 a. m.; a detail was sent on fatigue duty but was recalled at noon, orders having been given for the Regiment to move to Folly Island; tents were struck and every preparation made to move during the afternoon but the relieving troops failed to arrive until about dark, when the 9th Maine Infantry put in an appearance; during the afternoon a drizzling rain had set in causing the last night on Black Island to be the most uncomfortable one the Regiment spent there; Sergt. Thomas J. Black was appointed sergeant-major of the Regiment, relieving Sergt. Thomas Minor Harford, who had been acting in that capacity from July 1, the latter being transferred to Company I, as sergeant; Thomas Rager, Company I, died at hospital on Morris Island; the attack on Forts Sumter and Johnson was continued with vigor by the land batteries assisted by two or three monitors; 779 shots were fired at Fort Sumter, 80 of which missed the fort, the top row of arches on the sea face was cut down; with all this firing concentrated on this part, only one man of the enemy was killed in it during the day.

Oct. 30. The Regiment struck tents and embarked in small surf boats early in the forenoon, and was transported to the north point of Folly Island, where it disembarked late in the afternoon, and marched down the beach a short distance and bivouacked for the night; a detail of 50 men was left in charge of the baggage and camp equipage, at the head of the island; bombardment of Sumter resumed at daylight by the land batteries, which were re-enforced at noon by 3 monitors, continuing until about 5.30 p. m., when the firing gradually ceased, but was slowly resumed in about two hours, and continued at intervals during the night; our batteries and monitors fired 955 shots from sunrise to sunset, 68 of which missed.

Oct. 31. The Regiment remained in bivouac during the day and night, not far from the Campbell house, otherwise known as the White House; Col. Howell, who was absent on furlough, due to impaired health resulting from the explosion of the shell in the bomb-proof during the night of August 16th, returned today by Steamer Fulton, having sailed from New York on October 27; Josiah Bratton of Company D, who received his discharge from the service on October 26, died today in the hospital at Morris Island, being too ill to make the journey home, after receiving his discharge; during the past night our batteries fired 68 shots at Fort Sumter, eight of which missed; about 3 o’clock a. m. a shot struck an iron girder in Fort Sumter, and a moment after the roof fell in, crushing 13 men who were posted there in readiness to mount the crest in the event of a boat attack; during the day our batteries fired 443 rifled shots at Fort Sumter, 61 of which missed; the monitors fired 86 shots, none of which missed; in addition to this 373 mortar shells were fired, 120 of which missed, the total casualties in Fort Sumter during
the day, including the 13 already mentioned was 20; sixteen men killed and four wounded; the flagstaff was shot away twice.

*Sunday, Nov. 1.* The Regimental detail with camp equipage arrived late in the afternoon but too late to pitch tents; Maj. Campbell received his commission as lieutenant-colonel of the Regiment dating from October 16, 1863; James W. Nicholson, Company G, died today; a portion of Regimental hospital was moved from Morris Island where it remained during the Regiment's stay on Black Island; the quartermaster also moved his quarters to Folly Island; the firing from our batteries and monitors differed little from the preceding day, the fire being concentrated on Sumter.

*Nov. 2.* The Regiment pitched camp in the woods not far from where it was encamped in July, before moving to Morris Island; with the exception of details for guard and fatigue duty the men were given the day to put the camp in order; about the usual fire was kept up night and day on Fort Sumter.

*Nov. 3.* The Regiment was not called upon for any duty and the men continued putting the camp in good condition, the tents being new, the camp made a fine appearance in the woods; about the usual fire on Fort Sumter; the monitors firing 114 shots, all of which were effective; 277 rifle shells and 178 mortar shells from the land batteries, of which 40 rifles and 17 mortar shells did not strike.

*Nov. 4.* Camp guard-mount in the morning, and dress parade in the evening at which orders were read ordering company drill four hours every day; our land batteries fired at intervals last night upon Fort Sumter; 59 rifle shells struck and 27 missed; during the day 86 shells from the monitors, 174 rifle shells from the land batteries, and 100 mortar shells struck, while 26 rifle and 36 mortar shells missed; about noon Jefferson Davis, accompanied by Gov. Bonham and Gen. Beauregard, inspected the various defensive works upon James Island.

*Nov. 5.* The routine of the day, in camp was, roll call at day-break; company drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; Regimental drill from 2 to 4 p. m.; dress parade at 5 p. m.; during the day our batteries on Morris Island fired 200 rifle shots at Sumter, 43 missing; 213 mortar shells, of which 98 missed; 68 shots were fired from a monitor, 7 of which did not hit the fort; very pleasant day.

*Nov. 6.* Roll call at day-break; guard mount at 8.30 a. m.; company drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; Regimental drill from 2 to 4 p. m.; inspection and dress parade at 5.30 p. m.; day pleasant but slightly cool, prayer meeting in camp in the evening; mail from the north; during the day, the usual fire from the Morris Island batteries and monitors was continued; during the preceding night 37 rifle and 1 mortar shells struck Fort Sumter, while 21 rifle shells missed; 153 rifle and 193 mortar shells, and 80 shots from the monitors were fired at the fort during the day; of these 31 rifle and 34 mortar shells, and 14 shots from the monitors did not strike; the casualties in the fort during the day were 14; 2 killed, 2 seriously wounded; and 10 slightly wounded; Fort Sumter made no attempt to return the fire and the enemy's other batteries only fired occasionally.

*Nov. 7.* Roll call at daybreak; morning cool and frosty, but the day was pleasant; guard mount at 8.30; company drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; Regimental drill 2 to 4 p. m.; dress parade at 5.30 p. m.; the batteries on Morris Island continued a slow fire from light batteries during the previous night, throwing 68 shells at Fort Sumter, 20 of which either failed to explode, or exploded after passing over the fort. During the day the usual bombardment was resumed by our land batteries, the monitors taking no part in the action; 71 rifle shots and 213 mortar shells were thrown; of the former 15, and of the latter 46, failed to strike; the casualties in the fort were 1 officer, and 2 men wounded.

*Sunday, Nov. 8.* Roll call at daybreak; guard mount at 8.30 a. m.; inspection at 9 a. m.; dress parade at 5 p. m.; a number of the men attended religious service at the camp of the 67th Ohio, preaching by Chaplain Crabbe of that regiment; morning quite chilly, but the day was pleasant; our batteries on Morris Island continued a slow fire on Fort Sumter; and the monitors fired a few shots; 98 rifle shots were fired at the fort
from the batteries, 70 of which struck; 180 mortar shells were fired of which 143 struck; 11 shots were fired by the monitors, 5 of which missed; the casualties in Fort Sumter were 2 negroes seriously wounded.

Nov. 9. Roll call at daybreak; cold and chilly morning, which condition continued throughout the day caused by a sea wind; Regimental camp was shifted for a short distance; mail arrived from the north; a slight abatement of the firing at Fort Sumter, the heavy pieces of our batteries firing but very little; about 150 shots were fired during the night and day, 25 of which were from the monitor.

Nov. 10. Roll call at daybreak; a very heavy frost in the morning; guard mount at 8.30; company drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; Regimental drill from 2 to 4 p. m.; dress parade at 5 p. m.; our batteries on Morris Island kept up a heavy fire on Sumter last night for the first time throwing mortar shells after dark; 154 rifle shots and 152 mortar shells; in the morning a slow fire was resumed, and in the afternoon one or two monitors joined in the engagement, from which 30 shots were fired; the enemy's batteries on Sullivan's Island fired a few shots, but Fort Sumter and the batteries on James Island were perfectly quiet; the telegraph wire between Sumter and Charleston was cut by a shell, suspending communication by that means.

Nov. 11. Roll call at daybreak; guard mount at 8.30; company drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; Regimental drill from 2 to 4 p. m.; dress parade at 5 p. m.; prayer-meeting in camp in the evening; an incident in camp to-day is typical of differences of character in Col. Howell and Lieut. Col. Campbell, the former at this time in command of the brigade and the latter of the Regiment; Privates Morgan and Scott of Company I, were vending a barrel of apples from the tent of the latter, having received permission to do so from the officer of the guard, Lieut. Ream, under restrictions that the men could secure the apples at an approximate wholesale cost, general orders prohibiting huckstering in camp as a business; Lieut. Col. Campbell passing, noticed the violation of orders and directed 1st Sergt. Stevens to have the apples dumped into the sink; in vain Scott protested, but the lieutenant-colonel would listen to no explanation, and Privates W. E. Chick and Elias Ogle were detailed to carry out the orders of the lieutenant-colonel; however, they purposely handled the barrel so clumsily that the contents were soon scattered along the street and but very few reached the intended destination; the event caused a verbal altercation between Lieut. Col. Campbell and his officer of the guard; Lieut. Ream, although then first lieutenant, was the youngest officer in the regiment, having attained the 18th anniversary of his birth the previous week; the latter protested against such action in such vigorous terms as to arouse the ire of the lieutenant-colonel and he was ordered in arrest and to report to Col. Howell, commanding the brigade; when Lieut. Ream presented his sword to the Colonel, and he was informed of the details leading to the protest, he ordered the lieutenant back to duty with words of commendation rather than censure; the usual firing was renewed against Fort Sumter, both from the land batteries and monitors, and one shot again carried away the flag-staff; 223 shots in all were fired; about 8 p. m., a calcium light was displayed from Fort Putnam (formerly Gregg) which gave a good view of Fort Sumter; our batteries opened fire on the enemy's batteries on James Island in the afternoon for the first time in many days, continuing the fire for two hours.

Nov. 12. Roll call at daybreak; guard mount at 8.30 a. m.; company drill from 9 to 11 p. m., brigade inspection at 2 p. m., the entire brigade marching to the beach, where the 85th Regiment was carefully inspected by Col. Pond of the 62d Ohio Regiment, the latter's regiment being inspected at the same time by Lieut. Col. Campbell of the 85th Regiment; dress parade at 5 p. m., and prayer meeting at the Regimental camp in the evening; our batteries fired slowly upon Sumter, and some shots were fired on Moultrie and Simkins, during the greater part of the day; Fort Moultrie and Battery Simkins replying slowly; in the afternoon the fire was more brisk; soon after nightfall our batteries fired much more rapidly and a heavy bombardment from the mortars was kept up during the greater part of the night; a total of 767 shots were fired from our guns inclusive of 2 shots from a monitor.
Nov. 13. Roll call at 6.30 a. m.; guard mount at 8.30; company drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; Regimental drill from 2 to 4 p. m.; dress parade at 5 p. m.; prayer-meeting in camp in the evening; ten men have returned to the Regiment in last ten days from hospitals and detached duty as shown by ration requisition; 1st Sergt. Swearer 25 years old to-day and Com. Sergt. Bell 26 years; during the past night our batteries kept up a heavy bombardment on Fort Sumter, hitting the fort 129 times with rifle shell and 172 times with mortar shells; during the day the fire was directed indiscriminately on the enemy's forts; Sumter, however, receiving the most attention; the enemy replied but with little vigor; Sumter was struck during the day by 12 rifle shots and 129 mortar shells.

Nov. 14. Roll call at 6.30 a. m.; guard mount at 8.30 a. m.; company drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; Regimental drill suspended owing to rain; dress parade at 5 p. m.; the Morris Island batteries' fire was divided between Forts Sumter and Moultrie, 130 shots being fired at the latter and 16 rifle shells and 320 mortar shells were fired at Sumter; Moultrie only returned the fire with 5 shots.

Sunday, Nov. 15. Roll call at 6.30; guard mount at 8.30 a. m.; inspection at 9 a. m.; dress parade at 5 p. m.; prayer meeting in the evening; a group of the 85th Regiment attended religious services at the camp of the 67th Ohio, at 11 a. m.; the usual bombardment was kept up by the Morris Island batteries, but the number of shots fired was not reported; the enemy kept up quite a vigorous fire from Sullivan's Island the previous night in an endeavor to extinguish the calcium light on Fort Strong.

Nov. 16. Roll call at 6.30 a. m.; guard mount at 8.30 a. m.; brigade drill by Col. Howell during the forenoon; dress parade at 5 p. m.; during last night a slow fire was kept up on Fort Sumter by the Morris Island batteries; the enemy discovering a aground opposite Fort Moultrie, opened a vigorous fire from Fort Moultrie and Battery Rutledge; this brought up three other monitors which took position nearer than the grounded one and opened up a terrific fire of shot, shell, and grape on the enemy, which was kept up for three hours, until the grounded monitor got afloat and then all the vessels withdrew; the Morris Island batteries also opened on Fort Moultrie.

Nov. 17. Roll call at 6.30 a. m.; guard mount at 8.30 a. m.; inspection by Capt. R. W. Dawson, brigade assistant inspector-general, at 9 a. m.; dress parade at 5 p. m. During the previous night our batteries kept up the usual bombardment on Fort Sumter, which was continued during the day, firing an occasional shot at the other works of the enemy; at 11 a. m., the bombardment of Charleston began, the guns of former Battery Gregg (changed to Putnam), opening on the city, and continuing for two hours, during which time twenty shells fell inside, or in the immediate vicinity of the city; although several buildings were struck in which were occupants, not a person in the city was injured.

Nov. 18. Roll call at 6.30 a. m.; guard mount at 8.30; brigade drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; company drill from 2 to 4 p. m.; dress parade at 5 p. m.; mail received from the north today; our batteries fired 133 rifle shells and 195 mortar shells at Sumter during last night; 290 shells were thrown at her during the day; at about 1.30 a. m. one of our picket boats was discovered by the enemy's lookout within hailing distance and after hailing it he fired and the boat withdrew.

Nov. 19. Roll call at 6.30 a. m.; guard mount at 8.30; brigade inspection at 10 a. m. by Capt. George H. Hooker, brigade assistant adjutant-general; company drill from 2 to 4 p. m.; our batteries fired 694 shots and shell during the night and day at Fort Sumter; in addition to this 11 shells were fired at the city of Charleston between 10.35 a. m. and 12.20 noon.

Nov. 20. Roll call at 6.30 a. m.; guard mount at 8.30; company drill from 9 to 11 a. m., and again from 2 to 4 p. m.; dress parade in the evening; by special orders from the headquarters of the Department of the South, Lieut. Col. Edward Campbell, Sergt. Maj. Thomas J. Black; Quar. Mas. Sergt. William L. Pershing, Sergt. Isaac F. Overholt and Privé James E. Sayers were detailed for Regimental recruiting service, and left for Pennsylvania; a member of Company C, sent to Fort Clinch, Florida, for cowardice in front of Fort Wagner; clothing issued to the Regiment; our batteries on Morris Island
kept up the usual bombardment, firing 97 shells; at 2.30 a.m., the moon being down and the weather being favorable for an assault, the commanding officer at Fort Sumter aroused and placed the whole garrison under arms in anticipation of an attack; Gen. Terry had ordered a reconnaissance in force when conditions were favorable and everything was in readiness for an assault during the night, a detachment of 250 men, from several regiments on Morris Island, commanded by Maj. Conygham, of the 52d Pennsylvania Regiment, embarked in small boats, moored in a creek until after the moon went down, and under cover of the darkness they were able to approach within 300 yards of the fort and opened fire with musketry; the instruction given Maj. Conygham was to make such demonstration against Sumter as to induce the garrison "to use their musketry fire on the boats," and thus ascertain its strength; an assault was not to be made upon the fort unless it was evident that it could be easily taken; the enemy's shore batteries opened an enfilading fire on the faces of the fort and the boats withdrew, with the loss of three men wounded; the troops stationed in one of the bomb proofs of Fort Sumter were so terrorized by the fire of the reconnoitering party that nearly all of them refused to ascend the parapet of the fort when ordered to do so; the conduct of two Confederate officers was such as to have the commanding officer report that he had no further need for their services; about 2 a.m. two rifle shots from Morris Island were fired into Charleston, the first striking between Church and East Bay Streets, and the second near Circular Church, on Meeting Street; at 10 a.m. five more shots were thrown into the city at intervals of about five minutes; the first shell struck near Market and Cumberland; the second at the corner of Clifford and King; the third in rear of Circular Church; the fourth in front of Circular Church, and the fifth near Horlbeck's Alley; a Confederate chronicler says: "These last shots supposed to have been fired into the city for the especial gratification and entertainment of several women, who were observed near the battery whence the shells were thrown"; in the afternoon for an hour, fire on the city was again resumed, 10 more shells striking at various points; 385 shells were fired at Sumter during the day, and a slow irregular fire was maintained against the other batteries, which received but a feeble reply.

Nov. 21. Roll call at 6.30 a.m.; guard mount at 8.30 a.m.; no drill; dress parade at 5 p.m.; sutler prices are quoted as follows: Small apples, 5 cts. each; large ones 10 cts.; matches, 5 cts. per small box; ink, 15 cts. per bottle; tin cups, 20 cts. each; tin plates, 15 cts. each; daily papers, 10 cts. each; the batteries on Morris Island during last night and today fired 385 shells at Sumter with a sporadic fire against the other works of the enemy; Battery Putnam fired 16 shells into Charleston during the forenoon.

Sunday, Nov. 22. Roll call at 6.30 a.m.; guard mount at 8.30 a.m.; inspection at 9 a.m.; quarters carefully inspected by Col. Howell; a group of the Regiment attended religious services at the camp of the 67th Ohio; Chaplain Crabbe preaching; dress parade at 5 p.m., at which the appointment as corporal of W. E. Chick was read in special orders; prayer-meeting in camp in the evening; during the night and day 231 shot and shell were fired at Fort Sumter; at about 1 a.m. fire was opened on Charleston and continued for two hours, at intervals from five to ten minutes; 17 shells fell within the city limits, and several houses were struck, but none materially damaged, and none reported hurt.

Nov. 23. Roll call at 6.30 a.m.; guard mount at 8.30 a.m.; Corp. W. E. Chick on guard for the first time as a non-commissioned officer; company drill from 9 to 11 a.m.; rain in the afternoon and drill was suspended; dress parade at 5 p.m.; disagreeable day; 199 shots were fired at Fort Sumter during the night and day, with occasional shots at the other works.

Nov. 24. Roll call at 6.30 a.m.; guard mount at 8.30 a.m.; company drill from 9 to 11 a.m.; Regimental drill from 2 to 4 p.m.; dress parade at 5 p.m.; notwithstanding the entire day was misty and rain falling at intervals, making the weather uncomfortable, drill was not suspended; the Morris Island batteries did not fire as vigorously as usual, and distributed the fire on the various works of the enemy; during the forenoon Fort Moultrie opened fire on a working party on the northern end of the island, firing 14 shots; to this
our batteries replied and kept up a fire on Moultrie until 5 p. m., during which time 67 shots were fired at Moultrie and 10 at other posts on Sullivan’s Island; Sumter was struck 65 times with mortar shells.

_Nov. 25._ Roll call at 6.30 a. m.; guard mount at 8.30; company drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; Regimental drill from 2 to 4 p. m.; dress parade at 5 p. m.; prayer meeting in camp in the evening; principal musician Samuel Woods is acting as Q. M. Sergt. during the absence of the Regimental quartermaster; during the day Lieut. Norman B. Ream, Co. H, and a detail of 49 men were ordered to Coles Island; after the men were in readiness to start the order was countermanded; during last night 166 rifle and 17 mortar shells were fired at Fort Sumter of which 121 struck the fort; during the day the fire diminished materially from the average, and was directed chiefly against Battery Simpkins, although Sumter and Johnson received an occasional shot, 21 shots being fired at Sumter, 6 of which missed; the number of casualties in Fort Sumter from October 26, the day the bombardment from Cummings Point began, until November 23, was, officers killed, 2; wounded 2; men killed 25; wounded 52; negroes killed 3; wounded 15; total 99.

_Nov. 26._ Thanksgiving Day; roll call at 6.30 a. m.; guard mount at 8.30 a. m.; no drill or inspection; dress parade at 5 p. m.; a portion of the Regiment received 2 months’ pay; paid by Maj. R. G. Usher; quite a number of the men grew hilarious, celebrating the day because of their joy at receiving pay; during the night preceding Thanksgiving our batteries kept up an unusually heavy fire on Fort Sumter, 242 rifle shots having been fired at that work, 88 only of which failed to strike; during the day 71 rifle and mortar shells were thrown at the fort, 23 of which missed; a continuous and heavy fire was kept up on the enemy’s work on James Island; Gen. Gillmore notified Admiral Dahlgren that he proposed to stop the bombardment of Sumter, or at least greatly diminish, because of the amount of ammunition consumed, unless the admiral considered it of advantage in keeping it up.

_Nov. 27._ Roll call at 6.30 a. m.; guard mount at 8.30; the paymaster completed the paying of the Regiment for two months; rained throughout the day and drill and dress parade was suspended; 380 shots and shell were fired at Fort Sumter during the night and day; fire was also kept up on James Island batteries; during the day the flag in Fort Sumter was shot down, and while it was being hoisted by two or three men, it was again hit, but without injury to the men; before noon our batteries again opened fire on Charleston, firing at intervals of 5 minutes; after throwing nine shells they ceased firing shortly after 12, noon.

_Nov. 28 and 29._ For the past three days there was a continuous, disagreeable rain, so that drill and dress parade, (and inspection on Sunday) were suspended; only the necessary details for camp and picket guards were detailed; during these two days (including preceding nights) 532 shot and shell were fired at Sumter.

_Nov. 30._ Roll call at 6.30 a. m.; guard mount at 8.30 a. m.; brigade drill from 9 to 12 a. m.; during the afternoon the Regiment was on fatigue duty clearing ground for a new encampment near by the present one; the day was quite cool, freezing quite hard in the morning; dress parade at 5 p. m.; the enlisted men started taking up a subscription to buy and present a new sword to Capt. I. M. Abraham, Company G, who is in command of the Regiment during Lieut. Col. Campbell’s absence on recruiting service; during the preceding night, Fort Sumter was bombarded as usual, but a number of shots were not reported; 21 shells only were thrown at Sumter during the day; a few shots were fired at other works of the enemy.

_Dec. 1._ Roll call at 6.30 a. m.; guard mount at 8.30 a. m.; brigade drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; during the afternoon the Regimental camp was moved over a low ridge about 50 yards to a more desirable location; weather so cold that the men began building chimneys and fire places in tents; dress parade at 5 p. m.; our batteries at midnight began shelling the city of Charleston, firing ten shells at intervals of about five minutes; only five of these exploded; at 4.15 p. m. fire on the city was resumed, 17 additional shells were fired about
one half of which exploded; a salute of 100 guns (directed at the enemy) was fired by the land and naval batteries in honor of the victory at Lookout Mountain.

Dec. 2. Roll call at 6.30 a. m.; guard mount at 8.30; Regimental drill from 2 till 4 p. m.; dress parade at 5 p. m.; weather quite cool; the batteries on Morris Island remained silent during the night; during the day fire was opened on Forts Sumter and Johnson and adjacent batteries, to which the enemy responded; 145 shot and shell were fired at Sumter.

Dec. 3. Roll call at 6.30 a. m.; guard mount at 8.30 a. m.; company drill from 9 till 11 a. m.; brigade inspection in the afternoon; dress parade at 5 p. m.; our batteries opened fire on Charleston at 3 a. m., firing 25 shots in one hour, ceasing at about 4 o'clock; only 9 of the shells exploded; no gun was fired on Sumter during the night; during the day a slow fire was kept up on the enemy's various works, 38 shots being fired at Sumter.

Dec. 4. Roll call at 6.30 a. m.; guard mount at 8.30 a. m.; brigade drill during the afternoon; dress parade at 5 p. m.; mail arrived from the north; our batteries remained silent during the day but kept up a pretty brisk fire during the night, dividing the shots on the enemy's various works; all but Fort Sumter responding to the fire; 94 shot and shell were fired at Sumter.

Dec. 5. Roll call at 6.30 a. m.; guard mount 8.30 a. m.; no drill, but men were ordered to clean up the camp which was done; at 1 p. m. orders were received to pack up and be ready to march within 2 hours; tents were struck and the men were ready to move but lay awaiting further orders, which did not come during the day, so the men made themselves as comfortable as they could and bivouacked in their camping ground during the night; our batteries renewed the nocturnal firing, but not very briskly; a total of 55 shells were fired, all at Fort Sumter; during the day a slow fire was kept up on Fort Moultrie and adjacent works; only 6 shells were fired at Fort Sumter.

Sunday, Dec. 6. The men were routed out at 4 a. m., and by daybreak the Regiment, with baggage and camp equipage, was at the landing ready to embark; and by noon the men were aboard the propeller Burnside.

This change of camp was described by Col. Howell in a letter written from Hilton Head Dec. 12, 1863, as follows:

This day a week ago, while at dinner an order came down from Dept. Hqrs. directing me to embark my brigade that night with the utmost secrecy and dispatch and proceed to sea as soon as possible and take all camp and garrison equipage, &c. I was in the saddle or on foot from that time till daylight next morning, when we went on board the transport. As soon as each regiment embarked, I started the transport to sea; remaining myself, until the last, bringing with me on the U. S. Transport General Burnside, my "old 85th." That Sunday night it blew a fearful gale, and for two hours we were in imminent danger of shipwreck and we drifted toward the land and were driven into two fathoms water. The ship drew 8 feet. The captain reported to me the danger. No anchors would have held her that night. He ordered the engineer to drive her from the breakers or burst her boilers—(two and one third times their guaranteed steam pressure were required to drive her out.) The captain was afraid that if the vessel struck the soldiers would all rush to the boats. I told him, "If she strikes and is surrounded by breakers, I can parade this Regiment on your deck, and if we have to leave in boats, no soldier will enter a boat till I give the order, and then, sir, we shall leave in funeral order, the sick and enlisted men first, the officers last." Thank heaven, through the courage and skill of that young seaman, Capt. Wilcox, we were saved that trial. He is a handsome and gallant young fellow. The monitor Weehawken went down that night. We have fine camping ground, not to be annoyed by fatigue or picket duty; confined to target practice and brigade drills; we are under the command of Gen. Seymour.

During the afternoon the Regiment sailed from Folly Island (December 6), about 2 o'clock, the monitor Weehawken went to the bottom in Charleston harbor with a loss of 31 men.
Hilton Head Island

CHAPTER XVII.

Life on Hilton Head Island.—Re-enlistment of Veterans.—Reconnaissance to Whitemarsh Island.—Lieut. Ream Wounded and Lieut. Michener Captured.—Tragic Military Execution.—Daily Record of Events.

From December 7, 1863, to April 21, 1864.

After a tempestuous voyage from Folly Island, the Regiment arrived in Port Royal Harbor about midnight of December 6, and shortly after noon, on December 7, disembarked on Hilton Head Island, where it remained four months and fifteen days, from December 7, 1863, until April 22, 1864. Although kept quite busy at target practice, skirmish drill, and brigade maneuvers, the men regarded their changed situation and condition as a part of a vacation, their environment and climatic conditions being the reverse of what they had experienced on Morris, Black, and Folly Islands. During its stay on Hilton Head Island about one-fourth of the enlisted men of the Regiment re-enlisted as Veterans, and received a furlough of thirty days. While on Hilton Head Island the Regiment had only one engagement with the enemy, in which it had four casualties, viz.: Lieut. Norman B. Ream, Company H, wounded; Lieut. John E. Michener, and Corp. James C. Bailey, Company K, and Private Eli F. Shallenberger, Company C, prisoners of war. This reconnaissance occurred on February 22, 1864, on Whitemarsh Island, within seven or eight miles of Savannah, Georgia. The day following this reconnaissance a member of the Regiment, under the nom de plume of “Franklin” wrote the following account of the affair which was published in the Washington (Penna.) Reporter and Tribune, in its issue of March 9, 1864:

FROM THE 85TH REGIMENT.


On Sunday morning last the tedium and monotony of Camp life was suddenly broken by an order to appear at the dock at Hilton Head at 3 P. M., in light marching order and provided with three days cooked rations. The hum of busy preparations spread rapidly from one end of the Camp to the other, and although the notice was brief and unsuspected, the hour appointed found us promptly at our post awaiting the order to embark. The forces detailed for the expedition consisted simply of the 4th New Hampshire and 85th Pennsylvania. The ban of secrecy was not removed until the two regiments were fairly on their way, and then it was ascertained that our destination was a small island about four miles distant from Savannah known as “White Marsh” upon which some two hundred negroes were busily employed throwing up works under the protection and supervision of one or two companies of rebel troops.
The Island itself is about three miles in width, and connected by a wooden bridge to the main land. To cut this bridge, so as to prevent succor from Savannah, and disburse the troops guarding the negroes, destroy the works, and bring the darkies off to Hilton Head, was the object of the expedition. The destruction of the bridge, the first and most important drive to be made, was assigned to Companies B, D, E, H, I and K of the 85th P. V., under the direction of Capt. Geo. H. Hooker, acting assistant adjutant-general to Col. Howell. Early on the morning of the 22d, Capt. Hooker and his command set out, expecting to reach the desired point at daylight, and attack and overwhelm the guard at the bridge before re-enforcements could possibly arrive from the city. Everything seemed to work admirably, and this small force under the guidance of a contraband reached the appointed rendezvous without discovery. An advance was immediately made; the rebel pickets struck with amazement at the unaccountable appearance of an enemy, discharged their pieces in the air and fled like frightened deer. Our men followed rapidly up, and only stopped when they arrived within one hundred yards of an obstacle never anticipated—a large fort with frowning batteries, so constructed as to cover and protect the bridge and render its destruction impossible without first obtaining possession of the fort itself. The negro guide with Capt. Hooker, although familiar with the whole country thereabout, and perfectly reliable, had escaped in August last, and was ignorant of the existence of the above fort, which had evidently been of very late construction. Here was a difficulty never dreamed of when the expedition was planned, and to add to the peril of the situation, the rebel force was, no doubt, three or four times larger than our own. To attempt an assault of this place would have been the height of madness, and nothing now remained but to fall back to the boats and retire, which was done in good order. Although the advance and retreat were attended with constant skirmishing, our loss was slight. Lieut. Ream received a serious but not mortal wound in the groin. Lieut. Michener and two men in his company, pressing too closely the retreating rebels, were taken prisoners. The loss of Lieut. Michener has cast a shade of sorrow and gloom over the whole camp; his unflinching courage and gallant bearing in battle, together with his many noble and generous traits of character, have won him the respect and esteem of the whole regiment; our earnest hope is that he may be restored to us in good health and safety.

At the same time Capt. Hooker landed his force at the far end of the island. Capt. Hughes was ordered to embark his company in boats, and if possible, effect a landing at Gibson's point, a few hundred yards distant, and guarded as we could distinctly see, by a considerable force of rebels. The Captain's advance was watched with much anxiety, for he had but forty men, and the strength of his opposition was quite doubtful; the captain, with the first boat load of 15 men, had no sooner arrived within rifle shot than the rebels opened briskly upon him, but without doing any injury or impeding in the least his steady advance; the instant the boat touched the beach, the men, though few in number, leaped quickly ashore, and found themselves confronted with nearly sixty armed rebels. Undaunted by the prospect of so unequal a contest, the brave boys of Company C, with a yell and a volley, that carried terror to the hearts of the chivalry, rushed forward and cleared the field at the point of the bayonet. Every movement both of Capt. Hughes and the enemy, could be distinctly seen from our vessel, and the rapidity with which the rebels hunted their holes, was the cause of no little merriment. Company C killed one man, captured thirteen, and pushed the retreating rebels far back into the island. Our whole force was then quickly landed, and preparation made for the advance and capture of the negroes and the remaining rebels, when Capt. Hooker returned and announced the failure of the most important part of the enterprise.

We were now within four miles of Savannah, scarcely 500 strong, without artillery, and liable to be attacked at a moment's notice by an overwhelming force. Nothing now could be done but hold in check as long as possible, the rebels who were reappearing in front with heavy re-enforcements, reembark the troops, and reach the vessels lying at anchor a few hundred yards down stream. Contrary to our expectations, this was soon accomplished, and the whole command safely withdrawn without the loss of a single man.
The situation was a perilous one, and with troops less disciplined or reliable, the enterprise might have proved exceedingly disastrous. The different companies seemed to vie with each other in daring, and they all behaved admirably; but to Company C, 85th, special praise is due for the daring and success of its achievement. Landing in the face of a foe three or four times exceeding themselves in strength, they not only attacked, but utterly routed him, making a large proportion prisoners of war. All honor to the gallant captain who led them, and to whose constancy and valor our Regiment is indebted for the partial success it achieved.

Although the expedition failed in the primary object,—the capture of the negroes on the island—yet it served other intended and important purposes. The mistake was in underestimating the rebel force, both on the island and at the bridge. At the latter point our men expected to meet a small picket force, and no difficulty was anticipated in accomplishing the destruction of the bridge, provided a landing could be effected without discovery. Judge of the surprise of our men, when they found themselves in close proximity to an extensive fortification well supplied both with men and ordinance.

Looking back over the whole affair, I think it was a most daring attempt; and will add greatly to the uneasiness of the people of Savannah, who are kept constantly in a state of anxiety and alarm. Our Regiment arrived safely in camp last night, and today enjoys the repose so grateful after this brief but spirited campaign.

(Signed.) Franklin.

The following account of the affair appeared in the Savannah News of February 23, 1864:

Early on Monday morning the Yankees landed a force of from three to four hundred on the island from a number of barges. A force of about one hundred and fifty men from the 85th Pennsylvania, under the command of First Lieutenant Michener, immediately advanced and drove in our pickets. So rapid were their movements that they succeeded in cutting off about one hundred and fifty negroes, together with their overseers, who were engaged at work in that vicinity. These negroes, however, with the overseers, succeeded in making their escape, and reached our lines in safety.

Our troops soon opened on the enemy, and repulsed them. We captured Lieut. Michener, and a corporal named Shallenberger, and a private named A. C. Bailey, of the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment. Several of the enemy were wounded. We lost one man killed, belonging to Maxwell's light battery. This was the only casualty on the Confederate side. No negroes were lost. Lieut. Richardson brought the prisoners to this city, and they are now confined in the barracks. During yesterday afternoon the enemy were engaged in shelling the island, for the purpose, no doubt, of covering the retreat of their forces.

Both the Herald and Tribune of New York, in their issues of February 27, 1864, contained the same literal account of the affair as follows:

EXPEDITION TO WITHIN FIVE MILES OF SAVANNAH CAPTURE OF TWENTY REBELS.

On Sunday last, (21st inst.) a small force of troops, under command of Col. Howell, left Hilton Head in transports, and proceeded up the Savannah River to Williams Island. Arriving at that place about dark a company of men, under Capt. Greenleaf, of the Fourth New Hampshire, landed in small boats and made a reconnaissance, in the course of which they met a small body of the enemy, and a smart musketry fire ensued. We had four men of the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers wounded. The enemy's loss greatly outnumbered our own. On Monday evening Col. Howell withdrew his force, arriving at Hilton Head
on Monday night, 22nd inst., bringing with him twenty of the rebels which his men captured on the island. The reconnaissance was highly successful, and reflected much honor upon those who participated in it.

Col. Howell, in a letter to his brother, under date of March 9, 1864, referring to the foregoing account of the Whitemarsh Island expedition, says:

Perhaps you have seen a short account of the expedition to Whitemarsh Island, Georgia, in the Tribune and New York Herald. It contains only two truths; namely: that "we started on Sunday and returned Monday night," and that, "the expedition was a success." The rest is not true; especially that Capt. Greenleaf, with his company of the Fourth New Hampshire Regiment landed at night and first. We landed in the morning at 9 o'clock, at two points. My assistant adjutant-general with 165 men of the 89th Pennsylvania at one, and I with the residue of my old Regiment, and a detachment of the 67th Ohio, at the other. It was here where we took the prisoners. No company of the 4th New Hampshire landed until we had driven the enemy back and had effected our landing, complete. In embarking to leave, my old Regiment and the 67th Ohio, covered the embarkation. Their steadiness and well directed fire, and the shell and shot of the "Mayflower," my gunboat, drove the enemy back and saved us from being terribly cut up in leaving.

In the main, "Franklin's" narrative of the expedition, is essentially correct. The principal fortification for the defense of Savannah was Fort Bartow at Caustons Bluff, four miles east of Savannah. This was among the largest and most complete forts along the coast, embracing an area of seventeen acres. Whitemarsh Island was separated from Causton's Bluff, which was on the main island, by a small island called Oatland. The object of the expedition was to bring from the island several hundred negroes who were there employed building fortifications. To effect this with safety it was necessary to destroy the bridge connecting Oatland Island with Whitemarsh. Lieut. Michener had command of the skirmishers of Capt. Hooker's force, and not being aware of the location of the fort commanding the approaches to the bridge, followed the fleeing pickets with his skirmishing party. Lieut. Norman B. Ream, who was acting adjutant of the Regiment at the time, was sent forward by Capt. Hooker to direct Lieut. Michener to fire the bridge and prevent the enemy from effecting a crossing at this point. Before Lieut. Ream had arrived in the vicinity of the bridge, the enemy had opened fire with his guns in the fort, and soon had such perfect range of the western approach to the bridge with grape and canister shot that Lieut. Michener and Corp. James C. Bailey of Company K, were compelled to surrender as prisoners of war. With this bridge uninjured the safety of the entire force was imperiled, as it was possible in a brief time for the enemy to concentrate an overwhelming force on the island and prevent Capt. Hooker's force from reaching his surf boats. Capt. Hughes, with a small force of the Regiment, landed at another part of the island, deployed his command as skirmishers, and immediately advanced, driving in the enemy's pickets on the east side of the island, and completely routing a superior force, a detachment of the 57th Georgia. In making this charge Private Eli F. Shallenberger, of Company C, became isolated from the rest of the command and kept advancing in the woods
and was forced to surrender as prisoner of war. Although Capt. Hooker's force failed in destroying the Oatland bridge, a portion of it under the command of Lieut. Ream, remained near the approach under cover of a woods and kept up a continuous fire on the battery in the fort, while the main body advanced until meeting the enemy in considerable force at another point, driving him back in great confusion. The force under Lieut. Ream kept up a brisk fire on the battery in the fort until ordered to retire. When falling back the lieutenant was severely wounded in the groin from a bullet of the enemy, but continued with his party until they reached the point of rendezvous at the boat's landing place. Had Capt. Hooker not received orders to retire, it is quite probable he would have succeeded in corralling the negroes and bringing them off, as the enemy was bordering on a state of panic. This is quite evident from the official report of the affair by Brig. Gen. R. E. Colston, the Confederate commander, who said, in part:

About 8 o'clock on Monday morning the enemy advanced towards Whitemarsh Island in two parties. One consisted of eleven surf boats, each carrying 20 men, and passed over the flats at high tide. The morning being hazy and the high grass of the marsh covering them, they were enabled to effect a landing without being seen about 100 yards below the picket at Fleetwoods, and immediately advanced upon that picket, which fired upon them, the picket consisting only of three men and one non-commissioned officer, immediately retreated upon the Oatland Bridge, closely pursued by the enemy, who also drove in the sentinels at the bridge. Some 20 of the enemy dashed across the bridge toward the battery. Lieut. Richardson commanding section of artillery, was informed by the retreating picket of the advance of the enemy and immediately opened fire of canister upon them, driving them back very rapidly to the cover of the woods. One lieutenant and 2 privates of the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers surrendered themselves rather than re-cross the bridge under fire of our artillery. The rest of the party kept up a fire of skirmishers upon the artillery, by which we lost 1 man and 1 horse killed. Lieut. Richardson finally drove them off by a fire of shell. They then advanced toward the picket at Gibson's house, composed of a detachment of the 57th Regiment Georgia Volunteers, under the command of Capt. Tucker.

About the same time that the party landed below the Fleetwoods picket the lookout at the Gibson house reported three steamers crowded with men at the point of Wilmington Island and coming up. Capt. Tucker immediately sent a courier to Capt. Turner at Turner's Rocks, to inform him of the fact, and disposed his men to resist the enemy's approach, who were then landing. Just then the force of the enemy which had been driven back from the bridge advanced upon the rear of Capt. Tucker's position and were for some time believed to be a re-enforcement, but becoming convinced of the contrary, Capt. Tucker ordered his men to fire upon them. About half of them did so. The enemy replied, and Capt. Tucker's men broke in wild confusion. Notwithstanding the most earnest efforts of Capt. Tucker and his officers, it was impossible to rally them until they reached the main road, and effected a junction with the picket from Turner's Rock, under Lieut. Readick, which had been ordered by Capt. Turner to concentrate with the other pickets at the cross roads.

At the first information received by him Col. Pritchard had ordered that portion of the 57th Regiment at their camp near Fort Bartow to cross over, and had formed them in line of battle. He now ordered Capt. Turner to take his company and advance to the Gibson House and reconnoiter the enemy. Capt. Turner found them there in force and fired upon them. The main force at the landing returned Capt. Turner's fire briskly. At the same time the boats commenced shelling vigorously. Before re-enforcements could be brought up the enemy re-embarked and disappeared, leaving behind them a number of haversacks, canteens, blankets and clothing, some of them saturated with blood, and three
excellent surf boats with oars. * * * Their purpose was to seize the bridge leading to Oatland, and thus to cut off all the forces and negroes on the island. * * * Although several hundred negroes were working on the fortifications on the island, not a single one was taken. * * * In the late affair it was only the artillery which I requested * * * for the protection of Oatland Bridge which saved us from losing the bridge. (O. R., Vol. XXXV, part II, 361-364.)

The daily record of the activities of the Regiment while stationed at Hilton Head Island, which follows is compiled from the diaries of Comrades Bell, Swearer, Chick, Scott, supplemented by letters written at the time, and an occasional extract from the official record:

Dec. 7. After a stormy voyage the transport Burnside anchored about 1 a. m. in Port Royal harbor; remaining at anchor until shortly after noon when she moved to the docks and the Regiment soon disembarked and was on the march, halting about two miles from the dock, where a camp was laid out and tents pitched before dark; the first day's stop on Hilton Head was marked by being very cold and disagreeable.

Dec. 8. The second day on Hilton Head Island the men devoted their entire time in putting their quarters in order; a cold, disagreeable rain prevailing throughout the entire day; excepting a detail for guard, and dress parade in the evening, no further duty was required of the men; a number of packages "from home" arrived, prompted no doubt by the recent Thanksgiving season.

Dec. 9. The third day on Hilton Head Island opened bright and pleasant, and nearly the entire forenoon was devoted to target practice; in the afternoon, Col. Howell drilled the brigade for two hours; dress parade in the evening.

Dec. 10. The weather, while a trifle cool, was exhilarating, and the Regiment devoted the forenoon to target practice; during the afternoon Col. Howell had the brigade out for two hours maneuvering them by battalions; a youthful drummer boy of the 76th Pennsylvania regiment was buried in the forenoon, the band leading the funeral cortege playing "Let me Kiss him for his Mother." LaFayette Short, Company C, died in the evening.

Dec. 11. Another disagreeable day; a continuous rain, prevented drill, and with the exception of a light detail for guard duty, the men remained in their quarters.

Dec. 12. A continuation of the weather of the day before caused the suspension of all duties, and the men spent the day in an endeavor to keep dry and warm.

Sunday, Dec. 13. The day was dark and misty, and with the exception of the regular Sunday company inspection and a small detail for guard duty, the men were permitted to make it a "day of rest."

Dec. 14. The anniversary of the battle of Kinston, N. C., opened up bright and pleasant, and target practice was resumed; brigade drill in the afternoon; dress parade in the evening; the day closed with prayer-meeting in camp.

Dec. 15. Another pleasant day; target practice during the forenoon; brigade drill from 2 to 4 p. m.; dress parade at 5 p. m.

Dec. 16. Another pleasant day; the forenoon was devoted to brigade inspection; Capt. Dawson, assistant inspector-general on Col. Howell's staff, making a thorough inspection; brigade drill from 2 to 4 p. m., followed by dress parade.

Dec. 17. Cool, rainy morning; target practice was eliminated from today's schedule; brigade drill for two hours in the afternoon, followed by dress parade; woolen blankets were issued to the men.

Dec. 18. A cold, windy day, but not disagreeable enough to interfere with the regular daily fair weather program; target practice in the forenoon; brigade drill in the afternoon; followed by dress parade; rumored that Col. Howell has been commissioned brigadier-general.

Dec. 19. The day quite cold; target practice in the forenoon; dress parade in the evening; no brigade drill.
Sunday, Dec. 20. Weather quite cool; inspection at 9 a. m.; dress parade at 5 p. m.; a group of the Regiment attended religious service at the camp of the 87th Ohio; the steamer Fulton arrived from New York bringing a heavy mail.

Dec. 21. The day opened clear and cold; the usual week day fair weather program was carried out; target practice during the forenoon; brigade drill for two hours followed by dress parade in the afternoon; a re-organization of the Regimental band is being effected with Samuel Woods of Company E, and Henry L. Regar, of Company H, as principal musicians; the weather in the evening cold enough to make overcoats desirable.

Dec. 22. The weather remains quite cool; the usual week day program was carried out in full; forenoon devoted to target practice; the afternoon to brigade drill, and dress parade; an epidemic of smallpox prevailing among the negroes on the island the men are advised to be vaccinated.

Dec. 23. The day opened rather cool but soon became quite pleasant; in lieu of target practice the men were directed to spend the forenoon preparing for a grand review; the entire force on the island was reviewed by Maj. Gen. Gillmore during the afternoon; dress parade in the evening; Gen. Gillmore closed the festivities of the day by a magnificent ball which did not end when "taps" were sounded; Sergt. Z. C. Ragan, Company F, detailed as acting Q. M. Sergt. during the absence of Q. M. Sergt. Pershing.

Dec. 24. A clear stormy day, and whether it be the wind or the result of the "good cheer" dispensed at Gen. Gillmore's party last evening, the men were exempted from target practice or brigade drill; Col. Howell visited the camp of the Regiment and did not exhibit his customary lavish of compliments to his favorite "boys"; instead he was in a very critical mood and was quite severe in his criticism as to the condition of the quarters of the men; some of the men attributed his changed attitude as a reaction due to such a marked difference from the brilliant environment of the previous evening.

Dec. 25. Christmas; the day opened cool and windy; all duties, were suspended for the day except a detail for guard, and dress parade in the evening; a liberal ration of whiskey was issued to the men; Lieut. W. H. Davis, Company C, returned to the Regiment; Col. Howell visited camp during the day and was "himself again;" he praised the men fulsomely for having put the camp in excellent condition.

Dec. 26. Cool and windy; target practice during the forenoon; no brigade drill; dress parade in the evening at which Capt. I. M. Abraham, who had been in command of the Regiment since Lieut. Col. Campbell left on recruiting service, was presented with a magnificent sword, purchased by subscriptions from the enlisted men; the presentation address was made by Lieut. John W. Acheson of Company C.

Dec. 27. Cool and clear; inspection in the morning; dress parade in the evening; religious services at the Regimental Hospital in the afternoon; prayer meeting in camp in the evening.

Dec. 28. An exceptionally pleasant morning and day, with a slight fall of rain; the regular daily program was carried out; target practice during the forenoon; brigade drill in the afternoon; and dress parade; prayer-meeting in camp in the evening.

Dec. 29. Very pleasant day; target practice in the forenoon; brigade drill in the afternoon; and dress parade in the evening; Seth T. Hurd, editor of the Brownsville (Pa.) Clipper visited camp.

Dec. 30. Pleasant day; the usual daily program was carried out; target practice in the forenoon; brigade drill in the afternoon, and dress parade in the evening.

Dec. 31. The day broke, rainy and stormy, a heavy wind prevailing during the previous night; Regiment was mustered for pay by Capt. R. W. Dawson, assistant inspector-general on Col. Howell's staff; three silver fifes, eight tenor and one bass drum arrived today for the Regimental band; the re-organized band is as follows: Sergt. Samuel Woods, Company E, and Corp. H. L. Regar, Company H, principal musicians; Robert B. Thompson, Company A, Eli Crumrine, Company B, and John Stuck, Company I, fifers; John W. Ingles, Company A, Isaiah Jordan, Company D, Daniel Swan and James McCuen,
Company F, drummers; the duties of the last day of the year were ended by prayer-meeting.

Friday, Jan. 1, 1864. New Years Day was quite cool and windy and for a time during the afternoon was very disagreeable; the men (except the usual guard detail) were exempted from all duty but dress parade in the evening; Lieut. John E. Michener acted as adjutant at dress parade and the re-organized band with its new instruments made a fine appearance as it passed up and down in front of the Regiment.

Jan. 2. Freezing weather; target shooting and brigade drill was called off, and the men devoted most of the day making provisions against the cold weather; building fire-places in chimneys; the remains of a private soldier of the 39th Ill. Regiment was conveyed to the burial ground in a cart used for carrying rubbish, causing much unfavorable comment in camp because of such treatment of a dead enlisted man at a time when an endeavor was made to have the men re-enlist; the paupers' elegy was paraphrased;

"Rattle his bones over the stones,
He is only a private who nobody owns."

Sunday, Jan. 3. Weather continues cold; inspection at 9 a.m.; dress parade at 4.30 p.m.

Jan. 4. Rain most of the day and with the exception of guard duty the men were permitted to remain in their quarters until 4.30 p.m. when they turned out for dress parade; the steamer Fulton from New York arrived in the evening bringing the mail.

Jan. 5. Drizzling rain in the morning but the Regiment turned out at 9 a.m. and engaged in skirmish drill for two hours; the mail that came on the Fulton was distributed; Capt. Abraham sent his new sword home; in anticipation of the captain being commissioned major of the Regiment the quartermaster made requisition for a horse for him today.

Jan. 6. Rainy day; all duties were suspended except the necessary detail for guard duty.

Jan. 7. Another rainy and disagreeable day; all drills and dress parade suspended; Capt. R. P. Hughes, and Lieut. J. M. Johnson left for home on a twenty days furlough.

Jan. 8. Day rather cool and disagreeable; company drill for two hours in the forenoon; and dress parade at 4.30 p.m.; clothing issued to the men.

Jan. 9. Day cold and clear; skirmish drill for two hours in the forenoon; dress parade at 4.30 p.m.; a private of Company A, refusing to go on drill, the same morning he returned to his quarters, after having been on guard duty the previous 24 hours, sentenced to two months confinement at hard labor at Fort Clinch, Florida, with the loss of 2 months pay, sentence of court martial; offense, "refusal to go on duty immediately after returning from 24 hours guard duty;" Hugh Ferguson of Company A, died in general hospital Pittsburgh, Penna.

Sunday, Jan. 10. A very pleasant day; inspection at 9 a.m.; dress parade at 4.30 p.m.; a member of the Christian Sanitary Commission held religious services at the Regimental hospital, attended by a large number of the men; the steamer Arago arrived in the evening, bringing the mail; the day in camp was closed with prayer-meeting.

Jan. 11. A magnificent day; the former daily program was resumed except skirmish drill was substituted for target practice; brigade drill from 2 to 4 p.m.; dress parade at 4.30 p.m.; the mail that came on the Arago yesterday, was distributed today; a corporal of Company I detected at purloining the liquid supplies of one of the officers of the Regiment was summarily reduced to the ranks.

Jan. 12. A slow drizzling rain prevailed during most of the day but not of such a character as to interfere with the usual daily program; skirmish drill from 9 to 11 a.m.; brigade drill from 2 to 4 p.m.; dress parade at 4.30 p.m.; the quartermaster drew 1,500 feet of lumber to be used in improving the officers' quarters.

Jan. 13. Rainy, disagreeable day; no drill or dress parade; some musical instruments arrived for a string band in the Regiment.
Jan. 14. Foggy, misty day; skirmish drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; dress parade at 4:30 p. m.; at dress parade the penalties inflicted on three men by sentence of court martial were read; the sentence of one was two months confinement at hard labor at Fort Clinch, Fla., with loss of pay; of another confinement of 1 year at Fort Clinch, with loss of pay; of the other, a deduction of $10.00 from pay.

Jan. 15. Clear morning; skirmish drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; dress parade at 4:30 p. m.; some complaints having been made that there was a shortness in the rations issued to the men as prescribed in the army regulations, Surg. Sandt made an investigation and decided the regulation quantity was drawn and issued.

Jan. 16. A very pleasant day; Company drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; dress parade at 4:30 p. m.; the string hand discoursed some music in the tent of the commissary sergeant in the evening; Sergt. Woods playing the piccolo; Corp. H. L. Regar and T. J. Barr, violins, R. B. Thompson, bass viol, and Isaiah Jordan, the bones.

Sunday, Jan. 17. Very pleasant morning; inspection at 9 a. m.; dress parade at 4:30 p. m.; prayer meeting in the evening.

Jan. 18. A rainy, disagreeable day; all drills suspended; dress parade at 4:30 p. m.

Jan. 19. Pleasant day; skirmish drill from 9 to 11; dress parade at 4:30 p. m.

Jan. 20. A pleasant day; the former daily program resumed; skirmish drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; brigade drill from 2 to 4 p. m.; dress parade at 4:30 p. m.; received mail during the day.

Jan. 21. A magnificent day; the full daily program was carried out; skirmish drill in the forenoon; brigade drill in the afternoon; dress parade at 4:30 p. m.

Jan. 22. Another magnificent day; Company drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; inspection of arms from 11:30 to 12:30, by Lieut. King; brigade drill from 2 to 4 p. m.; dress parade at 4:30 p. m.; prayer meeting in Regimental camp in the evening.

Jan. 23. Another magnificent day; company drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; no brigade drill; dress parade at 4:30 p. m.

Sunday, Jan. 24. No change in the magnificent weather; the usual Sunday inspection at 9 a. m.; preaching at 11 a. m., by a minister named Johnson; dress parade at 4:30 p. m.; prayer meeting in the evening.

Jan. 25. Weather continued very pleasant; company drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; brigade drill from 2 to 4 p. m.; dress parade at 4:30 p. m., witnessed by Col. Howell; prayer meeting in the evening.

Jan. 26. Weather delightful, and warm as a spring day; the full fair weather program was carried out; company drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; brigade drill from 2 to 4 p. m.; dress parade at 4:30 p.m.

Jan. 27. The weather continues delightful and exhilarating; company drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; brigade drill from 2 to 4 p. m.; dress parade at 4:30 p. m.

Jan. 28. Another delightful day; company drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; after a hurried dinner the Regiment fell into line and, with the other regiments of the brigade, escorted the 39th Illinois Regiment to the dock, where they embarked on two steamers for New York, enroute to Illinois, on veteran furlough.

Jan. 29. The delightful weather still continues and the full daily regular drill program was carried out; company drill for two hours in the forenoon; brigade drill for two hours in the afternoon, the 8th U. S. Regiment (colored troops) participating in the drill; dress parade at 4:30 p. m.; prayer meeting in the evening.

Jan. 30. Another delightful day; battalion skirmish drill, during the forenoon at which blank cartridges were fired; the men were permitted a Saturday afternoon rest.

Sunday, Jan. 31. The Regiment was out early and escorted the veterans of the 62d Ohio Regiment to the dock, where they embarked for the Buckeye State on a veteran thirty day furlough; the day was as warm as a pleasant spring day in Pennsylvania; dress parade in the evening; prayer meeting at sundown.

Feb. 1. The day was somewhat cloudy and foggy but continued warm; no drill in the forenoon; battalion skirmish drill in the afternoon; dress parade in the evening, after
which Col. Howell addressed the Regiment urging the men to re-enlist; a number of men were enrolled as veterans.

Feb. 2. Day broke bright and clear, indicating 6 weeks of wintry weather, if the folk-lore ground-hog story does not fail; company drill from 9 to 11 a. m.; battalion skirmish from 2 to 4 p. m.; dress parade at 4:30 p. m.; in addition to the regulation issue of rations, the men received potatoes, onions and apples from the Christian Sanitary Commission, there being two apples to each group of five men.

Feb. 3. The day broke cloudy and windy, but continued warm, and not at all unpleasant; the usual daily program was carried out; company drill in the forenoon; battalion skirmish drill in the afternoon, followed by dress parade, at which patriotic addresses were made by Seth Hurd, of Brownsville, Pennsylvania, and Col. Howell, in which appeals were made for the men to re-enlist as veterans.

Feb. 4. The day broke clear and very windy; no drill in the forenoon; the men gathered in groups discussing the addresses of Col. Howell and Editor Hurd of the previous evening and the advisability of re-enlisting; in the afternoon the troops on the Island were reviewed by Gen. Gillmore; dress parade in the evening; the officers of the Regiment held a meeting in the evening for the purpose of discussing ways and means to induce the men to re-enlist as veterans for the war; Capt. I. M. Abraham was elected chairman and Lieut. John E. Michener appointed Secretary; on motion of Lieut. R. R. Sanner, a committee of five was appointed by the chair “to devise ways and means by which the Regiment might be re-enlisted as veteran volunteers; to inquire what obstacles were in the way, and to make a report of their investigations to a meeting of the officers to be convened this evening.”

Feb. 5. The day broke clear and pleasant but most of the day was devoted by the men in arguing pro and con as to re-enlisting as veterans; Companies A, F and D exchanged Austrian rifles for Enfield rifles, the other companies having made a similar exchange previously; dress parade in the evening; a large force from Hilton Head Island under command of Gen. Truman Seymour, embarked on transports for expedition to Florida; Col. Howell assumed command of the Hilton Head District.

Feb. 6. An exceedingly pleasant day; re-enlistment of volunteers has been the main topic discussed and all drills have been suspended, there being considerable excitement due to most of the troops on the island having left on an expedition to Florida; Col. Howell, as commanding officer of the district, moved his headquarters into the town, and 70 men of the Regiment have been detailed for guard at his headquarters; a number of men re-enlisted as volunteers.

Sunday, Feb. 7. A magnificent day; inspection at 9 a. m. and dress parade at 4:30 p. m.; excited arguments continue throughout the camp in regard to re-enlisting; prayer meeting in the evening.

Feb. 8. Weather delightful; clear and warm; the day was devoted to discussing the question of re-enlistment; the heavy details for guard duty daily have caused a suspension of all drills; 142 men of the 67th Ohio Regiment, forming a detachment, have been temporarily attached to the 85th Regiment during the absence of the 67th Regiment on veteran furlough; countersign, “Chattanooga.”

Feb. 9. Weather cloudy but pleasant; all duty suspended but daily heavy details for guard duty; the 67th Ohio veterans sailed early this morning on the Fulton enroute for home on veteran furlough.

Feb. 10. A very warm, pleasant day; the usual heavy details for guard duty has now taken the place of the former program of drills and dress parade; Maj. Freeman, paymaster, U. S. A., visited camp, leaving two months pay, which gave much satisfaction to the men.

Feb. 11. Weather clear and somewhat cooler; the veteran excitement has subsided; rumored that Company F is to go to St. Helena Island.

Feb. 12. Weather delightful; very much like spring in Pennsylvania; the usual heavy detail for guard duty; countersign for the night being “Valley Forge”; Lieut. Col. Com-
mager, 67th Ohio Regiment, assumed command of the 85th Regiment, relieving Capt. Abraham.

Feb. 13. The weather cloudy and windy but still very pleasant; no change in the new program of heavy details for guard duty in town and elsewhere; mail boat arrived in port in evening.

Sunday, Feb. 14. St. Valentine's Day was warm and pleasant and groups of the men not on guard duty strolled in different directions over the island; some to Mitchellville; prayer meeting in the evening.

Feb. 15. Weather cloudy and windy, and somewhat cooler than for some time back; the usual heavy details for guard duty; in town and elsewhere in different directions; large numbers of the other regiments here who have re-enlisted have knapsacks packed, ready to start homeward on veteran furlough.

Feb. 16. The day opened with a light, warm wind, which gradually increased in velocity, and by evening it had assumed the proportions of a storm; during the afternoon some grass which had caught fire was fanned into flames, so rapidly that the Regiment, together with the 6th Connecticut, was called out, to check it, and with considerable labor prevented it reaching a powder magazine.

Feb. 17. The storm continued to prevail throughout the night and day and caused a decided drop in the temperature; heavy seas prevented the mail steamers from leaving port; the usual heavy detail for guard duty.

Feb. 18. A remarkable change in the weather which continued stormy and by evening snow and sleet reminded the men that this is a winter month; the weather decidedly cold and disagreeable; the usual daily detail for guard duty in town and elsewhere; no drill, dress parade in the evening.

Feb. 19. The weather continues cloudy, stormy and cold; orders were issued to prepare for an expedition, with three days rations; the men on guard were relieved and returned to camp and when all were in readiness to move the order was countermanded and the men returned to quarters.

Feb. 20. The weather much warmer and pleasanter, yet still cool in comparison with the weather a fortnight ago; the men lay in camp in expectancy of a renewal of the order of the previous day; a number of the men were re-mustered as veterans; prayer meeting in the evening.

Sunday, Feb. 21. Day broke clear and cold; at 9 a. m. the usual Sunday inspection; orders were issued for the Regiment to appear at 3 p. m. at the Hilton Head dock, in light marching orders, with three days cooked rations; no time was lost in embarking and at 4 p. m. 4 vessels were ready to sail, the “Mary Benton,” “Golden Gate,” “Mayflower,” and “Dictator,” carrying the 85th Regiment and detachment of the 67th Ohio, with Col. Howell in command; this small fleet left the dock shortly after 4 p. m., moving up Port Royal Sound, passing around Pinckney Island in a small stream, called School Creek, thence into Calibogue Sound, striking Tybee Island near Braddock’s Point at the extreme southern extremity of Hilton Head Island.

Feb. 22. When day broke the small fleet comprising the expedition was lying at anchor a short distance from Fort Pulaski; anchors were soon weighed and the vessels moved up Wilmington Narrows, a sluggish, winding stream, until the mouth of Turner’s Creek was reached; here anchors were cast and the men hastily but quietly dropped the surf-boats into the water, boarded them, a portion of them, commanded by Capt. R. P. Hughes, ascending Turner’s Creek in the direction of Turner’s Rocks; the other, commanded by Capt. George H. Hooker, passed over some flats which were only navigable at high tide, and under cover of high grass of the marsh which bordered this portion of Whitemarsh Island, succeeded in effecting a landing without being observed by the enemy; skirmishers under command of Lieut. John E. Michener of Company K were deployed and after advancing about 100 yards came upon the enemy’s outposts; so close were the skirmishers on the enemy’s pickets before being discovered, that the latter had only time to fire one round; after which, to prevent capture, they fled incontinently, followed by
Lieut. Michener and his skirmishers, so closely pressed that the force on guard at the bridge connecting Whitemarsh Island with Oatland Island, joined the flying pickets without making any resistance; Lieut. Michener and James C. Bailey of Company K were made prisoners of war; Private Eli F. Shallenberger, who was with Capt. Hughes command, was also captured; Lieut. Norman F. Ream was severely wounded; after reconnoitering the Island and routing the enemy, the Regiment re-embarked bringing off thirteen prisoners of war; two of the transports being aground, it was about 8 p. m. before the fleet was able to start on the return trip, reaching the harbor at Hilton Head about midnight.

Feb. 23. The Regiment disembarked and arrived in camp at Hilton Head at 1 a. m.; the men were immediately dismissed and were permitted to rest in camp the entire day; t was discovered that the Colonel’s cook, William Chism, known in camp as “Billy the Cook,” was missing, left on Whitemarsh Island.

Feb. 24. Day clear and warm; in addition to camp and picket guards, a detail was sent to town for guard duty; no drill, nor dress parade; fresh beef and fresh bread issued to the men; prayer-meeting in camp in the evening.

Feb. 25. Warm and clear, with considerable wind; no drill; a large detail sent to town on guard duty; dress parade in the evening.

Feb. 26. Clear, with heavy wind; Company F returned to the Regiment from duty on Saint Helena Island, having been relieved by detachment of the 67th Ohio Regiment; Col. Howell visited the Regimental camp; the usual detail for guard duty, including detail for duty in town.

Feb. 27. Wind continues, but weather otherwise pleasant; in addition to the usual details, ten men were detailed to escort prisoners to Jacksonville, Florida.

Sunday, Feb. 28. The wind having fallen the day was beautiful; and would have been regarded as an ideal Spring day in the Keystone state; excepting those detailed for guard duty, the men were allowed to rest; no inspection or dress parade.

Feb. 29. Another beautiful day; the usual details for guard and police duty; during the afternoon the Regiment was mustered for pay by Lieut. Col. H. S. Commager; received mail from the north; dress parade in the evening.

March 1. The day opened clear but rather cool; no duty required of the men except the necessary details for guard and police in camp, and picket, and in town; the veterans of the 6th Connecticut Regiment returned to Hilton Head from veteran furlough, and the camp of the 85th Regiment is all agog as the veterans are expecting to receive their pay and start home on furlough at any time; countersign at night, “Camden.”

March 2. Beautiful day with considerable wind; the veterans of the Regiment turned in their arms and accouterments in the forenoon and late in the afternoon, marched into Hilton Head and received the first installment of veteran bounty, $60.00, and 1 month’s advance pay, $13.00; also the $100. bounty for original enlistment and 1 month’s pay ($113.00); the aggregate amount received by each veteran at this pay was $180.00.

March 3. The day broke clear and pleasant, but quite windy; three days’ rations were issued to the veterans of the Regiment early in the morning; after which 110 of them marched to the dock at Hilton Head and embarked on the steam transport Arago, where they remained throughout the day and night; the following officers accompanied the veterans: Capt. Lewis Watkins, Company E, Capt. Ross R. Sanner, Company H, 1st Lieut. L. M. Rogers, Company F, and 2d Lieut. Jacob Davis, Company E.

March 4. A Spring-like day on Hilton Head Island, with a stiff breeze throughout the day; the veterans on board the transport Arago, left the dock at 10 a. m. for the north.

March 5. The wind increased in force assuming the proportions of a gale, and predictions are made in camp that the veterans have little appetite for the rations they took with them; the Palmetto Herald, a sheet of 4 pages, 10 x 14 inches, 5 cents a copy, published by S. W. Mason & Co., made its first appearance today; Mason is correspondent for the New York Herald; also the reputed author of the “Adventures of Miles O’Reilly.”

Sunday, March 6. The wind having fallen during the night, the day is exceptionally pleasant; Lieut. Col. Commager inspected the Regiment at 9 a. m.; during the day the
provost marshal of the post, Lieut. Col. James F. Hall, arrested about seventy persons in all, soldiers, civilians and negro contrabands, who, for the time being, had appropriated government horses and were enjoying themselves riding over the island; the day closed in camp with prayer meeting.

**March 7.** The weather exceptionally delightful on Hilton Head Island; the steamer Fulton arrived early in the forenoon, bringing mail; Priv. Jacob L. Thompson, Company A, who was in Washington, D. C. since February 17, undergoing examination for commission in a colored regiment, returned to the Regiment on the Fulton; by this means he succeeded in getting a visit of three days at home; the veterans sighted land at daylight, and arrived at New York at noon; disembarked at 1 p. m., and were quartered in the Park Barracks over night.

**March 8.** The weather continues very pleasant and everything quiet in camp, the only duty required of the men is what is necessary for guard and policing the camp; a detachment of Company F detailed as boat infantry and who were stationed on Drayton's plantation, returned to camp today; twenty men of the Regiment commanded by Lieut. William H. Davis, Company C, are on detached duty at Saint Helena Island; the veterans in New York City left the Park Barracks at 6 a. m. and crossed to Jersey City, and lay around about the Pennsylvania depot all day, boarding a train at 7 p. m. bound for Harrisburg, Penna.

**March 9.** The weather on Hilton Head Island was pleasant during the day but was followed by a rain throughout the night; 2d Lieut. John Minor Crawford's resignation on surgeon's certificate of disability was accepted today; the veterans arrived at Harrisburg at 4 a. m. and after a halt of 3 hours in the State Capital left at 7 a. m. on an all day trip to Pittsburgh, arriving there at 11 p. m., and after marching to the old City Hall where they were served with a midnight supper, dispersed in groups at lodging houses and hotels; Col. Howell's command now embraces the islands of Hilton Head, Saint Helena, and Tybee; also Fort Pulaski; under date of Hqrs. Hilton Head District, Hilton Head, S. C., March 9, 1864, he wrote his brother in part as follows: "I have a major-general's command; surrounded by the enemy, and on my activity, coolness and unsleeping vigilance depend the safety of the entire military district. Gen. Gillmore said to me yesterday, 'I feel no anxiety about this district, I know you are always on the alert.' I am in my saddle sometimes till 3 o'clock a. m.; sometimes, at night, in one of my picket gun-boats scouting the enemy's islands, and in the day often land and skirmish through some of them;" following this he gave a description of the Whitemarsh Island reconnaissance.

**March 10.** The day broke cloudy and rainy in the forenoon, clearing up in the afternoon; two colored regiments recruited in Maryland, one of which has 1400 men, are now on the island, encamped near the regimental camp; a private of a New York regiment had his head shaved and drummed out of camp today for the offence of selling a drink of whiskey to a commissioned officer, at the exorbitant price of five dollars; the veterans left Pittsburgh during the day for their respective homes, those going to Fayette, Greene and Somerset counties, leaving for Connellsville at 3 p. m. on the Pittsburgh and Connellsville railroad, [now a branch of the Baltimore and Ohio] arriving at Connellsville at 7 p. m.

**March 11.** The day was ushered in with a heavy thunder and rain storm but cleared off at noon.

**March 12.** The weather stormy and disagreeable; rumored in camp that the enemy is making a demonstration against Beaufort, S. C. and the colored troops on Hilton Head Island have received marching orders.

**Sunday, March 13.** The day broke clear and light and as the sun approached the zenith it became quite warm; Lieut. Col. Commager inspected the Regiment at 9 a. m.; prayer-meeting in the evening, in which three colored soldiers participated; the colored brethren introduced a unique vocal feature, in singing the songs of worship they were taught when in slavery; the refrain of one was something like this: "I will stay in the army till the war is over; old Satan made a grab at me; till the war is over; he missed
my soul and caught my sins; till the war is over; he knocked me down, me rise again, till the war is over, &c.”

March 14. A delightful day but quite warm by noon, the mercury reaching 82; the Regiment was again inspected by Lieut. Col. Commager, who is still in command of the Regiment; Adam Staub, Company D, received his discharge today on surgeon's certificate of disability, although discharge is dated March 16, 1864.

March 15. The day broke quite chilly and breezy; the Regiment had its monthly inspection by the brigade inspector-general, Capt. R. W. Dawson; mail boat arrived from the north.

March 16. The day was clear and cool; Regimental inspection at 9 a.m. by Lieut. Col. Commager; no further duty; mail boat arrived.

March 17. The day clear and cool with considerable wind; beside the usual detail for duty, a detail was made from the Regiment for guard duty at the intrenchments; some excitement on the Island owing to several men belonging to the 6th Connecticut Regiment confined at provost guard quarters making their escape the previous night, and cavalry have been scouring the Island during the day; surmised that they may desert to the enemy.

March 18. Windy and cool throughout the day, notwithstanding the sky was cloudless; no drill; the usual details for camp and police duty.

March 19. Cool and cloudy throughout the day; the usual details, but no drill or dress parade; Lieut. Col. Commager and Q. M. Beall had a skiff brought to camp that was found somewhere on the Island; however, before they had another opportunity to use it the owner appeared and claimed his property.

Sunday, March 20. Blustering gale blowing throughout the day; inspection at 9 a.m.; a number of men attended religious service conducted by the post chaplain, a Catholic priest; rumored that a son of Gen. Finegan, of the Confederate army, who also is an officer, is on the Island as a spy.

March 21. Disagreeable weather throughout the day, with heavy wind and rain storm in the afternoon; under date of Hqrs. U. S. Forces, Hilton Head, Fort Pulaski, Tybee and Saint Helena Islands, Hilton Head, S. C., March 23, 1864, Col. Howell wrote his brother: "From 7 o'clock night before last (March 21) till 9 o'clock next morning I was on horseback and rode a line of pickets 20 or 30 miles, going and returning; the rebels have made, within 10 days, three attempts to land on this Island and in each I have foiled and driven them back and hurt a few of them; Maj. Gen. Gillmore told me last Sunday that he had recommended me to the President for promotion to the rank of brigadier-general, my commission to date from the night I was wounded."

March 22. A most disagreeable, stormy day, accompanied by rain; the wind blew with such force for a time it was thought the commissary and other larger tents would give way; Fred Lowery of Company E and Billy McMullin of Company F, both of whom are on duty in Q. M. Dept. had a verbal combat over a halter which both claimed, the former coming off victor.

March 23. The day was clear, calm and cool, after the storm of the previous day; the moorings of the larger tents were strengthened in anticipation of other heavy gales; mail arrived and distributed.

March 24. Cloudy with light wind and somewhat cool; a number of the men, among whom were acting Q. M. Sergt. Z. C. Ragan and Com. Sergt. John B. Bell, visited Fort Mitchell, where a detachment of the 62d Ohio Regiment was on guard duty during the afternoon; another mail arrived and was distributed

March 25. The day was pleasant and clear, although a light wind was blowing all the time; Capt. I. M. Abraham received his commission as major of the Regiment to-day, dated April 28, 1864.

March 26. A beautiful day, although a light wind prevailed most of the time; Lieut. Col. Commager has taken his departure to Saint Helena Island where he is to be in command; Maj. Abraham has assumed command of the Regiment; Lieut. Col. Commager during
the time he commanded the Regiment was well esteemed by both officers and men; while an excellent officer and strict disciplinarian, he was always genial and approachable.

**Sunday, March 27.** Cool and windy; inspection at 9 a. m.; Com. Sergt. Bell took Lieut. Col. Commager's horse to Saint Helena Island, leaving Hilton Head at 11 a. m., and taking return boat from Saint Helena at 4 p. m.; prayer-meeting in camp in the evening.

**March 28.** Cloudy and misty throughout the day; men signed pay rolls and expect to draw pay to-morrow; a private of Company A returned to the Regiment to-day from a two months' visit at Fort Clinch, Florida; because he persisted in refusing to go on drill immediately after being on guard duty for 24 hours he was granted a furlough without pay to Fort Clinch for 60 days.

**March 29.** Another stormy, unpleasant day with intermitting showers; Major A. Freeman, paymaster, U. S. A., dispersed two months' pay among the men; Adjutant Joseph Clyde Douds, who tendered his resignation on March 24, has received its acceptance and will leave for home at the first opportunity; Capt. R. P. Hughes of Company C has been appointed mustering officer for the colored troops in the department.

**March 30.** Cool and clear; orders for 100 men for the Regiment to report to Col. Howell's headquarters at 7:30 a. m. to-morrow, in light marching orders, with one day's rations and 60 rounds of cartridges; 1st Lieut. John W. Acheson is acting adjutant of the Regiment.

**March 31.** Windy day; the detail of 100 men reported at Col. Howell's headquarters and were marched to the landing where they were embarked on the gunboat Chippewa; disembarked and returned to camp shortly after dark; the steamer Massachusetts arrived with the mail from the north.

**April 1.** Orders were received for a detail of 100 men with 60 rounds of cartridges, one day's rations, in light marching orders, to report at headquarters, but before the detail was ready the order was countermanded; Lieut. Norman B. Ream, who was wounded in the groin on Whitemarsh Island on February 22, was transferred to the general hospital at Hilton Head.

**April 2.** Clear with blustering wind; the final performance of the "Barton Dramatic Association" is announced to be given tonight; the members of this troupe belong to the 48th New York Regiment, and they have been giving performances at the Union Theatre, Hilton Head, for the past three weeks.

**Sunday, April 3.** A delightful Sabbath day; a number of the Regiment attended church in town; Private William A. H. Cheeks of Company A, who is home on veteran furlough and the time of furlough having expired, in writing to Capt. Kerr in explanation of his inability to return, begins his letter as follows: "It is with pleasure that I inform you that I am not able to go back;" most of his comrades would not have been quite so frank; Cheeks was the first one of Company A to re-enlist, and his veteran furlough was granted in advance of the others.

**April 4.** Rainy day; nothing of importance to note.

**April 5.** Clear and pleasant; clothing issued to the men.

**April 6.** Clear and windy; a new tent was pitched for commissary stores; Col. Howell visited the Regimental camp during the day and distributed some of his photographs to the men.

**April 7.** Cloudy and misty; a detail of 100 men from the 76th and 85th Pennsylvania Regiments, accompanied Col. Howell on board the gunboat Chippewa on an expedition up the May River; no landing was effected, the men exchanging a few shots with the enemy from the boat without any casualties on the boat; the expedition returned to camp in the evening.

**April 8.** Cloudy, the day ending with rain; the steamer Fulton arrived, bringing the mail; the 9th U. S. colored regiment of troops arrived from Beaufort and pitched camp near the gate at the intrenchments at Hilton Head.

**April 9.** A wet, stormy, disagreeable day; the following recruits arrived: John B. Burroughs, Carle Moore, Samuel Moore, assigned to Company F; Joseph Dull, assigned
to Company I; Isaac Eicher, Julius R. Elder, Samuel H. Immel, Charles Johnston, assigned to Company K.

**Sunday, April 10.** Magnificent Spring day; a number of the men attended religious service at Hilton Head, the Chaplain of the 112th New York Regiment preaching.

**April 11.** The weather delightful; rumors in camp that the Regiment is to move; Col. Howell, in embarking from Fort Pulaski to steamer, in a small boat, lost his balance and received a "ducking;" the veterans left Pittsburgh at 3 p. m. on their return to the Regiment.

**April 12.** A pleasant day with considerable wind; moved camp a short distance; a number of men attended religious service in town, Chaplain Hines of the 112th New York leading and making an address, using Paul’s defense before Agrippa as his subject; the veterans arrived at Philadelphia at 8 a. m., remaining there until 2 p. m., when they departed, arriving at New York at 7 p. m.; stopped at the Park Barracks.

**April 13.** Another delightful day; great excitement in camp due to the following order, dated Hqrs. Department of the South, April 12, 1864, and addressed to Col. J. B. Howell, Comdg. Hilton Head District: "The major-general commanding directs that you hold the following named regiments and companies of your command in readiness to embark at short notice. All officers and men on detached duty, if within your command, will be relieved and sent at once to their regiments. The troops will take with them their camp and garrison equipment and the least possible amount of baggage, viz: 6th Connecticut Volunteers, 76th Pennsylvania Volunteers, 86th Pennsylvania Volunteers, 98th Illinois Volunteers, 62d and 67th Ohio Volunteers." [O. R., Vol. XXXV, part II, page 50.] The veterans lay at Park Barracks, New York, a number of them attending Barnum's museum.

**April 14.** The day was cloudy with rain at night; men are busy packing, and many are sending packages home, as it is rumored and expected that the Regiment's destination is Fortress Monroe, and thence to the front; the detachment of the 89th Illinois regiment on duty at Braddock's Point, arrived during the latter part of the previous night and pitched camp near the 85th camp; veterans still in Park Barracks at New York.

**April 15.** Another delightful day; men hourly expecting orders to embark on transport; the 6th Connecticut Regiment was called out after dark to suppress a fracas between some of the 100th New York Regiment and some colored troops; veterans left New York for Philadelphia, arriving there at 7 p. m.; had supper at the Cooper House and lay at the depot (where they take cars for Baltimore) all night.

**April 16.** Clear day, with considerable wind; orders issued for monthly inspection which later were countermanded; intrenchment guards were detailed from the Regiment; veterans left Philadelphia at 5 a. m., arriving at Baltimore at 8 a. m.; had breakfast at Union refreshment rooms, left for Washington at noon, arriving there at 3 p. m.; quartered at the Soldier's Rest.

**Sunday, April 17.** Magnificent weather; a group of the Regiment attended preaching at Hilton Head in the morning, and again at night; in the afternoon the Regiment was ordered out to witness the execution of two deserters from the 6th Connecticut Regiment; the entire force on Hilton Head Island was ordered out and were formed in three sides of a hollow square, the fourth side left open; the condemned men were brought to the scene of the tragedy in a wagon, using the coffins in which their remains were to be interred as seats, and were driven at close range in front of the three lines of troops in order to give the men a good view of the condemned men; an ambulance followed the wagon with the condemned men, in which were Rev. Father Hassan, Chaplain of the post, Chaplain Woodruff of the 6th Connecticut Regiment and Rev. Taylor of the Christian Commission; the vehicles were preceded by a martial band playing a "dead march;" the men were blindfolded and placed standing with their backs to the open side of the square; a large platoon, with a portion of the muskets loaded with blank cartridges, was marched into position at close range, and at a signal fired, half of the platoon firing at one, and the other
half at the other; one of the bodies was pierced by eight balls and the other by nine; the tragic scene was ended by the troops being marched past the dead bodies, and thence to their respective camps where they were dismissed; it was currently reported in camp that the victims of this tragedy were German lads with no friends in this country; the court-martial before whom they were convicted consisted of Capt. John W. Tracy of the 6th Connecticut Regiment; Captains Hughes, Kerr and Phillips of the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment, with Lieut. John W. Acheson of the 85th as Judge Advocate; another German soldier of the 6th Connecticut Regiment, was also tried for desertion before the same Board, but he escaped execution because his name had been incorrectly spelled; in his order restoring the lucky German boy to his company, Gen. Gillmore censured the court-martial board in the following terms: "The inexcusable carelessness of the Judge Advocate in recording the proceedings of the court and the court itself are deserving of a severe censure;" the following is a copy of a letter written by one of the executed men to his father in Germany: "Dear Father: When this letter reaches you I shall not be longer living; I did very wrong years ago to leave you. Farewell, my dear parents, and you dear sisters whom I shall meet again in heaven. Do not grieve so much, and you, too, dear mother. My fate is just; I have deserved it, and have sacrificed my life in this land. A thousand times farewell, and hold me close in memory. Your unlucky son." Translated by Capt. Higginson of the 9th U. S. colored troops for the Palmetto Herald and published April 21, 1864; veterans left Washington about 9 a. m. and marched about 4 miles to camp distribution and quartered in barrack 47.

April 18. A pleasant day; everything quiet in camp; the men still packing and disposing of surplus luggage in contemplation of severe marching; the following orders were issued from Hqrs. Dept. of the South: "Col. W. W. H. Davis * * * will proceed to Hilton Head and relieve Col. J. B. Howell, 85th Pennsylvania Vols., in command of Hilton Head, for the Pulaski, Saint Helena, and Tybee Islands;" (O. R., Vol. XXXV, part II, page 59); veterans in barrack 47, camp distribution, about 4 miles from the national capital.

April 19. Another delightful day; many boxes expressed home from the Regiment; the detachments from the 39th Illinois, 62d and 67th Ohio Regiments embarked today; a regiment of colored troops arrived today, said to be from Michigan; mail arrived from the north; some men from the regiment attended prayer-meeting at Hilton Head tonight; veterans in barrack 47, camp distribution four miles from Washington, D. C.

April 20. Cloudy, threatening rain, but pleasant; the Regimental Commissary drew ten days' rations and issued five to the men; another mail received; veterans at barrack 47, camp distribution, near Washington, D. C.

April 21. Delightful day; the following members of the 85th Regiment have been awarded medals of honor for distinguished conduct in the trenches in front of Fort Wagner: John Guthrie, Company B; Franklin D. Condon, Company C; Sampson Vandegrift, Company D; George W. Downer, Company E; Thomas J. White, Company F; Henry B. Patton, Company G; James Nichlow, Company H, and William A. Pratt, Company I; the 85th Regiment was represented at prayer-meeting in town in the evening by Sergt. James A. Swearer, the last service attended by any of the Regiment at Hilton Head, by any of the group of regular attendants from the Regiment; veterans quartered at barrack 47, camp distribution, 4 miles from Washington, D. C.

Friday, April 22. The long roll sounded at 3 a. m. and the men were soon in line, receiving orders to be ready to embark on transports at 8 a. m.; the Regiment left Camp Seymour at 8 a. m., and were soon aboard the steamer S. M. Fulton, but she did not leave the dock until 6 p. m.; there were about 200 civilians on board and a small detachment of engineers in addition to the Regiment; veterans in barrack 47, camp distribution, near Washington, D. C.
Bermuda Hundred

CHAPTER XVIII.

With the Army of the James.—Between Richmond and Petersburg.—Skirmish at Ware Bottom Church, May 20.—25 Casualties, Six Fatal.—Lieutenants Johnson and Rogers Wounded.—Record of Events During May, 1864.

From April 22 to May 31, 1864.

The Regiment sailed from Hilton Head harbor at 6 o'clock p. m., Friday, April 22, 1864, and arrived at Gloucester Point, opposite Yorktown, Va., shortly after dark, Monday, April 25. Here it remained nine days, embarking on the Steamer "Guide" during the forenoon of Wednesday, May 4, disembarking therefrom at early morn of May 6, on Bermuda Hundred, on the south bank of the James River, a short distance from the mouth of the Appomattox River. The Regiment was now a part of the forces operating against Richmond under Lieut. Gen. Grant, and was assigned to the First Brigade, First Division, Tenth Army Corps, the Army of the James, commanded respectively by Col. Howell, Brig. Gen. Alfred H. Terry, Maj. Gen. Quincy A. Gillmore and Maj. Gen. Benj. F. Butler. The other regiments comprising the brigade being the 39th Illinois, 62d and 67th Ohio Regiments. Lieut. Col. Campbell, who had been absent on recruiting service for several months, returned on May 3 and assumed command of the Regiment just before leaving Gloucester Point. After disembarking at Bermuda Hundred and breakfasting, the brigade hurriedly marched toward the Petersburg and Richmond railroad, and after marching some seven or eight miles, halted at the neck of the Bermuda Hundred peninsula, within a mile of the James River. This was its permanent home until August 14, it being absent only five or six days, on an expedition to the north side of the James River during this period. The service required of the Regiment while at Bermuda Hundred was in some respects as arduous and dangerous as that before Fort Wagner. The men whether in camp or at the front, were constantly in range of the enemy's fire, and it was seldom, indeed, they were permitted to enjoy a night's rest at ease. The best conception of life while here, can be formed by the recorded events made at the time in official reports, letters, diaries, &c. Under date of Bermuda Hundred, Va., May 13, 1864, in a letter to his brother, Col. Howell gives a description of the arrival of the brigade and its first week's activities, as follows:

We landed at Bermuda Hundred landing last Sunday morning—our entire corps; the 18th corps landed the night before. We moved right on without pitching a tent, my brigade leading. That same afternoon we gained the first position we were after without a fight; we expected a heavy one. The enemy were so taken by surprise, that they had made no preparation for our coming. The next days, 9th and 10th, we were fighting on the march
all the while. We first reached the Richmond and Petersburg turnpike. There we left a strong force. Moved on to Richmond and Petersburg Railroad, which parallels the turnpike at a distance of about two miles. We struck it at the Chester depot. Tore up the track and played the mischief generally. Moved on and when within 8 miles of Petersburg Gen. Terry, commanding the division, sent for me and directed me to return to Ware Bottom Church, 5 miles from Fort Darling, assume command of all the forces there, and take with me the 11th Maine Volunteers, and hold it to the last. It was the key to the safety of the whole corps. I went back and had splendid batteries of artillery sent to report to me. I got them into position, all the hills covered with guns, rifle pits dug and breastworks thrown up and approaching roads commanded by guns. At Fort Darling, five miles, and Fort Richmond, two and a half miles from us, I learned, the enemy had 5,000 men. A contraband reported to me that a column of 2,300 was moving down on me, and shortly afterward I got this dispatch from Gen. Terry on the turnpike, written in pencil, "Your left is seriously threatened; hold it firmly or you peril our safety." I held it; an hour afterwards I got the following dispatch from the General: "The rebels are strong on my front; can you not attack them in front and rear? Do it at once if you can." I moved four or five guns rapidly forward, and opened a beautiful fire in and through the woods. The woods were set on fire adding to the destructive effect of our fire. The enemy ceased to advance and ceased firing; sent in a flag of truce to ask permission to bury their dead. Gen. Foster, chief of staff of Maj. Gen. Gillmore, accompanied the flag over the battleground. He told me the effect of our fire was awful; he had never seen such fighting carnage.

In his official report of operations May 9-10 Col. Howell refers to the activities of the Regiment as follows:

My brigade consisting of the 85th Pennsylvania, 39th Illinois, 67th Ohio, and the 11th Maine, (the last temporarily assigned to me in place of the 62d Ohio, being on detached service), was in line on the 9th instant (May) at 4.30 a. m., and proceeded with the division on the expedition. At a point on the line of march where a road leading to Ware Bottom Church diverged, it having been ascertained by the brigadier-general commanding the division that there were some of the enemy in that direction, and between that point and the church, the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers and 39th Illinois Volunteers were ordered by the general, under the command of Col. Osborn to proceed toward the church and drive the enemy, which they did promptly. These two regiments took position at the church, in obedience to instructions and remained there; and, in advance with the 67th Ohio and 11th Maine, I proceeded with the main column of the division to the turnpike leading from Petersburg to Richmond. I was ordered to return to Ware Bottom Church, and take with me the 11th Maine, and to assume command of all—the troops at the church. I did so, arriving at that place the afternoon of the same day. On arriving at Ware Bottom Church and assuming command there, I discovered the position taken by the troops had been judiciously selected and the pickets skilfully posted. Four pieces of Capt. Langdon's battery reported to me in the evening. In this connection I beg leave to adopt as part of my report extracts from the reports of Col. Osborn and Lieut. Col. Campbell of events which occurred prior to my assuming command of the forces at Ware Bottom Church: From Col. Osborn's report:

"I was ordered by Gen. Terry to proceed forward with the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers and 39th Illinois Volunteers on the road on the right of our column to Bottom Church to form on the right and hold it until relieved by a column of cavalry. I at once threw forward the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers as skirmishers, the 39th Illinois Volunteers supporting. At or near Bottom Church we met the enemy's pickets or skirmishers, and drove them back beyond Dr. Howlett's house and there took our position until relieved by Col. Howell, about three P. M., the most of my regiment remaining on picket. During the night following the rest of the regiment remained at the forks of the road leading to
Richmond and Petersburg. During the night and day following the enemy's pickets or skirmishers often made their appearance. Shots were exchanged during our stay at the front. No casualties occurred in my command."

From Lieut. Col. Campbell's report: "I deployed the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers according to orders and pushed forward rapidly to the church, driving from there a company of rebel cavalry. As near as I discovered, some of them were wounded by our fire, but none fell into our hands. Immediately on reaching the church, Gen. Foster, chief of Gen. Gillmore's staff, rode up and ordered me to move my line of skirmishers forward at once. I pushed them forward accordingly until the right rested at Dr. Howlett's house, on the bank of the James River; there I halted, having driven the enemy into the woods beyond Dr. Howlett's. About 10 A. M. my line was relieved by the first U. S. colored cavalry. Just as this was accomplished, however, it was discovered to be a mistake, the cavalry having orders to proceed on up the road toward the Richmond turnpike. Col. Osborn corrected this and relieved the cavalry with a part of the 39th Illinois Volunteers, and ordered me to take position in line of battle at the church. This position I held until Col. Howell came on the ground, about 12 M, and assumed command. By his orders I moved a little to the left and formed in line of battle abreast of the church and in support of Battery M, First U. S. Artillery. The main body of the Regiment remained in this position until I received orders to return to camp. About dark on the evening of the 10th Gen. Foster ordered me to send a detachment up the James River to destroy some torpedoes planted on the river by the rebels. I sent two companies, under command of Capt. Hughes, of Company C, and for details refer you to his report accompanying this."

On the morning of the 10th, having ascertained from colored people that the enemy were coming down upon me in considerable force, I made additional arrangements to give them a warm and effectual reception; got my pieces in position, threw up breastworks and rifle pits, and had all the roads approaching me well commanded. I had all my forces in line and well in hand. A stimulus to renewed and unusual efforts for preparations were given by a dispatch received from Gen. Terry to the effect: "Your left is seriously threatened; hold it firmly or you peril our safety." I would have held it firmly. About this time I opened communication with Col. Voris. I believe the general saw afterward the means I had adopted to hold that place. I beg leave to mention that on the morning of the 10th Capt. Langdon, of the U. S. Artillery, reported to me in person, and I desire to speak in the highest terms of the skill, energy, promptness, and the valuable assistance which he, his officers, and the men of his command afforded me. I do not recollect the hour, but some time during the forenoon, a dispatch was received from Gen. Terry to the effect: "The rebels are strong in my front. Cannot you attack them in flank and rear? Do it at once if you can."

I at once ascertained the position of the enemy and commenced the attack. The wood and underwood was so thick between me and the enemy I had therefore to use great care that I might not fire on our own troops. The fire from my pieces was most rapid and beautiful. The farther advance of the enemy ceased. At 5.30 o'clock in the evening I received an order from Gen. Gillmore to withdraw my forces within the intrenchment, except a strong picket on the line which I then occupied, which I did. I beg leave also to transmit the report of Capt. Hughes with regard to torpedoes, referred to by Col. Campbell. (O. R., Vol. XXXVI, part II, pp. 45-47.)

Capt. R. P. Hughes reported the expedition of Companies C and H to the James River as follows:

In accordance with instructions, I proceeded with Companies C and H to destroy the torpedo station on the James River. We proceeded without any opposition until within about 600 yards of the station, when the enemy's outposts opened upon our advance, to which we paid no attention and soon reached the station, but the firing of the outposts had been sufficient to alarm the agents of the station, for we found their supper on the
table and everything denoted a hasty departure. Upon carefully searching, we found in
the sand back of the house some rope; upon drawing it found it firmly attached to some-
thing, but the rope gave way without any explosion, much to our surprise. But we then
discovered that the explosion was caused by using a galvanic battery. We then proposed
to trace the course of the rope to the water's edge, and by that means draw the torpedo
attached to the shore, but the rope giving way underground we were again foiled. We
then made search for signs of it at the water's edge, but none could be discovered. We
then fired the buildings connected with the station, and an old building near by, and
returned to camp without casualty, after an absence of one hour. (O. R., Vol. XXXVI,
part 2, p. 49.)

The order from Gen. Gillmore to Col. Howell, directing the latter to withdraw
his force on May 10, was dated 5:15 p. m. and was as follows:

Withdraw your force except a strong picket on the line you now occupy within the
lines. The force on your left has been withdrawn. (O. R., Vol. XXXVI, part II, p. 625.)

The Regiment was constantly engaged on fatigue duty building intrenchments,
or on picket duty on the extreme front. While the Regiment was on picket on
May 17 Lieut. Col. Campbell sent in two reports to corps headquarters, the first
at 5 p. m., as follows:

Up to this time three brigades of rebels have passed toward Petersburg along the
turnpike with large wagon trains. They seem to be establishing a picket line to the river
about two miles from here. Their cavalry videttes are at Dr. Howlett's, and within half
a mile of us on the left. No movement of troops is visible just at present. (O. R., Vol.
XXXVI, part II, p. 860.)

This report was immediately forwarded by Gen. Gillmore to Gen. Butler.
Lieut. Col. Campbell's second report was as follows:

I have the honor to report that being on picket with the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers,
under by command, my lookout discovered a body of the enemy, about a brigade, moving
from the direction of Richmond toward Petersburg on the turnpike. This was about
2 P. M., and the movement is still going on. The infantry was followed by a train of about
100 wagons. A small cavalry force is visible between the movement and James River.
The line which I picketed runs from Ware Bottom Church to James River, and the distance
of the enemy's troops and trains from it seems about three miles.

This was forwarded to Gen. Butler's headquarters and was endorsed by his
chief of staff as follows:

Answered, saying that it is undoubtedly a commissary train, and that it would return
tonight, and ordered Gen. Gillmore to try and capture them. (O. R., Vol. XXXVI, part
II, pp. 860-861.)

Notwithstanding the Regiment was almost constantly in range of the enemy's
fire while lying near Ware Bottom Church, no casualties occurred in its ranks
until Friday, May 20, when the enemy opened fire on the pickets about 7 a. m.,
keeping it up during the forenoon. About noon the Regiment was ordered to the
front, and during the afternoon charged the position of the enemy with a loss of
twenty-five men. The fatal casualties were Corp. George W. Kenney, Company
G; Sergt. Holdsworth Crockett, Company H; Corp. George W. Devan, Com-
pany I, instantly killed; Private William H. Butler, Company B (died from
wounds May 21, 1864); Corp. John Woods, company C, and Private Andrew J. Wilkinson Company F, both of whom died from wounds May 25, 1864. Among the wounded were Lieut. Levi M. Rogers, Company F, and Lieut. Joseph M. Johnson, Company I. The engagement of May 20, is described by Col. Howell in his official report as follows:

At 2 o'clock p. m. yesterday, I received the order from Brig. Gen. Terry, commanding the division, to take with me the 39th Illinois and 67th Ohio Volunteers, two regiments of my brigade (the 85th Pennsylvania being already at the front and under fire), and the 6th Connecticut Volunteers, and proceed to the front, assume command of all the troops already there and retake the ground which had been lost in the morning, recapture the rifle pits, reestablish the line and hold it. It was suggested by Gen. Terry that I should go out in advance of my brigade to the picket line and see the state of things existing there, the nature of the ground, etc. I went out at once. The wisdom of the general's direction struck me as soon as I came on the ground. I found the 85th Pennsylvania in imminent peril of being overwhelmed by a superior force. The lieutenant-colonel (Campbell) commanding that Regiment, has since told me that ten minutes later my old Regiment would have been crushed. The 6th Connecticut had been ordered out before I left the intrenchments, and I passed them on my way out. I formed it in line of battle, threw it rapidly forward... It was succeeded by the 67th Ohio Volunteers, noble and brave regiment, officers and enlisted men. They came up on double quick. I threw that regiment forward also. The 89th Illinois Volunteers then came up bravely on the double-quick, were formed in the general line of battle on the run. The three regiments went forward with cheers, delivering their fire rapidly, steadily and with a low aim. I never saw troops behave better. The fire of the enemy was very rapid and very heavy, but my brave boys dashed forward gallantly. We drove the enemy, and soon made a connected line of battle with the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Campbell, and with the 142d New York Volunteers, Col. Curtis commanding. I communicated the fact to Gen. Terry by Capt. Hooker, my acting assistant adjutant-general, that my troops were all engaged. I received an order from Gen. Terry directing me to swing my right toward the left and recapture the rifle pits and hold them. That order was promptly obeyed and carried into successful execution.

We drove the enemy like the wind, captured and reoccupied the rifle pits, and held them firmly. Directly after taking the rifle pits, Brig. Gen. Walker, of the rebel forces, dashed out on the road in front of the rifle pits and was immediately wounded and captured by Company C, of the 67th Ohio Volunteers, and sent in as a prisoner. It was a brave and gallant fight by all the brave and gallant regiments which constituted my command engaged in it. I never saw officers and men behave better. Their promptness, zeal, and dashing and daring courage was beautiful; their fire steady and deadly to the enemy. I beg leave respectfully to recapitulate the names of these regiments, for I love to repeat them and honor them: The 6th Connecticut Volunteers, Maj. Klein commanding (temporarily assigned to me); the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Campbell; 67th Ohio Volunteers, Col. Voris commanding; 89th Illinois Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Mann commanding. I regret to have it to say that that brave and valuable officer (Lieut. Col. Mann) was badly wounded in the leg in the action. It is an honorable mark of distinction and most gallantly won by him. I am glad to say he is now doing very well. There were two brave officers of the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers wounded also. You can form an idea of the severity of the fire through which my command dashed and drove the enemy when I say to you that in about thirty minutes I lost 149 men, killed and wounded. The casualties of the fight have been already reported to you. They amount to some 300 killed and wounded, none missing. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded we now know to be about 800.
I beg leave to speak in the highest terms of praise of the valuable services rendered to me by the officers of my staff in the action—Capt. Hooker, my acting assistant adjutant-general; Capt. Dawson, brigade inspector, and Lieut. McGregor, my aide-de-camp. Their promptness, activity and efficiency are deserving of the highest praise. In this connection, captain, I beg to refer to the valuable services of my medical director, Charles M. Clark, surgeon of the 39th Illinois Volunteers. His zeal, energy, courage, and skill are deserving of the highest praise. His thorough knowledge of his profession and his skill in the practice of it secured to all the wounded the greatest care and attention and has saved many a limb from the amputating knife. I am gratified to know that my brave command and myself received the commendations of our gallant and distinguished leaders, Maj. Gen. Gillmore and Brig. Gen. Terry. (O. R., Vol. LI, part I, pp. 1237-1238.)

The New York Herald, in its issue of May 26, 1864, publishes a graphic description of the affair from the pen of its regular correspondent with the 10th Corps, Mr. Oscar G. Sawyer, dated May 21, 1864. It is in part as follows:

We have been exceedingly busy during the past 48 hours in fighting the enemy and working on the fortifications, and our men are in great need of rest, which the enemy do not seem inclined to grant us. On Wednesday the enemy began to mass their forces in front of our line, and commenced to throw dirt as if for a somewhat protracted stay. Reconnaissances developed the fact that they were strong at every point, and had effectually placed themselves between us and their main lines of communication. Gradually they approached our pickets and pressed them back after sharp skirmishing. At midnight the enemy advanced on our pickets along the entire line of force. Our pickets were on the alert, and poured into the rebels a galling fire, which somewhat retarded their advance. But the rebels seemed determined to force our line, and crowded forward. The reserves were ordered up, and a very sharp fight occurred, lasting nearly an hour, when the enemy retired, repulsed at every point, with considerable loss. They were under the impression, as we have since learned from prisoners, that we were evacuating our position, and they advanced to carry our lines if possible, and capture whatever force might be left behind to cover the retreat. After the repulse the enemy made no further demonstration until daylight, when they began to shell our picket line. The enemy then forced Gen. Terry's line back, under a heavy musketry and artillery fire, with heavy loss to them.

The position gained by the rebels was a very important one, and on that account could not be given up without a heavy fight. So Col. Howell was sent out with his brigade to retake the rifle pits and establish a firm line there. These objects he accomplished in the most gallant manner. He advanced his force into the woods united to his command the 89th and 143d New York, which were on picket at his front and had been engaged for a time with the enemy holding lines against the attack of brigades, and repulsing them in every instance, until the left of the line gave way, and then the gallant Col. Howell pushed ahead. He encountered the enemy in force, and, after heavy fighting drove him from the rifle pits with great slaughter and re-established that part of the line. In this engagement the rebel general, William S. Walker, from Mississippi, was wounded and fell into our hands. Quite a number of prisoners were captured, and four or five hundred of rebel dead and wounded attested the severity of the conflict. The rebels made one or two attempts to drive us from this position, but failed in each, sustaining heavy losses. Our losses during the day were about 300. All from the Tenth Army Corps.

In his official report of the action of May 20, Brig. Gen. Alfred H. Terry, commanding the First division of the Tenth Corps, referred to Col. Howell in complimentary terms as follows:

Shortly before 2 o'clock, in obedience to the instructions of Maj. Gen. Gillmore, I directed Col. J. B. Howell of the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, commanding the First Brigade of my division, to advance with his command, drive the enemy back, and retake
our pits. This, after a very spirited contest, he most gallantly accomplished, and re-established our line, except upon its extreme left, where it was necessarily somewhat refused to connect with Gen. Ames new line. I desire to bring to the notice of the major-general commanding the skill and good conduct which Col. Howell displayed in this affair; skill and good conduct, however, which alone was to be expected from an officer of such capacity, chivalrous character, and entire devotion to duty. (O. R., Vol. LI, part I, pp. 1231-1232.)

The New York Herald of May 29, 1864, publishes a letter from a correspondent, evidently a member of the 39th Ill. Regiment under the non de plume of "Impartial Justice", in which he refers to the action of Howell's brigade as follows:

On Friday afternoon, the 20th inst., Gen. Terry wished to take some rifle pits in our front that the rebels were engaged in throwing up that day, and wanted a brigade to volunteer its services for the exploit. Col. Howell immediately tendered his as a "charging brigade," and the job was soon awarded to him. He advanced in two directions, charged and flanked four brigades of rebels, successfully accomplished his mission, captured prisoners, including the rebel Gen. Walker, and returned. We have seen no list of casualties in the brigade published yet, but I will venture to say that our brigade has lost hundreds during the past three weeks, and not one name have we seen recorded in the New York daily papers.

Brev. Brig. Gen. Orrin L. Mann, who was wounded in the engagement of May 20, then lieutenant-colonel of the 39th Illinois Regiment, gives an account of the affair in the History of his regiment, edited by Surg. Chas. M. Clark, and published in 1889, under the auspices of the Veteran Association of the 39th Regiment. He says, in part:

Soon after 2 o'clock P. M., a vigorous charge was made by a Confederate division led by Gen. Walker of South Carolina, on a brigade of Terry's division. An hour later Gen. Terry rode to our camp, and calling together the brigade and regimental commanders, spread out a chart of the field to be retaken, and said he "expected the First brigade to do the work with neatness and dispatch." The brigade under the command of the brave and venerable Col. Howell, moved out with promptness to its bloody task. Less than two miles from the camp they reached the contested ground and deployed into line to the left of the main road, cheered by the roar of artillery whose shot and shell soon began their deadly work, and the hiss of smaller missiles whose mission was equally fatal.

At this time there appeared a Confederate mounted officer, issuing from a thick growth of young pines. He saw that he was covered by a regiment of Union guns, and he subsequently told me at Chesapeake hospital that his first impulse was to surrender, so complete was his surprise; then he thought that by means of a little strategy he might escape. He would personate a Union officer. So raising his hand he shouts: "Hold your position firmly, boys, and I will ride back for re-enforcements and we will drive these rebels to h—l!" Here the fine charger he bestrode presented a broadside to a score of hungry muskets in the hands of men whose keen and experienced eyes had discovered the ruse, and the next moment the rider and horse lay bleeding at our feet. Our prisoner was wounded in the arm, in the right side, and in the left leg so severely that amputation was necessary, which was performed that night at the headquarters of the corps commander, Gen. Q. A. Gillmore, with whom our distinguished prisoner had been a classmate at West Point. It was on this occasion that the great kindness of heart and the matchless courtesy of Col. Howell were very pleasingly illustrated. The moment Gen. Walker fell, Col. Howell bounded over the earthworks and approaching him
asked, with a preliminary salute, if he could assist him in any way.

"Certainly," said the prisoner, "Take me into your lines as soon as possible; my entire division will be here in a few moments and I shall be under a cross fire if not removed."

"Thank you, sir!" said Col. Howell, this time lifting his hat, "thank you, sir! order them; I shall be very glad to meet your entire division." Gen. Walker was taken to the rear, but his entire division failed to make their appearance.

In a congratulatory address to the "Soldiers of the Army of the James," under date of October 11 1864, Maj. Gen. Butler recounted the deeds of the Army of the James during the month of May as follows:

In accordance with the plan submitted to you by the lieutenant-general commanding the armies, for the first time in the war, fully taking advantage of our facilities of steam marine transportation, you performed a march without parallel in the history of war. At sunset of the 4th of May you were threatening the enemy's capital from West Point and the White House, within thirty miles on its eastern side, within twenty-four hours, at sunset on the 5th of May, by a march of 130 miles, you transported 35,000 men, their luggage, supplies, horses, wagons and artillery, within fifteen miles of the south side of Richmond with such celerity and secrecy that the enemy were wholly unprepared for your coming, and allowed you without opposition to seize the strongest natural position on the continent.

A victory all the more valuable because bloodless! Seizing the enemy's communications between their capital and the south, you held them until the 20th of May. Meanwhile your cavalry, under Gen. August V. Kautz, cut the Weldon Road below Petersburg twice over and destroyed a portion of the Danville road, while the colored cavalry, under Col. Robert M. West, joined you by a march from Williamsburg across the Chickahominy to Harrison's Landing. From the 12th to the 16th of May you moved on the enemy's works around Fort Darling, holding him in check while your cavalry cut the Danville road, capturing his first line of works, repulsing with great slaughter his attack, which was intended for your destruction. Retiring at leisure to your position, you fortified it, repulsing three several attacks of the enemy, until you have made it strong enough to hold itself. Fortifying City Point, Fort Powhatan, Wilson's Wharf (Fort Pocahontas), you secured your communications, and have practically moved Fortress Monroe as a base within fifteen miles of the rebel capital—there to remain till that travels. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part III, pp. 161-162.)

The part that the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment took in the exploits of the Army of the James during the month of May, 1864, is partly told by the daily record of events of the activities of the Regiment in a composite journal made from the diaries of Com. Sergt. Bell, Sergt. Swearer, Corp. Chick and Corp. Scott supplemented occasionally by letters and articles written at the time, which follows:

_**May 6, 1864.**_ The day broke clear and bright, and at 4 a. m. troops on board the steamer Guide were astir, and before 6 a. m. the 85th Regiment was disembarked at Bermuda Hundred and after a hurriedly prepared breakfast, marched some 8 or 10 miles, making a brief halt at noon; pitched camp near Ware Bottom Church during the afternoon and began intrenching.

_**May 7.**_ The Regiment was called into line at 3 a. m., remaining thus until after daybreak; at 8 a. m. the entire Regiment went on picket relieving the 11th Maine; heavy firing on the left but no demonstration by the enemy on pickets of the Regiment.

_**May 8.**_ A small group of the enemy's cavalry appeared in front, but made no demonstration; at 9 a. m. the Regiment was relieved by the 89th Illinois Regiment, returned to camp, and immediately went on fatigue duty, throwing up intrenchments, work-
ing in reliefs; the line of intrenchments were nearly parallel with the road, extending from Bermuda Hundred to Ware Bottom Church, the intrenchments being a short distance in rear of the road, and the camp of the Regiment lying near the intrenchments and not far from the James River.

May 9. The Regiment was called out at 3 a.m., and ordered to be in readiness to move at 4 a.m., in light marching orders with two days' rations; the Regiment along with the 39th Illinois Regiment, moved out as skirmishers and advanced to Howlett's house; during the afternoon Col. Howell, who had been with another portion of his command, arrived with other troops and assumed command of all the forces in this neighborhood.

May 10. The Regiment was in line of battle at 3 a.m. and remained in that position until after daybreak; some contrabands reported to Col. Howell that the enemy was advancing in force; Gen. Terry ordered Col. Osborn of the 39th Illinois Regiment, to move forward with the 85th Regiment and the 39th Illinois on the road to the right of our line, to Ware Bottom Church and form in line of battle at the extreme right wing and hold that position; the 85th Regiment was deployed as skirmishers, and advanced briskly, supported by the 39th Illinois; a company of Confederate cavalry in position at Ware Bottom Church soon gave way when the Regiment opened fire on it; the Regiment halted at the church in compliance with orders given by Col. Osborn, but before it had taken permanent position, Gen. Gillmore's chief-of-staff came galloping up to Col. Campbell and ordered him to move forward; the Regiment then deployed as skirmishers, advanced until the right rested on Dr. Howlett's house on the bank of the James River, the enemy falling back into the woods without making much resistance; during the forenoon the 1st U. S. Colored Cavalry relieved the Regiment as skirmishers and it fell back and formed in line of battle at Ware Bottom Church; about noon Col. Howell arrived and ordered the Regiment to change position a little distance to the left, abreast of the church; the main body of the Regiment remained in this position until about 8 p.m., when it was ordered to fall back and take position in the rear of the intrenchments; about dark, before the Regiment retired from its position abreast of Ware Bottom Church, Gen. R. S. Foster, commanding the First Division, ordered Col. Howell to send a detachment to the James River to destroy some torpedoes planted in the river; Companies C and H were detailed for this purpose, under command of Capt. R. F. Hughes of Company C; they met with no opposition until within about 600 yards of the objective point, when the enemy's pickets opened fire on the advance, but retired without causing Capt. Hughes' men to pause in their advance; the firing of the enemy's outposts had alarmed the men in charge of the torpedo station, and they had left their supper on the table, with other evidences of hurried and premature departure; after a careful research, Capt. Hughes' party found some rope covered by sand which was supposed to be attached to the torpedo; on pulling it firmly, the rope separated without causing an explosion; after making further search for rope that might be attached to the torpedo at the water's edge, and finding none, the buildings connected with the torpedo station were fired and the two companies returned to camp without casualty.

May 11. The day opened clear and quiet; heavy details were made for fatigue duty at the fortifications, and others laid off the camp; in the evening a heavy rain came up, and fearing the enemy might make an attack under cover of the rain, the troops were kept in line of battle during most of the night.

May 12. The Regiment was kept in line of battle throughout the after part of the previous night, in a drenching rain, and shortly after daylight heavy details were put at work on the intrenchments until noon; at 5 p.m. the Regiment went to the front on picket duty; Quartermaster W. E. Beall was ordered to report to Gen. Gillmore's headquarters for duty; the 11th Pennsylvania cavalry, with two other cavalry regiments are in camp near by; the former was with the Regiment at Suffolk, Va., in the fall of 1862.

May 13. The Regiment remained on picket at the extreme right throughout the day and night; a detail of Company C succeeded in finding the galvanic battery for exploding
torpedoes at the point visited by Companies C and H on the 10th inst.; rain continued to fall throughout the day; firing to the left indicates heavy fighting.

May 14. The Regiment still on picket, and a steady fall of rain; the men on duty in reserve take turns in visiting the fine mansion of Dr. Howlett on the bank of the James River, and are not at all diffident or abashed at taking possession, and in making themselves comfortable, lolling on the luxuriant furniture as though the estate were their common property; the heavy firing a short distance to the left giving constant warning that they might be in mortal combat with the enemy at any moment, did not seem to detract in the least from their enjoyment.

Sunday, May 15. The Regiment still on picket in advance of Ware Bottom Church and Dr. Howlett's house; the weather continues rainy and damp; Com. Sergt. Bell visited the men at the front with several gallons of whiskey, although he is a professed temperance man and zealous Christian, rarely missing religious service when held in camp or near by; the firing to the left and in the direction of Fort Darling indicates considerable fighting, although the picket line at the extreme right has not been troubled by the enemy.

May 16. At 8 a.m., Company I was ordered in from the picket reserve to guard a wagon train to the front, but before the wagon train started, the enemy, under cover of a dense fog, drove in our forces on the left inside the intrenchment line, but left the picket line on the right undisturbed; Company I remained in camp working on the intrenchments during the afternoon, the other companies of the Regiment remaining on picket duty on the extreme right.

May 17. The day opened with a cloudless sky and an invigorating atmosphere,—the Regiment is still on picket from Ware Bottom Church to the James River; several regiments of the enemy were seen to move from the direction of Richmond towards Petersburg with wagon trains; a report of which was sent to corps headquarters by Lieut. Col. Campbell; Company I remained in camp; Regiment relieved late in the evening by the 24th Massachusetts, and returned to camp; Quartermaster Beall returned to the Regiment; some recruits arrived, among whom was Robert Campbell of Company C; Regiment was called into line of battle at the trenches at 11 p.m., owing to heavy firing on the picket line.

May 18. At 3 a.m., the firing in front having ceased, the Regiment returned to camp and the men were permitted to rest until after daylight; at 9 a.m. the pickets were again attacked but maintained their position; the Regiment was ordered into line of battle at the intrenchments; the enemy getting range of the Regimental camp with his artillery, tents were struck to prevent them from being cut by shell; the gunboats both on James and Appomattox Rivers returned the enemy's fire; the Regiment remained in line at the trenches throughout the night; the quartermaster and commissary stores were moved about a mile to the rear on the banks of a small stream and the place designated as "Gillmore's Run, near Hatcher's"; cloudy and rainy day.

May 19. The Regiment was called out at 4 a.m. and stood in line of battle at the intrenchments; a quiet steady rain falling; at 6 a.m., the enemy opened with a heavy fire of artillery, and kept it up without cessation until 8:30, having a good range of the Regiment's camp; this artillery fire was resumed at intervals throughout the day; brisk picket firing about dark, also about 11 p.m.; the Regiment remained in the trenches throughout the night.

May 20. Heavy firing on the picket line at 2 a.m.; the Regiment was kept in line of battle at the intrenchments in expectancy of an attack; at 7 a.m., several batteries of the enemy opened fire on the pickets and our camps, keeping up a continuous fire during the forenoon; shortly before noon the 85th Regiment was ordered forward to support the pickets in front who had been driven in, and back some distance from the rifle pits thrown up to protect the picket reserve; the Regiment had not proceeded far until it encountered the skirmishers of the enemy, driving the latter back some distance, when a superior force was encountered, which checked the forward movement and forced it to fall back to a
favorable position, where it engaged the enemy until the other regiments of the First Brigade, under the leadership of Col. Howell came up, when it charged forward with them, driving the enemy before them and soon re-established our line at the rifle pits from which our picket reserves had been driven; as this was the objective position to be maintained a halt was made and the lines so placed as to resist the assaults of the enemy, which Gen. Terry anticipated would be made; it was at this time that Brig. Gen. W. S. Walker, who had but recently arrived in Virginia from South Carolina (bringing his troops with him) was severely wounded and captured by the 67th Ohio Regiment, Col. Howell being at the front at that point and was among the very first to exchange words with the prisoner, courteously saluting, before addressing him. The capture of Gen. Walker himself, was scarcely more important than the capture of some papers that were on his person, among them something which was soon carefully scanned by the commanding general, a photographic map of all that part of Virginia between Richmond and Petersburg, in which the troops of the 10th and 18th Corps were operating; this was exceedingly valuable, as the Federal generals had no map which gave any correct information of the topography of the country or the position of the enemy’s works; the Regiment remained at the front until 8 p. m.; after the lines had been formed at the rifle pits the Regiment was delayed as skirmishers and remained in the extreme advance until nearly dark when it was relieved by the 100th New York Regiment and returned to camp, reaching there about 8 p. m.; the casualties in the Regiment were four killed and eighteen wounded; those instantly killed were Private George W. Kenney, Company G, who was enrolled at Smithfield, Pa., and was aged 20 at the time of his death; Private George W. Devan, Company I; Sergt. Holdsmith Crockett, Company H; mortally wounded, Private William H. Butler, Company B (died May 21, 1864); Corp. John Woods, Company C (died May 25, 1864); Private Andrew J. Wilkinson, Company F (died May 25, 1864); Private Benj. Gehoe, Company G (died June 14, 1864). Among the wounded were Lieut. Joseph M. Johnson, Company I; 1st Lieut. Levi M. Rogers, Company F.

May 21. The day opened bright and clear; during the early morning complete quietness prevailed in front, although at intervals the firing from batteries from both lines indicated that a battle was imminent; the Regiment was detailed early in the morning for fatigue duty, strengthening the fortifications and continued at such work without cessation until 6 p. m., when it returned to camp; at 11 a. m., the firing was so heavy along the picket line that a general attack in force by the enemy seemed probable; our batteries opened all along the line and in the course of a couple of hours the enemy ceased firing, except at intervals.

Sunday, May 22. The day was cloudy and hazy, but not excessively warm; the Regiment was detailed for fatigue duty at 7 a. m. to work on the intrenchments; at 3 p. m. it was ordered to the front for picket duty and took position near Ware Bottom Church; received ration of fresh beef before leaving for the front; batteries kept exchanging shots during most of the day; during the afternoon the enemy sent in a flag of truce to get permission to gather wounded and bury their dead. The correspondent of the New York Herald at headquarters of the 10th Corps described conditions at the picket line on this day as follows:

“Sunday has passed, thus far in quiet, not a dozen shots have been exchanged between the opposing pickets and our artillery is still. An occasional gun from the gunboats on the James, on our right flank, directed against a rebel working party near the house of a Dr. Howlett, is the only sound to disturb the stillness of the Sabbath that reigns over the contending armies. The pickets seem to have tacitly agreed not to fire upon each other as long as the lines are not advanced, and the hostile forces show themselves with perfect safety at every point. This cessation of picket firing is a great relief to either side. The practice of incessant firing is of no service and results in no good. Nothing is gained by the loss of life which always accompanies it and the soldiers show great good sense in refraining from it. It is to be hoped that hereafter not a hostile shot will
be discharged between these feelers of the armies unless some point is to be gained. In the assault on our works last night we lost nine wounded and one killed, the latter by the premature explosion of one of our own shells. The work on our fortifications is going on night and day, and heavy slashing parties are engaged all the time in the woods in front of our works. The nearest point of woods where the enemy's sharpshooters may ensconce themselves and annoy our gunners is now at long rifle range, and by tonight we shall have removed every cover a long distance from our front."

May 23. Pleasant day, the enemy keeping perfectly quiet and no firing except from our gunboats; a flag of truce went out from our lines but the object of the conference with the enemy was not disclosed to the men on picket; Regiment was relieved from picket duty at 7 p. m. by the 24th Massachusetts Regiment; when the men arrived in camp they were treated to a large swig of whiskey, at the expense of Uncle Sam; after getting supper, the men lay down hoping and expecting a good night's rest, but at 11 o'clock they were hurriedly called to the trenches where they remained all night.

May 24. The Regiment returned to camp shortly after daybreak and the men were permitted to rest throughout the day; a heavy rain-fall in the afternoon; only a few scattering shots at the front; a mail boat ascending the James River was hailed by the enemy with some Confederate artillery planted on the banks of the river; the captain of the vessel was meekly obeying the orders when a gunboat appeared, and the enemy did not wait to receive the mail, but left suddenly; rumored in camp that the captain of the steamer was placed in arrest for his timidity.

May 25. The Regiment was called out at 4 a. m. and remained in line at the intrenchments until 7 a. m.; Sergt. J. A. Swearer had symptoms of having been poisoned; Private Joseph A. Demuth, brigade postmaster since Jan., 1863, makes daily visits to the landing at Bermuda Hundred for the mail; pickets quiet, but the gunboats keep firing at intervals; the men raised their tents some distance from the ground; rained in the evening; Corp. John Wood wounded in action May 20, at Ware Bottom Church, died from his wounds at Chesapeake General Hospital; the day is described by the correspondent of the New York Tribune in its issue of May 25 as follows:

"This bright and beautiful Sabbath brings with it quiet from wars alarms, although the thug of the pick, the rattle of the shovel, and the ring of the axe are heard along our lines. Our new chief engineer is in his element. The gunboats, 'just to keep their hand in,' throw an occasional shell over among the Johnny Rebs. But something white flashes in the sunlight from the rebel lines and approaches us. It is a flag of truce bearing communications signed by Bushrod Johnson, and a valise—the former containing a request that the latter, containing wooden shirts and a toothbrush, be forwarded to Brig. Gen. W. S. Walker, who, by the way, is a nephew of Robert J. of the same name. Request complied with and forwarded to the hospital where the wounded prisoner lies. By return flag an offer is made from our side to exchange Gen. Walker for Gen. Heckman. Rejection but will give Gen. Wessells' defender of Plymouth, for Gen. Walker, provided Gen. Wessells will not enter the field, or do military duty until Gen. Walker shall have recovered."

May 26. The Regiment was called to the intrenchments shortly after midnight and remained in line until after daylight. Corp. John Mann and Private James W. Axton, Company C, returned to the Regiment from Northern hospital; the Regiment ordered to the front on picket duty at dark, posted on the left; the correspondent of the New York Herald in a letter of this date describes conditions in front of the 10th Corps as follows:

"For the past two or three days we have enjoyed a season of quiet and repose, so far as fighting is concerned; shovels and picks have been piled with no small degree of vigor, and if we have not increased the list of rebel casualties we have piled up a good deal of dirt between us, which may be of service some of these days. The enemy are quite as industrial in throwing up dirt in our front. Surg. J. J. Craven, Medical director 10th Army Corps, bore a flag of truce to the enemy's lines this afternoon. The facts in
regard to Gen. Walker's condition were communicated by Dr. Craven, and a letter from the general to one of his staff was delivered. Information in regard to some of our missing was received, and the interview was an agreeable one to either party. In the fight of Friday last in which Howell's brigade performed so gallant a part, the enemy acknowledged a loss of over 650. Twenty-eight regiments were in the fight comprising Clingman's, Martin's, and Haygood's brigades. Against this we had only six regiments."

May 27. At 3 a.m., the picket reserve moved position over into an open field; the enemy's batteries opened fire during the day, but were soon silenced by our artillery; pleasant day; the Regiment was relieved at dark and returned to camp and was again treated to whiskey at the expense of Uncle Sam; the men were again called out at 10 p.m. and were kept at the intrenchment throughout the night.

May 28. The day opened cloudy but pleasant; quiet along the entire front, but the gunboats on the James keep firing at intervals; the Regiment was ordered to the front for picket duty a little before dark.

Sunday, May 29. A beautiful morning; the men on picket on both sides have been influenced by the day, no doubt, for a general exchange of notes, papers, coffee and sugar, for tobacco, etc., was kept up during the day; Regiment returned to camp about dark, and the men were treated to whiskey immediately after their arrival in camp.

May 30. The day was cloudy; the enemy remained quiet throughout the day, until about 5 p.m., when he opened with his batteries and continued firing for about an hour with great rapidity; our batteries replied with vigor until after the enemy ceased; heavy firing north of the James River indicated that our troops there are not idle; the Regiment lay in the trenches all night.

May 31. Quiet in front all along the line until 1.30 p.m., when the enemy's batteries opened on our camp, with apparent perfect range; Com. Serg. Bell was issuing rations, but the shells came so fast that business was suspended, the commissary wagons sent to the rear, and the men to the intrenchments; after firing for an hour and a half, the enemy retired, and the issuing of rations was resumed; a little before dark the Regiment went on picket, relieving the 67th Ohio Regiment; while Teamster Fred Lowry was watering some horses in a run near camp an unexploded shell struck near him; he hurried the horses away exclaiming after the shell exploded, "Sam Hill! wasn't that a close shave?" Later he let the horses drink to satiety.
Bermuda Hundred (Continued).

CHAPTER XIX.

Ware Bottom Church Engagement.—Col. Howell, Capt. Sanner and Lieut. Ream Wounded.—First Expedition to Deep Bottom.—Camp Life at Bermuda Hundred.—Daily Record of Events for Month of June.

From June 1 to June 30, 1864.

During the month of June, 1864, the Regiment was constantly in close range of the enemy, on the picket line every third day, and when not there, on fatigue duty fortifying positions, or standing in line at the trenches in expectancy of an attack by the enemy. With the exception of five days (20th to 25th), when temporarily detached from the brigade to accompany an expedition to the north side of the James River, at Deep Bottom, it remained near Ware Bottom Church, at the neck of the Bermuda Hundred peninsula. Some comprehension of the arduous duties devolving on the Regiment while here can be formed by some excerpts from the letters of Col. Howell commanding the brigade, some of them written at the front while the events narrated had just transpired. In a letter to his brother, under date of 5 o'clock a.m., June 1, he says:

The enemy attacked my center, this morning at 3 a.m., in full force. They did not move me on my picket line. I had just finished reading Judge Carpenter's and R. K. Matlock's eulogies of the late J. B. Harrison, when the fire of the enemy commenced, and I rode to the front through the heaviest of it. The firing has ceased. It will resume this afternoon at 2 o'clock, I know. It is their habit. This from the field—I command the center.

Again on June 4, 1864, he writes:

I read your letter of the 30th ult. in the intrenchments under a heavy fire and by the aid of a bottle lantern. Quite romantic! For the last three days and nights Mr. Gen. Beauregard has been trying to drive my center. He has not, and can't. The shelling has been tremendous. Last night they came down upon my picket line furiously. I had my 67th Ohio on the line. They might as well have tried to move the Allegheny Mountains, as that regiment. About 12 o'clock at night I sent 150 of my dear old 85th to support them. By George! you ought to have heard them fire when they went into position. The rebels were no where, God bless my dear old Regiment! When I sprang on the parapet the other day, under heavy fire, and took hold of the Flag the ladies of Uniontown gave us, and said: "My sons, remember your duty to this Flag, and to those who gave it to us. I promised for you that it should never trail in the dust or be captured. While I live it shall never be taken." If you had seen the proud and stern looks of that Regiment, then, you would be as proud of it as I am. It is "the reliable Regiment" and so are all the regiments of my brigade. I have not been in bed for three nights; all the time under heavy fire. Today is quiet. From papers found on a dead rebel Colonel yesterday, we killed 800 of them in our fight of the 20th ultimo.
Again on June 7, he writes to his brother in part as follows:

Your welcome letter of the 3d was received and read in the intrenchments. I spent the night at the front. The Rebs. having in the afternoon opened a heavy artillery fire on us, and at night attacked our line of pickets in lively manner. I still command the center. The picket lines are so close together, that all conversations and orders can be readily heard and understood. During the flag of truce, the other day, Lieut. Col. Campbell, (commanding my old Regiment), and several of his officers met a rebel Colonel, several Majors, Captains, &c. in the woods between lines. The Reb. Colonel proposed “a satisfactory end of the war and return of peace speedily,” over which several drinks of whiskey and very friendly talks were enjoyed.

Again on June 11, he wrote:

We had a lively fight day before yesterday. We exchanged shells, round shot, and musketry for three hours. The fire was sharp and rapid. The officers of the 1st Conn. Heavy Artillery serenaded me beautifully last night by splendid singing, accompanied with guitars. The interest was increased from the fact that heavy firing was going on to the right and left of my line.

In his official report of an engagement which occurred on June 16, under date of Bermuda Hundred, June 18, 1864, Col. Howell says:

In pursuance with orders, about 7 a. m., 16th instant, I marched out my brigade, consisting of the 39th Illinois Volunteers, 67th Ohio Volunteers, and the 133d Ohio Volunteers National Guard, the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers being already in the front on picket. At the first rifle-pits beyond the intrenchments I had the pleasure of meeting Gen. Foster and Gen. Terry, where the head of my column was halted by the order of Gen. Terry. In company with Gen. Foster and Gen. Terry I went to the rifle-pits on a line with Howlett's house and beyond Ware Bottom Church. After remaining there a short time I received the order from Gen. Foster to move my column to the place where I had captured Gen. Walker on the 20th ultimo. There I met one of his staff officers, who directed me from Gen. Foster to move my column to the Clay house. I was here joined by a section of artillery, under the command of Lieut. Gillen, 5th New Jersey Battery. When we came up to the intrenchments near the Clay house I had the pleasure to meet Gen. Foster there, who directed me to send forward a regiment as skirmishers. I sent forward the 39th Illinois Volunteers, and he also directed me to support them by another regiment. I supported them by the 67th Ohio Volunteers. By his direction I put my artillery in position and supported it by the 133d Ohio. Subsequently I moved my whole command forward and took possession of the enemy’s rifle-pits in front, placed the artillery so as to command all approaches to them (this was with the approval of Gen. Foster), the 39th still being in advance as skirmishers.

About 1 o’clock I was informed that the enemy were driving in the skirmishers on my right by a non-commissioned officer from Col. Plaisted’s brigade. I immediately ordered two companies of the 67th Ohio to move down to the right. I took from them four men and a reliable non-commissioned officer and proceeded myself to ascertain the position of the enemy. We had not proceeded up the road more than twenty yards before we encountered the enemy in some force. I deployed my little party and returned their fire, and they ran down into the rifle-pits beyond. I brought up then the two companies of the 67th Ohio, and we held them there beautifully. I beg leave to state here that about this time I sent to Col. Plaisted to send me three companies to be deployed on my right. That gallant officer promptly responded to my request, and the companies he sent behaved themselves gallantly. I wish here to speak in high praise of the non-commissioned officer who brought me the first information. About 2 o’clock I directed Lieut. Gillen to bring
up a piece of artillery and post it on the brow of the hill commanding the enemy's rifle-pits beyond the hollow; that gun was served elegantly under the command of that meritorious officer, and the enemy's fire soon slackened from the effect of his own fire and my own musketry.

About 3 o'clock Lieut. Col. Jackson came up to me. That gallant officer told me that he had three guns at my disposition, and wished to know where I would have them posted; I directed him where they should be placed. Before this I had sent my acting assistant adjutant-general, Capt. Hooker, to take charge of the left and a piece of artillery belonging to Capt. Warren's battery. I wish to speak here of the energy, skill, and courage of that officer, and how much I am indebted to him for his services during the entire day. The guns furnished me were placed in a line with the gun on the left, placed by Capt. Hooker; the battery opened with grand effect on the enemy.

About 4 or 5 o'clock I got the order to fall back, which was done in perfect coolness and order; no confusion, no hurry. We fell back in the rifle-pits on a line with Ware Bottom Church, the place designated. About sunset the enemy made a dash upon us. My old brigade held their ground nobly. The 133d being new to fire broke and ran, with the exception of two or three companies. I respectfully beg leave here to state that the conduct of Col. Innis was irreproachable. I rode up and down the line and saw him cool and composed and trying to rally his men. My horse was shot under me at this time. I wish to say to the general that these men are unused to fire; they have to be educated to it. My belief is that they will never break again. I believe they are brave men; they came back with a cheer, those that I saw.

I wish to speak in the highest terms of praise of my old brigade, field and staff, line officers and enlisted men, and all the artillery that served with me. Braver men never drew a sword, carried a musket, or fired a gun. I have already referred to the conduct of and my indebtedness to Capt. Hooker, my assistant adjutant-general. I now desire to commend also my aide-de-camp, Lieut. McGregor. I have been obliged to make use of an amanuensis to make out my report. I have also the honor to transmit the report of the 39th Illinois Volunteers herewith. (O. R., Vol. XL, part I, pp. 685-687.)

In a letter written by lead pencil to his brother dated June 25, 1864, he refers to the affair of the 16th as follows:

We had a sharp fight on the 16th with my brigade; I fought Gen. Picket's whole division for more than three hours and drove them, By George!! like thunder. Rifle and artillery were all engaged. At one time Gen. Lee was only 300 yards from me so deserters and prisoners say. Had I known that, I would have had him, or there would have been a good many more of us hurt. In the afternoon a ball passed through the left arm sleeve of my coat. About sunset the rebels renewed the attack. Came down upon us with yells and cheers and withering fire. One regiment of my brigade—a new one just assigned to my command and unused to fire, broke and fell back. I dashed down the line to rally them; drew my revolver to shoot one of them who was going to the rear, when a ball struck my thumb. It paralyzed my hand for a moment and saved that fellow's life. Directly afterward I was struck a glancing shot on my right breast, which came near dismounting me. It penetrated my coat and tore it and bruised my right arm, too. I rallied that regiment and brought it into line.

It would have done your heart good to have seen my dear old brigade (the old regiments) meet the yells and shots of the rebels; it was glorious. Riding up and down the line, cheering my boys, a ball struck my horse above the knee. He bounded forward and fell on my legs. I had to have him shot. My right breast is still very sore and so are my legs. They have the colors of the rainbow. My thumb is getting along first rate. I can write but not well with a pen. Monday of this week two regiments of my brigade, with other regiments were ordered on an expedition on the peninsula under Gen. Foster. Though pretty sore and not well, I asked and obtained permission to lead my two regiments. The
Rebs came down to feel us, but we felt them and sent them flying. The expedition was a success. Yesterday and the day before we had sharp fighting here.

Again on June 27, he writes to his brother:

In the New York Herald of the 25th you will see an account of our expedition to the James River. I, with the two regiments that went with me, are back here at this important post. We have had sharp fighting here. Last night at 12 o'clock, Gen. Terry sent word to me that "the enemy in front have received re-inforcements of 5,000 men." I was ready for them.

It was not "old Charley" that was shot under me; it was "Billy." He was a beautiful dark chestnut sorrel. I gave $250 for him and would not have taken $1,000. He had the smallest head and ears; the brightest eyes and cleanest limbs. Would follow me like a dog, and when I dismounted and left him standing, no one could drive him away from the place. He was shot just above the knee by two or three balls at the same time. His leg was mashed, and one ball still was in it. One of my orderlies was shot along side of me. My white beard and hair make me a dangerous travelling companion on the field of battle. I wrote you the other day, to get me a blouse. My coat is so cut up with shot that I look as if I belonged to the rag man. A colonel in the U. S. Army said to me a few nights ago, "Colonel I would not take a thousand dollars for that coat of yours if I had worn it, as you did on the 10th."

The engagement of the 16th is the only one in which the First Brigade or the Regiment is recognized in the published official records as participating during the month of June, although the Regiment was in line of battle engaged with the enemy during June 17 and 18, meeting with a loss of twenty casualties. On June 17, Lieut. Norman B. Ream was again severely wounded and Sergt. G. Woodward (Company C) was mortally wounded (died June 23); Privates Patterson Jobes (Company A), Taylor Reynolds (Company A), Henry Fry (Company F), and Jesse Dial (Company H), were instantly killed; Privates Thomas Orbin, Moses Smith and Joshua Torrence (all of Company B) were made prisoners of war. The following day, June 18, Privates Ross Rush (Company H) and Jacob Deselms (Company E) were killed instantly, and Capt. R. R. Sanner (Company H); Privates John Clandaniel (Company D), Isaac L. Hall (Company K), Hiram Haver (Company D) and William Hileman (Company H) were wounded.

At this time the Regiment had very few line officers present for duty. Lieut. Ream, who had returned to the Regiment on June 11, although using a crutch and cane owing to the wound he had received at Whitemarsh Island on February 22, was commanding a portion of the Regiment. On receiving his second wound, before retiring, he designated 1st Sergt. James A. Swearer of Company C, to assume command of the troops under him which included Sergt. Swearer's Company.

Owing to the wounding of Col. Howell, and the incessant and arduous duties devolving upon the officers and men at this time, and throughout the month of June, there was no time for making reports. The casualties of the Regiment occurred in what was merely a continuation of the engagement of June 16, the official report of which, by Col. Howell, commanding the brigade, appears in this chapter. During the night of June 15, when the 85th Regiment was on picket in
the extreme advance at Ware Bottom Church, the enemy in front abandoned his lines by order of Gen. Beauregard, in order to concentrate his forces for the defense of Petersburg against the attack of Gen. W. F. Smith. At 5 a. m., June 16, Gen. Terry notified Gen. Butler that the enemy had retired and that the Federal pickets were being pushed forward to occupy the enemy's abandoned works, and to ascertain what had become of the enemy. Gen. Butler not only approved of Gen. Terry's action, but gave orders "to push and keep pushing the enemy." As soon as Gen. Lee received information of the withdrawal of the troops in front of Ware Bottom Church he hurriedly ordered another division to occupy and hold the abandoned position. It was in the effort of the enemy to regain this position that the action of the 16th, and subsequent skirmishes, in which the casualties of the Regiment occurred. Col. A. C. Voris, 67th Ohio Regiment, who was general officer of the day on June 15 and 16 describes the beginning of the action on June 16, as follows:

I have the honor to report as general officer of the day for the preceding 24 hours ending with last evening as follows:

First. Maj. Greeley with detachment of 300 men of his, the 10th Regiment Connecticut Volunteers, had command on the right of picket line; Maj. Abraham, 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, on the center, with detachments from his Regiment and the convalescent camp, consisting of 300 men; and Capt. Thompson, 7th Connecticut Volunteers, with 349 men of his regiment on the left. I remained with the picket line all of the night of the 15th instant. Second. Early in the night, after entering on my tour of duty, I became satisfied that an increased number of troops were to our immediate front, but no unusual indications were manifested until about 1 a. m., when a good deal of activity on the part of the enemy became apparent. From 1.30 a. m., for an hour and a half, active movements were going on in the enemy's lines, movements of artillery and infantry, which facts were communicated to division headquarters as soon as practicable. This movement covering my entire front, I supposed it to be troops passing from the direction of Richmond toward Petersburg; but at the same time, fearing that it might be a concentration of troops against our position. I gave orders to have the entire picket force form under arms in readiness to meet any demonstration the enemy might make. At 3 a. m. the indications of activity to our front had not abated, but before break of day it was announced to me that the enemy's pickets in the rifle-pits to the front of Battery No. 3 had been withdrawn. I immediately ordered a reconnaissance. Corporal ———— 7th Regiment Connecticut, volunteered to take command of a squad of men and ascertain what had become of the enemy. He soon occupied their earthworks, and indicated to me that the same were abandoned by them. I immediately ordered forward small parties at different points to the front of our picket-line, with instructions to proceed cautiously but far enough to determine whether the enemy had abandoned their works or not, and if so to take them. Upon being advised that no force was in our immediate front, I ordered the picket-line forward so as to occupy their earth-works in the open field to the front of Battery No. 3, and advance a line of skirmishers to the Howlett house. This line of skirmishers engaged the enemy's pickets on the right of our line, taking as prisoners 3 officers and 26 men, with 30 stand of small arms. Three other prisoners were taken by this skirmish line toward the left. At this juncture Gen. Foster came onto the line of the enemy's works, and of subsequent operations has personal knowledge. I ought not to dismiss this subject without returning my thanks to the officers having command of the several detachments on the picket-line for their prompt efforts to occupy the rebel works and their great vigilance. (O. R., Vol. LI, part I, pp. 1167, 1168.)
Brig. Gen. Foster, commanding the First Division, in his report describes the affair in part, as follows:

At about 4 A. M. learning that the enemy were abandoning their works, I ordered the pickets pushed forward to occupy their line, and the balance of the command to be held in readiness to move forward at a moment's notice. Soon after I was ordered by Brig. Gen. Terry to take as large a portion as could be spared from each brigade and push forward in pursuit of the enemy and, if possible, ascertain his position and intentions. I accordingly ordered two regiments from Col. Howell's brigade, Col. Hawley's brigade, and Col. Plaisted's brigade. In the meantime the pickets had advanced beyond Ware Bottom Church to Dr. Howlett's house and occupied a line extending from that point toward the Appomattox, which line had just been abandoned by the enemy. In obedience to your instructions, I moved through this line of works to the front onto the old turnpike, my left passing near the Widow Clay's house. On the old turnpike I found a third line of works, abandoned by the enemy, they evidently falling back toward the new turnpike. The troops under my command were pushed forward as rapidly as possible toward the new turnpike, the 39th Illinois, of Col. Howell's brigade, being in the advance as skirmishers. At this juncture Gen. Ames' command came up and took a road leading to the turnpike, bearing to the left from the enemy's line of works while I, with the 7th and 3d New Hampshire, of Col. Hawley's brigade, preceded by the 39th Illinois, advanced on the direct road through the swamp, intending to strike the turnpike at a point near Winfree's, this side of and a little southwest of Chester Station. I understood that part of Gen. Ames' command had reached the turnpike, half or three quarters of a mile south of this point, whereupon I ordered the 39th Illinois to push forward as rapidly as possible and occupy the turnpike. The left of my line succeeded in reaching the turnpike and was gradually gaining it toward the right. When my left had reached it, within about a quarter of a mile, I found myself sharply engaged with the enemy, whose strength at that moment I was unable to ascertain. I immediately ordered the 3d and 7th New Hampshire Regiments forward in line of battle to occupy the line of the skirmishers and support them. The 7th New Hampshire occupied the left of the road toward Gen. Ames, the 3d New Hampshire on the right of the road toward Dr. Howlett's house, the 39th Illinois being deployed in front of this line of skirmishers. The enemy continued to advance and develop, a force approaching on my right, evidently intending to get between my right and the intrenchments. This force advanced in three distinct lines of battle, one in rear of the other, in view of which I ordered my whole line to pass toward the right. During this time the enemy kept up a sharp firing, and moved a force toward my left and Gen. Ames' right, which was reported to be in two lines of battle, preceded by skirmishers. I immediately sent word to Gen. Terry requesting him to move up the 67th Ohio, of Col. Howell's brigade, to check the enemy advancing on my right, which was done. Upon his coming into possession of the facts, I received his order to retire toward the right, and subsequently to retire in rear of the swamp, which order I obeyed, and remained in this something over an hour. The enemy failed to make any successful advance on this position.

During this time that portion of my line occupied by Col. Howell commanding First Brigade, and Lieut. Col. Plimpton, of the 3d New Hampshire, and part of the 7th New Hampshire was closely engaged with the enemy. Meantime the enemy was reported moving troops toward my left. After taking measures against any possibility of the enemy's turning my left flank, I received an order from Brig. Gen. Terry to retire to the line of works erected by the enemy between the old and new turnpikes, my left resting at Mrs. Clay's house, which position I held until ordered to return to the intrenchments.

During the withdrawal of my line, I was closely followed by the enemy, who seemed to be in considerable force, they following my command to the intrenchments running from Dr. Howlett's house to that of Widow Howlett's, which they occupied as soon as I had passed them. I retired to a position at Ware Bottom Church, extending to the
left along the edge of the woods in front of these works, about 400 yards distant. As soon as the enemy obtained possession of these works they attacked my line, apparently in larger force and with greater vigor than in any previous attack. Having received orders from the brigadier-general commanding to hold this position and retire no farther, after a severe and sharp fight, we maintained the line and compelled the enemy to give up the pursuit, and now hold this line with a strong picket force.

All the troops, with few exceptions, behaved with admirable coolness and confidence, retiring only when ordered, halting and confronting the enemy whenever he pushed his pursuit. The 133d Ohio Regiment of 100-day's troops, fell back in confusion during the last attack on our lines in the woods to the front and right of Mrs. Clay's house, but through the exertions of Col. Howell, myself and staff, and some of the field officers of other regiments, they were rallied, and afterward behaved very well. The colonel of the regiment, Col. G. S. Innis, could not be found, although repeated inquiries were made for him. Between 80 and 90 prisoners were taken during the operations of the day and sent to department headquarters. In the last attack, near Ware Bottom Church, Col. J. B. Howell, commanding First Brigade, displayed great gallantry, having his horse killed under him, and being himself slightly wounded in two places. (O. R., Vol. XL, part I, pp. 684-685.)

In the itinerary of the Army of the James the following reference to the action on June 17, appears in the Official Records:

The enemy advanced heavy columns against the center of our picket-line, which was driven in, thus giving them possession of the works abandoned by Beauregard on the morning of the 16th. An attack made upon the right of the picket-line was repulsed with loss. Gen. Lee in person said by prisoners to have directed attack on the center. (O. R., Vol. XL, part I, p. 212.)

The report of the prisoners that Gen. Lee direct the attack on June 17, is confirmed by his official dispatches to Jefferson Davis. It was Pickett's division that made the attack. At 9:40 a. m. June 16, Gen. Lee sent the following dispatch from Drewry's Bluff, to Gen. Bragg at this time military adviser to Mr. Davis.

Just arrived at this point with Pickett's division. Have informed Gen. Beauregard. Direct to me here.

At 10:30 a. m., June 17, in a dispatch to Mr. Davis from Clay's house, he said:

At 11 o'clock last night took breastworks at Howlett's house. Other portions of same line were retaken. Pickett's division now occupies trenches from Howlett's to front of Clay's with Field's division.

On same date and from same point at 5 p. m., he dispatched Jefferson Davis as follows:

At 4 p. m. assaulted that portion of our front line held by the enemy and drove him from it. We again have the entire line from Howlett's to Dunn's Hill. (O. R., Vol. XL, part I, p. 749.)

At the same hour he sent the following telegram to Gen. Beauregard:

At 4 p. m. was compelled to assault center of our former line held by the enemy. We now hold entire line from Howlett's to Dunn's Hill. All prisoners from Tenth Corps. (O. R., Vol. XL, part II, p. 665.)
On June 19, 1864, the 10th Army Corps was reorganized under command of Brig. Gen. W. T. H. Brooks. From the very first appearance of Gen. Gillmore under Gen. Butler’s command there was friction between the “West Pointer” and the “political” general. Gen. Gillmore was relieved of command of the 10th Corps on June 14, and Brig. Gen. Alfred H. Terry temporarily assigned to the command. By the intervention of Gen. Grant, Gen. Butler’s action was so modified as to permit the lieutenant-general to relieve Gen. Gillmore “at his own request.” This was done on June 17, “to take effect and date from June 14 instant.” So far as the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion throw light on the friction between Generals Butler and Gillmore they do not reflect credit on the commanding general of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina. Gen. Gillmore arrived in the department on May 4, the day the 10th Corps embarked at Gloucester Point. The troops under his command landed on the night of May 5, and on the following day, May 6, advanced to the position at the neck of Bermuda Hundred Peninsula. On the morning of May 7, Gen. Butler ordered Gen. Gillmore to have three brigades of his command to report to Gen. Smith, to take part in a demonstration against Richmond and Petersburg Railroad. On this same day (May 7) the third day after Gen. Gillmore’s arrival under Gen. Butler’s command, the latter addressed the following confidential communication to Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts (chairman of the Senate military committee):

I must take the responsibility of asking you to bring before the Senate at once the name of Gen. Gillmore, and have his name rejected by your body. Gen. Gillmore may be a very good engineer officer, but he is wholly useless in the movement of troops. He has been behind in every movement. He has lost twenty-four hours here in putting his line in a state of defense, but above all, he has refused to move when ordered. I directed him to co-operate in a movement with Gen. Smith when he went to make demonstration on the Petersburg Railroad, and he failed to do so, and then sent me word that he did not obey the order for reasons that seemed good to himself, and has not deigned to give me the reasons, although he has sent me a report of his operations, or, rather, want of operations. I have known Gen. Gillmore only since he came here, but I find many of his troops are desirous of getting away from him. I have a good corps commander here in his place. Show this to Wade, Chandler and Fessenden, and bring the matter to vote at once. I write only for the good of the service.

We have made demonstration today on the railroad; cut it, and are about to destroy it permanently. If we can hold on here we can drive Lee out of Virginia. His great line of supplies and operations is good. We have been eminently successful thus far. If you desire to know exactly where we are, take map, look up Point of Rocks on the Appomattox, then look across to Farrar’s Island on the James. That is our line directly on the rebel communications. We are intrenching here; will then advance from this base. Telegraph your action; time is important. (O. R., Vol. XXXVI, part II, p. 518.)

This remarkable letter seems to have made no impression on the Massachusetts senator, for two weeks later, May 21, Gen. Butler sent the following dispatch, addressed to Hon. Henry Wilson, Chairman Military Committee:

Please send me what is the precise state of Gen. Gillmore’s name before the Senate, if not inconsistent with the public service. Have you received a letter from me, under date of May 7? Please answer by telegraph. (O. R., Vol. XXXVI, part III, p. 63.)
Evidently this brought no response, for, again, on May 28, he writes another letter addressed to “My Dear Wilson,” in which he says in part:

You do not seem to have received my letter of May 7. I therefore enclose a copy of it. After very considerable experience with Gen. Gillmore I see no cause to alter any suggestion in it. * * * I am convinced, and I think it is the judgment of any well judging officer, that Gen. Gillmore is not fit for the command he exercises. * * *

(O. R., Vol. XXXVI, part III, p. 279.)

The re-organization of the 10th Corps did not affect the personnel of Col. Howell’s brigade. The 62d Ohio Regiment was detailed for fatigue duty at the landing, the day the brigade disembarked at Bermuda Hundred. When relieved from that duty it was immediately detailed as provost guard, and when relieved from that duty it was temporarily assigned to Gen. Turner’s command at Point of Rocks. The 133d Ohio Volunteers (100 days men) arrived at Bermuda Hundred, on June 12, and was assigned to Terry’s division. Owing to the illness of Gen. Terry, Col. Howell assumed temporary command of the First Division on June 11, and on the arrival of the 133d Ohio, it was temporarily assigned to the First Brigade, but on June 17 it was permanently assigned to the First Brigade of the Third Division, and in pursuance to instructions from department headquarters was ordered to Fort Powhatan for duty on that date. Gen. Terry re-assumed command of the division on June 13, Col. Howell re-assuming command of the brigade. On June 14, Gen. Terry was temporarily assigned to the command of the Tenth Corps, vice-General. Gillmore relieved and Brig. Gen. R. S. Foster temporarily assigned to the command of the First Division. On June 17, Brig. Gen. W. T. H. Brooks was assigned to the command of the 10th Corps, assuming command the following day; Gen. Gillmore taking his departure from the corps headquarters late in the evening, June 18, Gen. Brooks did not take possession until June 19. Gen. Terry re-assumed command of the First Division when relieved by Gen. Brooks, Gen. Foster re-assuming command of the Third Brigade. On Monday, June 20, the following regiments and artillery were ordered to report to Gen. R. S. Foster: 85th Pennsylvania; 11th Maine; 24th Massachusetts; 39th Illinois; 100th New York; 10th Connecticut; Section 1st Connecticut Battery; Section 5th New Jersey Battery. The instructions given Gen. Foster governing this command were issued from department headquarters as follows:

You will hold your command in readiness to move at a moment’s notice, with two days rations and 100 rounds of ammunition, to occupy a point on the north side of the James River near Deep Bottom. You will intrench yourself immediately on a line which will be indicated to you by the chief engineer or his assistant. * * * Your men will be ferried across the river in pontoon-boats under the direction of the engineers at the time indicated, and the bridge at once commenced by the engineers as soon as you are across. You are to understand that you are to hold your position as long as possible and at all hazards till the bridge is completed. The object of this move is to gain a permanent foothold on the north bank of the James River and to cover the bridge, which will be laid across the river in the rear of your position. Tools will be furnished by the engineers on the spot. Directions when and where to move will be given you by Gen. Weitzel. Pending this you had better move your command to the field near Gen. Gillmore’s [Brooks] headquarters. (O. R., Vol. XL, part II, p. 262.)
As two of Col. Howell’s regiments were to accompany this expedition the Colonel requested and obtained permission to accompany them. He received orders from Gen. Foster, dated June 20, 4:45 p. m., as follows:

You will move your command that is to take part in the expedition tonight to the field near Corps headquarters without delay.

The expedition marched to the James River and bivouacked; during the night the pontoon bridge at Jones Landing was thrown across the James River, being completed at 5:25 a.m., June 21, and the troops immediately crossed and began intrenching. At 6 p.m. the Regiment was ordered on picket and was relieved at 6 p.m., June 22. While the Regiment was on picket Gen. Brooks, the corps commander, visited the north side of the James River, and on his return to his headquarters sent the following communication to Gen. Weitzel, Chief Engineer, Army of the James:

I have just been over to see Foster’s position. His picket line was not fifty yards in front of him. His vedettes had been driven out of the Grover house. I suggested to him to try and get the house back and hold it with a company of infantry; that his picket line ought to be advanced to the crest running close behind the house. I think it would be more convenient to get to his position to move the bridge up stream about 100 or 150 yards opposite the mouth of the ravine running down from the work he is building. I don’t believe it would be twenty yards longer and less exposed to an enfilade from below. I think a battery on the hill by the slaughter-house would help keep the bluffs below clear. (O. R., Vol. XL, part II, p. 324.)

The Regiment was relieved from picket duty in the evening of June 22, and returned to the former place of bivouac. The following day two orders were issued to the Regiment, both of which were immediately countermanded. First, to pitch tents; this was shortly countermanded and orders issued to return to former camp on the south side of the James. This second order was subsequently revoked, and three companies of the Regiment ordered on picket and the other companies to lay under arms all night, and the following noon they were ordered on fatigue duty fortifying the position. The order for the Regiment to return to camp on June 23, emanated from corps headquarters and was sent to Gen. Foster at 12:20 a.m., as follows:

You can send for the camp equipage of the men of Plaisted’s brigade. Col. Howell’s troops will be relieved by the 1st Maryland (dismounted) Cavalry tonight. (signed) W. T. H. Brooks. (O. R., Vol. XL, part II, p. 366.)

The failure of the cavalry to arrive caused the order for the Regiment to return to be countermanded. On June 25, Gen. Brooks sent the following order to Gen. Foster:

Send the 85th Pennsylvania without waiting for the remainder of the cavalry. You must manage without them. (O. R., Vol. XL, part II, p. 425.)

The Regiment re-crossed the James River before noon, June 25, and arrived at its former camp at the neck of the Bermuda Hundred peninsula, near Ware Bottom Church, about the middle of the afternoon. This was the home of the
Regiment during the month of June, and for more than six weeks beyond this time, during which time the batteries of the enemy were in such close proximity to the camp, that whether on duty at the extreme front or retiring in camp, night or day, it was at no time beyond the fire of the enemy. Details of camp life during the month of June compiled from the diary of Com. Sergt. Bell, supplemented from the diaries of Sergt. Swearer, Corporals Chick and Scott, follow:

*June 1.* The Regiment on picket since 5 o'clock last evening; at 3 a.m. the enemy opened with a heavy fire of artillery; a shell passed through Lieut. Col. Campbell's tent; two flags of truce came from the enemy, the bearers of one came to notify the pickets to keep inside the rifle pits; relieved at 6 p.m. by the 39th Illinois; enemy opened heavy artillery fire for half an hour about 11 p.m.; weather pleasant.

*June 2.* The enemy attacked pickets at 6 a.m., and drove them from first line of rifle pits; Regiment at trenches all day; also during the night; began raining before dark and continued until after midnight.

*June 3.* Cold, damp morning; a detachment of the Regiment ordered to the advanced posts; Regiment went on picket at 5 p.m.; Adolph Hathaway, Company F, killed on the picket line.

*June 4.* Beautiful morning; enemy perfectly quiet in front; Regiment returned to camp in the evening through a heavy rain.

_Sunday, June 5._ Day broke cloudy, soon followed by rain; part of the Regiment ordered on picket in the evening; the enemy opened an artillery fire on our camps at 6.30 p.m., which was responded to by our batteries; ceased at 7 p.m.; the commissary issued a ration of soft bread; the Sanitary Commission, sauer-kraut and pickles.

*June 6.* Delightful weather; fresh beef and clothing issued to the men; several flags of truce passed between the lines in reference to burying the dead lying between the lines; the companies relieved from picket last evening ordered on fatigue duty in the forenoon and again on picket at 6 p.m., relieving the Regiment's pickets.

*June 7.* Pleasant weather; light artillery fire from the enemy's batteries; Regimental pickets relieved at 6 p.m.

*June 8.* Fair weather; Regiment in camp, some of the men building bomb proofs in camp; Regiment stacked arms in the trenches during the night.

*June 9.* Delightful weather; musketry fire in front; Regiment goes on picket at 6 p.m.

*June 10.* Pleasant weather; Regiment on picket; relieved at 6 p.m.; no firing in front throughout the day; 327 rations of whiskey were issued to the men on their return from the picket-line; news of Lincoln's re-nomination caused favorable comment in camp.

*June 11.* Weather pleasant; Regiment in camp; some of the men engaged building bomb proofs; Private William H. Mahoney, Company C, fell from bomb proof breaking an arm; Quartermaster Beall applied for furlough but his application was returned disapproved; Col. Howell assumed command of the division owing to illness of Gen. Terry; Lieut. Norman B. Ream, who was severely wounded February 22, returned to Regiment.

_Sunday, June 12._ A pleasant, quiet Sunday; no firing at the front; Regiment went on picket at 6 p.m.; 133d Ohio Regiment (100 days men) temporarily assigned to Howell's brigade.

*June 13.* Pleasant weather; Regiment on picket; all quiet along the picket-line; relieved at 6 p.m. and returned to camp; men treated to a ration of whiskey on their return to camp; Regiment ordered in the trenches at 11 p.m.

*June 14.* Weather pleasant; rather cool for June; Gen. Grant visited Gen. Butler's headquarters; Gen. Gillmore relieved of the command of the 10th Corps and Gen. Terry temporarily assigned to the command; Brig. Gen. R. S. Foster, commanding Third Brigade temporarily assigned to the command of the division; Sergt. Thomas M. Harford, Company I, played a joke on Private John W. Rowland, Company B, on duty at Regimental Hospi-
tal; the latter was constantly boasting of always being the first to secure the New York and Philadelphia papers on their arrival at camp; Harford picked up some old, discarded papers, secured an old mule on which he came galloping into camp where he knew Rowland to be; the latter secured one and without examining it himself, rushed with it to Dr. Sandt, who grasped it quite eagerly expecting to get the latest news, but at a glance his joy turned to chagrin; his disappointment being made evident by forceful language aimed at Rowland; it was difficult to decide which was the greatest victim of the joke, the Dr. or Rowland; prayer-meeting in camp in evening; Regiment lay in the trenches during night.

June 15. Pleasant day; Grant's army crossing the James River; Regiment went on picket at 6 p. m.; enemy kept up quite a stir in front of Regiment's picket throughout most of the night; a portion of Lee's army crossed the James River to the south bank near the Howlett House.

June 16. At daybreak the enemy was discovered to have abandoned his works; the pickets were immediately advanced to occupy them; after pressing the rear guard of the enemy a superior force compelled the Union forces to fall back, the Regiment resuming former position on the picket line about 6 p. m.; Com. Sergt. Bell went to the front where the Regiment was in position with rations but was forced to retire without issuing, as just then the Regiment was engaged in an effort to hold the enemy's outer works; Bell asked Lieut. Col. Campbell what he should do with the rations, the latter excitedly replied: "To hell with your rations! I have no time to consider such things," and then dashed down the Regimental line on a gallop, soon lost to sight in a thicket, with his orderly endeavoring to follow in his wake; before Sergt. Bell could repeat the orders of the lieutenant-colonel, Teamster Fred Lowry, who was driving the commissary-wagon team, spying the enemy advancing in overwhelming force, was driving pell-mell to the rear, and did not halt until he reached camp; Fred saved the rations from the enemy and also from his Regimental comrades that day, the latter having been forced to retire to the position formerly held by them, holding the enemy at bay during the night without supper or sleep; Col. Howell was wounded during the day and had his horse shot under him.

June 17. Immediately after daybreak the enemy's sharpshooters opened fire on our lines and kept up a sharp fire during the day; late in the afternoon the enemy advanced in superior force and drove the Regiment back about 200 yards, where it remained until 10.30 p. m., when it was relieved by the 67th Ohio; during the day four men of the Regiment were instantly killed; three taken prisoners of war, and several others wounded; those instantly killed were Privates Patterson Jobes, and Taylor Reynolds, Company A; Henry Fry, Company F, and Jesse Dial, Company H; prisoners of war: Privates Thomas Orbin, Moses Smith and Joshua Torrence, Company B; among the wounded were Lieut. Norman B. Ream, Company H, and Sergt. John G. Woodward, Company C, the latter mortally; Lieut. Ream returned to the Regiment on the evening of June 11, although not fully recovered from his wound of February 22, and was voluntarily at the front, in command of a portion of the Regiment; the enemy's bullet struck him below his former wound on the lower right limb; the lieutenant remarked to those nearest him that the enemy was exceedingly kind not to have disabled his other limb.

June 18. Although the Regiment was relieved of duty on the picket line before midnight it did not reach camp until 3 a. m.; the enemy remained quiet in front during the forenoon; Company A sent the remains of Patterson Jobes home for burial; about 4 p. m. the enemy attacked the position held by the 67th Ohio and drove it back; the Regiment was immediately ordered to re-inforce the latter, and the combined force, after a spirited contest, forced the enemy to retire; the Regiment remaining on picket during the night at the same position it had held on the 17th; in regaining the former position, Privates Ross Rush, Company H, and Jacob Deselms, Company E, were instantly killed, and the following were wounded: Capt. R. R. Sanner and Private William Hileman, Company H; Privates John Clendaniel, and Hiram Haver, Company D, and Private Isaac L. Hall, Company K; Gen. W. T. H. Brooks assumed command of the 10th Corps.
June 19. As if by mutual consent the pickets on both sides refrained from firing at each other during the day; the Regiment was relieved by a detachment of the 67th Ohio and returned to camp at 7 p.m.

June 20. The men were congratulating themselves that they would have a good night’s rest, as the enemy was quiet in front, when they received orders to get ready for an expedition, with 100 rounds of cartridges, two days rations, in light marching orders; Regiment left camp at 5 p.m., and marched to the bank of the James River where it bivouacked during the night near Jones Landing at a point called Jones Neck.

June 21. Immediately after daybreak the Regiment crossed the James River to the north bank, on a pontoon-bridge thrown across the river during the night, and heavy details were immediately put to work fortifying the approaches to the bridge on the north side of the James; seven companies of the Regiment went on picket in the evening; Com. Sergt. Bell brought a ration of whiskey to the men, with other rations, but was not permitted to take it to the picket-line; no signs of the enemy being near during the first day and night.

June 22. No signs of the enemy until noon when his skirmishers advanced, but soon retired when the pickets opened fire on them; Regiment relieved of picket duty by the 10th Connecticut about dark; Sergt. John G. Woodward who was mortally wounded on June 17, died at Regimenal hospital; President Lincoln passed by the camp of the Regiment at Bermuda Hundred.

June 23. Weather very warm; orders issued to pitch tents which were shortly revoked, followed by orders to get ready to return to Bermuda Hundred camp, which were also countermanded; three companies of the Regiment ordered on picket; the other companies lay in line of battle during the night in expectation of an attack by the enemy.

June 24. During the afternoon that part of the Regiment not on picket was detailed for fatigue duty erecting a redan on the hill in front; while the men were in expectancy of receiving orders to return to the Bermuda Hundred camp they received word they were to remain on the north side of the James two days longer; fresh beef had been issued to the company cooks in the Bermuda Hundred camp, and it was cooked awaiting them, as the Regiment was expected to arrive in time for supper.

June 25. Regiment re-crossed the James River during the forenoon, starting about 11 a.m., arriving at former camp about 3 p.m., and the men were permitted to rest in their tents during the night.

Sunday, June 26. James A. Proudfit, formerly a member of Company A, visited the Regimental camp as a member of a committee of the Christian Commission; the other members were Dr. Wales, Dr. Pollock and Mr. Mercer. Hosp. Steward Bebout returned from furlough; John Wibley, who was discharged on Surgeon’s certificate from Company A, May 1, 1862, returned to the company today; he was drafted March 1, 1864, for three years, and at his request was assigned to his former company; Regiment ordered on picket at 6 p.m.; the relieved pickets reported that they could distinctly hear the enemy engaged at religious service during the day.

June 27: Regiment on picket-line until 6 p.m.; the “Johnnies” showed no disposition to fire upon the “Yankees”; Regiment returned to camp in the evening; prior to its return Com. Sergt. Bell took out a ration of whiskey, which was distributed to the men.

June 28: Regiment lay in camp all day and the following night; prayer-meeting in camp in the evening; Regimental provision return indicates the strength of the Regiment as 398.

June 29: Men lay in camp throughout the day; the Christian Commission issued some sanitary supplies to the Regiment; quiet at the immediate front, but heavy cannonading in the direction of Petersburg; Regiment went on picket on the left open field; enemy’s pickets were very friendly.

June 30: Regiment on picket until 6 p.m.; relieved by the 39th Illinois; Sergt. David D. Watson, of Company B, who had been sent north to General Hospital by authority of
Surgeon, returned to the Regiment today and learned that he had been reduced to the ranks during his absence; sutler R. M. Modissette, visited the camp today, his first appearance since the Regiment left South Carolina; Regiment mustered for pay in the evening, after returning from the picket-line, by Lieut. Col. Campbell.

A list of casualties of the Regiment in the engagement of June 17 and 18 was published in the Genius of Liberty, Uniontown, Penna., and re-published in the Reporter and Tribune, Washington, Penna., in its issue of July 6, 1864. The list as published in the latter, with introductory note, is as follows:


In its issue of July 20, 1864, the Reporter and Tribune (Washington, Penna.) published a list of the casualties occurring in the Regiment from May 6 to June 10 furnished by the Adjutant as follows:

HOURS. 85TH PA. VOLS. BERMUDA HUNDRED, VA., JULY 10, 1864.

Messrs. Editors: I send you a list of casualties that have occurred in the 85th Penna. Vols. since the Regiment landed at Bermuda Hundred, Va., on the sixth of May to the 10th of July, thinking it would interest your readers, many of whom have friends in the Regiment. Some of those named in the list are from Washington County.

Yours truly,

D. W. SHIELDS,
1st Lieut. and Adjt. 85th Pa. Vols.

Bermuda Hundred (Continued).

CHAPTER XX.

Camp Life at Bermuda Hundred—from July 1 to August 13—Col. Howell Granted Furlough on Account of Sickness—Daily Record of Events.

From July 1 to August 13, 1864.

Compared with arduous service and vicissitudes of the activities of the Regiment during the months of May and June, July was quiet and uninteresting. Throughout the entire month, and also the first thirteen days of August, the Regiment remained encamped between the James and Appomattox Rivers, at the neck of the Bermuda Hundred peninsula. During this time the men were on picket duty on an average of every third 24 hours, but as there was a tacit understanding with the pickets of the enemy that no one would fire except to repel and give notice of an advance, the danger on the picket line was reduced to the minimum. In fact, the Regiment had not a casualty at the picket line during the month of July. The condition in this respect formed such a vivid contrast to that of May and June when there was almost a continuous fusillade at the picket line, as to call forth from the headquarters of the department on July 24, the following cautionary message to the new corps commander:

I consider it very important for you to know that not a shot has been fired on this neck of the land for nearly a month. I think it would be well to be assured that the officers and men have not become careless and unguarded thereby. (O. R., Vol. XL, part III, p. 488.)

However, the incessant and arduous service of the previous two months had made a heavy pull and strain on both the officers and men of the Regiment, and also on the entire First Brigade of the First Division. On July 10, a statement of the percentage sick among the troops of the division was sent from division headquarters to Col. Howell, commanding First Brigade; also, to the commanding officer of the Second Brigade. This statement showed the strength of the brigade present as follows: Officers, 75; men, 1,982; total, 2,057; the strength of the 85th Regiment was: Officers, 15; men, 396; total, 411; of these 1 officer and 77 men were reported on the sick list excused from duty. The sick list of the brigade, excused from duty, embraced 7 officers and 372 men. The communication from division headquarters accompanying the statement to Col. Howell said:

I am directed * * * to call your attention to the fact that each of the four regiments of your brigade is in a worse sanitary condition than any other, with but one exception, in the command, and that the average of the First Brigade is nearly 19 per cent. as compared with 15 per cent. in the Second Brigade, and 7 per cent. in the Third Brigade. (O. R., Vol. XL, part III, p. 141.)
The percentage of three regiments of the brigade was practically the same, the 62d Ohio being about 3 per cent. lighter than the three regiments. The marked difference in the percentages of sick present between the Third Brigade and the other two brigades of the division can readily be accounted for, and must have been overlooked by the commanding general of the division. On June 20, the Third Brigade left its camp at Bermuda Hundred, crossing the James River the following morning from Jones Neck to Deep Bottom. This movement followed immediately after the strenuous campaign of May and June. As the orders for this movement indicated merely a reconnaissance, in which a severe engagement with the enemy was anticipated, all the sick and wounded remained behind in the hospitals or in the regimental camps. The Third Brigade's headquarters being at Deep Bottom, the sick and wounded not present there were properly marked absent, while with the First and Second Brigades the wounded and sick in the camps and hospitals were marked present.

On July 13 orders were issued from corps headquarters prohibiting commissioned officers from being too familiar socially with the enlisted men. Lieut. Col. Campbell gave notice that same day that this order would be rigidly enforced in the 85th Regiment. The following day, July 14, Maj. Abraham addressed a letter to Gov. Curtin, in part, as follows:

In compliance with the request of a number of enlisted men of the 85th Regiment Penna. Vols. I have the honor to address you a communication with reference to the expiration of the term of service of the Regiment and would carefully submit the following facts: The dates of enrollment range from July 13 to November 1, 1861. A first lieutenant and forty-two men of most of the companies were mustered from October 12 to October 15, 1861, by Lieut. McConnell. When the companies were filled they were mustered by Lieut. Veech, who ignored the muster of Lieut. McConnell. The first muster rolls were destroyed and the present muster-in rolls do not indicate the date of first muster, but the pay rolls do. According to an order from the Secretary of War our Regiment will not be mustered out until November 12, 1864, which is represented as being three years from date of organization. A great deal of dissatisfaction is growing out of the error or neglect whereby many of the men will be held at least one month over their time according to muster.

I would respectfully offer it as my opinion that to embitter the minds of men who faithfully served their country for three long years would prove detrimental to the service by preventing them from re-enlisting in the army. If promptly discharged at the expiration of their term, I am fully convinced that many will enter the service within a few months after their discharge. Finally, the Counties of Fayette, Washington, Greene and Somerset are represented in the 85th Regiment Penna. Vols., and almost every part of said counties. If retained until Nov. 12, the influence of a great many of the members of the Regiment and their friends at home will be exerted in opposition to the administration in the coming election, which under other circumstances would be favorable. The enlisted men of our Regiment regard the Executive of the State of Pennsylvania as the friend of the soldier and believe that an appeal to him to exert his influence on their behalf would be favorably considered. On behalf of the men at whose request this is written I would respectfully but earnestly solicit information as to the probable time of muster-out, and such aid as it may be your pleasure to give.

On July 18, Gen. Brooks relinquished the command of the 10th Corps to Gen. Terry, the latter assuming command immediately. Gen. Brooks resigned
from the army on July 14, but the acceptance of the resignation was not received until July 18. The reason given in a published biography for his resignation was failing health; although it might be inferred from the Official Records, that he may have resigned through pique at not being promoted to be a major-general of volunteers. Be that as it may, he did not long survive after the Civil War, as his death occurred July 19, 1870. Although Gen. Butler’s Chief of Staff notified Gen. Brooks on July 16, that Maj. Gen. A. A. Humphreys, Chief of Staff, of the commanding-general of the Army of the Potomac, was to be his successor as commander of the 10th Corps (O. R., Vol. XL, part III, p. 287), on July 21, Gen. Grant assigned Maj. Gen. D. B. Birney, commanding a division of the Second Corps, to this command, subject to the approval of the President. Gen. Birney assumed command of the Corps on July 23, and Gen. Terry re-assumed command of the First Division. The new commanding-general of the Corps, together with Casey’s division, had been made a scapegoat by Gen. Heintzelman, for the defeat of the left wing of the Army of the Potomac at Seven Pines, May 31, 1862. The latter charged him with halting “his command (3d Brigade, Kearny’s division) a mile from the enemy,” and had him placed under arrest. A court-martial exonerated him from misconduct and he was restored to the command of his brigade. Shortly after assuming command of the 10th Corps, Gen. Birney wrote to a friend, as follows:

I am much pleased with my new command. My assignment to it by Grant, in the field, in preference to a dozen others who desired it, nearly all of whom outranked me, was a compliment far greater than if I had been assigned to the corps by the President upon political or personal grounds.

On July 25, the following general orders (No. 18) were issued from corps headquarters:

The design adopted for the badge of the corps is the trace of a four-bastioned fort, of the pattern in the office of the chief quartermaster, and will be worn on the top of the cap or the side of the hat by all the officers and enlisted men of the corps. The badge will be cut from red cloth for First Division, and blue cloth for Third Division. Commanding officers will see that requisitions are made at once to supply the troops in their respective commands, and that the badge is constantly worn. The acting chief quartermaster will procure at once, by requisition or purchase, the cloth to supply the badge to divisions, and stencils to cut the cloth, and also mark the transportation of the corps. The transportation will be marked with the letter in large size, and in the division color. (O. R., Vol. XL, part III, p. 453.)

On July 26, orders were issued from corps headquarters to the troops of the First and Second Brigades of the First Division, as follows:

The line of defenses will be manned at taps, the troops to be allowed to sleep at the works, and to return to camp at half an hour after sunrise tomorrow, if at that time there is no alarm at the front. (R., Vol. XL, part III, p. 492.)

During this night the Regiment was at the extreme front on picket in the open field near Ware Bottom Church. On July 28, by general orders issued (No. 19) from corps headquarters, the following system governing the picketing of the corps was to be followed:
The picket guard is to be divided into four reliefs. On marching on, the first relief goes onto the outposts, consisting of the groups of three and the outer sentinels; the second to the supports; the third and fourth to the grand guard. At the end of six hours the second relief moves from the support to the outposts, the first relief going to the supports. At the end of twelve hours the third and fourth reliefs go forward from the grand guard, relieving successively the outposts and supports, who return to the grand guard, the outposts first falling back on the supports. Each relief has thus twelve consecutive hours on grand guard. The outer sentinels are to be relieved every two hours and the groups every six hours. In extremely inclement weather, division commanders may authorize sentinels and groups to be relieved more frequently. Twelve and three-quarters men for each sentinel's post gives the proper detail, with extra men for fatigue purposes, supernumeraries, etc. As a general rule, there should be in each relief one corporal for every three sentinel's posts, one sergeant for every six posts, one subaltern for every ten posts, and a captain or field officer commanding. For example, 20 posts give, say, 255 privates, 28 corporals, 12 sergeants, 8 lieutenants, and 4 captains.

Commanders of divisions are responsible for the manner in which picket duty is performed on their division picket-line, and that the prescribed system of picketing, and the regulations on the subject are followed. The pickets of each division will be regularly mounted as a grand guard under the direction of the division commander. In permanent camps the guard may be continued on duty three days. The picket line of the corps, when once permanently established, will not be changed or modified unless such change shall be sanctioned at these headquarters, or by orders from the corps officer of the day to the division officer of the day. On the march the pickets will be thrown out immediately on arriving in camp by the commander of each division (about one-tenth of their force), making their camps secure and their lines connected from right to left. The corps officer of the day will see that this connection is duly made, and that all the exposed points of the camp are securely guarded. No officer or soldier on picket will be allowed to return to camp during his tour, or to leave his post, unless so ordered by his commander then on duty, or from sickness. A medical officer will accompany each division picket. * * * The guard at the reserve and supports will habitually turn out at the approach of officers entitled to that honor. Sentinels will stand at attention, at ordered arms, when officers on duty pass their posts. The picket reserve and support will be under arms at daylight. The groups are always under arms. The pickets of each division, after they have been relieved, will all be assembled and marched in a body to division headquarters. They will not be permitted to straggle to their camps. * * * Corps officers of the day will be taken from commanding officers of regiments. When officers are detailed as corps officers of the day, who are not present for duty, the detail will be immediately returned to these headquarters. The corps officer of the day will report to the commanding general of the corps at 9 a.m.

The corps officer of the day will visit the division officers of the day on the picket-line at least once during his tour to see that the orders are properly executed, and that the line is connected throughout, and shall make such further inspections as may be practicable. The division officers of the day will visit their picket-lines at least once during the day and once after 12 o'clock at night. * * * Each division officer of the day will be furnished with a mounted orderly from division headquarters. Division officers of the day will make reports * * * to division commanders, noting all irregularities and unusual circumstances that have occurred on the picket-line during their tour. These reports should be transmitted by commanders to these headquarters on the day of their date. The occurrence of any unusual circumstances on the picket-line should be instantly submitted to the division officer of the day and by him to the commanding officer of the division and to the corps officer of the day at these headquarters, and by the commander of the division to the assistant adjutant-general at these headquarters. (O. R., Vol. XL, part III, pp. 542-543.)
On July 28, Col. Howell having received leave of absence on account of illness, Col. Francis B. Pond, 62d Ohio Volunteers, was assigned to the command of the brigade during the former's absence (O. R., Vol. XL, part III, p. 584). This leave of absence was due to illness and the lingering effects of the Colonel's injuries in front of Fort Wagner, and also at the front at Ware Bottom Church on June 16. His leave of absence was for a period of twenty days, nearly all of which was spent at Woodbury, New Jersey, his boyhood home, with his brother, Dr. Benjamin P. Howell. Dr. Howell finding the Colonel's injuries more serious than he had reported, there being a fracture of the skull above the left eye, received at Morris Island, made application for an extension of the Colonel's furlough, which was granted, but so anxious was the latter to be back with his command that he would not accept the extension, and reported for duty at the headquarters of the division at 1 o'clock a.m., August 18, just an hour after the expiration of his twenty days' leave of absence. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part I, p. 686.)

On August 6 and 7, orders were read asking for volunteers for fatigue duty, the men inferring from the nature of the request, that the work would be the construction of a mine under the enemy's fortifications near Petersburg; Seventy men from the Regiment quickly volunteered their services. The request for volunteers for this purpose from Gen. Butler to the corps commander, was as follows:

I propose to call for volunteers to do a laborious piece of digging and making of earthworks, which I wish to be performed with efficiency and celerity. I want 1,000 men for that purpose. Will you please call for volunteers from your corps under these circumstances and with these limitations? Volunteers are wanted, to labor continuously, not exceeding twenty days, in digging and moving earth. There will be employed not to exceed 1,200 men. They will be worked seven hours and a half a day, in two reliefs—one working from 5 to 12.30, the other from 12.30 to 7.30. For this labor they will be paid eight cents each hour extra, and as it is fatigue duty a ration of half a gill of whisky will be served out to such as desire it each day, or its worth added to the pay of such as do not desire it. Laziness or inattention to duty will be punished by dismissal from the work and being returned to the regiment, with forfeiture of the pay earned. They will be paid for the first ten days at the expiration of that time, and the remainder as soon as the work is finished, which is not expected to exceed ten days more. The captain of each company will give an exact descriptive roll of the men volunteering, and when ordered will have the squad of volunteers ready to report under charge of some competent non-commissioned officer, who is expected to labor with his squad. The details will be reported on Monday morning next, and will be ready to march on Tuesday morning. Your order will be read carefully at the head of each company at two company parades, and volunteers called for. It is not expected to take more than 600 men from your corps, if so many will volunteer. I propose to call for an equal volunteer force from the 18th Army Corps. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 70.)

However, as the number of men required from the 10th Corps (600) volunteered from the 15th New York Heavy Artillery, the latter were accepted, and the volunteers from the Regiment were notified that their services would not be required. On August 13, the following circular was issued from headquarters of the 10th Corps:
Division commanders and chief of artillery will hold their commands in readiness to move at a moment's notice. Three days cooked rations will be ready from this evening. Inspections will be at once had and reports made as to ammunition in cartridge boxes and in train. The chief of artillery will see that three days forage is carried on the caissons. All enlisted men acting as clerks or waiters must be armed and ready to join their companies on the march. The only exceptions to this rule will be made by division commanders where the public service demands it. Arms sufficient to equip all unequipped men can be obtained at corps hospital. Great care must be taken to see that shoes are issued to supply all deficiencies. This must be done today. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 163.)

The foregoing circular was immediately followed by marching orders from corps headquarters, as follows:

This corps will move promptly at 11 p. m. in the following order: First Division, Second Division, Birney's Brigade. The march will be to Deep Bottom, crossing at pontoon bridge near Gen. Foster's headquarters and massing near there in position to be indicated by a staff officer. The chief of artillery will designate four batteries to accompany the movement, two to be assigned during it to each division. Gen. Turner will order the brigade of his on picket and in trenches to report temporarily to Gen. Terry, who will assume command of the troops of the 10th Corps left in the trenches, and defend the line, using every precaution to conceal the departure of the troops. The usual calls will be sounded along the line. The ambulances of the corps will be packed near the pontoon bridge below Jones Landing. Trains to be packed in convenient positions. Only sick men will be left in camp and those unequipped. Every effort must be made to turn out the full strength. Lieut. Col. Washburn, with the 4th Mass. Cavalry, will report to Gen. Terry and be placed, without delay in the trenches. Gen. Terry will report here for fuller orders. Headquarters of the corps will be during the movement on the right bank of the James near the pontoon bridge. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 163.)

These orders were the precursor of one of the most sanguinary campaigns in which the 85th Regiment was engaged during the entire period of its service, the history of which will be reserved for another chapter. The principal events of camp life at Bermuda Hundred from July 1 until August 13, were recorded in the diaries of Com. Sergt. Bell, 1st Sergt. Swearer, and Corporals Chick and Scott. From these the following daily journal is compiled:

Friday, July 1: Regimental inspection at 9 a. m. by a staff officer of the Second Brigade. An order was read directing that 1st Lieut. John A. Gordon, who had been detached on recruiting service in 1862; then detached elsewhere and court-martialed and sentenced to be dismissed from the service, be returned to duty, by order of the President; Regiment lay in camp all day; prayer-meeting in the evening.

July 2: Fresh bread and fresh meat issued to the men; Q. M. Beall was appointed brigade quartermaster on the staff of Col. Howell; Regiment went on picket at 6 p. m.

Sunday, July 3: Extremely hot day; Regiment on picket until 6 p. m., when it was relieved and returned to camp, the men receiving a drink of whiskey on their arrival.

July 4: Regiment lay in camp during the day; the commissary drew a barrel of whiskey containing 43 gallons; this was medicated by five ounces of quinine; one of the men belonging to Company C, decrying the quality of the whiskey, saying it was not fit to drink, was "tied up" as punishment for his impertinence; George Bolsinger of Company I was taken to the Washington Insane Asylum by Sergt. John G. Stevens, Company I; Corp. B. F. Campbell, Company G, and Private Samuel Johnson, Company I; Regiment went on picket at 6 p. m.
July 5: Regiment on picket until 6 p. m., when it was relieved by the 62d Ohio; orders were issued for all men detailed on duty at Regimental headquarters, in the commissary's and quartermaster's departments to return to their companies for duty.

July 6: Regiment had a good day's rest in camp; commissary drew pickles, cabbage and beets; 11 heads of cabbage and 30 pounds of beets to the hundred rations; these vegetables are issued in lieu of rice, as comparatively few of the men care for the latter; prayer-meeting in camp in the evening.

July 7: Commissary department received two days rations of cabbage and one day's ration of beets; also another barrel of whiskey; Regiment went on picket at 6 p. m. in an open field in front; slight rain; heavy cannonading in the direction of Petersburg; very little firing between the pickets.

July 8: Regiment on picket until evening, when it was relieved by the 62d Ohio; flag of truce went to the enemy during the day said to relate to sending letters to prisoners of war; on returning to camp the men received a drink of whiskey minus the quinine, the supply of the latter having been exhausted; general rejoicing among the men in consequence.

July 9: Regiment in camp during the day; went on picket in the evening; as a pastime in camp many of the men would take the brass plugs from unexploded shells fired by the enemy and make rings and other ornaments; while Private Walter O. Donnell, Company A, was removing the plug from a shell it exploded, killing him instantly, and wounding three others of the company, viz.: Privates William Milligan, William Morrison and John S. Butterfoss; Sergt. Stevens. Corp. Campbell and Private Johnson, who were detailed to take Private George Bolsinger to the Insane Asylum, returned to the Regiment.

Sunday, July 10: Regiment lay on picket; all quiet in front; relieved in the evening by the 39th Illinois; Lieut. Johnson of Company I, wounded on May 20, returned to the Regiment.

July 11: Regiment lay in camp all day, and the men were permitted to rest during the night undisturbed; Private George W. Chick, who had been absent sick, returned to the Regiment; weather extremely warm; thunder-storm in the evening.

July 12: Regiment in camp during the day; went on picket at 6 p. m.; cannonading in the direction of Petersburg.

July 13: Regiment on picket until evening when it returned to camp; Gen. Brooks, commanding the 10th Corps, issued orders prohibiting commissioned officers from being on too familiar terms with the men; Lieut. Col. Campbell gave notice that this order would be strictly enforced.

July 14: Regiment in camp during the day; went on picket at 6 p. m.

July 15: Regiment on picket during the day; the pickets of the enemy continue friendly; Regiment returned to camp at 6 p. m.; standing order for the Regiment to be in line of battle at 3.30 a. m. every day.

July 16: Regiment in camp during the day; general inspection by Capt. R. W. Dawson, assistant inspector-general of the brigade; Regiment went on picket at 6 p. m. in open field.

Sunday, July 17: Regiment on picket until 6 p. m., when relieved by the 39th Ill. Regiment.

July 18: Regiment ordered to the intrenchments shortly after midnight, some deserters from the enemy having reported a general attack to be made; Regiment remained in camp during the day; prayer-meeting in the evening; Gen. Brooks relinquished the command of the 10th Corps to Gen. Terry; Gen. R. S. Foster assuming command of the First Division.

July 19: Heavy rain all day, the first heavy rain for several weeks; Companies A, B, G and K detailed for picket duty at Point of Rocks; the other companies on picket near Ware Bottom Church; continues to rain throughout the night.
July 20: Day opens cloudy and threatening rain; showers at intervals during the day; pickets at Ware Bottom Church relieved at 6 p. m.; Companies A, B, G and K remain on picket at Point of Rocks; Regimental commissary wagon took rations to them.

July 21: Companies in camp called into line at 3 a. m.; details from companies in camp go on picket in the evening; four companies remain on picket at Point of Rocks; the ration of fresh bread has been reduced from 22 ounces to 18; Maj. Gen. D. B. Birney assigned to command of 10th Corps, subject to the approval of the President.

July 22: Companies C, E, H and I sent to Point of Rocks to relieve the four companies on picket there; the details on picket at Ware Bottom Church relieved in the evening; Companies A, B, G and K return to camp from Point of Rocks.

July 23: Private James Beatty, Company C, home on furlough, was married and over-stayed his time, and being charged with desertion, is now being court-martialed; Companies C, E, H and I remain on picket near Point of Rocks; Maj. Gen. D. B. Birney resumes command of 10th Corps, and Gen. Terry reassumed command of the 1st Division.

Sunday, July 24: Companies C, E, H and I still on picket near Point of Rocks; balance of Regiment go on picket near Ware Bottom Church; raining all night; cold and very disagreeable.

July 25: Day opens exceedingly cold and raining, but by noon clears up, the balance of the day being very pleasant; the companies on picket at Ware Bottom Church relieved in the evening; Companies C, E, H and I on picket near Point of Rocks were relieved at 4 p. m. and returned to camp.

July 26: Regiment called out at 3:30 a. m. and stood in line of battle until a half hour after sunrise; Sergt. Greer Hair, Company A, received a letter from Thomas J. Barr of same company, the latter being a prisoner of war in Richmond; Regiment went on picket in open field at 6 p. m.

July 27: Regiment remains on picket until evening when it is relieved and returns to camp; Second Corps and a division of cavalry cross the James River to the north bank at Jones Landing, and recapture some guns near Fort Darling captured by the enemy in May.

July 28: Owing to illness and wounds Col. Howell was granted leave of absence; Col. Francis B. Pond, 62d Ohio, assigned to the command of the brigade during his absence; part of the Regiment went on picket in the woods at 6 p. m.

July 29: Regimental provision return indicates the total number of men present entitled to draw rations as 371; commissary department drew 116 lbs. of onions; 116 lbs. of turnips and 77 lbs. of beets; detachment of the Regiment on picket relieved by another detachment from the Regiment in the evening.

July 30: Orders were issued for the Regiment to be in readiness to move at a moment's notice with two days' rations, and in light marching orders; three companies went on picket at 6 p. m., relieving the pickets of the Regiment on duty at the front.

Sunday, July 31: Regiment called out at 3:30 a. m. and remained in line of battle until a half hour after sunrise; Capt. R. R. Sanner, Company H, wounded June 18, returned to the Regiment; Companies A, F and D went on picket at 6 p. m., relieving Companies K, G and B.

August 1: A nice summer day but quite warm; a petition from the enlisted men of the Regiment was sent to Gov. Curtin invoking his influence to have the Regiment mustered out of the service at the expiration of three years from the date of first muster in October 16, 1861; Regiment went on picket in the evening, in the woods.

Aug. 2: Regiment on picket in the woods near Ware Bottom Church until 6 p. m.; all quiet in front; constitutional amendment granting soldiers in the field the right of suffrage voted on in Pennsylvania today.

Aug. 3: Regiment lay in camp all day; some rain in the afternoon, but otherwise the day was pleasant; provision return of the Regiment indicates 386 men present; drew 386 lbs. of potatoes and 109 lbs. of turnips; Regimental quartermaster ordered to surrender
his team to brigade quartermaster; team to be furnished the Regiment when needed on application to the latter.

*Aug. 4:* Regiment in line of battle shortly after 3 a. m., until half an hour after sunrise; company drill for an hour in the forenoon, the first drill since the Regiment returned to Virginia; Regiment went on picket in the evening.

*Aug. 5:* Regiment on picket near Ware Bottom Church; no firing between the pickets, but some shots were fired from a battery of the enemy near the Howlett house at some boys bathing in the James River; Regiment relieved in the evening by the 16th New York Heavy Artillery; heavy cannonading near Petersburg.

*Aug. 6:* Regiment in camp during the day; company drill for an hour in the forenoon and again for an hour in the afternoon; perfectly quiet in front but incessant cannonading near Petersburg; an order read asking for 600 volunteers from the 10th corps for fatigue duty not to exceed 20 days; it is understood the duty required is to dig a mine near Petersburg.

**Sunday, Aug. 7:** A beautiful summer day; general inspection at 9 a. m.; dress parade in the evening, after which there was preaching by the Rev. Pearce of the Christian Commission; this was the first sermon in the Regimental camp for a long time, and Lieut. Col. Campbell made it compulsory for every man not on duty to attend, under penalty of being placed in arrest for not turning out; prayer-meeting followed preaching; volunteers for fatigue duty ordered to report to corps headquarters tomorrow at 10 a. m.

*Aug. 8:* Regiment under arms at 3.30 a. m.; company drill for an hour and a half in the forenoon, and again for the same length of time in the afternoon; four companies of the Regiment went on picket in the evening; a number of the officers of the Regiment visited City Point, using a wagon as a conveyance.

*Aug. 9:* One hundred men detailed for fatigue duty at the fortifications in front during the forenoon; the order for volunteers for fatigue duty to appear at corps headquarters countermanded, owing to the entire quota required from the corps having been furnished by the 16th New York Heavy Artillery; a few minutes before noon an ammunition barge at City Point exploded, killing 12 enlisted men, 2 citizen employees, 1 citizen not employed by the Government and 28 colored laborers; wounding 3 commissioned officers, 4 enlisted men, 15 citizen employees, 86 colored laborers and 18 others, soldiers and citizens, not belonging at the wharf; Companies E, H and K were ordered on duty at the Landing after the explosion; company drill for an hour and a half in the forenoon and again in the afternoon for an hour and a half; Companies F, D and I went on picket in the evening; the four companies from the Regiment were relieved and returned to camp.

*Aug. 10:* The four companies in camp had company drill for an hour and a half in the forenoon and again in the afternoon; Companies F, D and I return from picket duty in the evening.

*Aug. 11:* Company drill in the forenoon for an hour and a half, and again in the afternoon, followed by dress parade; prayer-meeting in camp in the evening.

*Aug. 12:* Regiment in line of battle from 3 a. m. until after sunrise; company drill for an hour and a half during the forenoon; extremely hot day; Regiment went on picket in the evening.

*Aug. 13:* The last night for the Regiment to do picket duty in front of the Bermuda Hundred position near Ware Bottom Church; at 11 a. m. orders were received for the brigade to be in readiness to move at a moment's notice, with three days cooked rations in haversacks, and ammunition in sufficient quantity to indicate a severe engagement was anticipated; the Regiment was relieved from picket duty, and other details returned to camp; tents were struck and the brigade lay in readiness until nearly midnight when the column moved towards the James River.
Battle of Deep Bottom.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BATTLE OF DEEP BOTTOM, AUGUST 14-16—MORE THAN ONE-THIRD REGIMENT KILLED AND WOUNDED—LIEUT. WM. F. CAMPBELL KILLED, CAPTAINS ROGERS AND WATKINS MORTALLY WOUNDED—CAPT. KERR, PRISONER OF WAR—MAJ. ABRAHAM, ADJT. SHIELDS, CAPT. HOOKER, LIEUTENANTS DIAL AND RUSSELL WOUNDED.

FROM AUGUST 1 TO AUGUST 21, 1864.

In the annals of the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment the battlefield of Deep Bottom is historic ground. In June, 1864, the Eighty-Fifth accompanied the first expedition of Union troops to occupy this position, and here again a few weeks later, during the month of August, fully one-third of its ranks remaining able for duty were killed or wounded; and it was here the Regiment made its base of operations during its last two weeks of strenuous activity against the enemy at the closing period of its term of three years' service. Situated on the north bank of the James River (in a direct line distant only 12 miles from Richmond) its name may imply its topography to be low river-bottom-land. The Official Records of the War of the Rebellion give but a very meager description of its area, location or topography. The several periods during which the Regiment was here were of such strenuous activity that none of its scribes has made any reference to its topography. In the histories of two regiments of the Third Brigade, of the First Division of the Tenth Corps, the 11th Maine, and 24th Massachusetts, regiments stationed at this point from its first occupancy, and for a period of a couple of months thereafter, descriptions are given. In the "Story of the 11th Maine Regiment," as follows:

Deep Bottom is the name of a very deep and wide mouth of two creeks. The principal creek, Bailey's, runs north and south, crossing the New Market and Darbytown roads in its course. Four Mile Creek flows into the head of Deep Bottom from a south-westerly direction, flowing along the front of where our picket line was established, which was about five hundred yards from the outer rifle-pits of our intrenched camp. Three Mile Creek flows from South westerly a course as to run at rather more than a right angle to Bailey's Creek. It ran along the front of our fortifications, which it finally intersected, flowing into the James just above the pontoon-bridge landing.

Deep Bottom, as the position we occupied was now called, was a wooded bluff when we secured it, but it was bare enough before many days, so vigorously did details from our regiment ply their axes, while other fatigue parties * * * were throwing up a strong line of intrenchments that, with gunboats anchored on the flanks, presented a practically impregnable "bridge-head" to the enemy, covering the north end of the pontoon-bridge. "They laid down to the south shore of the James. And a second pontoon-bridge was then laid across the river from a point below the mouth of Deep Run, and its north-side
landing was covered with a redan that was not permanently occupied, nor was the bridge laid except when needed for raiding purposes, this lower position being so thoroughly under the fire of the gunboats that it could be occupied at any time without interference from the rebels. This lower bridge opened a road to Strawberry Plains,—a broad stretch of cleared land occupying a large part of Curls Neck,—a convex bend of the James that, on the map, fits neatly into a concavity of the Bermuda Hundred peninsula. The enemy was strongly intrenched opposite our camps on Deep Bottom Bluff, their works extending from Chapin's [Chaffin's] Bluff to the mouth of Bailey's Creek, and also on the creek to Fussell's Mills, near its rise, at about five miles from Deep Run. From Fussell's Mills their line was sharply "refused," as the term is, bearing away to the west. They occupied an advanced position in the woods opposite the lower bridge, but at such a distance from the river that it was not at the mercy of the gunboats.

This advanced Confederate position covered the river road which runs out of the New Market road just to the west of Bailey's Creek, and, traversing the wooded edge of Strawberry Plains, runs down the river to Malvern Hill, and beyond. As we have said, the camps of our brigade were on Deep Bottom. To the left of our works a field extended for a distance, reaching back from the river and over the brow of a long rise at some distance from the river. The Confederates established an outlook on the farther slope of this hill, just peeping over it, from which to shell our gunboats, but they made little resistance to our advance, abandoning the position at our approach. Their main works were beyond this position, and were screened from our observation by woods which thickened towards the river as they extended east until a thick woods ran close to our works, running all along Deep Bottom and up along Bailey's Creek, the bluff we occupied having been hewn out of this forest growth by our axemen. Our picket line extended from the creek through the woods, then swung back through the field on the left of the river. Near the mouth of Four Mile Creek, at a point near the river road we maintained a force of observation.

The following description appears in the history of the 24th Massachusetts Regiment, written by Col. Francis A. Osborn, while his regiment was encamped there:

We are encamped on a bluff about forty feet above the water, on a little plain stretching away to our left along the bank of the river, and bounded at some distance by a thick wood. In front of the camp the plain dips into a little valley, then undulating once or twice rises to a hill, a little higher than we are, upon which are our intrenchments. Beyond, another little valley and another rise to a level table-land, bounded at a mile distant by woods. Our pickets occupy this nearer edge of the table-land, resting at one point at a house prettily situated, and surrounded by fine trees. There is another house on the left where we have cavalry vedettes, at which we found an ice-house filled with indifferent ice, which has proved quite a luxury. The enemy's pickets are in the woods, about one and a half miles from the camp, but they are very quiet.

The river is very pretty, winding in tortuous course through the highland, and enlivened by the presence of two and sometimes three gunboats and the constant passage of tugs and schooners. We cross on a pontoon bridge just below. * * * Oh, the dust! It is pulverized so as to be almost impalpable, and rises at a breath. Wherever it touches, it leaves a yellow stain. We eat, drink, and breathe it constantly. Morris Island was bad enough, but there the dust was sand, which shook off easily, and even seemed to cleanse one's clothes. St. Helena was horrible, but this is far worse. It is impossible to keep free from it and it deadens and almost destroys the sense of cleanliness.

A further brief description of Deep Bottom is given in Gen. Fran. Walker's History of the Second Army Corps, as follows:
The bridges across the James at this point (Deep Bottom) were two, one above and one below the mouth of Bailey's Creek. This creek is about five miles long, running due South to the James. In its course it crosses three important roads. These are the Darbytown or Central Road (which it crosses at Fussell's Mill), and the Long Bridge and River Roads, the latter two running into the New Market Road beyond the creek. From the line of the creek to Richmond is about twelve miles.

The 85th Regiment left the Bermuda Hundred camp at the head of the First Brigade of the First Division, 10th Corps, at 11 p. m., Saturday night, August 13, crossed the James River on the upper pontoon-bridge at Deep Bottom, and went into bivouac shortly after two o'clock, Sunday morning, August 14, near the Grover house, on the left of the road leading from the river known as the Kingsland road, and over a mile to the left of Four-Mile Creek. The night of August 13, the night the Regiment moved from Bermuda Hundred, is described by the historian of the 10th Connecticut Regiment then stationed at Deep Bottom, as follows:

On the evening of the 19th our regiment went on picket. * * * We picketed the woods from Bailey's Creek toward the left. Our picket line, with its reserves, was really a heavy skirmish line. * * * In the night, a sultry one, with little air stirring anywhere, none at all in the woods, so that we of the picket line were all restless and wakeful from the heat, we could hear the rumble of artillery wagons crossing the bridges from the south shore, and the trampling of a host of cavalry horses as they took the same roads. We could not tell by which bridge they were crossing. The sound was evidently deadened by hay that had been strewn over the bridges, but still the dull roar of artillery wheels and the clattering of iron-shod hoofs came clearly to our ears, and then after a time there was a continual screeching of boat whistles, indicating that a large number of steamers were gathering along our river front. What it meant we did not really know. * * * Still, some sturdyly contended for a time that what we were hearing was but the arrival of a relieving force. But as the artillery rolled, and the horses tramped, and the whistles blew, it became plain to these even that the crossing force was much too large for a mere relieving one. There could be but one other meaning—for we knew the signs of the times—and we went to sleep, those that did sleep, with the firm conviction that when we woke it would be to fall into line to learn what sort of soldiers occupied the rebeldom in our immediate front. The knowledge would cost, that we well knew; but what has a soldier to do with cost? And few if any of our sleepers let the prospect of a fight in the morning disturb their rest. And judging by reason, and our experience the next morning, it is more than probable that the pickets of the enemy were equally well informed of the prospect for the morning, for what we could hear so plainly could hardly escape their watchful attention. They not only heard and judged rightly, but passed the word back to their line of battle.

The march from the Bermuda Hundred camp had been quite fatiguing as the night was sultry and oppressively hot, and although all signs indicated an early contest with a strongly fortified enemy, both officers and men were soon in the "land of dreams" from which they were rudely awakened before the break of day. Before they had succeeded in getting breakfast ready, or performing their morning ablutions, the skirmishers of Foster's brigade opened fire on the outposts of the enemy and the Regiment was hurried forward in the direction of the firing line, but before reaching it the direction was changed, the other regiments of Howell's brigade preceding it, in order to form line of battle connecting with
the left of Foster's brigade. A miscalculation of the distance caused a portion of the right wing of the Regiment in advancing on the enemy's works to become merged with the left wing of the 1st Maryland (dismounted) Cavalry of Foster's brigade. During the time the other regiments of the brigade were forming the Regiment engaged the enemy, who occupied a fortified position from behind an embankment along the New Market road. But a few rounds had been fired when a division staff officer came riding up and gave orders to charge the enemy's position. This was done at a double-quick pace and with cheers, the men, under a heavy fire, rushing over the enemy's advanced fortified position, continued to advance until they came within range of the main works of the enemy on New Market Heights. Here they were permitted to get breakfast and take a brief rest.

In this charge the Regiment had 18 casualties: 1st Lieut. William T. Campbell and Private Samuel H. Immell, Company K, and Sergt. James R. Peters, Company E, were instantly killed, and ten or twelve men wounded; among the latter were two who kept a daily record of the principal events occurring in the Regiment, and whose diaries have been constantly referred to in the compilation of this volume, viz.: 1st Sergt. James A. Swearer, Company C, and Corp. Crawford H. Scott, Company I, both of whom are still living at this writing. Sergt. Swearer's wound was slight, a spent musket ball striking his knee cap, causing severe pain for a time, but not causing him to leave his place at the head of the company. Corp. Scott's wound was quite serious, a musket ball passing through his left lung, between the fourth and fifth ribs and which remains in his body to this day. The charge of Howell's brigade on the morning of August 14, is described in the New York Herald, in its issue of August 17, 1864, by its regular correspondent, William H. Merriam, as follows:

The several divisions of the Corps arrived at Deep Bottom, and crossed the bridge between two and three o'clock this morning where they disposed themselves for rest and comfort until daybreak and the hour of attack. Preliminary skirmishing attendant upon getting the troops of the Corps in position, prevailed from daylight until about seven o'clock. When everything was ready for a more imposing demonstration on the enemy by the divisions of the Corps under the command of Gen. A. H. Terry and Brig. Gen. William Birney. * * * When the hour of attack arrived two brigades of the Tenth Corps, situated respectively on the right and left of our line, made a splendid and most courageous charge * * * upon the enemy, who were present in force, and in front of a belt of woods running nearly parallel to the redoubt Weed * * * and about a mile from the upper pontoon bridge. The charge which was made through an open field was a grand one, and resulted in handsomely driving the enemy out of position on his outer line of works, capturing upwards of a hundred prisoners, and leaving a large number of dead and wounded on the field. Our entire loss throughout in killed, wounded and prisoners is about fifty. * * * The scene was a truly inspiring one—the charge, the reorganization of the troops and the taking of a new position, occupying quite an hour. The charge on the right was made in line of battle by the gallant old Eighty-fifth Pennsylvania, the 67th Ohio * * * 62d Ohio * * * and the 39th Illinois, all dashing regiments and all equal to such attacks.

During the afternoon and early part of the night of August 14, the Regiment made several short moves. At dark a heavy rain set in, continuing for several
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hours, thoroughly drenching the men and adding to the difficulties of a night's march. About midnight the Regiment moved to the right of the Second Corps, crossing Four Mile Creek and taking position near the crossing of the Quaker and River roads, fully three miles from its former position near the New Market Heights. Here the men bivouacked until 9 a.m., August 15, when the Regiment moved about three miles up the Quaker road, halting about one o'clock near a point designated as Craddocks. 100 men under command of Capt. R. P. Hughes were sent forward as skirmishers to support the pickets of the Second Corps, already in position at this point, where they remained until after dark, when they returned to the Regiment which was still in bivouac along the Quaker road near Craddocks. In advancing to the position occupied by Capt. Hughes, Private Dennis Farrell, Company A, was instantly killed and Private Andrew Caleb Lynn, Company I, was mortally wounded, his death occurring on August 21. Musician Lemuel Thomas of Company C, was on duty with Surgeon Kurtz of the Regiment assisting in caring for the wounded. Surgeon Kurtz was standing with an arm resting against a tree when a cannon ball from a battery of the enemy ricocheted, striking the heel of his shoe and then bounded to the head of Musician Thomas, fracturing his skull from which he died the following day. Although painfully wounded by the enemy's missile Surgeon Kurtz remained on duty. Maj. Abraham was also wounded at the place of bivouac by a bullet from a spherical case shot, disabling him for duty, although the wound was not dangerous.

The Regiment remained near Craddock's, along the Quaker road until about 9 a.m., when it moved to support the right of Foster's brigade which was then skirmishing with the enemy in the woods to the right of Fussell's Mill and but a short distance from the enemy's breastworks. When the enemy's skirmishers had retired behind his fortifications Gen. Foster's skirmishers were withdrawn leaving the Regiment in the most advanced position, about a half mile to the right of Fussell's Mill, within 100 yards of the enemy's fortified position, but concealed from his view by a dense woods. Immediately to the left of the Regiment was the 62d Ohio, and on the left of that the 39th Illinois. The three regiments were formed in double column at half distance, and four companies of the 67th Ohio (the only portion of that Regiment present) were deployed as skirmishers in advance. The leading column of the Regiment was commanded by Capt. Hughes, acting as lieutenant-colonel, and the second column by Capt. Phillips, acting as major. Capt. Hooker of the Regiment, acting as assistant adjutant-general of the brigade, brought the order to Lieut. Col. Campbell to charge the enemy's works, which was immediately done, the men moving forward at a right-shoulder-shift arms, Capt. Hooker tendering his services to Lieut. Col. Campbell, and accompanying the Regiment in the charge upon the enemy's works.

As the Regiment emerged from the woods it received a deadly fire from the enemy's breastworks then distant only fifty yards. A momentary halt was made, due as much to an abatis of slashed timber, as to the fire of the enemy. Capt. Hughes shouted "Forward!" and stimulated the men to cheering, and without another pause, in two or three minutes the Regiment was within the enemy's
works, some of the men having a hand to hand conflict with some of the most courageous and excited of the enemy. The Regiment succeeded in capturing and sending to the rear as many of the enemy as its own ranks numbered at the beginning of the engagement. Three stands of colors were captured, one by Company B, one by Company E, and one by Company F; Corp. John S. Shallenberger of the former Company and Private William E. Leonard of the latter, exhibiting conspicuous courage in capturing these flags, and for which they were each subsequently awarded a Medal of Honor. Corp. William E. Chick, Company I, during the charge, captured a valuable horse belonging to an officer of the enemy. Sergt. John M. Moore, Company K, and Corp. Alexander M. Ross, Company A, color bearers of the Regiment, kept the colors at the front during the charge, and acquitted themselves in a most gallant manner throughout the day.

When Lieut. Col. Campbell received orders to make the charge he was also directed, if successful in carrying the enemy's works, to halt immediately after taking possession of the works, change direction to the right and deploy so as to cover the left, the Regiment being on the extreme right of the assaulting columns. The slashed timber, the heavy losses in the ranks of the Regiment, and the excitement of the charge made this impossible, the men not engaged in hand to hand conflict with the more resolute of the enemy, were pursuing the fleeing ones in different directions, making captives and, in doing so, making free use of the bayonet. The enemy in position to the right of the works carried by the Regiment, having been free from attack in his front was advancing on the Regiment when Gen. Terry, who had just arrived at this point to take observations, gave orders to have the 7th New Hampshire Regiment of Hawley's brigade, advanced to protect the right flank. Before the charge on the enemy's works the Regiment had in ranks 201 men. During the charge more than one-third of this number were killed, and wounded, the Regiment also losing seven officers in the charge. The losses were as follows:

Field and Staff: Wounded, Adjutant David W. Shields.


Company F—Killed: Sergt. Alonzo Lightner, Corp. Thomas P. Rogers; Mortally wounded: Capt. Levi M. Rogers (died Sept. 4/64); Wounded: 1st Lieut. Elmore A. Rus-

Company G—Mortally wounded: Sergt. Myers P. Titus (died Nov. 2/64), Sergt. Francis M. Rush (died Aug. 19/64), Corp. James Sturgis (died Nov. 5/64); Wounded: Corp. Hiram Gooden; Privates Lindsay Black, William A. Graham, Benjamin Titus.


The heavy loss of the Regiment in making the charge on the enemy's works, the number of men required to take charge of the prisoners, and the number of men of the first column under Capt. Hughes, who continued pursuing the fleeing enemy, left Lieut. Col. Campbell with less than fifty men to defend the right flank of the captured position. Just at this moment Gen. Terry arrived at this point and by his direction the 7th New Hampshire was ordered to take position at this point. Lieut. Col. Campbell being mounted tendered his services as aide to Gen. Terry, and served in that capacity until dark, the command of the Regiment devolving upon Capt. Hughes. While acting as aide-de-camp to Gen. Terry, Lieut. Col. Campbell reported the condition of the Regiment to the corps commander, Maj. Gen. Birney, and the latter immediately ordered the 9th U. S. Colored Regiment to be sent forward to relieve the Regiment, but before the latter regiment had arrived, the enemy had made an attack on the left in overwhelming force, and shortly afterwards the brigade was forced to retire, the enemy regaining possession of his former position between 4 and 5 p.m., the Regiment, the 9th U. S. Colored and 7th Massachusetts, of Hawley's brigade, being the last to retire. The historian of the 7th New Hampshire Regiment describes the scene presented to this regiment as it advanced over the position charged by the 85th Regiment, as follows:

The Confederates held their works until our men were on top of their parapets, and then retreated to their next line of defenses. We were then advanced to the front and right for the purpose of protecting the right flank. As we passed through the slashing it seemed by the number we noticed that there was a dead or wounded man for every tree, and while we were holding the earthworks just captured, the rebels made two assaults for the purpose of retaking this line, but failed to dislodge us; but we were soon out-flanked, and were ordered to fall back, the bullets at that time coming from three directions.

Howell's brigade, after falling back from the captured position, formed on the left of Hawley's brigade. However, about dark the Regiment was advanced to within 300 yards of the position it had been forced to abandon and threw up rifle-pits, remaining there during the night. During the next afternoon, August 17, the dead left on the battle-field of the previous day, were removed under flag of truce. On the morning of the 18th, Col. Howell having returned from his twenty-day furlough, assumed command of the brigade. Owing to the illness of
Col. F. B. Pond, who commanded the brigade during Col. Howell's absence, Col. A. C. Voris, 67th Ohio Regiment, assumed command of the brigade on the 16th, immediately after the enemy's works had been carried. About 9 p. m., on the 18th, the enemy advanced along the entire front of the brigade and division, but met with such a warm reception as to quickly retire. Three or four hours later, about 1 a. m. on the 19th, the brigade changed position, moving two or three miles to the right, the Regiment halting near Malvern Hill, and taking position alongside a road leading from there to New Market Heights, near the latter point being where the Regiment engaged the enemy on the 14th. While at this position the following orders of congratulation were issued from corps headquarters:

**Headquarters Tenth Army Corps.**

**In the Field, Fussell's Mill, Va., August 19, 1864.**

General Orders, No. 25:

The major-general commanding congratulates the Tenth Army Corps on its success. It has on each occasion, when ordered, broken the enemy's strong lines, and has captured, during the short campaign, 4 siege guns, protected by the most formidable works, 6 colors, and many prisoners. It has proved itself worthy of its old Wagner and Sumter renown. Much fatigue, patience and heroism may still be demanded of it, but the major-general commanding is confident of the response. To the colored troops recently added to us and fighting with us the major-general commanding tenders his thanks for their uniform good conduct and soldiery bearing, setting a good example to our veterans by the entire absence of straggling on the march.

By command of Maj. Gen. D. B. Birney,

Ed. W. Smith,
Assistant Adjutant General.

(O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 325.)

The Regiment remained at this position near Malvern Hill until dusk, August 20, when with the brigade it recrossed the James River on the lower pontoon bridge about 11 p. m., arriving at its old camp at Bermuda Hundred on Sunday morning, August 21, at the break of day. The activities of the Regiment from August 13-20 are described in the official report of Lieut. Col. Campbell, as follows:

I have the honor to make the following report of the part taken by the 85th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers Infantry, in the operations at Deep Bottom and other points north of the James River, from the 14th to the 20th of August, 1864:

Col. Howell being absent north on a short leave of absence, the command of the brigade devolved upon Col. Pond. On the 13th of August I received orders from Col. Pond to be ready to move from camp at Bermuda Hundred at sundown of that day. At 11 p. m. I was ordered to march and take the road leading to Deep Bottom, Va. Being on the right of the brigade and division, of course, I had the advance of the column. I reached Deep Bottom in the morning about 2 o'clock and was ordered to move out toward the Grover house and bivouac in the woods just in rear of Gen. Foster's picket-line. On reaching that point the men were ordered to lie on their arms and rest until daylight. Just at dawn and before the men had time to prepare breakfast shots were heard in front, and I received orders from Col. Pond to form line and move forward and support our pickets, who were attacking those of the enemy. After moving forward some distance I received
orders to follow the movements of the brigade by the left flank. This I did until I found myself nearly clear of Gen. Foster's brigade, when I was ordered to halt, communicate with Gen. Foster's left, and keep even with his line, and informed that the rest of the First Brigade would guide its movements by mine. I immediately found Col. Evans, commanding the 1st Maryland (dismounted) Cavalry, the left regiment of Gen. Foster's brigade, and informed him that I was to keep connection with his left, and for that purpose had moved up to within fifty yards of the New Market road, across which his men were briskly skirmishing with the enemy behind a line of rifle-pits. I discovered here that instead of being clear of Gen. Foster's left nearly my whole right was in rear of Col. Evans. This I communicated to Col. Pond and he told me not to change my position but to support Col. Evans. Col. Evans told me that he was ordered to conform his movements to those on his right, and that he was as far advanced at that time as the line on his right.

I then made my men lie down in the field, but shortly afterward moved them up to the road even with Col. Evans' line and took part in the skirmishing on his left. In a few moments after I reached the road Capt. Brooks, of Gen. Terry's staff, came up with orders to charge the rebel line. Col. Evans and I both gave the order at once to advance. The men charged at double-quick with a loud cheer. The other regiments on my left quickly followed the movement and we swept over, under a heavy fire of musketry, the whole line of the rebel pits without any further check until we halted before his main works on New Market Heights. The First Brigade, having been formed in echelon with the right, advanced; great numbers of the enemy escaped who would have been taken prisoners if the left had been on a line with the right, but the left, having a dense woods to penetrate and being in the rear at the start, could not reach the enemy in time to make any prisoners or to catch those driven from the right.

As the First Brigade formed the left of the whole line of battle that day, the enemy had a fair opportunity to escape to our left, and great numbers did so. In this affair I lost 1 officer (the gallant and lamented Lieut. Campbell) and three men killed and 10 wounded. It was now about 10 a. m. The enemy was within his main works and the men were allowed to rest themselves and prepare breakfast. After making several short moves during the afternoon and early part of the night, I was ordered about midnight to get under arms and follow Gen. Foster's brigade. Rain set in about dark and continued incessantly until shortly before I received orders to move, by which time it had completely done its work and everybody was thoroughly soaked in the "tears of heaven." I followed Gen. Foster, and crossing Four-Mile Creek, continued to march to the right of the Second Corps, near the crossing of the River and Quaker roads. Next morning, Monday, August 15, I received orders to take up the line of march about 9 o'clock, and moving up the Quaker road halted near Craddock's, about three miles beyond the middle road, at 1 o'clock. Here I was ordered by Col. Pond to send forward 100 men as skirmishers to support the pickets of the Second Corps, already in position. I placed Capt. Hughes in command, and sent them forward to the line, where they remained until after dark that night. In going out to his position the captain lost two men mortally and two men slightly wounded. I recalled him at 8 p. m., and he returned without further loss. At this point Maj. Abraham was wounded by a small bullet from a spherical case-shot, and disabled from duty, though not seriously wounded. About 9 a. m. of the 16th I was ordered to get under arms and move to the right. I moved about half a mile and was then ordered to form line of battle and move forward to the support of the right of Gen. Foster, who was in the woods driving the enemy's skirmishers, preparatory to a charge on his works.

When the enemy's skirmishers were driven in I found that I was about half a mile to the right of Russell's Mill and 100 yards from the enemy's works, just hidden from his sight by the dense woods. Gen. Foster's skirmishers were then withdrawn, and I was ordered to form column, double on the center, and storm the works in my front. A portion of the Second Corps (Col. Brady's brigade) was protecting my right, but was
not to take part in the assault. The 62d Ohio was on my left, formed in double column
and to the left of that the 89th Illinois, formed in the same way. All of the 67th Ohio,
under Col. Voris, which was present (being only two or three companies) was deployed
as skirmishers in front. I formed the double column, Capt. Hughes having the leading
division, acting as lieutenant-colonel; Capt. Phillips the last, acting as major. I had just
201 men in the column. Capt. Hooker, 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, acting assistant
adjutant-general, came up and gave me Col. Pond's orders to take the enemy's works and
immediately form my line of battle to the right, the troops in my rear and on my left
to push the enemy along his works to our left, while I was to take care of such as
might be on our right. He then reported to me, saying that he would go into the charge
along with the Regiment, which he did, acquitting himself very gallantly, but unfortunately
receiving a very severe wound in the foot toward the close of the action. After commu-
nicating the orders I received from Capt. Hooker to every officer in the Regiment,
as I thought (although it seems Capt. Hughes did not understand them), I told Capt.
Hughes to allow nothing to stop him, and to move as quickly as possible, bearing a little
to the right if he could avoid the slashing by so doing. At the command "forward!" I
advanced. On emerging from the woods into the slashing the enemy poured into our
ranks, from a distance of about fifty yards, the heaviest and deadliest fire I have ever
witnessed. The first division went down like so many ten-pins. Capt. Hughes halted but
for a moment, shouting "forward!" to his men. The whole column raising a deafening
cheer, in three minutes we were in the midst of the densely packed rebels in their works,
fighting hand to hand with such as still had fight in them, and sending to the rear such
as surrendered, numbering about 200. Three stand of colors were here captured, one
by Company B (Lieut. Dial), one by Company E (Capt. Watkins), and one by Private
Leonard (Company F). On my left the 62d Ohio Volunteer Infantry, under Maj.
Kohler, and the 89th Illinois, temporarily under the command of Maj. Butler, of the
67th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, were not a whit behind me.

It was now my concern to form my line to our right, as my orders directed. The
lines of the Regimental divisions were necessarily much broken by the slashing and the
enemy's fire. The rebels were running in all directions and my [men] nearly crazy with
excitement. The enemy was firing rapidly from a considerable distance on my right
directly up the trench, and I saw at once the necessity of forming my line to meet him
in that direction, according to my orders. Capt. Hughes, as I mentioned before, states
that he did not receive my order to stop at the works and form his line to the right.
He pushed out after the enemy, and every man of the Regiment as fast as he came over
the works struck out for the first rebel he saw, and either made him prisoner, chased
him off, or entered into combat with him. The rebels fought desperately, this being the
only time during the war that I ever knew the 85th to use the bayonet in actual collision.
Just at that moment Capt. Phillips was the only officer near me, the most of them
having gone off in the excitement, like the men, in hot pursuit of the foe. By great
exertions I succeeded, with Capt. Phillips' assistance, in collecting about fifty men and
forming them to meet the enemy on the right, who, not finding any attack on his front,
was already advancing on us down the trench. Just then Gen. Terry came up, and on
my telling him that most of my men had scattered off to the left, he ordered the 7th
New Hampshire to form the line to the right and me to collect my Regiment. The
general's staff being absent from him carrying orders, and I being mounted, I offered my
services to the general to carry any orders he might have to send and assist him in his
disposition of our troops, now coming into the works. He accepted my services and
desired me to remain near him. I then directed Capt. Phillips to collect such men of
the 85th as he could, and form them at a point I indicated to him within the works. I
had exchanged a few words with Capt. Mason (assistant adjutant-general to the rebel
Gen. Field), wounded and captured by my men, who told me they had 15,000 men coming
down on us from the left. This I communicated to Gen. Terry, and he directed me to
inform Maj. Gen. Birney of the fact and request re-enforcements. I immediately went to Gen. Birney, and he ordered me to take the 9th U. S. Colored Troops, Lieut. Col. Armstrong commanding, and relieve my Regiment with it. I did so, and guided Col. Armstrong within the line of works directly on the right of the point at which the 85th had stormed them. This was the only colored regiment which came within sight of the rebel works during the fight. By the time Col. Armstrong got into position the enemy had driven our men back from the left and were swarming down upon the line which Col. Howell's brigade had taken and still held. I may just say here that in front of Gen. Foster, who was on the left of the First Brigade, was a ravine with perpendicular banks which it was impossible to scale. Consequently, the general did not go over the enemy's line directly in his front, but sent his forces, or a part of them, around by the flank into their works.

Our troops now fought valiantly to hold what they had gained, but as there was no attack made at any other point of the line the enemy could give us his undivided attention, and at 4 p. m. we left his works to his own possession. As to who left them last there is of course the controversy usual in such cases. I believe there was very little difference between the 7th New Hampshire, 9th Colored, 6th Connecticut, 85th Pennsylvania, 62d Ohio and 39th Illinois, but I do know this, that Col. Little, 11th Georgia Regiment, told me the next evening, under a flag of truce, that he did not expect any of us to leave, for, he said, troops that could take those works, manned as they were, could never be driven from any place. He told me he had been ordered to lead off in the effort to drive us out, and, said he, "I will tell you frankly I did not like the job." About dark Gen. Terry relieved me from duty on his staff and I rejoined my Regiment, which had been relieved from the first line, together with the rest of Col. Howell's brigade, in order to give an opportunity for rest and refreshment. Shortly afterward I was ordered forward to assist in throwing up a line of defense about 300 yards distant from the enemy. All was quiet during the night, and the next day (17th) I was ordered to occupy a position on our line of works directly in rear of the action of the day before. Here, on my right, were the 7th and 9th Colored Regiments, and this is the only line of works which any colored regiment except the 9th occupied in these operations.

During the 17th and until about 9 p. m. of the 18th, nothing of importance occurred. At that time, however, the enemy moved forward a line of battle merely, I believe, to find out whether we were still in the neighborhood, and extending to the right and left some distance. The pickets were driven in and the rebels came on slowly. As soon as some of them appeared in view a sheet of devouring fire swept from Foster's front far down on the left, along the line of Col. Howell's brigade, and extending off on the right along the front of the colored troops, died away in the Second Corps. The woods were cleared of the enemy in an instant and our pickets re-occupied their former posts without opposition. Col. Howell, having returned from the north on the night of the 17th instant, at once assumed command of the brigade, relieving Col. Voris, 67th Ohio Volunteers Infantry, Col. Pond, having been taking sick on the night of the 16th. Col. Howell, present on the ground, seemed just in his element. Moving up and down the lines in the highest spirits, with a lively and encouraging word for all, he inspired the troops with his own high-toned and ardent courage to a degree that bid triumphant defiance to the whole rebel army.

Nothing of importance occurred during the march to the right of the army on the night of the 18th or the delay there until the night of the 20th, when, after a hard march, I reached the old camp at Bermuda Hundred just at daybreak of the 21st. The officers and men under my command behaved with the greatest gallantry, showing a patience and endurance under fatigue and a contempt of danger beyond all praise. My especial thanks are due to Captains Phillips and Hughes for their heroic bearing during the whole of the movement. No man could have led the charge of the 16th better than Capt.
Hughes did or have seconded a charge better than Capt. Phillips. Capt. Hooker distinguished himself highly by his daring and eager courage and activity, and although only with me for a short time on the 16th rendered me very valuable assistance.

I take pleasure in bringing to notice the gallantry of Private W. Edward Leonard, Company F, who brought off the colors of a Georgia regiment in the heat of the action, and of Corp. W. Edward Chick, Company I, who was amongst the foremost in the charge and captured the horse of a rebel officer. The color bearers, Sergt. J. M. Moore and Corp. A. M. Ross, selected for bravery amongst brave men, acquitted themselves with most distinguished gallantry. (*O. R., Vol. XLII, part I, pp. 697-702.)*

This report of Col. Campbell is addressed to Capt. R. O. Phillips, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General, Col. Howell's Brigade. In submitting the reports of the regiments of the First Brigade of the operations during his absence, and immediately following his return, to division headquarters, Col. Howell, under date of August 30, 1864, said:

I have the honor respectfully to transmit the reports of the commanding officers of the regiments of the First Brigade, First Division, 10th Army Corps (which it is my happiness and which I have the honor to command), of the gallant and glorious operations of the brigade, from the 14th to the 20th of this instant.

It was not my privilege to be with the brigade and to share with the noble and brave officers and soldiers in the heroic deeds of the 14th and 16th—deeds which have covered them and their respective regiments and the brigade and the division to which they belong with honor, credit, and glory, as lasting as the everlasting hills from which some of them come. I must, therefore, respectfully refer the brigadier-general commanding to the reports of the officers commanding the brigades and the regiments during that time for the information he desires. I returned from my short leave of absence (granted to me to recruit my health and strength) on the morning of the 18th at 1 o'clock. I reported to you, Captain, at once, and immediately proceeded to the front, and relieved my brave and gallant friend, Col. Voris, who was in command of the brigade, he having succeeded Col. Pond, who was sick. In the evening of the 18th (I believe about 8 o'clock) the enemy moved down upon our line. They were met at once, and with determination, and driven back. The short fight that then and there occurred was lively and beautiful, creditable to the officers and men of the brigade; highly so. We reached our old camps at Bermuda Hundred at about daybreak on the morning of the 21st instant.

The officers and enlisted men of my brigade were all distinguished for courage and gallantry—many dead; many wounded. The sorrow of the crushed and aching hearts at home for the dead will be soothed and comforted by the glory and gallantry that encircle the deaths and graves of the fallen. They died for the old flag and for their country; they died nobly.

I respectfully refer the brigadier-general commanding to the reports of the brigade and regimental commanders for the instances of especial gallantry and courage, where all behaved so well. I feel a pride in belonging to the First Division and to the Tenth Army Corps, and I congratulate my country and the service in having leaders so distinguished for skill and gallantry as are at the head of this corps and division. (*O. R., Vol. XLII, part I, pp. 686-687.*)

The operations of the brigade from August 14, until the arrival of Col. Howell on the morning of August 18, are given in the official reports of the temporary commanders of the brigade, Colonels Francis B. Pond, 62d Ohio Regiment, and Col. A. C. Voris, 67th Ohio Regiment. Col. Pond's report was as follows:
Owing to the temporary absence of Col. J. B. Howell, commanding brigade, the command devolved on me. About 3 p.m. of the 13th of August I received orders to hold my command in readiness to move at a moment's notice, and at about 11 a.m. my command, consisting of the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, 39th Illinois Volunteers, 62d Ohio, and 67th Ohio (four companies of the 67th), took up their line of march, moved forward until they came near Gen. Foster's picket-line, at about 3 a.m., of the 14th of August, when regiments in line of battle were formed on the Deep Bottom road to rest on their arms. Skirmishing commenced on our front at daybreak, when the brigade was ordered to move by the left flank across the river road, so that its right should rest as near as possible on the left of Gen. Foster's line. The brigade was then formed in echelon by battalion, on the first battalion, at thirty paces, and moved forward until it approached near the skirt of the timber, where it was halted and the regiments formed in line of battle, except the 85th Pennsylvania, who held their original position, thirty paces in front and right of the balance of the brigade. At about 9 a.m. the order was given to charge across the field in front and carry the enemy's rifle-pits, which was successfully done, with trifling loss to us and with several prisoners from the enemy. After resting the men and enabling them to get their breakfast the command was directed to move to the right, resting on the left of Col. Coan's brigade. After several preliminary movements, about 11 a.m. the brigade took up its line of march to the right of the Second Corps, halting near the crossing of the River and Quaker roads.

Monday morning, August 15, the command took up its line of march and moved forward about three miles beyond the middle road; arrived at this point about 1 a.m., of the 15th. Here 100 men were ordered forward under Capt. Hughes, 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, to support the picket of the Second Corps already in position. About 9 a.m. of the 16th the brigade again moved forward to support Gen. Foster's command, who were directed to carry the enemy's line of rifle-pits in our immediate front; halted in a ravine and in about half an hour again moved forward until we passed the point where Gen. Foster's command had successfully carried the enemy's line of rifle-pits, when, by direction of Gen. Terry, who was on the ground, the four companies of the 67th Ohio, under command of Col. Voris, were deployed in the immediate front of the remaining regiments of the brigade as skirmishers, and the three remaining regiments doubled in column at half distance were ordered, the skirmishers leading, to carry the enemy's works in our immediate front. The men moved forward at a right shoulder-shift arms, the 85th Pennsylvania on the right, Lieut. Col. Campbell commanding; next the 62d Ohio, Maj. Kahler commanding; next the 39th Ill., Capt. Baker commanding. Reached the edge of the slashing in front of the enemy's works, when the enemy poured into our front a withering fire, carrying with it almost every man in the front division of each regiment. The command moved steadily forward and carried the enemy's works. The first time I ever saw this brigade fighting hand to hand, bayonet to bayonet, over breastworks, was that day. The enemy fought desperately inside their breastworks, but nothing could withstand the determined valor of our men, who swept over them like a tornado, capturing about 300 prisoners. We held their works so taken until about 4 p.m., when, being flanked on our left, we were compelled to retire, which was done, and the command formed, by order of Gen. Terry, on the left of Col. Hawley's brigade.

During the skirmish of the 14th and the charge of the 16th I have to regret the loss of many brave officers and men, among whom I desire to notice the following officers: First Lieut. W. T. Campbell, 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers; * * * Among the wounded, Capt. George H. Hooker, 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, acting assistant adjutant-general, First Brigade; First Lieut. A. S. Dial, Company B, * * *; Capt. Lewis Watkins, Company E, * * *; Maj. I. M. Abraham and Adjt. D. W. Shields, * * *; Capt. L. M. Rogers and First Lieut. E. A. Russell, Company F, 85th Pennsylvania; Missing: Capt. W. W. Kerr, 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers.

It would be invidious, in my opinion, to mention the conduct of the living unwounded, where all did so well, but I cannot refrain from mentioning the conduct of my personal
staff during the expedition, as well as that of those officers whose names appear hereafter. Capt. George H. Hooker, 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, acting assistant adjutant-general, First Brigade, badly wounded, and I fear permanently disabled, wounded once before at Fair Oaks, conducted himself beyond all praise; Capt. R. W. Dawson, acting assistant inspector-general and Lieut. S. McGregor, aide-de-camp, First Brigade, rendered to me such aid during all this expedition, and especially under the terrific fire of the 16th and in reorganizing the force after the charge, by direction of Gen. Terry, as I shall never forget. To the officers commanding regiments, Col. A. C. Voris, 67th Ohio; Lieut. Col. Campbell, 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, * * * and Capt. R. P. Hughes, 85th Pennsylvania * * * I owe thanks for eminently efficient service wherever their duty called them. On the morning of the 18th I was relieved from the command of the brigade by the fortunate return of Col. J. B. Howell, our old brigade commander. * * *

When I ordered the charge on the 16th, the 85th Pennsylvania was ordered, when successfully having carried the enemy's works in their front, to change direction to the right and deploy so as to cover the right of the command in the enemy's works. The 62d Ohio and 39th Illinois were ordered to change direction to the left, after having carried the works as above mentioned, and deploy so as to cover the left and take as many of the enemy as possible. Here most of the prisoners were taken, but such was the excitement of the men that after passing the enemy's works the control of the officers over them almost entirely ceased and the only impulse was "forward." I am informed that some one countermanded the orders given to me with regard to the disposition of the regiments in my command in this regard. If such is the case, who it was I cannot now state. This charge was made by about 750 men of my brigade of whom as enlisted men were the losses as follows: 85th Pennsylvania, 79 enlisted men killed, wounded, and missing, and 7 commissioned officers; 62d Ohio, 15 killed, 42 wounded, including 3 commissioned officers, 6 missing; 39th Illinois, 104 killed, wounded, and missing * * *; 67th Ohio, 41 killed, wounded, and missing. * * *

P. S. I should state that from the evening of the 16th until the return of Col. Howell, owing to my temporary indisposition, arising from excessive heat, the command of the brigade devolved temporarily on Col. A. C. Voris, 67th Ohio Volunteer Infantry. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part I, pp. 687-689.)

Col. Voris' report was as follows:

I assumed command of the brigade by order of Gen. Terry at 4 p. m. of the 16th, and remained in command thereof till the morning of the 18th, when I was relieved by Col. Howell, its ranking officer. I have not thought it necessary to make special report of the operations of the brigade during this term, as no action took place other than affairs on the picket-line. I might say that this time was full of anxiety to the men, as we were in close proximity to the enemy and at any moment liable to attack. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part I, p. 696.)

Recognition of the valor of Corp. Shallenberger and Private Leonard was shown as follows:

HEADQUARTERS DEPT. OF VA. & N. C.,
IN THE FIELD, SEPT. 13, 1864.

General Orders
No. 107

Three (3) battle flags taken from the enemy by the 10th Army Corps in the assault upon the enemy's works August 16, 1864, at Deep Run, have been forwarded to these headquarters by Maj. Gen. Birney, commanding. They were captured, respectively, by Corporal John S. Shallenberger, Company B, 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, Private William E. Leonard, Company F, 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, and Private Henry M. Hardenber,
Company G, 39th Illinois Volunteers. The Major-General Commanding Department is proud to acknowledge the gallantry of these soldiers, and to make honorable mention of their conduct as an example for their comrades. Their names will be forwarded to the Honorable the Secretary of War, as candidates for medals of honor for distinguished services. Major-General Birney is charged with inquiring into the attainments and soldierly qualifications of these soldiers, Leonard and Shallenberger, and if found worthy, to recommend them to the Commanding General for promotion. Private Hardenberg has already been promoted to a Lieutenancy, and fell while daringly doing his duty on the second day afterward.

By command of Major-General Butler,

R. S. Davis,
Major and Asst. Adjt. Genl.

The itinerary of the First Division, from August 13-20, as made from daily returns:

August 13. The First and Second Brigades left the intrenchments in front of Bermuda Hundred at 11 p.m. for Deep Bottom.

August 14. Arrived in the morning and found the Third Brigade already there. Attacked the enemy near the Kingsland road just after daybreak and carried the rifle-pits and intrenchments, taking 71 prisoners. In the afternoon a portion of the division again successfully attacked the enemy and captured a battery with four guns. At night moved to Strawberry Plains.

August 15. Advanced beyond Long Bridge road to Deep Run.

August 16. Attacked and carried the enemy's works at Deep Run, capturing about 800 prisoners and 6 battle-flags.

August 18. Attacked near Deep Run by the enemy, who were repulsed with loss.

August 20. During the night the First and Second Brigades recrossed the James River and returned to the intrenchments in front of Bermuda Hundred, the Third Brigade returning to Deep Bottom. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part 1, pp. 99, 100.)

A composite journal of events of the operations of the Regiment from Sunday, August 14, to Sunday, August 21, 1864, compiled from the diaries of Com. Sergt. Bell, Sergt. Swearer, and Corp. Chick, gives the activities of the Regiment as follows:

Sunday, August 14. Regiment crossed the James River on Pontoon-bridge about 2 a.m. and marched out to within a short distance of the picket line of Foster's brigade, where it went into bivouac, the men lying on their arms in line of battle; shortly after the break of day, before the men had breakfasted, firing began on the picket line in the immediate front, and the Regiment was advanced as if to the support of the pickets; however, before reaching the picket line the Regiment was moved to the left of the position occupied by Foster's brigade, and with the other regiments of Col. Howell's brigade, charged the enemy's works with cheers, carrying his rifle-pits and driving him into his main works on New Market Heights; during this charge the Regiment lost one officer, and two men killed, and ten men wounded; among the casualties were 1st Lieut. William T. Campbell, and Private Samuel H. Immel (Company K); Sergt. James R. Peters (Company E), instantly killed; among the wounded were Sergt. Jesse E. Jones, Company G, Corp. Crawford H. Scott, and Priv. James Miner, Company I; 1st Sergt. Oliver H. Sproul and Private Paul Rankin, Company K; 1st Sergt. James A. Swearer, Company C; after capturing the enemy's breast-works in advance of his main works, the men were allowed to take a rest and get breakfast; during the afternoon and early part of the night
the Regiment made several short moves; it began to rain about dark and continued steadily during the fore part of the night thoroughly drenching the men.

**August 15.** The Regiment moved to the right about 1 a. m. and crossed Four Mile Creek, taking position to the right of the Second Corps near the crossing of the River and Quaker roads; about 9 a. m. moved up the latter road for two or three miles; from here, at 1 p. m., 100 men under Capt. Hughes were ordered to the front as skirmishers to support the pickets of the Second Corps, where they remained until after dark, returning to the Regiment between 8 and 9 o'clock p. m.; during the afternoon, Private Dennis Farrell of Company A, was instantly killed, and Private Andrew Caleb Lynn, Company I, and Musician Lemuel Thomas, Company C, were mortally wounded, the latter living only until the following day; Lynn died August 21; Musician Thomas was assisting Surgeon Kurtz take care of the wounded; the latter was partially standing on one leg, with the other crossing it and with one arm, partially reclining on a tree; while in this position a solid shot or unexploded shell from the enemy's battery in front ricocheted, striking the heel of the shoe turned outward and thence to Musician Thomas' head, knocking the latter unconscious; Surgeon Kurtz, although suffering great pain, immediately gave his attention to Thomas and remained continuously on duty; Major Abraham, and several men were wounded, among the latter were Sergt. Rinehart B. Church (Company F), Privates William W. Balsley (Company C) and Jackson Kimble (Company F); Com. Sergt. Bell issued two days rations to the men in the afternoon, while they were lying in range of the musketry fire of the enemy, the “zip” of the balls being quite numerous at the time; towards evening, as he was returning to the south side of the James River, Gen. Grant and a solitary orderly passed him; just then the general espied a severely wounded man lying by the roadside; he immediately dismounted, and with the assistance of the orderly, carried the wounded man to the shade of a hemlock tree, then mounted his horse and continued his journey to the south bank of the James.

**August 16.** This was the bloodiest day in the calendar of the 85th Regiment; the day broke cloudy and misty but extremely warm; at 9 a. m. the Regiment was ordered to move to the right and support a portion of Foster's brigade, then engaging the skirmishers of the enemy; by the time the enemy's skirmishers had retired within their fortifications the Regiment was about a half mile to the right of Fussell's Mill and about 100 yards from the enemy's works, concealed from the enemy by a dense wood; Foster's men were then withdrawn and the 85th Regiment, on the right of Howell's brigade under command of Col. Pond, charged the enemy's main works, with a cheer carrying it, and capturing three stand of colors and over a hundred prisoners; the enemy being re-inforced and attacking the brigade on both flanks forced it to retire about 4 p. m., when it fell back some distance and threw up some rifle-pits, about 300 yards from the enemy's position; in this charge 20 men were instantly killed, 12 mortally wounded, and between 40 and 50 more or less severely wounded; Capt. W. W. Kerr, Company A, was made prisoner of war; Capt. Lewis Watkins, Company E, and Capt. Levi M. Rogers, Company F, received death wounds, and Adjt. D. W. Shields, Capt. Geo. H. Hooker, and Lieut. A. S. Dial, Company B, and Lieut. E. A. Russell, Company F, were among the wounded.

**Aug. 17.** The Regiment occupied a position directly in rear of where it charged the enemy's works the previous day; during the afternoon there was a truce for three hours to bury the dead; during the afternoon rations were issued to the Regiment.

**Aug. 18.** Nothing of importance occurred during the day, the Regiment remaining in same position it held the previous day; steady rain most of the day; about 9 p. m. the enemy advanced along the whole front driving in our pickets, but on receiving a steady fire along the whole line, soon retired, and the picket line was re-established in our front; Col. Howell having returned and assumed command of the brigade, early in the day was in his element during this attack, riding along the line in the darkness with cheering words to the men, as though it were a holiday amusement.
Aug. 19. About 1 a. m., the Regiment retired from its position and moved to a point near Malvern Hill, on the New Market road, where it went into bivouac.

Aug. 20. The Regiment remained near the New Market road not far from Malvern Hill, until shortly after dark, when it started to return to its former camp at Bermuda Hundred, crossing the James River on the pontoon-bridge at Jones Neck about 11 p. m.

Sunday, Aug. 21. After an all night march the Regiment arrived at the Bermuda Hundred camp shortly after daybreak; the men, though tired, went to work with vim, putting their old camp in order; about dark orders were issued to be ready to move at a moment’s notice with one day’s rations in haversacks.

The Reporter and Tribune, Washington, Penna., in its issue dated August 21, 1864, contained the following:

CASUALTIES IN THE 85TH REGIMENT.

We are indebted to one of the officers of the 85th for the following note, covering a complete list of casualties in the Regiment from the 13th instant up to date given. We publish it for the information of our readers, and especially those of them who have friends in the Regiment.

In the Field, near Deep Bottom, James River,
August 20, 1864.

Messrs. Editors: Will you have the kindness to publish the enclosed list of casualties in the 85th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, the result of engagements which occurred on the 14th, 15th and 16th of August near Deep Bottom, on the north side of the James River, Va. By so doing you will confer a great favor on both the numerous friends and on the surviving comrades of the gallant heroes who have fallen in defence of American liberty. Never has the Regiment been more successful, or won for itself a greater name than in these late engagements—charging and routing the enemy on every occasion, taking more than its own number in prisoners at one time, and capturing three stands of colors. Howell's brigade has been repeatedly complimented for gallantry and promptness by its division commander, Brig. Gen. Alfred H. Terry.

Yours,

W. L. P. [ershing, Q. M. Sergt.]

Field and Staff—Wounded: Maj. I. M. Abraham, slight in foot; Adjt. D. W. Shields, slight bruise on hand.


Company C—Killed: 1st Sergt. M. Drum, Sergt. Robt. Holmes; Corps. John Mann, Richard Coates; Privates Robert Campbell, Jacob Brashears, Isaac Gilmore; Wounded: Corps. Frank Condin, hand; Jas. S. Collins, slightly; Privates Wm. A. Getty, slightly; Wm. Harvey, slightly [had leg amputated]; Wm. Balsley, slightly; Silas McMillen, leg amputated; Thos. J. Holmes, seriously in thigh; Jas. Day, slightly in side; Thos. Cline, slightly in side [in hand]; Musician Lemuel Thomas [mortally].

Company D—Killed: Private Robert Pryor; Wounded, Sergt. Geo. Ketchum, seriously in both thighs; Corp. Jos. Burson, in thigh; Abraham Miller, in thigh; Alex. Hathaway, in leg.

Company F—Killed: Sergt. Alonzo Lightner, Corp. Thos. Rogers; Wounded: Capt. M. L. Rogers, seriously in hip; 1st Lieut. E. A. Russell, in arm; Sergts. Isaac Haveley, in leg; R. B. Church, in face; Private Perry Martin, in hand; Thos. M. Sellers, in leg; Alex. Cree, in foot; Jackson Kimball, arm amputated; Jonathan Mitchell, in leg; Silas W. Martin, in back; Geo. Petit, slightly in face; Wm. E. Leonard, slightly in ear.

Company G—Wounded: Sergt. Francis M. Rush, in abdomen; Privates Wm. A. Graham, slightly in leg; Jas. Sturgis, in thigh; Lindley Black, in leg; Benj. Titus, in arm; Jesse Jones, in hand.

Company H—Killed: Privates Wm. Muhlenberg, Frederick Yurgenson; Wounded: Corp. Wm. Jeffreys, in foot; Privates Frank Morrison, mortal; Jonathan D. File, in chest, mortal; Tuck Van Sickler, in foot.

Company I—Killed: Privates A. J. Wilson, A. J. Bee; Wounded: 1st Sergt. John G. Stevens, slightly in leg; Corp. C. H. Scott, in chest; Privates James Miner, in leg; Caleb Linn, in thigh.

Company K—Killed: 1st Lieut. Wm. T. Campbell; Privates Abraham Kern, Samuel Immel, Perry C. Zebley; Wounded: Sergt. Oliver Sproul, in hand; Privates Paul Rankin, in arm, Henry Keefer, in foot; Jacob Phillipi, in leg.

The following description of the battle of Deep Bottom by a member of the 85th Regiment was published in the *Reporter* and *Tribune* (Washington, Penna.), in its issue of September 7, 1864:

Camp 85th Penna. Vols.
Near Bermuda Hundred, August 24, 1864.

On Saturday the 13th inst., we received orders to be ready to move at sunset, three days rations and forty rounds of ammunition. At sunset we struck tents, and at 11 o'clock we took up our line of march, in the direction of Bermuda Hundred. When about one mile distant from our old camp we took the left hand road leading to Deep Bottom. There our heads began to droop and we gave up the notion of going north at present. And occasionally you would hear the expression, "Boys, we are going back on the old slaughter ford again, the Peninsula." So steadily we marched on arriving at and crossing the James River, about three o'clock next morning. And marching about one mile distant from the river, halted and rested for a few moments. Soon the order came, "Fall in," and we were again on the move; when moving in the woods a short distance, bang! bang! went the discharge of the advance skirmishers' muskets. But the enemy soon fell back across an open field behind his works leaving his dead and wounded on the field. When the advanced skirmish line had advanced to the edge of the woods, we were ordered to halt until the supports were all brought up. The old veteran brigade commanded by Col. F. B. Pond, Col. J. B. Howell being absent sick, was thrown up in line of battle just in rear of the skirmish line, the 85th on the right of the brigade, and moved strongly up to the edge of the woods and awaited the orders to charge the works. Soon the orders came, "Forward!" and all were moving for the works. Steadily the old 85th went into the fight, without a wave in her line, or a straggler behind. Driving the enemy from his works capturing 300 prisoners and compelling him to leave his dead and wounded on the field. In the meantime the Second Corps had arrived and taken a position on the right of our line. Here we remained until evening, when falling back to the woods again under cover of darkness; crossed a ravine and took up a position on the right of the 2d Corps. During the night the remainder of our corps (10th) had arrived and taken position on the left of our brigade, and on the right of the 2nd Corps. On the next morning (15), the army moved forward on two different roads contending
its way for 2½ miles when it halted for the night. Our Regiment being on the skirmish line that day suffered a loss of 14 men killed and wounded. Next morning we again took up our line of march contending our way with success.

After driving the enemy’s skirmishers behind his works, we halted; when our brave and intrepid division commander, Brig Gen. A. H. Terry, rode up and gave the order to charge the works. As soon as the different regiments of our brigade were massed in close column by division, the order was given, “Forward!” and through a deadly fire from the enemy behind his works, the old brigade never faltered, but suffered a heavy loss; and again drove the enemy from his works, capturing about 800 prisoners and compelling him to leave his dead and wounded on the field. The old 85th captured three stands of colors. The captors of these colors are, viz: Capt. L. Watkins, Company E, Corporal Shallenberger, Company B; Private Ed Leonard, Company F. After driving the enemy about three hundred yards from his works, found them well intrenched with an overwhelming force, and we were compelled to fall back to the works we had just taken. After holding in check for two hours double our number, we were compelled to fall back a short distance in the woods. When under cover of darkness we advanced a short distance and threw up a breastwork and here remained until the night of the 18th, when we fell back and moved farther to the right and laid as a support for a brigade of cavalry on a reconnaissance to Fair Oaks, until the night of the 20th, when the army fell back from whence it started. N. B. Since I have commenced writing this, we have received marching orders to parts unknown, I guess.

Yours,

G. W. D. [ales],
Corp. Co. D, 85th P. V.
In Front of Petersburg

CHAPTER XXII.

In Front of Petersburg.—Col. Howell Commands Third Division, Tenth Corps.—Col. Francis B. Pond Commands Brigade.—Death of Col. Howell.—Departure of Regiment from South Side of James River.—Daily Record of Events.

From August 22 to September 28, 1864.

After the strenuous movement for eight days and nights on the north side of the James River the men naturally supposed that on their return to their old camp they would be permitted to enjoy a rest of a day or two, with the exception of the regular picket duty, which they expected would devolve upon them as before. They were somewhat surprised late in the afternoon of August 21 to receive orders to hold themselves in readiness to move at a moment's notice with "nothing but a canteen of coffee and cartridge box." At 1 p. m. on that day Gen. Grant sent the following dispatch to Gen. Butler:

The enemy is evidently massing everything he can to drive our troops from the Weldon road. To do this he is undoubtedly leaving his intrenched lines almost to their own care. Have a reconnaissance made, and if, with the Tenth Corps, you can break through, do it. (Vol. XLII, part II, p. 376.)

To this Butler replied an hour later saying: "Will try and do it tomorrow morning." At 8 p. m. Gen. Butler instructed Gen. Birney to take 4,000 of his best troops and make a vigorous attack on the enemy at 3.30 a. m. between the Appomattox River and Bake-House Creek, and at the same time make demonstrations on the right near Ware Bottom Church, closing his instructions as follows:

As this movement, if properly timed, should be substantially over, let the troops take nothing but their canteens filled and cartridge-boxes. So much depends on your executive energy and skill that I forbear making other details the subject of an order.

In an order issued from the headquarters of the 10th Corps, late in the afternoon of August 21, the following disposition was to be made of Howell's brigade in the proposed attack at Bermuda Hundred.

Brig. Gen. Terry, with Howell's brigade of his own division, one brigade of colored troops, under Brig. Gen. Birney, and Curtis' brigade, of Turner's division, will make the attack. He will be ready to make the attack by 3.30 a. m. tomorrow. He will pass on to the plain near Port Walthall and move upon the enemy's lines between the Appomattox and Bake-House Creek, and up the valley of the Creek, if found practicable. Brig. Gen. Foster, with his three regiments, will make a demonstration in the nature of a feint on the right near Ware Bottom Church, so that the enemy shall be held in check there.
He will move up so as to drive in the enemy's pickets, cheering and yelling, at precisely 3:30 a.m. * * * Col. Curtis will detach a regiment from his brigade to move up the millpond road on the right of Bake-House Creek. The regiment will then deploy to the left and make a vigorous attack on the enemy's works. This movement will be made simultaneously with the attack by Gen. Terry's division on the left.

During the same afternoon orders were issued from corps headquarters for Terry's division to resume the usual picket duty on the right, the details to be made heavy enough for a strong picket line and to insure the safety of the camp. Orders were issued from division headquarters directing Col. Howell to proceed during the afternoon to the Port Walthall plain and carefully examine the ground with reference to an attack on the enemy's works between the Bake-House Creek and the railroad, making himself thoroughly acquainted with the best position for drawing up the brigade preparatory to an attack. Strict orders were also issued from division headquarters against permitting either officers or men to be absent from their regiments, but to be kept in readiness for any sudden movement. During the fore part of the night of August 21, Gen. Birney received reports from deserters as to the enemy's position to be assailed by his troops and being asked by Gen. Butler about midnight for his opinion as to the feasibility of the movement replied as follows:

My opinion is that they have restored the strength of this line to meet the return of my corps. Their line, like ours, will almost defend itself with artillery. I have confidence in the reports of re-enforcements. I dislike to abandon the movement, but regard it as perhaps a doubtful one as to success. A surprise might take the line. (Vol. XLII, par II, p. 379.)

This opinion of Gen. Birney was forwarded by Gen. Butler shortly after midnight to Gen. Grant and the latter suspended the order for attack about 2 a.m., August 22. The Regiment with the rest of Howell's brigade left camp about 1 a.m., on the 22d, and marched over to the western bank of the Appomattox River, lay there for about an hour and returned to camp. At 4 a.m. the Regiment was ordered into the trenches, remaining there for a half hour after daybreak. On the 23d Gen. Hancock returned to Gen. Birney the colors captured from the enemy by Corp. Shallenberger and Private Leonard, they having been turned over to Gen. Hancock immediately after capture. These were returned to the commanding general of the 10th Corps so that they should be forwarded to the headquarters of the Armies of the United States through the department commander. At 2 p.m., on the 23d, the Regiment was inspected by the assistant inspector-general of the 2d Brigade of the division. At 5 p.m. about one-half the Regiment was detailed for picket duty, from which they were relieved at 6 p.m., on the following day.

The Regiment with the other regiments of Howell's brigade, broke camp shortly after noon on August 24, and left camp for Petersburg between two and three o'clock, p.m., crossing the Appomattox River at Point of Rocks shortly after dark, arriving at the front at Petersburg about an hour after midnight. The pickets, after being relieved, returned to camp and after getting supper and
packing up, started at 8 p.m. to follow in the wake of the other troops of the brigade, and did not arrive in front of Petersburg until the following morning. On the morning of the 25th, Gen. Ord, commanding 18th Corps, sent a complaining dispatch to Gen. Birney, saying that of the two brigades of Terry's division only 700 arrived during the night in time to relieve a part of a division of his corps, attributing the small number of arrivals to straggling. To this Gen. Birney replied: "There must be some mistake as to straggling in Terry's division," but made no explanation. It is quite evident that the portion of Terry's division on picket when the division left the Bermuda Hundred Camp, after standing on duty for 24 hours, followed their respective commands during the night, and went into the trenches in front of Petersburg about daybreak on the 25th, were the men pronounced stragglers by Gen. Ord, although no explanation appears in the official records, either by Gen. Birney or Gen. Terry.

The movement of the Tenth Corps to the position in front of Petersburg was in conformity to orders from Gen. Butler, and was merely an exchange of positions of the two corps, the change being made by relays, Terry's division being the first division of the 10th Corps to move to the front of Petersburg. Howell's Brigade being the first to arrive, relieved Fairchild's brigade of Ames' division of the 18th Corps. The following instruction for relieving the troops of Gen. Ord were given by order of the latter to Gen. Terry:

You will * * * please relieve, as fast as your men come up, that portion of the line occupied by Col. Fairchild's brigade. The movements will have to be made very carefully in order to prevent drawing the fire of the enemy. Have the men take the bayonets off their pieces, and use all means of concealment in passing along the covered ways and in the trenches. Col. Fairchild and staff will render you every assistance, and give any information you may desire to facilitate you in relieving the trenches.

The 85th Regiment encamped on the same grounds formerly occupied by the 2d Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery of Fairchild's brigade, and the camp was also in close range of both artillery and musketry fire of the enemy, but the camp being in a dense woods, was concealed from the enemy's view. The day Terry's division arrived in front of Petersburg an attack had been anticipated, as a large force of the enemy had been seen massed in that locality, and that part of the division that had arrived was kept on duty, either in the trenches or in line of battle, on reserve throughout the day. Late in the afternoon Gen. Terry received instructions from Gen. Ord not to keep the reserve troops formed any longer, as he wished to have the men sleep on their arms in readiness for any night attack, and to have all the troops under arms half an hour before daylight, in readiness for any emergency. During the afternoon of August 26 Gen. Birney assumed command of the line formerly commanded by Gen. Ord. On August 27, the following order was promulgated from headquarters of the 10th Corps:

As soon as the corps is together the line to be defended by it will be divided between Brig. Gen. Terry, Birney and Foster, Gen. Terry on the left, Gen. Birney on the center, and Gen. Foster on the right. * * * Each commander will have his troops together with a reserve sufficient to relieve troops frequently from the trenches. Three days' rations will be kept on hand, and half-rations whisky can be issued on order of division com-
manders to troops on fatigue. Weak points should be defended by additional abatis and vigilant pickets and reserves. The artillery must be well supported and its officers continually on the alert, especially at or before daybreak. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 553.)

On Saturday morning, August 27, as James Cairney and Joseph Banks of Company C were returning from the picket trenches, having taken rations to the pickets, were both severely wounded from one rifle ball fired by a sharpshooter of the enemy who commanded an exposed position over which they had to pass. The ball passed through Cairney's body, penetrating the lungs, and then struck Banks. On August 28, the following order was issued from the headquarters of the division.

The position of the troops of this division is re-assigned as follows, viz.:

First. The First Brigade, Col. J. B. Howell, 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, commanding, will occupy their present front with two regiments in the trenches and two in reserve. * * * The reserves will relieve the troops in the trenches once in forty-eight hours. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 592.)

On the 30th the camp of the Regiment was moved about a half mile farther to the left. On the following day (31st) Col. Howell made the following report to division headquarters:

In pursuance with instructions from division headquarters, dated 30th instant, I have the honor to make the following report of my command during the last twenty-four hours: No offensive demonstrations have been made from my front; but few artillery shots have been exchanged. No change in the position of the troops under my command except the changes of camp of the 85th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, in accordance with the directions of the brigadier-general commanding division. With regard to the intrenchments I sent out seventy-five sand-bags and the proper number of shovels for the construction of new and additional loop-holes for lookout, the enemy having ascertained the position of those already constructed and firing into them constantly. The officer commanding the trenches reported yesterday at 5 p. m.:

"The enemy are at work at and in rear of the fort which was blown up by us; also are strengthening their lines on and near the ravine. About three minutes time was taken today in exchanging papers, when they again commenced firing."

I would respectfully ask whether the exchange of papers is authorized. Yesterday was remarkably quiet except a few shots from the enemy. The officer of the trenches reports this morning:

"The enemy kept up quite a severe fire during the night and have been at work strengthening the works on their line in front of the brigade line. I received seventy-five bags and ten shovels last night and have constructed loop-holes as far as they went, and have done other work in repairing. Had two men of the 67th Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry wounded by the enemy during the night. One man was wounded in the 67th Ohio Volunteer Infantry yesterday." (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 608.)

On September 1, the following order was issued from division headquarters:

Brigade commanders will enjoin on their officers and men in the trenches the most extreme vigilance during the night and tomorrow. At 4 o'clock tomorrow morning the reserve, including every man capable of bearing arms, will be placed under arms and kept in readiness to move until half an hour after sunrise, and during the whole day tomorrow no man will be suffered to leave his regiment, except for absolutely necessary purposes. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 651.)
The same day Col. Howell issued the following summary of events pertaining to the brigade covering the previous twenty-four hours:

The position, &c., of the reserves remained unchanged. The draining and policing of the trenches in my front are in progress, the trenches being now in far better condition than when I first occupied them. No movements of note, offensive or defensive, have been made by my command. The officer of the trenches reports last night:

"The enemy kept up a rapid fire of musketry and quite annoying fire from sharpshooters, who enfiladed the line. They are quite busy erecting, completing and repairing works on their line, one of which seems to be built so as to enfilade the railroad and a great part of the brigade line; also one of his works in process of construction opposite the center of this brigade line seems so situated as to enfilade the right of our line. The enemy is also throwing up a second and in some places a third line of works opposite our center." The officer of the trenches this morning reports:

"All well. The enemy kept up a fire on the left and center of our line almost continually. No working was done by them that could be seen during the night, but little firing has been done from our brigade. I have had some work done on the trenches."

No casualties have occurred since yesterday's report. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 651.)

A few hours after this report had been forwarded to division headquarters, on September 1, Private Henry K. Atchison of Company G, while sitting in camp making out muster rolls, had an arm shot off by a solid shot or unexploded shell from the enemy's artillery. The foregoing report from Col. Howell was the last issued by him as commanding officer of the brigade. The same day by order of Gen. Birney, commanding the corps, he was assigned to the temporary command of the Third Division (colored troops) during the sickness of its regular commander, Brig. Gen. William Birney, with orders to assume command at once. Col. Francis B. Pond, 62d Ohio, succeeded Col. Howell as brigade commander. In his first daily report giving a summary of events pertaining to the brigade, dated September 2, Col. Pond said:

The officer of the trenches yesterday reported that the enemy were engaged in running a sap near the center of our line, which report was at once forwarded to the brigadier-general commanding the First Division, at whose direction Col. Howell opened two guns on the working party. The camp of the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers was shelled yesterday evening, the shell passing directly over brigade headquarters. One man was wounded [Private Atchison], having his arm shot off. The officer of the trenches reports this morning all quiet. The enemy fired upon our line continually last night, wounding one man of the 62d Ohio Volunteers. Two men from the same regiment were wounded by a shell yesterday. The enemy is still at work upon his new ditch and fired from it last night. The line could be much improved if some sand-bags were furnished. It is quite weak in some places. The casualties named are all that occurred in the past twenty-four hours. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 678.)

The Regiment went on picket in the advance trenches immediately after dark on September 2, remaining there until after dark on the 4th. While the Regiment was on duty an agreement was made with the enemy's outposts by the pickets from the Regiment, not to fire on each other, and, although there was firing on both the immediate right and left, perfect amity prevailed between the pickets of the Regiment and those of the enemy, and much bartering prevailed between them. In his daily report of the 4th, Col. Pond said:
The enemy still continue to work at the fort which was blown up by us, extending and strengthening their lines, making work which will cause us much trouble when completed. During yesterday they were throwing dirt on the right of the railroad close to the deep cut. Our trenches are being placed in as good condition as possible. I would state that in our front near the ravine are three dead bodies (our men) unburied. We cannot get to them to bury them unless under a flag of truce. During the night constant firing has been kept up by the enemy's pickets. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 693.)

The Regiment was relieved from picket duty on September 4 by the 62d Ohio Regiment. During the night of the 4th the troops in the outer line of trenches were withdrawn to the main line, the outer line being held as a light picket line with one man to every ten yards. This left about fifty men of the First Brigade in the advanced trench with two officers in command, the main trenches being about 400 yards in the rear. The Regiment went on duty in the trenches about dark on the 6th, and while there the following order was issued from division headquarters on September 7:

The 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, Lieut. Col. E. Campbell commanding, will immediately garrison the fourteen-gun battery, and, in the event of attack, hold it to the last. The Regiment will be exempt from all duty except such as is required for the completion and safety of the work. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 744.)

The right wing of the Regiment took possession of the fourteen-gun battery on September 7. It was situated immediately in front of the camp of the Regiment, the location being known as Taylor's house, and was pierced for ten guns, and was mounted with two 4½-Rodman; four field guns; four 10-inch mortars, and six Coehorns just outside. This field-work was otherwise known as Redoubt D, and also Fort Morton. Some days after the Regiment took possession of it, orders were issued from the headquarters Army of the Potomac assigning 800 men to Fort Morton to be furnished by the corps [10th] on whose front it was situated. Gen. Birney asked if this were not a mistake as "the work will not accommodate over 300 men, its present garrison." To this he received the following reply:

Maj. Michler, acting chief engineer, states that in assigning 800 men to the garrison of Fort Morton, it was designed that this garrison should also occupy Battery No. 14, on the right. If the garrison cannot be accommodated in the fort and redoubt, it can be placed in the covered way adjacent. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 978.)

Fort Morton was one of a system of field-works constructed along the lines of the army for the defense of the line upon the withdrawal of the main force of the army for active operations upon other lines. The 85th Regiment continued to garrison Fort Morton as long as the 10th Corps held the advanced line (September 24) in front of Petersburg. On September 7, Col. A. C. Voris, 67th Ohio, assumed command of the brigade in consequence of illness of Col. Pond. In his first daily report of the events occurring in the brigade, Col. Voris said:

I find the general condition of the command good. The police of the camps and trenches is being improved very much and is now in a good state of progression. In pursuance with instructions from division headquarters, the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers
have been relieved from all duties except those connected with the position assigned them. Besides the occupation of the fourteen-gun battery by the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, the balance of the command will be disposed of as follows: One hundred men to the left of the fourteen-gun battery, 140 between the fourteen-gun battery and Follett's battery, 85 men to the right of Follett's, and 50 men on picket, making 375 men to be furnished from three regiments. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 755.)

The principal occupation of the Regiment for the first week after taking possession of the fort was building bomb-proofs in the fort, and immediately in rear of it, as a portion of the Regiment encamped outside. On September 10, Gen. Birney notified the division commanders that applications for details of officers of mark to go home on recruiting service would be approved. On the same day, the daily report of the events occurring in the brigade was made by Capt. R. O. Phillips, Company D, acting assistant adjutant-general of the brigade as follows:

Yesterday the enemy shelled our camps, batteries and trenches pretty vigorously for some time. In obedience to instructions from corps headquarters, the troops of the command were turned out to cheer at 7 p.m. yesterday. Upon receipt of Gen. Hancock's dispatch the men occupying the trenches were turned out and kept under arms. All the reserves were placed under arms at 3 o'clock this morning. A continual fire of musketry has been kept up all night with some artillery. Private Charles N. Root, Company D, 39th Illinois Volunteers, died from effects of a wound made by a shell from one of our guns. No other casualties occurred. The enemy still continues to work at his defenses and trenches. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 782.)

On September 11th Col. Voris in his daily report, said:

Everything quiet this morning. A continual fire of musketry was kept up by the enemy during the night. His artillery opened upon us and shelled us briskly for two hours yesterday. The officer of trenches reports: "There was nothing unusual occurred on the reserve or picket line of this brigade during the night." The officer commanding the trenches reports that the enemy were making more noise last night than usual in their front, but mostly in the vicinity of Petersburg, and removing artillery or artillery wagons. Also that there were commands given in front of our right such as "keep closed up there." The reserve occupy the old position. No offensive operations have been made from our lines. The enemy still continue to work upon their lines and the trenches report to be saps, which seem to progress slowly. No casualties have occurred. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 792.)

In his report of the 12th, Col. Voris said:

All quiet this morning. A continual fire of musketry was kept up by the enemy last night. No further developments have been made as to intentions of the enemy in advancing trenches or saps before his obstructions. They are steadily moving toward our line. The trenches are deep. The police of the reserve camp and the trenches is good and being improved. The officer of the trenches reports: "All quiet on the line during the night. At 10 o'clock we received orders from the division commander of the day to cease firing on the picket line and not resume it unless the enemy advanced." No casualties in the past twenty-four hours. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 803.)

Col. Pond again assumed command of the brigade on the 12th, and on the 13th reported as follows:

Everything quiet this morning except a desultory fire of musketry from the enemy which has kept up all the past night. The reserves of this command remain in the same
position, as also do the lines of battle. The officer of the trenches reports there has been no casualties upon the line during the last night. (O. R., Vol XLII, part II, p. 812.)

Late on the evening of the 13th orders were issued from division headquarters in which the following paragraph appears:

It is reported that the corps officer of the day gave orders to open fire whenever the enemy fired upon our lines. By so doing that officer transcended his authority, and you will immediately notify the officers of your command that they receive no orders to open fire except through the proper channels, and obey none emanating from such a source. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 812.)

Early in the forenoon of September 13, both officers and men of the Regiment were greatly shocked to learn that Col. Howell had been mortally injured during the previous night by his horse rearing backward and falling upon him. Having occasion to visit the headquarters of the corps, the Colonel had mounted his horse shortly after midnight to return to his quarters, and his mount taking a divergent road, was suddenly checked, reared, and fell back upon his rider. The Colonel was borne to a tent near corps headquarters, where he remained with little or no medical attention until some time after daybreak the following morning, when he was found by his old brigade surgeon in an unconscious condition. He was then immediately taken to the brigade hospital where he lingered in a condition of stupor until a little while before sundown on the 14th, when he apparently became conscious, but was unable to articulate his thoughts so as to make them intelligible to those present. As the sun was disappearing beyond the enemy's fortified position in front of Petersburg, on Wednesday evening, September 14, the gallant Colonel breathed his last. The last hours of Col. Howell are described by the brigade surgeon, Dr. Charles M. Clark, in the History of the 39th Illinois Volunteer Veteran Infantry, as follows:

On the morning of September 13, we were painfully shocked to hear that Col. Howell, then temporarily commanding the Third Division, had been seriously injured the previous evening by the falling of his horse. The orderly who brought the intelligence also conveyed a request from Gen. Birney for Surgeon Clark to come and attend to the Colonel. The writer immediately proceeded to corps headquarters accompanied by an ambulance. Col. Howell was found in a small tent near Gen. Birney's headquarters, alone and unconscious, no attendance whatever having been paid him. His clothing and even his sash and sword were still on him, and the front of his coat was incrusted with deflections from his stomach. Calling an orderly, and assisted by the driver of the ambulance the Colonel was placed aboard and taken to the brigade hospital. No person about Birney's quarters seemed sufficiently interested to put in an appearance. The Colonel had been placed in that tent at the time of his injury and had remained there during the night without care or any attempt being made to ascertain the nature of his injuries. On reaching the hospital a thorough examination was made. No bones were found broken, but he was suffering from a severe concussion of the brain, and possibly hemorrhage. It was evident, however, that he could not live. He remained unconscious up to a few moments before dissolution, when he opened his eyes and made an effort to speak, but was unintelligible. He died at sundown on the evening of the 14th. Thus closed the life of a gallant and brave a man as ever entered the service. After death he was enbalmcd and his brother, Dr. Howell, was informed by telegraph of the sad event.

As soon as his death was known, and which was wholly unexpected by his late comrades, large numbers of his friends came to do him honor. Gen. Terry came and sincerely
mourned over the old comrade and officer whom he had so lately seen in the full enjoyment of health, and so full of enthusiasm over the news of Sherman's victory on his "march to the sea." All the members of his own Regiment (the 85th Pennsylvania) came to look upon their dead commander as he lay under the shelter of the boughs, with the sharp cracking of musketry and the booming of rebel cannon for a requiem. The burial service for the dead was conducted by his brother officers of the Masonic fraternity, and the remains, in the care of his brother, were sent home. It was a sad and shocking death to us all. He was a father to his whole command and they had learned to love and respect him. Notwithstanding his age (60 years) [58 years and 3 days] he was always alert for duty, and in times of danger was ever at the front and ever vigilant. Col. Howell was a gentleman of the "old school." You could almost fancy you saw the long queue, the well powdered hair, and the silk hose and silver buckles of a century ago. He was dignified in manner, yet affable, courteous, and kind in behavior; generous and affectionate in disposition and profuse in hospitality; and when he spoke, one could almost feel the warmth of his generous heart, there was such a sense of sincerity and truth in his greeting. That he was brave, even to desperation, no one who knew him will question. We remember when a body of deserters from the enemy had come within our lines, that one of them, on espying the Colonel nearby, said: "Ah! that gray-headed and bearded old gentleman over there looks like Howell!" On being told that it was he, he continued: "Our folks know him mighty well, and don't like him at all, and our pickets have frequently had orders to shoot him. They say he's a brave old man!" It was indeed wonderful that he had so miraculously escaped death at the hands of the enemy, for he was always at the front, and seemed to invite death on the field of battle. He was a dear friend of the writer, who feels that in paying this tribute to his memory after so many years have sped away, he has but given voice to the sentiments of all who knew him.

Mr. William H. Merriam, the correspondent of the New York Herald, with the Tenth Corps, sent the following account of Col. Howell's death to his journal under date of September 15, 1864, which appeared in the Herald on September 17.

A very great calamity befell the Tenth Corps last night in the sudden and lamentable death of Brig. Gen. Joshua B. Howell, commanding a brigade in Maj. Gen. A. H. Terry's division. The circumstances were as follows: Shortly after dinner Gen. Howell proposed to mount his horse and ride to a point somewhat distant from his quarters. He had only succeeded in gaining his position on his horse, which was exceedingly uneasy on the bit, when, the general unfortunately grasping the wrong rein, the horse suddenly careened and fell backwards, falling wholly on the person of the deceased, where he remained. His orderly at once rushed to the General's rescue, and with much exertion got his prostrate form from beneath the vicious animal. Being borne to his quarters he was found to be insensible, and did not rally to the last. He died in the evening, and his embalmed body is now on its way to his Pennsylvania home. Gen. Howell was upwards of 65 years of age [58 years and 8 days his exact age], and was one of the most courteous and decorous of that great body of old school gentlemen who from 30 years ago onward illustrated social and public life in this country, and among whom the names of Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Lewis Cass, the late Mr. Marcy, and a host of others, might be mentioned. Gen. Howell came to the war in its earlier period as colonel of the gallant and battle tried Eighty-fifth Pennsylvania Volunteers, and did time afford me the opportunity, I should delight to recount his love for and absolute devotion to his noble boys, whom he invariably called "his sons." He was a pure patriot and enlightened statesman in civil affairs, while, as a military man, he was of exhaustless ability, great bravery, and would I know, have preferred to meet death on the field of glorious battle. It was otherwise ordered, and the country and the army have lost both a brilliant son and a devoted servant. Peace to his honored memory, and green be the turf on the grave holding his mortality.
The rites of the Masonic fraternity were performed over the body of Col. Howell at the brigade hospital, Chaplain Henry C. Trumbull, 10th Connecticut, making an address, on Thursday afternoon, the procession of the order being headed by the band of the 89th Illinois Regiment. The Colonel’s brother, Dr. T. P. Howell, of Woodbury, New Jersey, arrived at the brigade camp on the 16th, to accompany the body of the Colonel to his boyhood home in New Jersey for burial. On the 17th the Regiment was temporarily relieved from duty at Fort Morton, and escorted the remains of the Colonel from the brigade hospital to division headquarters. The ambulance that served as a hearse was immediately followed by “Old Charley,” led by “Sam,” a faithful negro servant of the deceased. “Old Charley” horse was then aged about ten years, and had accompanied the Regiment from Camp LaFayette, Uniontown, Penna., in November, 1861. He had been presented to Col. Howell while he was recruiting the Regiment by Jasper Thompson, Esq., of Uniontown, who had been a staunch friend and admirer of the Colonel. It was not “Old Charley” horse that caused the fatal mishap, but a horse that had belonged to Capt. Loomis L. Langdon, 1st U. S. Artillery. On account of some infirmity of “Charley,” the Colonel considered him unsafe to ride at night, and therefore had replaced him by the horse responsible for his death, and “Sam” is authority for the statement that this horse had a bad reputation as being vicious and tricky among the members of Capt. Langdon’s battery, information he acquired after the fatal accident. However, Capt. Langdon’s description of the horse is perhaps the most trustworthy; that “it was exceedingly tender-mouthed.” Capt. Langdon was a warm friend and admirer of Col. Howell, and according to his statement, had presented the horse to the Colonel some time previous to the fatal occurrence, the latter having expressed a liking for the animal. Capt. Langdon’s battery and Howell’s brigade had been closely related in South Carolina and at Bermuda Hundred. The captain commanded the first line of artillery at the head of Folly Island, supported by the brigade, and on Morris Island in command of the two most advanced batteries when the second assault was made on Battery Wagner; and when the Regiment first took position at the Howlett’s Bluff on the bank of the James River, Capt. Langdon’s battery was planted in the lawn and grounds around the Howlett house while the captain and Col. Howell directed the fire of the battery on the enemy from the cupola of the Howlett house. Capt. Langdon belonged to the regular army, and his regiment had been a continuous organization from 1821. He was commissioned as second lieutenant in Battery L, First Regiment of Artillery, U. S. Army, August 21, 1854, and promoted to captain of Battery M, August 28, 1861. The fact that he was a “Regular” and so closely identified for so long a period with Col. Howell’s brigade of “Volunteers”; and with the 85th Regiment, will make it apropos to reproduce here a graphic narrative of an incident of the battle-line at Bermuda Hundred in May, 1864, which appears in the History of the First Regiment of Artillery, published in 1879, in which he refers to the death of Col. Howell as follows:

It is not remembered now which brigade of the 10th Corps was engaged on the night of the 21st and 22d, on the ground above described, but it was probably the one commanded
by Col. Joshua B. Howell, of the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers. It is certain his brigade was under fire in or very near that place on the 20th. It was Col. Howell himself, who, on the afternoon of the 22d of May, narrated to the writer the interesting circumstances connected with the capture of Gen. Walker, just mentioned, and which seem worth giving here.

In taking ground for his new picket line, the enemy had come on with such numbers and unexpectedness that our pickets had been forced back. The brigade supports moved up, but after two or three gallant attempts to recover the position ceased their efforts. These, indeed, seemed useless in view of the uncertainty as to the purposes and strength of their assailants. Our men retreated, however, no farther than the position first occupied by the supports, and while they clustered among the trees, listlessly awaiting events, they preserved their general line. But they had been so long on the alert and without sleep that they were fagged out and in that condition wherein men care little what becomes of them. Depressed in spirits and discouraged by repeated repulse, they leaned against the trees or lay along the ground moody and silent. But though the hearing of all had come to be indifferent and even sullen, every hand grasped a rifle and, with soldier instincts, every face was turned to the foe with eyes peering into gloom and ears open for every sound from front or flank. When a pause like that occurs on the battlefield, the result may be a spiritless retreat; or, on the contrary, it may happen that some master hand, crystallizing the hesitating mass into a homogeneous and fiery phalanx, will guide it to victory. And many a loved chieftain has revived the failing courage of his followers and changed the aspect of the fight.

But there have been times, too, when it was neither personal magnetism nor military genius, but simply a happy accident that appealed irresistibly to patriotism and inspired the troops with a reckless enthusiasm. And so it was to be now. In the unnatural stillness that reigned through this wood, peopled by those silent, motionless figures, waiting as for a magician's touch to plunge them into the fury of the fight, no sound could be heard but the occasional and distant ring of an axe or the clink of an intrenching spade from where the enemy was running his line. But suddenly in this silence, at once oppressive and mysterious, was heard the voice of a soldier singing! At first the notes were low and soft, as if the singer, unconscious of an audience, whiled away the dreary watch by crooning to himself some half-remembered rhymes. Warming with the theme he gradually raised his voice, and as one after another of the soldiers heard and recognized the air, there were heard other voices joining quickly in the chorus. The poetry was simple enough, and though, perhaps, familiar to other Federal armies, had been heard for the first time but recently in ours, where it soon came to be a favorite with the 10th Corps. And now as the heart-stirring words fell on their ears the men were springing to their feet; then

"Voice after voice caught up the song," and swelling into a magnificent, deafening bass, there rolled along the aisles of the forest under the roof torches of the waving pine tops:

"The Union forever! hurrah! boys, hurrah!
Down with the traitor and up with the star,
While we rally round the flag, boys,
We'll rally once again,
Shouting the battle cry of Freedom!"

They sang louder and louder as they stepped out from behind the trees and ranged themselves instinctively in line. But with the chorus of the last verse was mingled the ominous ring of their muskets coming down to the charge, and then by a common impulse they sprang forward, and, without command, but in perfect order, swept with cheers and a crashing volley into the hostile line! It was in that charge the rebel general and such of his officers and men as stood by him were shot down and captured, the others driven
swiftly from the field, the position retaken, and another point scored for the old Tenth Corps. The Col. Howell spoken of in connection with this affair was a white-haired gentleman of the old school, who was a great favorite in the corps, and who, though seventy [58] years of age, was remarkable for his energy and enthusiasm. He deserves a passing kind word for his special friendship for battery M. This friendship, as warmly reciprocated, was the unfortunate, though remote cause of his death. The captain one day gave him a young horse for which he expressed a liking. The Colonel had been cautioned that the animal was exceedingly tender-mouthed, but in the September following, while we were in front of Petersburg, riding home late one evening from some business at corps headquarters, he pulled too sharply on the curb, the horse reared, Col. Howell was thrown backward and instantly killed.

In the record of the services of the 7th Regiment U. S. Colored Troops, belonging to the division commanded by Col. Howell, at the time he met his fatal injuries, the following reference is made to the Colonel's death:

On the 14th, Col. Howell, who was commanding the division in the absence of Gen. Birney, who was absent sick, died of injuries received from a fall from his horse. * * * Col. Howell was highly esteemed, and was a thorough gentleman and a good officer.

The day Col. Howell received his mortal injuries, during the first hour, September 13, Col. F. B. Pond was appointed his temporary successor as commander of the Third Division of the Tenth Corps, and Col. A. C. Voris, 67th Ohio, again assumed command of the First Brigade. Col. Voris retained command of the brigade until September 24, when Col. Pond again assumed command, the latter having been relieved of the command of the Third Division on that date. The 10th Corps, on duty in front of Petersburg, was ordered to be relieved by the troops of the Second Corps on September 24, and at 9 p.m., that date, the Regiment vacated Fort Morton and marched to the neighborhood of the corps headquarters, some two or three miles distant, and bivouacked until morning.

During the seventeen days the Regiment garrisoned Fort Morton, although the shells from the batteries of the enemy were frequent visitors, no serious casualties occurred in its ranks. On September 10, Ser. George W. Ramage was slightly wounded, and during this period, this is the only recorded casualty in the ranks of the Regiment. While here a private was court-martialed for theft, convicted on very flimsy evidence, and sentenced to have his head shaved and marched around the brigade camp to the tune of the "Rogue's March," placarded "a thief"; and also to forfeit all pay due and to become due, and to be dishonorably discharged at the expiration of his term of service. The first part of the sentence was carried out on September 20. When first assigned to picket duty after undergoing the humiliation just recorded, he asked the orderly sergeant of his company if he thought it a prudent thing to do to assign him to such duty. The latter replied that he would be detailed for duty in regular order irrespective of his sentence. The general consensus of opinion of his comrades was that the convicted man was found guilty on very light evidence. The remainder of the sentence was evidently remitted, as he was honorably mustered out and discharged at the expiration of his term of service without
any deduction of pay whatever. A short time subsequent to the court-martial he was wounded in action, and it is probable his conduct in the presence of the enemy, and his subsequent behavior, may have caused the unfulfilled portion of the sentence to have been revoked.

Immediately after the Tenth Corps was relieved from duty at the front of Petersburg, September 24, orders were issued from division headquarters which indicated another strenuous campaign was anticipated. Brigade commanders were charged that whenever marching orders were received, to have the regimental commanders immediately inspect the knapsacks of the men, and to have all superfluous articles which have a tendency to break down the men upon the march discarded. It was further ordered that any man picking up articles so rejected without the consent of the regimental commander would be subject to court-martial. Two days later, orders were issued for company drill to be resumed for six hours daily. On September 27, orders were issued from corps headquarters as follows:

This command will be in readiness to move by 3 o'clock tomorrow afternoon. The men will carry two days' rations in haversacks. All camp and garrison equipage, beyond the allowance * * * will be turned into the quartermaster's department. All superfluous clothing should be carefully boxed, marked and turned over at the depot for storage. Upon receiving orders to march all details at the depots, &c., will be called in and join the command. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 1082.)

During the forenoon of September 28, the following marching orders were issued from corps headquarters:

This command will move promptly at 3 p.m. for Bermuda, crossing Appomattox River at Broadway Landing, and keeping out of sight of the enemy by marching on the right hand road. The following will be the order: The First, Second and Third. Each command will take with it, in rear in wagons, fifty rounds of small arm ammunition, besides fifty rounds on person. * * * The Medical director will order tenambulances to report to the surgeon-in-chief of each division, to follow in the rear. All wagons accompanying the troops must, during the daytime, be stripped of covers. * * * The troops should march light, and not be encumbered with useless clothing and articles, as upon reaching our destination transportation will be limited and the work quick and sharp. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 1081.)

At 3 o'clock p.m. sharp, September 28, the Regiment, at the head of the Tenth Corps, took up its line of march in the direction of the Confederate capital, crossing the Appomattox River at Broadway Landing, and the James River at Jones Landing, arriving at Deep Bottom about midnight, and bivouacking near the same location at which it had halted for a brief period in the early hours of August 14.

After the death of Col. Howell an effort was made by a number of the officers of the Regiment to have Maj. Abraham appointed colonel of the Regiment. On September 19, the following petition was forwarded to Gov. Curtin:

We, the undersigned, officers of the 85th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, having entire confidence in the ability and qualifications of Maj. I. M. Abraham, and feeling assured that his appointment will give universal satisfaction throughout the Regiment,
respectfully and most earnestly urge his appointment as colonel of the Regiment to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Col. Joshua B. Howell.

This was signed by Samuel L. Kurtz, Surgeon; W. E. Beall, Quartermaster Ross R. Sanner, Capt. Company H; R. W. Dawson, Capt. Company I; John Colestock, 2d Lieut. Commanding Company K; W. H. Davis, 1st Lieut. Commanding Company C. On September 20, Lieut. Col. Campbell wrote to Adjutant-General A. L. Russell, asking him to inquire whether the Governor would issue him a commission as colonel, "or whether if there is any doubt about it?"

He further wrote:

I have the most positive assurance that Gen. Butler will retain the Regimental organization after the three years men go out, and that he will give me every opportunity to fill the Regiment. Maj. Gen. Birney promises his assistance and tells me I need not have any doubt about the continuance of the Regimental organization and the retention of such officers as I may nominate. Under these circumstances, I am very anxious for my commission as colonel. It does not seem to me exactly decorous to write for it myself, but if any application is necessary, please let me know. Capt. Phillips of the 85th is in Harrisburg for the purpose of obtaining conscripts or recruits. Could not permission be given to men by him to raise companies for the Regiment? It can certainly be filled up if this can be done. This is Gen. Birney's suggestion and he desired me to endeavor to effect it.

The veterans in the Regiment would be consolidated into companies to make room for the new ones. You will greatly oblige me by answering at once.

A week later (Sept. 27), Lieut. Col. Campbell again wrote to Col. Russell, in part as follows:

The mustering officer of the Division informs me that as my muster as colonel would not increase the number of field officers in the Regiment there is nothing to prevent it [my muster]. If the Governor desires any explanation of the document requesting me to resign sent to him last winter, Capt. Rolla O. Phillips, who is one of the officers signing it, now in Harrisburg for the purpose of obtaining men to fill the Regiment, will give him an entirely satisfactory one. * * * My character as an officer and Regimental commander, will, I am happy to say, bear any scrutiny, as to the unanimous co-operation and support of the officers under me, and the repeated commendations and compliments of my commanding officers abundantly assure me.

While the Regiment was garrisoning Fort Morton the enlisted men whose term of service had expired united in a petition to Gen. Grant requesting that they be mustered out of the service three years from the date of enlistment. Sergt. John B. Norris, Company B, carried the petition to the headquarters of the army and succeeded in getting an audience with Col. Theodore S. Bowers, assistant adjutant-general, on Gen. Grant's staff. Col. Bowers received Sergt. Norris courteously but informed him that the petition would have to come to headquarters through the proper channels before it could have consideration. The petition was then forwarded through brigade and division headquarters to the corps commander. Gen. Birney returned it disapproved, although a majority of the men had been sworn into the service several weeks beyond the three years for which they had enlisted. The petition was returned to the committee having it in charge on September 27, the day previous to the Regiment's final departure from Bermuda Hundred, not, however, homeward, but to again participate in
another campaign against the Confederate capital. The daily movements of the Regiment from Monday, August 22, to Wednesday, September 28, 1864, compiled from the diaries of Com. Sergt. Bell, Sergt. Swearer and Corp. Chick, were as follows:

**Aug. 22:** About 1 a.m., the Regiment left the Bermuda Hundred camp and marched over to the bank of the Appomattox River; halted there, and after an hour’s rest returned to its former camp, arriving there before daybreak; nothing of importance occurred during the day, the men being permitted to rest in camp; orders were issued for the men to remain in camp to be in readiness for “any movement that may be directed;” orders issued to form line in trenches at 4 a.m.

**Aug. 23:** The Regiment was in line at trenches at 4 a.m., remaining there until a half hour after daybreak; general inspection at 2 p.m.; detail from the Regiment went on picket at 5 p.m.; all quiet in front; the enemy’s artillery keep up an incessant fire on the men working on Dutch Gap Canal.

**Aug. 24:** Orders issued to have everything in readiness to move at a moment’s notice after 12 m.; struck tents and had everything in readiness to move by noon; detail on picket relieved at 6 p.m.; Regiment moved at 8 p.m., crossing the Appomattox River at Point of Rocks and continued on forced march towards Petersburg until midnight.

**Aug. 25:** Regiment, with the exception of picket detail, continues march until 1 a.m., when it arrives near Petersburg; relieves a Regiment of the 18th Corps on picket duty in the trenches at 4 a.m.; constant exchange of shots between pickets during day and night; also artillery fire.

**Aug. 26:** Clear morning; constant firing at front; 1st sergeants of Companies ordered to the rear to lay off camp; the site of the former camp of the 2d Pennsylvania. Heavy Artillery was selected, although in easy range of fire of the enemy’s pickets it is concealed from their view being in a woods; however, the bullets of the enemy are constantly zipping through the camp.

**Aug. 27:** Regiment in trenches and on picket; James Cairney and Joseph Banks of Company C were severely wounded by the same bullet, fired by a sharpshooter of the enemy, the bullet passing through Cairney’s body and lungs and then striking Banks; they had taken breakfast to the company on picket and were returning to camp when wounded; sharp artillery duel during the afternoon; Coehorn mortars are used quite freely; Regiment relieved after dark and returned to camp.

**Sunday, August 28:** An unusually heavy picket firing in our front at daybreak; Regiment formed in line of battle anticipating an attack; the day was pleasant; artillery and musketry fire was almost continuous throughout the day and night.

**Aug. 29:** Regiment under arms at daybreak; remained in camp until evening when it was ordered to the front for picket duty; our batteries bombarded Petersburg for some time during the fore part of the night.

**Aug. 30:** Constant exchange of shots between pickets during the night and day with no casualties in the Regiment; Regimental camp moved about half a mile to the left by the men who had been on camp guard and fatigue duty; Regiment remains on picket at the front.

**Aug. 31:** Regiment on picket; general cessation of hostilities along the picket line, the sentinels on both sides meeting each other and exchange papers, coffee and sugar for tobacco; Regiment relieved at dark and return to camp in new location; mustered for pay at 10 p.m.

**Thursday, Sept. 1:** Regiment called out at 4 a.m., standing in line of battle until half an hour after daybreak; while Henry K. Atchison, Company G, was working on the company muster-rolls in his tent an unexploded shell or solid shot of the enemy shattered one of his arms so badly that it had to be amputated near the shoulder; Col. Howell was
assigned to the temporary command of the 3d Division of the 10th Corps during the sickness of Brig. Gen. William Birney; this division is comprised of colored troops.

Sept. 2: The Regiment was in line of battle at 4 a.m. (this being a standing order to govern the Regiment while in camp), remaining until a half hour after daybreak; a man of the 2d Corps, who deserted at Gettysburg was shot for desertion; he was recently captured serving in the Confederate army; Regiment went on picket at dark; nights cool and days hot.

Sept. 3: Regiment on picket; extensive bantering with enemy's pickets there being a tacit agreement not to fire on each other; however, constant firing continues on the right and left; Alexander Welsh, a recruit for Company A, arrived today; his brother, Joseph Welsh, was killed at Deep Bottom on August 18, but Alexander was not apprised of his brother's death until he arrived at camp; some of the Regiment witnessed a rare army execution—hanging; the victim of the gallows belonged to a regiment of the First Division, and had shot and killed a member of his regiment in battle against whom he held a grudge; he was detected, convicted by court-martial and expiated his crime at the end of a rope, his brigade witnessing the execution, forming three sides of a hollow square around the gallows.

Sept. 4: Regiment on picket; friendly relations still exist with the pickets in our front although there is a constant fire on the right and left; bartering continues; return to camp at dark; receive the cheering news of the capture of Atlanta.

Sept. 5: Regiment in line at 4 a.m.; remained in camp all day; the capture of Atlanta was celebrated in the evening by a terrific bombardment of Petersburg, all the batteries having range of the city participating, during which the martial bands rendered patriotic airs; the enemy threw a few shells into the Regimental camp; no casualties; heavy rain and thunder-storm shortly after dark.

Sept. 6: Day broke with a cold drizzling rain; Regiment remained in camp until dark when it went on picket, and in the reserve trenches; cold autumn rain during the night making it very disagreeable and uncomfortable; cars now running close to camp on track recently laid, and attract the fire of the enemy's batteries.

Sept. 7: The Regiment on picket in trenches until the afternoon; when relieved moved camp into the Fourteen-gun battery (subsequently designated Fort Morton); raining during the night.

Sept. 8: Regiment in Fourteen-gun battery; several companies encamping immediately in rear, protected from the enemy's fire by bomb-proofs; rained during the night.

Sept. 9: Regiment remained in fort; weather cloudy and misty with occasional drizzling rain; very little firing during forenoon; during the afternoon the enemy concentrated heavy artillery fire on the fort occupied by the Regiment without injury or casualties.

Sept. 10: Regiment lay in the fort; location of companies arranged; constant fire kept up by batteries on both sides; Sergt. George W. Ramage, Company I, slightly wounded.

Sunday, Sept. 11: Regiment ordered to construct bomb-proofs in rear of the fort; the men devoted the day to this work; raining most of the time; President Lincoln ordered this day to be observed as one of Thanksgiving for the recent victories at Atlanta and Mobile Bay; Sergt. Jacob Deffenbaugh, Company I; Sergt. Howard Kerr, Company D; and Private George Orbin, Company C, returned to the Regiment, having been absent sick.

Sept. 12: Regiment still at Fourteen-gun battery (Fort Morton); the men continued working on bomb-proofs during the day in rear of the battery.

Sept. 13: Regiment still in Fort Morton; the men finish bomb-proofs in rear of the fort; Gen. Howell mortally injured by his horse rearing and falling on him as he was returning to his quarters from Gen. Birney's headquarters about 1 a.m.

Sept. 14: Regiment in Fort Morton; Col. Howell died at brigade hospital in the evening before dark; 12 men of Company A were detailed to serve as provost-guard at division headquarters.

Sept. 15: Regiment in Fort Morton; funeral services conducted at the brigade hospital by the Masonic fraternity at the remains of Col. Howell, the procession of the order from brigade headquarters was led by the band of the 39th Illinois Regiment.
Sept. 16: Regiment in Fort Morton; continues firing on the picket lines in front and some artillery fire concentrated on the fort, but no resultant casualties in Regiment; Dr. Howell, brother of Col. Howell, of Woodbury, New Jersey, arrived for the purpose of escorting the Colonel's body home.

Sept. 17: Beautiful morning; the Regiment temporarily relieved of garrison duty and escorted the remains of Col. Howell to division headquarters; following the ambulance bearing the Colonel's body was "Old Charley," the horse he brought from Camp LaFayette in 1861, and which he had ridden so often; Regiment returned to Fort Morton; Dr. Howell departed with the Colonel's remains in the afternoon; ration returns indicated 281 men present.

Sunday, Sept. 18: Pleasant autumn day; Regiment still at Fort Morton; no religious services of any kind in camp; orders issued to have things in order for regular monthly inspection; Capt. Rolla O. Phillips, Company D, left for Pennsylvania in an endeavor to get recruits sent to the Regiment; comparatively quiet in front.

Sept. 19: Regiment at Fort Morton; the first sergeants have joined in a petition to Gen. Grant to have the men of the Regiment mustered out at the expiration of three years from date of enlistment; Regiment inspected in the afternoon by the acting assistant inspector-general of the Third Brigade, First Division, Tenth Corps; Lieut. William H. Davis, who had been on special duty with Company I since May 22, returned to Company C.

Sept. 20: A private of Company C, convicted of theft by court-martial, had his head shaved, after which he was marched through the brigade camp, the band playing the "Rogue's March," orders issued for the men not to leave the fort; the petition to Gen. Grant asking that the men be mustered out at the expiration of three years from date of enlistment was presented at the headquarters of the general by Sergt. John B. Norris, Company B; this petition was received by Lieut. Col. Theodore S. Bowers, assistant adjutant-general, of Gen. Grant's staff, who notified Sergt. Norris that the petition would have to come through the proper channel, before it could have attention from the headquarters of the army.

Sept. 21: Regiment still at Fort Morton; immediately after daybreak all the batteries fired a salute in honor of a victory of Sheridan's on September 19; first sergeants held a conference in reference to petition for discharge of the men at expiration of three years' service; orders issued to have three days' rations in haversacks and three in wagons; men anticipate early marching orders.

Sept. 22: Regiment at Fort Morton; petition forwarded to Gen. Grant through proper channel; Regimental commissary received two and a half barrels of onions and some pickles from the Sanitary Commission.

Sept. 23: Regiment at Fort Morton; detail constructing large bomb-proof in the fort by order of Lieut. Col. Campbell; men notified that the paymaster is expected daily.

Sept. 24: Regiment's last day at Fort Morton; at 8 a. m. a salute was fired in honor of Sheridan's victory in the Shenandoah valley; late in the afternoon received orders to pack up and prepare to leave; at 9 p. m. left Fort Morton and marched to within a short distance of corps headquarters and bivouacked for the night.

Sunday, Sept. 25: Regiment near corps headquarters; laid out camp and pitched tents, just north of the road between City Point and Petersburg, the field in which the camp is pitched is bordered by a creek; the 10th Corps is apparently to be held in reserve as it has been relieved from duty at the front by the 2nd Corps, and is now concentrated near Gen. Birney's headquarters.

Sept. 26: Regiment encamped along the road between City Point and Petersburg, near corps headquarters; orders to put bunks in tents; also to resume company drill six hours daily; company drill in the afternoon; Private James E. Sayers, Company F, promoted to 1st Sergeant and placed in command of the company, the commissioned officers all being absent; prayer-meeting in the evening, the first religious services in Regimental camp for some weeks.
Sept. 27: Regiment encamped between City Point and Petersburg; company drill during the forenoon; general inspection of the brigade in the afternoon; the petition forwarded to Gen. Grant requesting that the men be mustered out of the service at the expiration of three years from date of enlistment was returned by Gen. Birney disapproved; Chaplain Craig, 62d Ohio Regiment, held religious service in the camp of the 85th Regiment, preaching from Isaiah, Chap. 28, Verse 16: "Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation, a tried stone, a precious corner stone; a sure foundation."

Sept. 28: Regiment left camp between City Point and Petersburg at 3 p.m., having received orders during the forenoon to be in readiness to move at that hour with two days' rations in haversacks; crossed the Appomattox River at Broadway Landing, and the James River at Jones Landing, arriving at Deep Bottom about midnight where it went into bivouac.
North Side of the James

CHAPTER XXIII.

Again on the North Side of the James.—The Battles of Chaffin's Farm and New Market Heights.—Regiment Within Three Miles of Richmond.—Death of General Birney.—Regiment's Final Reconnaissance.

From September 29 to October 13, 1864.

Immediately on arriving at Deep Bottom on the night of September 28, Gen. Birney, commanding the 10th Corps, issued the following marching orders:

The troops of this command will be in readiness to move tomorrow promptly at 4 a. m. Coffee will be partaken by the men before 8.30 a. m. The troops will move in light marching order, and each man will carry with him but one blanket. Knapsacks and overcoats must be left inside the fortifications at Deep Bottom under charge of the 203d Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. Moore commanding. No baggage wagons of any description will accompany the troops. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 1082.)

The movement of the 10th Corps was in co-operation with another column under Maj. Gen. E. O. C. Ord, commander of the 18th Corps, and a division of cavalry commanded by Brig. Gen. August V. Kautz, all under the direction of Maj. Gen. Butler, commander of the Army of the James. The object of the movement was to surprise the Confederate forces on the north side of the James River, pass their fortified lines and get possession of Richmond. Failing in that, to make such serious and determined demonstration to that end as to draw re-enforcements from the right of the enemy's line in such numbers as to enable the Army of the Potomac to move upon the enemy's communication near Petersburg. In his written instructions to Gen. Butler governing this movement Lieutt. Gen. Grant said:

The object of this movement is to surprise and capture Richmond, if possible. This cannot be done if time is given the enemy to move forces to the north side of the river. Success will depend on prompt movement at the start. Should the outer line be broken, the troops will push for Richmond with all promptness, following roads as near the river as possible. It is impossible to point out the line of march for an army in the presence of the enemy, because the enemy may interpose such an obstacle in our route as to make it impracticable. It is known that the enemy has intrenched positions on the bank of the river between Deep Bottom and Richmond, such as Chaffin's farm, which are garrisoned. If these can be captured in passing, they should be held by suitable garrisons. If not captured, troops should be left to hold them in their position, and should intrench to make themselves strong. It will be necessary therefore to have your engineers, with their tools, well up with the advance. Should you succeed in getting to Richmond, the interposition of the whole army (rebels) between you and your supplies need cause you no alarm. With the army, under Gen. Meade, supplies could be cut off from the enemy in the event of so unexpected a move, and communication opened with you either by the south side
or from the White House before the supplies you would find in the city would be exhausted. In case you reach Richmond * * * all the bridges connecting the city with the south side should be destroyed at once or held beyond a peradventure. * * *
The whole of the force under Gen. Meade will be under arms at 4 a. m. on the 29th, ready to attack Petersburg or move to the South Side road, as circumstances may determine. As against any force now north of the James River you can go to Richmond even without a surprise. If the enemy resists you by sufficient force to prevent your advance, it is confidently expected that Gen. Meade can gain a decisive advantage on his end of the line. The prize sought is either Richmond or Petersburg, or a position which will secure the fall of the latter. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 1058.)

It was planned to have Gen. Ord's column cross the James River two miles below Dutch Gap, on a pontoon-bridge from a road on the south side of the James River to Varina (Aiken's Landing) on the north side; Gen. Birney's troops and Kautz's cavalry to cross at Jones' Landing to Deep Bottom. At dark there was no trace of a bridge at the point at which Gen. Ord's column was to cross, nor the slightest appearance of any preparation for throwing a bridge across the river, and no pontoons in the river or in sight. By midnight the bridge had been thrown across and so muffled as to make the minimum of noise, and before daybreak Ord's troops were in line of battle on the north side, the enemy being completely ignorant of the movement. The Third Division of the 18th Corps (colored) commanded by Brig. Gen. C. J. Paine was assigned to Gen. Birney's command, and crossed the James River at Jones' Landing, and was placed on the left of the 10th Corps, in order to have it contiguous to the 18th Corps as the advancing lines would merge. The two columns advanced simultaneously at the break of day on September 29, driving before them the enemy's skirmishers and advance troops. By 7.30 a. m. Gen. Ord's troops had reached the open ground around Fort Harrison on Chaffin's farm, the strongest work on the main line of intrenchments, about a mile and a quarter from the works on the river at Chaffin's Bluff, with which it was connected by more than one line of intrenchments.

While one line of advanced intrenchments held by the enemy's advanced forces extended from Fort Harrison in a northeast direction, the main line, soon after leaving the fort, ran north about three-fourths of a mile to Fort Gilmer, which was also connected with the works on the river at Chaffin's Bluff by two intrenched lines. The main advanced line of Richmond intrenchments continued north from Fort Gilmer about three-fourths of a mile, then extended northeast to the Chickahominy at New Bridge. The possession of Fort Harrison did not give possession of the defences at Chaffin's Bluff, but the possession of Fort Gilmer would give it. Gen. Ord quickly made disposition of his troops for attacking the enemy's stronghold, more than a half mile distant, and in less than an hour, after a sharp struggle, had possession of Fort Harrison.

Gen. Ord received a flesh wound in the leg shortly after the capture of the fort while reconnoitering the surrounding country, from the parapet which gave him such pain he was forced to retire, turning over the command to Gen. Heckman. Shortly after assuming command of the corps, the latter attacked Fort Gilmer but was repulsed with heavy loss. In the mean time Maj. Gen. Birney's
troops advanced upon the New Market and Darbytown roads, driving the enemy's advanced troops before them, capturing the line of intrenchments running from Fort Harrison in a northeast direction, and crossing the New Market and Darbytown roads. The enemy's main line of intrenchments was from one-half to three-quarters of a mile in rear of this. Communication was established between the two columns, the Varina and New Market roads at this point being about a mile apart. At 8.30 a.m. (29th) Gen. Butler sent a dispatch to Gen. Grant, from Grover's House, in part, as follows:

Birney has advanced from Deep Bottom and taken the main line of works at the signal tower, New Market Heights, which commands the road, and is advancing. This lets out Kautz, who is starting. By means of cavalry we have communicated across to Ord's column, who * * * carried the enemy's main line of works in his front and is advancing rapidly. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 1109.)

At 10.45 a.m. Gen. Grant sent the following dispatch from Chaffin's Farm to Gen. Halleck:

Gen. Ord's corps advanced this morning and carried the very strong fortifications and long line of intrenchments below Chaffin's Farm, with some pieces of artillery and from 200 to 300 prisoners. Gen. Ord was wounded in the leg, though not dangerously. Gen. Birney advanced at the same time from Deep Bottom, and carried the New Market road and intrenchments and scattered the enemy in every direction though he captured but few. He is now pushing on towards Richmond. I left Gen. Birney where the Mill road intersects the New Market and Richmond roads. The whole country is filled with field fortifications thus far. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 1091.)

At noon Gen. Grant, from Signal Hill, sent the following dispatch to Gen. Butler:

After riding forward to what was Gen. Birney's front at the time, the intersection of New Market and Mill roads, I turned to the left and visited the works captured by the 18th Corps. From there I returned to Signal Hill, expecting to meet you. Being desirous of keeping in communication with Gen. Meade, I shall now return to Deep Bottom where any communications will reach me. If our troops do not reach Richmond this afternoon, my opinion is it will be unsafe to spend the night north of the enemy's lower bridge. I think it advisable to select a line now to which the troops can be brought back tonight if they do not reach Richmond. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 1110.)

At 12.50 p.m. Gen. Butler sent word to Gen. Grant that

Birney is at this moment making his attack. Will inform you at once. Sixteen cars from Petersburg with troops for Richmond. * * * We shall try the works. If they are carried it is the last obstacle. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 1110.)

At 3.50 p.m. Gen. Grant advised Gen. Butler that it seemed probable the enemy had sent but one division from Petersburg and, under such circumstances, it would be well to hold all the ground possible during the night; this, he said, is not intended to prevent as rapid a push forward to-night as can be made. Later in the afternoon he advised Gen. Butler that if the enemy did not re-enforce by more than a division, "we will give them another trial in the morning, flanking instead of attacking works." In advancing towards Richmond the position of Terry's division was on the right of the 10th Corps, Howell's old brigade (the
First) being on the extreme right flank when formed in line of battle, and when advancing in column being in the lead, the 85th Regiment heading the column. No official reports covering the operations of Birney's corps, Terry's division, or Howell's old brigade from September 29 to October 12, from the commanding generals, appear in the Official Records. In the Itinerary of the Army of the James the following brief summary of the activities of the division on the 29th appears:

The division took part in the successful movement against the enemy's lines on the New Market Heights in the morning, and in the afternoon pushed forward in support of Kautz's cavalry to a point three miles from Richmond, on the Central New Market road, whence it was withdrawn, by order of the corps commander, to the enemy's lines on the New Market road near Laurel Hill. (*O. R., Vol. XLII, part I, p. 100.)

The movements of the division are more fully described by Col. Francis A. Osborn, 24th Massachusetts Regiment (Third Brigade), written immediately following the occurrence of the events narrated, and published in the history of his regiment, as follows:

We marched from our camp near Petersburg Wednesday 28th, at 3 p. m., and after a long and tedious tramp reached our old station at Deep Bottom at 2 o'clock in the morning of the 29th. We were allowed to sleep till half-past three, when we started for the front. We occupied a position on the flank, where there was no fighting. We soon had the satisfaction of hearing the cheers of our victorious men and then heard that we had carried the enemy's line and that they had left precipitately. The whole force then moved up towards Richmond, several miles by the New Market road. On the way a report was circulated that the Eighteenth Corps had captured Chapin's [Chaffin's] Bluff. I have not heard confirmation of it yet, but it looks probable. We reached more of the enemy's works before noon and the troops were placed in position to attack them, Terry's division in reserve. This attack was not successful. At 3 p. m. it was learned that Kautz's cavalry, who had gone up on the Charles City road, were in sight of Richmond. Gen. Birney, thinking they needed an infantry support, sent Terry's division. We marched up the Darbytown Turnpike until within three miles of the city, and in front of the main line of works, where we halted to find out about Kautz and his position. I rode to the head of the column and saw the dome of the Capitol. I was just going farther forward to a position where I could get a better view of the city, when we were ordered to return. It seems that Kautz had gone off on his own hook and could not be found, so that the presence of the infantry was needless, hence Gen. Birney ordered us back. It is generally believed that there is but a small force in and about the city, and that ten thousand men could have gone in there. Whether that is what Grant wants or not, I do not know. He has an admirable faculty of keeping his plans and wishes secret. We returned to our position near the works that had been attacked in the afternoon and bivouacked there. I don't know what is to be done today. Now, 7.30 a. m., the 30th, the troops are taking new positions and drawing rations. * * * The rebels must be in a very great strait for men when they leave their Capital so weakly defended as we found it yesterday. The soil we are on now and over which we passed yesterday has never before been trodden by a Union army, and I am happy to have been one of an army which first approached, so near the doomed city. Richmond, I believe, can be ours at any time, but what we want is Lee's army, and that I think we shall get.

As the 85th Regiment headed the column of Terry's division "which first approached so near the doomed city," it must have been the first infantry regi-
ment to have marched over soil "never before trodden by a Union army," as described by Col. Pond, and it stood in line of battle late in the afternoon of September 29, in closer proximity to the Confederate capital than had any other regiment of the Union army up to that time. It had accomplished this much without the necessity of firing a shot at the enemy, and retired quietly and peacefully to a position about a mile west of Four Mile Creek church near Laurel Hill, formerly held by the enemy, arriving there shortly after dark. On retiring from its close proximity to Richmond the respective divisions under Maj. Gen. Birney were placed in position as follows: Brig. Gen. Birney's left with the right of Gen. Paine's; Gen. Foster's left with the right of Gen. Birney's; Gen. Terry's left with the right of Gen. Foster's. Terry's division being now the extreme right flank (Gen. Kautz not yet having returned or heard from), was slightly refused from the point at which it connected with Foster's right. Gen. Kautz returned about daybreak on the 30th and halted on the Darbytown road, making the following report to Gen. Butler at 7:30 a.m.:

I felt the enemy's line all the way to the Chickahominy and found the roads, all of them, commanded by heavy and light artillery. I found it a connected line throughout and the redoubts very numerous. I made an attempt at midnight to assault the works near the Chickahominy, but in the darkness the command became confused in the fallen timber, which was very extensive and difficult to get through, and I withdrew. Having had no sleep last night, the command is now resting and feeding. I will await orders here. I have about a dozen prisoners. My wounded amount to half a dozen. None killed as yet reported. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part II, p. 1149.)

Immediately after falling back from the position threatening the Confederate capital Gen. Birney issued orders to the division commanders to have the troops under arms at 4 a.m. and promising that "two days of subsistence stores (one of fresh beef) has been directed to be issued to the troops of this command to-night." Just as day was breaking on the 30th, Com. Sergt. Bell arrived with the commissary stores for the Regiment, and these were distributed immediately after ranks were broken, the men having been in line of battle for two hours previously, in pursuance to orders issued the evening before. The Regiment remained in this position until about noon on October 1, the men busily employed reversing the fortified line formerly held by the enemy, and slashing timber in front. On the 30th, while Terry's division was strengthening the fortified position it held, formerly occupied by the enemy, several unsuccessful attempts had been made by the latter to recapture Fort Harrison under the personal direction of Gen. Lee who had moved his headquarters to Chaffin's Bluff on the 29th. Bvt. Maj. Gen. Godfrey Weitzel assumed command of the 18th Corps on the 30th, relieving Brig. Gen. Heckman, who had succeeded Gen. Ord temporarily when the latter was forced to retire on account of wounds. The actions of September 29 and 30 are known as the battle of Chaffin's Farm, which includes the combats at Fort Harrison, Fort Gilmer, New Market Heights and Laurel Hill. About noon October 1 the Regiment at the head of the brigade again advanced out the Darbytown road to within a few hundred yards of the enemy's last defences and within two or three miles of the Confederate capital.
This reconnaissance was made in compliance with a dispatch from Gen. Butler to Gen. Birney, dated 8.30 o'clock that morning as follows:

Unless you know some movement of the enemy of which I am not informed which should vary the situation, you will please take two brigades of Terry's division and make a reconnaissance in force up the Darbytown road toward Richmond. You may be able to get through. I enclose an order to Gen. Kautz to co-operate with you if you move, of which please let me know. Also send you a report from Gen. Weitzel, which will show that the enemy are looking for your right. That being so, Gen. Terry's brigade may not be out of place on the Darbytown road. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part III, p. 33.)

During the progress of the reconnaissance Gen. Birney sent the following dispatches to Gen. Butler; at 1.55 p. m.:

At 1.25 the infantry column reached the Central road and is now advancing. Gen. Kautz sends a brigade up Charles City road and the other takes the advance up the Darby or Central road. Eight guns go with the Central road column and two with Charles City column. My line here is all ready. There are no movements of enemy discovered in my front. I shall also make a demonstration on New Market road, driving in their pickets.

At 3.45 p. m.:

The column on the Central road have found infantry in pretty strong force three miles from the city. A column of rebel troops seen marching from our left to right; about a brigade. This force is in plain sight in opening behind the force in our front. Shots are heard from Charles City column. On New Market road have driven enemy's pickets to their works with a charge.

At 4.30 p. m.:

I have driven their pickets in confusion across my right into the field up to their works, and now hold Varina road and position occupied by me day before yesterday. They ran without much fight.

At 4.35 p. m.:

I see no reason for recalling Gen. Terry. I am about to send a force (small) on his left to demonstrate. I have ordered him to attack any force outside main works. Prisoners all say that they have only militia on our right. If nothing can be done he will return after dark.

At 5.45 p. m.:

The enemy tried to turn my right flank of skirmish line, which was repulsed handsomely. Enemy opened on the Darby column with two heavy batteries and one field piece, but little musketry. No firing heard from Charles City road. The main line of works is in plain sight and the column is directed toward them. We have only used one section (3-inch). I still hold up to their works at Varina Junction. Heavy skirmishing. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part III, pp. 33, 34.)

On October 2, in a dispatch to Gen. Halleck, Gen. Grant said:

Gen. Butler reports having last evening sent two brigades of infantry with a little cavalry within a few hundred yards of the inner line of works east of Richmond, meeting with no opposition. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part III, p. 33.)

This second reconnaissance up to within a few hundred yards of one of the main citadels of Richmond was made with very slight loss, the Regiment having
no casualties whatever. The Regiment brought in two citizens from Pleasant Farm; Sandy Ligget and Samuel Scott. During the entire afternoon it rained steadily and heavily making the roads extremely muddy, and the march a very tiresome one. About 9 p.m. the Regiment returned to its former position, the men very much fatigued after a strenuous afternoon's work. The day following the second reconnaissance of the division to the gates of Richmond's main fortified position, Gen. Butler informed Gen. Grant that after holding a consultation with Generals Birney and Weitzel, that they were of the opinion that from the knowledge acquired from the reconnaissance of the previous day they could go into Richmond with one corps, and certainly with two. However to do this an additional corps would be required to hold the position then held. In concluding this proposition to Gen. Grant, the commanding general of the Army of the James said:

As the corps would not be expected to advance one step, after they get their place, and as it is only about ten miles directly from Petersburg to the left of our line here, they might make the march in the early night, so as to let us out by 2 o'clock in the morning, which would be sufficiently early. I have examined carefully the position of the lieutenant-general as to taking up a line to hold here with a single corps, and I find it very difficult in view of the possible return of Early, to find a tenable line that would have any advantage over our line at Deep Bottom and Dutch Gap. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part III, p. 48.)

The First Brigade remained in position at the right of the 10th Corps from October 1 until the 7th doing picket and fatigue duty. On Sunday (2d), shortly before noon, the enemy (a portion of Pickett's division) attacked the pickets of the brigade, driving them in, but when confronted by a solid line of battle the enemy quickly retired, his advance evidently being to feel the position in his front. On the 4th the Regiment's shelter tents arrived and a camp was immediately established, the men having bivouacked since their arrival on the north side of the James River, without any shelter whatever. Nothing of moment occurred in camp or at the front until about day-light of October 7, when the enemy drove in the pickets of Kautz cavalry, which was in position to the right of the 10th Corps. After the first attack on the cavalry pickets the enemy remained quiet until about 8 a.m., when he advanced on Kautz's position in overpowering numbers, carried it and captured two batteries, aggregating eight guns and caissons. The enemy, flushed with victory, continued to advance until he reached the position held by Terry's division. Here he concentrated his attack on the position held by the Second Brigade, advancing at double-quick and with cheers, with the evident purpose of breaking the line at the center by the momentum of the first onset. But a withering fire from the front and an oblique fire on both flanks of the charging column dampened its enthusiasm and before it had reached within fifty yards of Terry's line it broke, and was soon in full retreat in utter confusion followed by Terry's troops, who followed the retreating foe until the lines held by Kautz in the morning had been re-established. The casualties of the First Brigade were thirty-two; 4 killed and 28 wounded, the losses of the Regiment being but four wounded, among whom
were Private John S. Wagoner, Company C, struck in face by a fragment of shell; Private Jeremiah Hartzell, Company E. After the lines from which Kautz had been driven in the morning had been re-established, the 85th Regiment re-established the picket line on the Central road, in advance of the fortified position and held it throughout the night, and until relieved by Kautz's cavalry early next morning, when it returned to camp, at the position it held before the attack had been made on Kautz. At 7.15 p. m., October 7, Gen. Butler sent the following dispatch to Gen. Kautz:

I grieve for your loss. You do not state what loss you inflicted on the enemy. The enemy attacked Gen. Birney's right; were repulsed with slaughter, with a loss of 1,000 killed and wounded and 100 prisoners. Birney then took the offensive and drove them back and now holds your old line with a division of infantry. (*O. R., Vol. XLII, part III, p. 118."

A little later he sent Kautz another dispatch as follows:

Gen. Terry, with such troops as he has under his command, holds your old position. You will move up your command just before day, and, reporting to him for this purpose, take position to strengthen his right and flanks. (*O. R., Vol. XLII, part III, p. 118."

Writing on the battlefield at 1.30 p. m., Col. Osborn, 24th Massachusetts, describes the situation as follows:

We are now lying in the woods a little in rear of the position which we have occupied for the past week, and having just repulsed with much slaughter a furious attack of the rebels, I have a breathing spell, which I devote to writing. We knew last night that we should be attacked this morning and were surprised when an hour of daylight passed without any alarm. Between 6 and 7 o'clock we heard firing on our extreme right, which was our most exposed point; as it increased and came nearer, our brigade was moved from its position to a point beyond the former right of the line, in order to prevent our being flanked. We marched on the road towards Deep Bottom about a mile, then marched in line of battle into the wood, about 500 yards, connecting with other troops already in position. This was about 9.30 a. m. We lay there about an hour, during which the skirmishers in front were hotly engaged. After a while the firing became much heavier, and the bullets flew past us much more thickly, showing that the enemy had brought up a line of battle. Our skirmishers fell back, at first slowly and then with a rush, breaking through my ranks, and then going to the rear. They were not my men. This did not, as I had feared, throw my men into any confusion, they stood quiet and waited coolly for my orders. I could see them watching my face eagerly, as men always do watch their commanding officer in battle, so I called for three cheers, which were given with a will. The enemy came in sight at this moment and we poured in a heavy fire, which drove them back. The fire was heavier on my left than on my immediate front. In a few moments firing broke out on my right, which did not connect immediately with anything but the 10th Connecticut, which lay a little in rear, welcomed so many of them to bloody graves that the rest retired with haste. Then we went to work to throw up a little breastwork to make our position more secure if they should charge again, and while the men are working, I write this line. Some prisoners were taken, among them a wounded officer of the 5th South Carolina. They all agree that we slaughtered them fearfully. They say they have never met with so great a loss in any battle. My own regimental loss is small as yet, not more than half a dozen, of whom one [Merritt of I] was killed. Regiments on my left have suffered more severely. Orders have just come to advance.

3.45 p. m. We have advanced slowly a short distance without seeing the enemy, and are now waiting again. What we shall do next is not known. It is now said that the
enemy are again trying to turn our right, but that story is subject to caution. It is a lovely
day, clear and bright, with the sun just pleasantly warm, but not oppressive.

8.30 a. m., October 8. After writing the above we advanced about half a mile. The
enemy had retreated, having utterly failed to accomplish his purpose and having met with
considerable loss. They are said to have returned to Richmond. Lee was present, directing
the movement in person. The affair came near being serious for us, for the cavalry who
 guarded our right were driven back flying, and but for Terry's division our communications
would have been cut. Our division prolonged our right, met the rebels at every point, and
as one of the prisoners said, they were handsomely "foiled."

Thomas M. Cook, correspondent of the New York Herald, describes the
action as follows:

Hoke's division of rebel infantry, consisting of four brigades, moved out of Richmond
at an early hour last evening on York River turnpike, Field's division of equal strength
with Hoke's, moved out from the rebel line of works immediately beyond the right of
our infantry line and advanced down the Central road. Kautz's men were put to con-
fusion and broke in the wildest disorder. At the same time the announcement was recorded
of Hoke's advance, which increased the panic and caused a disgraceful stampede. Men,
horses, wagons, etc., started for the rear at a fearful pace.

Terry's division was assigned the post of honor for the day, it being formed on a line
at right angles with our main line, stretching along parallel with the New Market road,
about five hundred yards north of that thoroughfare. The right of this line was in deep
woods and partially strengthened with rude and hastily constructed rifle-pits. The left
stretched across an open field and occupied strong works that had been constructed pre-
vious to this affair. In these works Lieut. Col. Jackson, Chief of Artillery, had placed
four batteries of six guns each. From this position a clear view could be had of the fields
over which the rebels must pass to reach the woods, in which the right of the line was
posted, which fields were literally swept by these guns. The formation of the line gave
the Third Brigade, Col. H. M. Plaisted * * * the right; the Second Brigade, Col.
Joseph C. Abbott, the center, and the First Brigade, Col. F. B. Pond * * * the left.
The rebels in their previous reconnaissance had discovered, as they supposed, the right of
our infantry line, and the cavalry being stampeded, they now pressed on in what seemed
to them the shortest route to pass our right and strike in our rear. The position held by
the Second and Third Brigades they supposed to be unoccupied, and so it was until fifteen
minutes before the attack came; in this course, therefore, they headed. At ten o'clock
they commenced their movement, and at the same moment our formidable array of artillery
opened upon them, enfolding them more and more perfectly as they advanced, and doing
great execution. They brought out two batteries into a little point of woods opposite the
position of our guns and attempted to silence our deadly fire; but Col. Jackson met this
attempt by planting a couple of rifle batteries in the rear of the main line, which firing over
the others, did good execution upon the rebel batteries, causing one of them to limber
up and get out of the way in a hurry, its horses being so badly used up that it became
necessary to drag the pieces away by hand. * * * But still the rebels pressed on, and
were soon in the woods, beyond the range of our artillery. The main attack fell upon
the Second or Central brigade, the brigades on either flank being lightly engaged. The
Second is about half armed with Spencer's repeating carbines, and had a strong skirmish
line, composed wholly of men with this weapon, thrown well out to the front. * * * The
rebels were obstinate and determined; but finding they could not drive our men from
their position, finally gave way and retired in confusion. The battle had lasted about half
an hour, but during that short space of time over one thousand of the rebels left their
bones to enrich the sacred soil. Our own losses in killed, wounded and missing, were a
trifle over a hundred. It was the cheapest victory ever won on a battlefield. * * * The
route of the cavalry was a disgraceful affair, and came near costing us the entire position
on this side of the river. It fell upon this corps at a moment when our men needed to be fortified with all their steadiness, coolness and courage * * * yet * * * an attacking party was never more handsomely repulsed and sent back than were they when they struck Birney's infantry. Not an inch did any of our men budge during any part of the fight, but, on the contrary, gained ground, and in the evening advanced and took up the position that had been so shamefully abandoned by the cavalry.

Shortly after the Regiment returned to camp from the picket line in front of the position re-established by Terry's division, on the Central road, the men were highly pleased at being requested to sign the pay-rolls, as they had then more than seven months pay due them. However, at daybreak the following morning, their pleasure of the previous day had been turned to chagrin at being hurriedly ordered to break camp, and move with the brigade. However, the disappointment was somewhat mollified when a halt was made after the brigade had moved about a mile east of its former position, and the main part of the force put to work fortifying the new position, and they were entirely appeased in the afternoon by the arrival of the paymaster, who left them six months' pay. The men on fatigue duty continued to work until 9 p. m., when the entire front was sufficiently fortified to give a sense of security to the tired men as they lay down to rest. On October 10, owing to illness, Maj. Gen. Birney was temporarily relieved of the command of the Tenth Corps. Brevet Maj. Gen. Terry was designated as his temporary successor and immediately assumed command. Brig. Gen. Adelbert Ames, who had been in command of the 2d Division of the 18th Corps, was assigned to the command of the First Division. Gen. Birney's last communication to department headquarters, before yielding the command of the corps, was dated on October 9, as follows:

Please express to the general my appreciation of his kindness in the matter of sending me home. My fortifications to Four-Mile Church are almost complete. Brig. Gen. Birney is opening short and several roads to the rear, and I have explained to Gen. Terry my plan of several roads through the woods, commencing from extreme left to extreme [right], and narrow as salient was approached. If Gen. Kautz will make a good strong corduroy road, wide and ample, from Dr. Johnson's house to my right flank he could always withdraw. I regard the position as perfectly defensible. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part III, p. 150.)

Gen. Birney had been a very sick man for several days prior to the action of the 7th, and was unable to leave his tent. However, when he received intelligence of the enemy's attack on the 7th, he was soon in his saddle, remaining there until noon, when he was no longer able to sit on his horse, and was transferred to an ambulance, remaining in it until nearly dusk, when he was driven to his headquarters. He did not leave the latter until Monday morning, October 10, having turned over the command to Gen. Terry on Sunday evening, although the official orders for the change of commanders were not issued until Monday. He arrived at his Philadelphia home about 2 p. m. on Tuesday, State election day. Gov. Curtin was a candidate for re-election, and, although suffering intensely from his malady, the general deemed it his duty to go to the poles and cast his vote for Pennsylvania's loyal governor. From the poles he went
to his bed-chamber never again to leave it alive. On Tuesday morning, October 18, he had a violent hemorrhage of the bowels which medical skill could not check, and within two or three hours after sunset, just one week from his arrival home, October 18, "the silver cord was loosed, the golden bowl was broken," and Major General David B. Birney was dead. Like the gallant Col. Howell, it was not his lot to die on the field of battle, pierced by a bullet from the enemy. Among the last official papers from Gen. Birney to the Governor of Pennsylvania was one in behalf of the 85th Regiment. Lieut. Col. Campbell on October 4, had petitioned Gen. Terry for permission to raise five new companies to fill up the Regiment, which was approved and forwarded to the commanding-general of the corps, and under date of October 5, 1864, was endorsed by Gen. Birney as follows:

Respectfully forwarded to the Governor of Pennsylvania. As the 85th P. V. has only one field officer—lieutenant-colonel—an arrangement could be made for consolidation of the five companies being raised in excess of the legal organization for the 188th P. V. If this cannot be done, if the War Department and your Excellency will give permission, I can raise five new companies in Pennsylvania for this splendid old Regiment. May I ask your assistance in the matter? You may have five companies to add to this Regiment giving Campbell the colonelcy, the lieutenant-colonelcy to the five new companies, and the majority to the senior officer of the 85th. This would suit all. Excuse my suggestions, but I am anxious to arrange a strong Pennsylvania Division.

The 199th Pennsylvania, a regiment of raw troops, arrived at the brigade camp on October 9. Gen. Birney had assigned this regiment to the brigade on the 5th, and during the interim it had formed the garrison in the intrenchments at Deep Bottom. For the next two days after receiving pay the men, except those detailed for picket duty, were permitted to enjoy a complete rest. During the morning of the 10th, camp was laid off in the new position. Peter A. Johns, a citizen of Uniontown, Penna., arrived during the day, bringing the election papers for the Regiment. On Tuesday, October 11, election was held for State officers, and out of an aggregate vote of 176 Gov. Curtin had a majority of 56. At 9.30 a. m., on the 12th, Gen. Kautz reported to Gen. Butler that the enemy was very busy fortifying on the Darbytown road, near his pickets, and that the officer of the picket on the road was of the opinion that he was building a fort within a half mile from the old line of intrenchments. When this was reported to Gen. Grant he advised Gen. Butler to send out a strong reconnaissance of infantry and cavalry to drive the enemy from the work at which he was engaged. In compliance with Gen. Grant's instruction, at 12.30 p. m., Gen. Butler sent the following orders to Gen. Terry:

You will take two divisions of your corps, preferably the First and Third, if their places on your line can be spared, and, in conjunction with Gen. Kautz's Cavalry, you will make a reconnaissance in force and drive away, if practicable, the enemy from the works they are now building on the Darbytown (or Central) road. Gen. Weitzel has been ordered to support your line if necessary. Take care that your forces are not cut off. I presume you will find about 6,000 of the enemy's veteran troops—Early and Hoke's divisions—in your front. You will push the enemy into his old line of fortifications, but not pursue farther unless you see such indications of giving way as will justify it, of
which you will keep me advised. You will communicate this order to Gen. Kautz, that he may co-operate with you. Make all your dispositions as rapidly as possible, and inform me when you are ready to move and I will give the order. (*O. R., Vol. XLII, part III, p. 186.*)

On the receipt of this order Gen. Terry notified Gen. Butler that he would take the First and Third Divisions, but, owing to the rawness of the 199th Pennsylvania, he advised leaving it behind, as "it would do more harm than good in the open field." At 2.40 p.m., Gen. Terry advised Gen. Butler as follows:

I have arranged with Gen. Kautz to move out and cover the right of the movement occupying the ground between the Darbytown and Charles City roads, and trying to find the enemy's left. I shall move Ames' division out till its right rests on or just beyond the Darbytown road, and then move up parallel with the road. Birney, I intend to put in at Kell's house to try to turn the enemy's left. (*O. R., Vol. XLII, part III, p. 187.*)

The Regiment received marching orders early in the afternoon and between 4 and 5 o'clock, at the head of the brigade, moved in the direction of Richmond, but had not proceeded more than a mile when it formed line of battle in an open field, and after a brief halt was ordered to return to camp. The delay in starting was due to a flag of truce that had been sent out by Gen. Butler and had not returned. At 4 p.m. Gen. Butler sent the following dispatch to Gen. Grant:

I am all ready to move, but the enemy still detain my flag on the picket line in front of Battery Harrison. I suppose that having moved my troops into position is all that I can do until the flag returns. I am in doubt whether to move tonight; it is so late.

An hour later he sent another dispatch as follows:

My flag is still out. I have sent for it. It is raining, and I submit to you whether any movement best be made till morning. Am all ready.

To these dispatches Gen. Grant immediately replied:

Your dispatches received. Postpone the movement; it is now too late.

At 7.30 p.m. Gen. Butler dispatched Gen. Grant:

If you see no objection, I will order that movement at daybreak tomorrow, so as to strike the enemy's pickets by sunrise, giving the men their coffee before they start.

To this the following reply was received:

I fully approve of your making the movement ordered for this afternoon early in the morning.

On the receipt of the latter Gen. Butler sent the following instructions to Gen. Terry:

You will move Ames' and Birney's divisions upon the enemy near the brick house on the Darbytown road with vigor, so as to possess yourself of their line now being intrenched on that road. Gen. Kautz will move with you, turning the enemy's left if possible. Your movement should be so early as to strike the enemy by sunrise. * * *
On the receipt of the foregoing Gen. Terry immediately sent the following orders to his division commanders:

The movement proposed for this p. m. will take place tomorrow morning. Gen. Ames' division will move out to and across the Darbytown road, forming in the open ground beyond, and moving up parallel, or nearly so, with that road, will attack the enemy and endeavor to find and turn the left of their intrenchments. Gen. Birney's division will form on this side of the Darbytown road, prepared to advance at the same time with Gen. Ames, his skirmishers on the same line with Gen. Ames' skirmishers. Col. Curtis' brigade will move out to the Kell house, forming line facing the enemy, his center at the house. Gen. Kautz proposes to move to the right of the Darbytown road, covering Gen. Ames' right, and he will endeavor to drive in the enemy between that road and the Charles City road. He also proposes to send a column up the Charles City road, dislodge the enemy there, and, if possible, take them in reverse down toward the Darbytown road.

Gen. Ames will take great care not to extend so far to the right as to leave a dangerous gap between his left and Gen. Birney's right. The batteries will report to Gen. Kautz at Four Mile Church, on the New Market road, and will follow his column until they reach the Darbytown road, when they will halt and report to the division commanders to which they are assigned. The battery not assigned will report to the chief of artillery, who will be near the Johnson house on the last named road. The troops will move at 4 a. m. promptly. Corps headquarters will at first be at the Johnson house. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part III, p. 190.)

Lieut. Col. Campbell, who was division officer of the day during the night of October 12-13, sent the following report to Gen. Ames' headquarters at 12.15 a. m. (midnight):

Lieutenant: In pursuance of instructions from Gen. Ames I made a careful reconnaissance of the enemy's movements from our picket line in front of the Kell house in the direction of the Darbytown road. I could hear the movement of wheels toward our right. There seemed to be activity of the enemy in the same direction. Axes could be heard and pounding as if in the construction of fortifications. Within about twenty minutes two shots were fired within the enemy's lines, apparently accidentally; immediately on the picket line of the enemy all was quiet. It is my impression that forces of the enemy have been moved to the neighborhood of the Darbytown road from our left. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part III, p. 218.)

This was immediately forwarded to corps headquarters, and at 1 a. m. Gen. Terry forwarded it to Gen. Butler with the following comment:

Gen. Ames has just forwarded to me the following report from his division officer of the day. The only thing of any importance in it is the statement in regard to wheels, which confirms a report which I have received from Gen. William Birney that the noise of artillery or wagons moving to our right has been heard by one of his officers on the picket-line. I send this for what it may be worth in order not to withhold any information which can possibly be of value. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part III, p. 217.)

The Regiment was routed out at 3 a. m., on October 13, and, after a hurried breakfast, formed ranks, and at 4 a. m., at the head of the division, moved from camp, in the direction of the Darbytown road, marching by column by the road from Cox's house to Johnson's field. The division reached the Darbytown road at daybreak and formed line of battle faced to the left with the left of the Second (Hawley's) Brigade resting on the Darbytown road near
where it is intersected by the Mill road, at right angles to the former road. The left of the Third Brigade (Col. Plaisted's) connected with the right of Hawley's brigade, and the left of the First (formerly Howell's) Brigade, commanded by Col. Pond, touched the right of Plaisted's line. Birney's division was formed on the left of the Darbytown road, his right resting on the road. The 85th Regiment holding the extreme right flank of the infantry line of battle, was in touch with Kautz's cavalry, the latter extending over to the Charles City road. The division of infantry was in readiness to advance in line of battle at sunrise, but was delayed because of the tardiness of the cavalry in arriving, but as soon as the latter was in position the division advanced across an open field and entered a thick growth of scrub oaks. At some points the undergrowth of scrub oaks was very thick, while at other points it was more open, but as the line advanced towards the enemy's fortifications a continuous line of rifle-pits could be seen, although masked by bushes. A careful examination developed a slashing varying in width from 100 to 150 yards, behind which was a strong breastwork well manned by the enemy. After passing to the north of the Darbytown road the brigade was formed in line of battle in the following order: The 67th Ohio and 85th Regiment forming the main line, the Regiment to the right of the former supported by eight companies of the 39th Illinois in reserve; the remaining two companies of the 39th and the 62d Ohio thrown out as skirmishers to the front and right flank. Shortly after noon the brigade was re-enforced by the 3d New Hampshire from the Second Brigade and the 10th Connecticut, of the Third Brigade. The lines were then formed, four regiments; the 10th Connecticut, part of the 62d Ohio, 39th Illinois and 67th Ohio, formed into a charging column, the 85th Regiment and 3d New Hampshire being held in reserve. The storming party advanced through a thick tangle of scrub oaks, which concealed the opposing forces from each other's view. As the advancing column proceeded through the woods, the men cheered lustily, which brought in response a murderous fire from which the reserve also suffered some little, the Regiment meeting with eight casualties, none mortal, as follows: Sergt. Charles E. Eckels, Company E; Privates David W. Baker, Company B; George Rodeback, Company C; James Nicholas Derbins, and Jacob Huffman, Company F; Milton F. Bradley and Samuel E. Johnson, Company I. The assaulting column advanced to within close proximity of the enemy's works when it was confronted with what appeared to be an impenetrable abatis, and, being under a murderous fire, the men fell back, which, by the nature of the ground, was necessarily in more or less confusion. The Regiment remained in its original position in reserve, anticipating the enemy's advance after the retreating troops, until after the latter were re-formed, when it formed in prolongation of the new line on the right, and later formed with the brigade in rear of the Johnson House, whence, after a brief halt, it returned to camp, reaching the latter place about dark. The operations of the brigade are described in the official report of Col. Pond as follows:

Four regiments of the brigade (the 62d and 67th Ohio and 39th Illinois and 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers), being in all 882 muskets, marched out at 4 a. m. Halting on
the Darbytown road, I formed beyond the Johnson House by order of the division commander, in the following order: The 67th Ohio and 85th Pennsylvania, in line of battle, the left resting on a perpendicular to the Darbytown road, the 39th Illinois in reserve. Formed in double column on the center and fronted to the rear and center of the line, the 62d Ohio and two companies of the 39th Illinois thrown out as skirmishers, their line securely covering the front and right flank of my command. In this disposition I moved forward, facing the abandoned earthworks, the dwelling house immediately beyond these works (i.e., the Jordan house), and advancing about 700 yards in the woods beyond this house. At this point I was ordered to charge the enemy’s line. The 10th Connecticut (70 strong) was ordered to report to me for this purpose, and also the 3d New Hampshire—this latter to be used as a reserve body. The storming column consisted of the 10th Connecticut, part of the 62d Ohio, 39th Illinois, and 67th Ohio, each regiment in double column on the center, at half distance, and disposed in line in the order just enumerated, the 10th Connecticut holding the right.

This column, consisting of about 570 men, advanced with a cheer through the chaparral. After charging about 300 yards the column was assailed by a murderous fire of musketry from the front and left flank, the enemy appearing in a heavy force on the right, and left. The command struggled manfully forward, moving up to the edge of a slashing and chevaux-de-frise attacking a substantial breastwork. Many of the command crossed this and fell on the enemy’s works, in the breastwork. * * * Human endurance could stand up no longer against this terrific fire of musketry and artillery, and the command was retired and re-formed on a country road some 300 yards in the front of the enemy’s works in line of battle, where they remained awaiting an attack from the enemy until about 3:30 o’clock, when the command was removed to the pits to the rear of the house (the 10th Connecticut and 3d New Hampshire moving off and reporting to their brigade commander), where they remained for a short time, and were then re-formed in line of battle in rear of the Johnson House, from whence, after a half hour’s rest, they were marched into camp. My loss is as follows, viz:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Troops</th>
<th>Killed</th>
<th>Wounded</th>
<th>Missing</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62d Ohio Vols.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39th Illinois Vols.</td>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67th Ohio Vols.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85th Pennsylvania Vols.</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The commanding officer of the 10th Connecticut reports his loss as follows: 5 killed, 38 wounded, 5 missing; total, 48. Among them I have to regret the loss of several valuable officers. * * * When officers and men behave so well it would be invidious in my opinion, to specify cases of merit. Those who died, died as became soldiers and patriots. Those who are wounded, were wounded doing their duty. Those who live, live by the special protection of Providence and not from any particular favor from the enemy. I cannot forbear to note in this connection the great disparity between the killed and wounded in the list of casualties which is attributed to the enemy’s delivering his fire so extremely low. I am happy to state that the surgeon’s report a large proportion of the wounded will soon be able for duty. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part I, p. 690-1.)

The report of the division commander, Brig. Gen. A. Ames, was as follows:

Shortly after 4 a.m., the First Brigade moved from its camp, followed by the 3d and 2d Brigades, respectively. Before 6 a.m. the division was formed on the right of the Darby road, with about one-third its strength on the skirmish line and about one-third the remainder as reserves. At the command of the major-general commanding the corps the line moved forward until it encountered the enemy. About 2 p.m. Col. Pond assaulted
the enemy's line where no slashings had been found. He had his entire brigade, with the exception of his skirmish line, and in addition one regiment and part of another from the other two brigades of the division. His assault was unsuccessful. At about 3:30 o'clock the command was withdrawn and returned to camp. * * *

I wish briefly to call attention to Col. Pond, commanding First Brigade. He was late in starting from camp. I was at his headquarters and hastened his movements. He displayed, at least I thought he did, great indifference throughout the entire day, and only did what he was ordered to do when he found it could not be avoided. He reports he had but 570 men in the assault. As I have already said, he had, with the exception of his skirmish line, his own brigade and one regiment and part of another from the other brigades of the command. I think his report of the opposition he met with should be received with caution. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part I, pp. 685-686.)

The severe criticism of Col. Pond may have been made in justification of himself for being largely responsible for the unsuccessful assault. The commanding general of the corps, Gen. Terry, who personally directed the reconnaissance, in his report, says:

Moving forward, the enemy's pickets were driven in and their line of intrenchments was encountered. It is located on the crest which crosses the road perpendicularly near the Cunningham house, and consists of strong infantry parapets or rifle-pits, covered by slashing and strengthened by redoubts and emplacements for artillery. One redoubt is situated on the road itself, enfilading it with artillery; one other, or an emplacement for guns, is near the Darby house. The line from the Darbytown road to a point beyond the Henrico Poor House was fully reconnoitered * * * and was found to be formidable. I have no doubt it connects with the works west of the New Market road. East of the Darbytown road an unusually thick growth of young trees rendered it very difficult to ascertain the character of the line. It was only by pushing up a strong skirmish line and feeling from point to point that any information could be obtained. Everywhere strong works with strong slashing in front were developed. Between 10 and 11 o'clock I forwarded a dispatch stating these facts and received a reply that its contents had been submitted to Gen. Grant. Subsequent to this and before receiving any additional instructions to those directing the movement, I received information from Gen. Kautz that on a part of his front there appeared to be no works of consequence and that the enemy was still intrenching. I therefore directed Gen. Ames to extend his right toward the Charles City road, and attempt to get through the line. His first attempt left him in front of works of the same character as before, but still extending his right, he, after making a personal examination of the ground, reported that he thought there was nothing in his front, or if there were works, that no obstacles covered them. I directed him to move in at that point. He attacked with his First Brigade, re-enforced by his Second and Third. The movement was vigorously made, but it appeared that the apparent absence of works arose from the fact that the line was refused at a point just west of the attack; so that our troops in moving up presented in some degree their left flank to the fire of the enemy. Here, as elsewhere, the line was a substantial rifle-pit, and covered by a difficult abatis of scrub oak, and appeared to be amply manned. The point of this attack was, I think, within half a mile of the Charles City road. I regret to say that in this movement we met with considerable loss. While this attack was in progress I received from the major general commanding the dispatch directing me to reconnoiter fully and retire leisurely. In obedience to it I commenced withdrawing from the right, beginning with Spear's cavalry brigade, which had been holding in check a force of cavalry and infantry on the Charles City road. The enemy's skirmishers attempted to follow his withdrawal and the withdrawal of the troops next on his left, but our artillery, posted where the old outer line of intrenchments crosses the Darbytown road, soon drove them back. The troops then quietly retired.
to camp on the roads by which they advanced in the morning. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part I, p. 681-2.)

In his dispatch to Gen. Butler sent at 10.30 a. m., Gen. Terry said:

As at present advised, I think we cannot pierce their works except by massing on some point and attacking in column. I hesitate to do this without further instructions from you after your conversation of last night. Please direct me in regard to it.

This was forwarded to Gen. Grant at noon and he immediately replied:

I would not attack the enemy in his intrenchments. The reconnaissance now serves to locate them for any future operation. To attack we would lose more than the enemy and only gain ground which we are not prepared to hold, nor are we prepared to follow up any advantage we might gain. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part I, p. 214.)

In his strictures on Col. Pond when he says "I think his report of the opposition he met with should be received with caution," Gen. Ames, by implication, makes a reflection on the troops comprising the assaulting column. The aggregate casualties of the entire forces in this reconnaissance, including artillery and cavalry, were 437. Howell's old brigade sustained a loss of 181, and the 10th Connecticut Regiment which joined with it in the unsuccessful assault, met with a loss of 45, making the aggregate losses of the assaulting column 226 or, more accurately, 218, as the 85th Regiment did not participate in the charge, as it was held in reserve. Evidently, Gen. Ames' strictures on Col. Pond were not confined to his official report. On October 19, the corps commander received the following peremptory order from the headquarters of the department:

The major-general commanding directs that you detail a competent officer to command the First Brigade, First Division, of your corps, and return Col. Pond, 68d Ohio Volunteers, now in command, to his regiment. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part III, p. 279.)

On November 4, Col. Voris having been temporarily assigned to the command of the division, Col. Pond was again temporarily assigned to the command of the brigade, and was in command of it on November 6 when he was honorably discharged from the service at his own request. It is very probable that Col. Pond was reluctant to order his command to make the charge which must inevitably lead to great loss with little hope of being successful, and thus viewing the situation, "and only did what he was ordered to do when he found it could not be avoided." Maj. Randlett, commanding officer of the 3d New Hampshire, the regiment from the 2d Brigade, under command of Col. Pond, at the time the assault was made, says in his report:

Soon after was ordered to right of division line, in rear of First Brigade, to communicate with Col. Pond, commanding that brigade. Col. Pond ordered me to form column in rear of his command, which I did by deploying in column by wing, right in front. After lying in this position for more than an hour, orders were received to charge the enemy's works in our front, Col. Pond's brigade, re-enforced by the 10th Connecticut Volunteers, formed in battalion line, in double column, closed in mass. My command formed thirty yards in rear of battalion direction. The line advanced steadily, at command forward, for about 200 yards, when the command "to charge" was given. We dashed forward about 200 yards farther. A yell given by the charging column seemed to inspire hope of success but proved to give the concealed enemy the position of our
forces and drew a terrific fire, under which Col. Pond's brigade retired in confusion. My command retained their position, not a man leaving the ranks. Col. Pond soon rallied a portion of his brigade. Orders were received to retire, and I covered the retreating column. I cannot refrain from comment on this charge after stating so much relating to the conduct of this brigade. It appears to me that our advance was made too far to the right, as nearly all the fire from the enemy came across from enemy to left of our flank. I do not think the position could have been carried with the force of our command; but I cannot refrain from stating that it is my belief that the ground was not thoroughly skirmished before the charge was made. On retiring I was ordered to join the Second Brigade, and with them returned to camp. Of the conduct of the officers and men in this unhappy affair I am truly proud, as none but true soldiers would have stood with the demoralizing shock of the retiring force. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part I, p. 723.)

The historian of the 3d New Hampshire Regiment changes the last sentence of the foregoing report to read: "Of the conduct of the men under my command, I feel I am justly proud." It is quite probable that the latter phrase expresses more definitely what the commanding officer wished to say. The 85th Regiment was also held in reserve and maintained its position until it was ordered to retire, meeting with eight casualties while the 3d New Hampshire had but three, notwithstanding it "covered the retreating column." Chaplain Trumbull of the 10th Connecticut Regiment has written a biography of Maj. Camp, of the 10th Connecticut Regiment, entitling it, "The Knightly Soldier." Maj. Camp was killed at the head of his Regiment while storming the enemy's works with Howell's old brigade under command of Col. Pond. Chaplain Trumbull's affectionate tribute is very much weakened by a very unjust aspersion cast upon the remainder of the assaulting column under Col. Pond, at the time Maj. Camp was killed, as follows:

The signal was given for a start; the men raised the charging cry with a tone that rather indicated a willingness to obey than a hope of success; and the doomed column struggled forward, through the impeding undergrowth of the dense wood, through the crashing sweep of grape and canister and the fatal hiss and hum of flying bullets. * * * The chaplain turned to his work among the many dying and wounded. The Major struggled on, through the thicket, out to the open space before the enemy's works; and there, when all at his left had fallen back, when only the brave men of the steadfast 10th at his right were yet pressing forward, he stood for a moment to re-form the broken line which could not be maintained in the tangled wood. The rebel parapet was but a few rods in his front. From the double battle-line behind it, the rifles poured forth their ceaseless fire of death. His tall and manly form was too distinct a target to escape special notice from the foe. Waving his sword, he called aloud cheerily, "Come on, boys, come on!" then turned to the color sergeant just emerging from the thicket, that he might rally the men on the regimental standard. As he did so, a bullet passed through his lungs; and, as he fell on his side, he was pierced yet again and again by the thick coming shot. His death was as by the lightning's stroke. His eyes scarce turned their glance at the tattered, dear old flag, ere they were closed to earth, and opened again beyond the stars and their field of blue. The few remaining veterans of the 10th were alone before the enemy's well-defended stronghold. They had performed the part assigned them. Had the order been to go on at all hazards, they would never have turned about, even though no man of their number had crowned the bristling parapet in their front. But the brigade commander who had directed their movements had already fallen back with the remainder of his troops. Seeing this, Col. Otis and Lieut. Col. Greely re-
tired in good order their little band of now less than fifty men, and reached again their starting point, having lost more than one-half the battalion, dead or wounded, in the fruitless charge. Maj. Camp's body was left where it fell. It was in vain that his stricken friend sought to reach and recover it.

The revised report of casualties in the four regiments comprising the assaulting column shows the aggregate losses to have been 218; the 10th Connecticut's loss being 45, and the other three regiments being 173, the commanding officers of two regiments, the 39th Illinois and 62d Ohio, both being severely wounded, the latter mortally. It is refreshing, and in marked contrast to the reverend gentleman's version of the affair to turn to the official report of the gallant commander of the 10th Connecticut Regiment, Col. J. L. Otis, who was with his regiment at the front. He describes the charge on the enemy's position as follows:

The regiment * * * remained in reserve until noon, when I received orders from Gen. Ames to report with my command, except the skirmishers under Lieut. Linsley, to Col. Pond, commanding First Brigade. I reported accordingly, and being the senior regimental commander present, was ordered to form my regiment in double column, at half distance, on the right of his brigade which was formed in column for an assault. About 2.30 p. m. the order was given to charge the enemy's works, and the entire command moved forward with great promptness. My regiment behaved splendidly, as did all others in the assaulting column, but the charge being through a thicket of scrub oaks so dense that men could hardly push their way the force of the charge was entirely broken before reaching the enemy's works. Most of the way the column was subjected to a terribly severe enflaming fire from which men were falling at every step. On coming within ten paces of the enemy's works the severity of the fire and impenetrable nature of a narrow slashing in front of the ditch compelled the column to fall back. The men retired quite deliberately, many of them returning the enemy's fire as they did so. The enemy was well intrenched and the works strongly manned. My loss was 1 field officer (Major Camp), 4 enlisted men killed, 37 wounded, and 3 missing. Among the wounded are 6 orderly sergeants who were in command of companies, 3 of whom are mortally and 1 severely wounded. The only commissioned officers with the regiment besides myself were Lieut. Col. Greeley, Maj. Camp, and 1st Lieut. James H. Linsley. I know of no higher praise to bestow on these officers than to say that they all behaved with their usual courage and coolness, Maj. Camp losing his life within a few steps of the enemy's works. Chaplain Trumbull was also present and very efficient in attending to the removal of the wounded from the field. Asst. Surg. Hart was, as usual, constantly near the regiment rendering prompt and efficient aid to our wounded. My regiment has taken part in more than forty battles and skirmishes, never before fell back under fire, and never behaved better than on this occasion. But I have no apologies to make for it. I have not seen a more hopeless task undertaken since I entered the service than that attempted by the assaulting column today. (O. R., Vol. XLII, part 1, p. 741.)

It may seem irrelevant to have made this defense of Col. Pond's brigade in this volume, but it should be remembered that the brigade was organized on July 19, 1863, as the Second Brigade of Terry’s division with Col. Howell in command, and although, at times, called to other commands, the Colonel always referred to the men comprising this brigade affectionately as "My Boys." It also should be remembered that the 85th Regiment as a whole or detachment, was an integral part of this brigade from its organization until after the army under Gen. Lee capitulated at Appomattox on April 9, 1865.
The following daily record of events from September 29 to October 13, 1864, covering the operations of the Regiment, was compiled from the diaries of Com. Sergt. Bell, 1st Sergt. Swearer and Corp. Chick, supplemented from notes made at the time by Surgeon Kurtz:

**Thursday, Sept. 29:** The Regiment was routed out shortly after 3 a. m., and after a hurried breakfast, and at the glow of dawn was in line of battle, and just as day began to break advanced over the same ground Howell's brigade had charged over at New Market Heights on August 14. With very little resistance the Regiment, at the head of the brigade, advanced out the New Market road until it was within three miles of Richmond, without any casualties; later in the day it was ordered to retire, and it fell back to a fortified position about a mile west of Four Mile Run Church, near the Robinson house.

**Sept. 30:** The Regiment remained in same position it occupied after falling back from in front of Richmond near the Robinson house, and devoted the day in strengthening the fortifications; Com. Sergt. Bell arrived with commissary supplies at daybreak; in the evening he issued fresh bread, and about midnight issued another day's rations; the men were pretty well soaked as it rained quite steadily during the night; Sergt. John T. Norris, Company C, was captured by the enemy.

**Saturday, Oct. 1, 1864:** The Regiment with the brigade, made a reconnaissance on the Darbytown road, to within three or four miles of Richmond without much opposition; this was a tiresome march, as the roads were muddy, and a drizzling rain falling continuously throughout the day and during the night.

**Sunday, Oct. 2:** Regiment remained in bivouac during the forenoon; shortly after noon the enemy made an attack on the pickets but were readily repulsed and the Regiment, after standing in line of battle a couple of hours, was permitted to break ranks.

**Oct. 3:** No firing in front and the Regiment remained in bivouac throughout the day; O. F. Lyon, Company A, made an attempt to get Gen. Butler interested in having the men discharged at the end of their three years enlistment but got no satisfaction.

**Oct. 4:** Regiment receives shelter tents and pitched camp; Sergt. Sylvanus Hasson, Company K, made an attempt to see Gen. Grant in reference to the muster-out of the men whose term of service had expired, but failed to get an interview; no firing in front but heavy cannonading on the left; Thomas Thompson, Company A, died in hospital at Fortress Monroe.

**Oct. 5:** Quiet in front; Regiment in line before daybreak; continue strengthening fortifications and improving conditions about camp; daily details are made for picket duty from the Regiment; 199th Pennsylvania Regiment assigned to First Brigade, and ordered to garrison Deep Bottom fortifications.

**Oct. 6:** Conditions remain unchanged; during the day the knapsacks of the men were brought out to camp but were not distributed, and were taken to the rear without any explanation to the men; received two days rations.

**Oct. 7:** Regiment stood in line in anticipation of an attack from before daylight until an hour after daybreak; about ten o'clock the cavalry was driven back and Terry's division was ordered to their support; the enemy was soon repulsed with heavy loss, the First Brigade following his retreating columns for about two miles; the Regiment had but four casualties, among whom were Private John S. Wagoner, Company C, wounded; Priv. Jeremiah Hartzell, Company E, wounded; Regiment in the advance on picket during the night.

**Oct. 8:** Shortly after daybreak the cavalry relieved the Regiment from picket duty and it took position inside the fortifications; signed pay rolls and are told will receive pay tomorrow; cool and windy during the day, and uncomfortably cold at night.

**Sunday, Oct. 9:** Regiment returns to former position near Four Mile Run Church and strengthen fortifications, working until 9 p. m.; receive six months pay.
Oct. 10: Regiment improved conditions in camp; no firing in front; Peter A. Johns of Uniontown, Penna. arrived in camp bringing election papers for the Regiment; owing to illness of Gen. Birney, Gen. Terry assumed command of the Tenth Corps, and Brig. Gen. Adelbert Ames to the command of the First Division.

Oct. 11: Regiment in line of battle from 4.30 a. m. until after daybreak as usual; all quiet in front; this being election day for State officials and congressmen in Pennsylvania, an election was held in Regiment; 116 Republican and 60 Democratic votes were cast.

Oct. 12: Regiment in line at 4 a. m.; lay in camp during forenoon; about 2 p. m. received light marching orders with three days rations; at 4 p. m. Regiment moved out the New Market road some distance with the other regiments of the brigade, but soon returned to camp without meeting the enemy.
Final Days in the Service

CHAPTER XXIV.

Regiment Departs from the Front.—Halts at Portsmouth and Norfolk. Leaves Virginia for Home November 16, 1864.—Mustered out of Service at Pittsburgh November 22, 1864.—Detachment of Regiment at Appomattox Surrender.—Consolidated with 188th Pennsylvania Regiment July 9, 1865.—Veterans and Recruits Mustered out at City Point December 14, 1865.—Received Final Discharge at Philadelphia December 19, 1865.

From October 14, 1864, to December 19, 1865.

Shortly after noon on Friday, October 14, the enlisted men whose term of service had expired, or was about to expire, were ordered to report at Jamestown Island. It was about 3 p. m. when the remnant of the 85th Regiment took its departure from the camp near Four Mile Creek, leaving the veterans and recruits behind. It was at sunset when a halt was made near Aiken's Landing, and orders were then issued to bivouac there for the night. Early Saturday morning the James River was crossed at Aiken's Landing and, marching to Jones' Landing, a halt was made until noon, when the march was again resumed and continued until Bermuda Hundred Landing was reached. On arriving at the latter place the Regiment embarked on the steamer Ironsides, and, as the sun was setting beyond the hills in the direction of the Confederate capital, the Ironsides, with the Regiment aboard, was gliding down the James River, and at 9 p. m. stopped at an old tumbledown dock, where the Regiment disembarked on Jamestown Island, a famous place in early American history, noted for being the site of the first permanent English settlement in America (1607); for being the site of the first American metropolis; the point at which the first legislative assembly in America was held (1619); where negro slavery was first introduced into the original thirteen colonies, and as being the site of the first Virginia capital until 1698, when it was moved to Williamsburg. Whatever its past renown had been, it seemed like a place of exile to the officers and men of the 85th Regiment when day dawned on Sunday morning, October 16, 1864. It had been rumored that the Regiment had been sent here to guard a telegraph station, causing chagrin among the men, and they were very much delighted early on Sunday morning at receiving orders to embark on the steamer Blackbird, which had come to the dock that morning for the purpose of conveying the Regiment to Norfolk or Portsmouth. The former place was reached at noon and, after a brief halt at the dock, the Blackbird steamed across the bay to Portsmouth where the Regiment disembarked and marched through the town,
bivouacking on White Head Farm, a half mile beyond the western suburb. On Monday, tents having arrived, camp was pitched in a grove named Oak Forest, where it remained, apparently awaiting orders until November 3.


The foregoing detail left Norfolk on October 29 for Point Lookout, Maryland, and, although the three year term of enlistment of most of the enlisted men comprising this detail had expired more than a month previously, they were kept on duty guarding prisoners of war, while in transit from Point Lookout, Maryland, to Savannah, Georgia, until late in December, and were mustered out of the service at Pittsburgh, Penna., two days prior to Christmas, to date back to November 22, 1864. The Regiment remained at Oak Forest camp in the suburb of Portsmouth until November 3, when it moved to Norfolk on provost-guard duty, the quarters of the respective companies being in houses in various parts of the city, the headquarters of the Regiment being established on South Catherine Street on November 6. On November 8, election was held for presidential electors, at which the Regiment cast 136 ballots with the following result: Lincoln Electors, 106; McClellan, 30.

After a heated verbal altercation with a number of the officers and enlisted men, the topic being the apparent apathy and indifference of the commanding officer of the Regiment, in looking after the interests of the men, Lieut. Col. Campbell left for department headquarters at the front on November 11, returning on the 15th with orders for the Regiment to proceed to Pittsburgh for muster-out. During the lieutenant-colonel's absence, on November 12, the paymaster arrived and paid the men for the months of September and October.
After the return of Lieut. Col. Campbell from department headquarters he ordered all the commissioned officers present in arrest with the exception of Lieut. Jacob Davis of Company E. On the following day, November 16, the Regiment was relieved from provost-duty at Norfolk, and at 4 p. m., embarked on the steamer Adelaide bound for Baltimore, the entire force aggregating 176 enlisted men, under the command of 1st Lieut. Jacob Davis. As the vessel was leaving the dock at Norfolk the men showed their approval of the action of the officers by giving three hearty cheers for those present at the dock to witness their departure, followed by three groans for the lieutenant-colonel. Three days later, November 19, the officers were ordered to report at Harrisburg to be mustered out, and embarked that same day on the Steamer Louisiana, bound for Baltimore. The men under Lieut. Davis arrived at Pittsburgh at daybreak, Saturday, November 19, and marched to Old City Hall, in the Market Square for breakfast, after which they were quartered in a warehouse at the corner of Smithfield Street and First Avenue, taking their meals at the Girard House on Smithfield Street.

On Sunday, November 20, the Regiment marched to the U. S. Arsenal at Lawrenceville and turned in their arms and equipment. The officers who were under arrest when the men left Norfolk were released without charges being preferred against them and embarked at Norfolk on the Steamer Louisiana on November 19, but did not arrive at Harrisburg until 1 a. m., November 21. While enroute to Baltimore the shaft of the steamer broke forcing the anchor to be cast. After a delay of seven hours the passengers were transferred to the steamer Georgia, and it was 5 o'clock Sunday evening before the latter vessel arrived at Baltimore. On reporting at Harrisburg the officers received orders to proceed to Pittsburgh, and they arrived there on November 22, in time to assist in making out the muster-out rolls, which were not completed until the following day. On Wednesday, November 23, the officers and men present received their final pay and discharges, and were mustered out of the service to date from November 22, 1864. The officers and men whose term of service had long since expired, and who, by the exigencies of the service, were still needed, and remained on duty for several weeks longer, were also mustered out to date from November 22, 1864.

The departure of the Regiment from the 10th Corps did not terminate its identity with the Army of the James. A detachment of the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment continued in the service at the front, until after the war was ended, and participated in the final campaigns against Lee at Petersburg and at Appomattox, and it remained, and was officially recognized as a Detachment of the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment until after June 28, 1865. On that date orders were issued for its consolidation with the 188th Pennsylvania Regiment and its identity as an organization did not become entirely defunct until July 11, 1865, when the enlisted men were distributed among various companies of the 188th Regiment. Bates History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, although regarded as an official publication of the State, in its history of the 85th Regiment says:
On the 14th of October, the Regiment was ordered from the front, the veterans and recruits were transferred to the 188th Pennsylvania, and the balance, whose term of service was soon to expire, reported at Portsmouth and were ordered into camp.

At the time the Regiment left the front the 188th Regiment was in the 18th Corps, and remained in it until this corps was discontinued, and the Detachment of the 85th Regiment, remained an integral part of the 10th Corps until the latter was discontinued, and was officially recognized as an integral part of the original brigade commanded by Col. Howell after it became merged into another corps, and a large group of the Detachment was mustered out of the service after the war was ended without ever having affiliated at any time with the 188th Regiment. On October 15, the day after the Regiment took its final departure from the front, the veterans and those whose term of service had not expired, or was not about to expire, were ordered to report to the 199th Pennsylvania Regiment which had been recently assigned to the Regiment's old brigade. These numbered about 160, eighty-two of whom had re-enlisted as veterans. This Detachment, although furnishing several commissioned officers to the 199th Regiment from its enlisted men, and a lieutenant-colonel from its line officers, was merely attached to it as an independent organization, and was officially recognized as a Detachment of the 85th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers until June 28, 1865, when orders for its consolidation with the 188th Regiment were issued. As the Detachment officially identified the Regiment with Col. Howell's old brigade, and Gen. Terry's division, until these organizations were discontinued a brief resume of the activities of these organizations after the Regiment had taken its departure from the front will be relevant. The First Brigade commanded by Col. Osborn, remained in the works on the New Market road, in the same position it occupied when the Regiment took its departure on October 14, performing picket and fatigue duty, until October 27, when with the division, it left camp before daylight, and moved out on the Darbytown road for a third time and there met the enemy's skirmishers to the right, and on the continuation of the line at which the brigade was repulsed on October 13. The division line was gradually extended throughout the day to the right until it reached the Charles City road, the right resting on the road. Heavy skirmishing with some artillery fire, continued throughout the day, but the line was not materially advanced, the enemy having a strong line of works in front, which the plan of operations had not contemplated attacking. The division maintained its position until early in the forenoon of the following day when the command slowly retired without molestation from the enemy and returned to camp. The casualties of the division in this reconnaissance aggregated about 80, the brigade losing 36 in killed, wounded and missing. (See O. R., Vol. XLII, part I, p. 101.) On November 1, Gen. Butler was ordered to New York, there to take charge until after the election, and during his absence Gen. Terry assumed temporary command of the Army of the James; Gen. Ames to the temporary command of the 10th Corps; Col. Voris to the command of the division, and Col. Pond to the brigade. The latter's resignation having been accepted, he was relieved of the command of the
brigade by Col. J. C. Briscoe, 199th Pennsylvania Regiment, on November 7. Six regiments of the division, with a force from the 18th Corps, consisting of a provisional division, under the command of Brig. Gen. J. R. Hawley, embarked for New York, to report to Gen. Butler, for duty in suppressing election riots and did not return until November 17. The First Brigade continued in the works near the New Market road throughout the month receiving 491 recruits, volunteers, substitutes, and drafted men, all unarmed for some time after their arrival. On December 3, the 10th, and 18th Army Corps were discontinued, the white troops of the two corps constituting the 24th Corps, commanded by Maj. Gen. E. O. C. Ord. The colored troops of the department were organized into a new corps, constituting the 25th Army Corps, commanded by Brig. Gen. Weitzel. Gen. Terry was assigned to the command of the First Division of the 24th Corps; Col. A. C. Voris to the command of the First Brigade, which embraced the 39th Illinois; 62d and 67th Ohio, Detachment 85th Pennsylvania and 199th Pennsylvania. On December 6, Gen. Ord was granted temporary leave of absence, during which Gen. Terry assumed command of the 24th Corps, and Brig. Gen. R. S. Foster of the 1st Division. Gen. Butler having left to accompany an expedition against Fort Fisher under the command of Gen. Weitzel, on December 8, directed Gen. Terry to assume command of the Army of the James. During his absence, however, Gen. Ord returned on the 10th, and assumed command of the Army of the James, and continued in command until Gen. Butler’s return on December 28, Gen. Terry re-assuming command of the division. The infantry force on this expedition was comprised of Gen. Ames’ division of the 24th Corps, and Gen. Paine’s division of the 25th Corps. The troops comprising this expedition effected a landing on Christmas day on the sea beach about three miles north of Fort Fisher, and after making a thorough reconnaissance of Fort Fisher, both Generals Butler and Weitzel were of the opinion that the place could not be carried by assault. The troops re-embarked and returned to the Army of the James, Gen. Ames’ division reporting to corps headquarters December 30.

On December 8, Col. Thomas O. Osborn, 39th Illinois, who had been absent wounded, reported for duty, and was assigned to the command of the 1st Brigade. On December 12, the Detachment of the 85th Regiment was assigned to duty as provost-guard at division headquarters in compliance with the following order:

Hqs. First Division, 24th Army Corps. In the Field, Va.,
December 12, 1864.

Special Orders,
No. 7.

3. The 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers is assigned to duty as provost-guard at these headquarters, and will report to Lieut. George F. McCabe, 7th New Hampshire Volunteers, provost-marshal, without delay, bringing with them their camp and garrison equipage, etc. All commissioned officers and enlisted men of this regiment now on detached service within the division are relieved and will report with the regiment unless especially exempted from these headquarters. By order of Brig. Gen. R. S. Foster,

ADRIAN TERRY, Capt. and A. A. G.

(O. R., Vol. XLII, part III, p. 983.)
The Detachment received orders to report to the headquarters of the division early in the forenoon of December 15, and, under the command of Lieut. James Nichlow, reported there immediately, and was assigned to duty as provost-guard at the headquarters of the division, and remained continuously on duty in that function until July, 1865, when those of the detachment whose term of service had not expired took their departure from division headquarters for the camp of the 188th Pennsylvania Regiment. On December 21, the Detachment received a visit from Maj. I. M. Abraham, Lieut. Absolom S. Dial, and Lieut. John Colestock, who had just been relieved from duty under Lieut. Col. Mulford, in charge of the detachment guarding prisoners during the process of exchange, and were about to take their departure for their homes. During the month of December the First Division remained in position in the works on the north side of the James near the New Market road, where it was in position when the Regiment took its departure, without the occurrence of any unusual incident.

During the first week of January Gen. Terry was sent to North Carolina in charge of an expedition, made up of troops from the 24th and 25th corps, about 8,000 in all, to renew the attempt to capture Fort Fisher. Brig. Gen. R. S. Foster being granted leave of absence, Brig. Gen. Joseph R. Hawley assumed command of the division, and remained in command during the month. On January 7, Gen. Butler was relieved from the command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina and ordered to report to his home town, Lowell, Massachusetts. Gen. Ord succeeded him in the command of the department and, at the request of the latter, Maj. Gen. John Gibbon was relieved of the command of the Division of the 2d Corps, and assigned to the command of the 24th Corps, assuming command on January 15. The expedition under Gen. Terry disembarked about four miles north of Fort Fisher on January 13th, and stormed and captured the fort on the 15th. In this assault Capt. Richard W. Dawson of Company I, 85th Regiment, acting assistant inspector-general on the staff of Brig. Gen. Adelbert Ames, received his death wound, dying in the hospital of Fort Monroe on February 1. Gen. Ames commanded all the troops making the assault on Fort Fisher, and in his official report of the affair highly complimented Capt. Dawson, with his other staff officers, and recommended him to be brevetted for his services.

The First division continued in about the same position on the north side of the James River it had occupied the latter months of 1864, without any stirring events occurring, until March 27, 1865. Gen. R. S. Foster returned and assumed command of the division on February 1. The old brigade, consisting of the same regimental constituency (the 199th Pennsylvania Regiment in place of the 85th Regiment), during all this time, lying in the works on the New Market road, near Richmond, Va., doing picket-and fatigue duty, and the Detachment engaged at provost-guard duty at division headquarters. At 5 p. m., March 27, the division broke camp on the New Market road, on the north bank of the James River, and during the night and the following day moved across the James and Appomattox Rivers to a point about four
miles from Hatcher's Run, where it bivouacked for the night. On the morning of the 29th it occupied the line of works from Fort Sampson, on the right, to Hatcher's Run, on the left, which had been vacated by the 2d Corps. On the 30th, a portion of the division advanced in connection with the line on the left.

On the morning of the 31st the entire division advanced and drove the enemy from his intrenched picket line into his main works, capturing about 325 prisoners, and establishing a line in close proximity to the enemy's works. Brisk skirmishing was kept up during the entire day. At 4 o'clock a.m., April 1, the enemy charged on the position occupied by the 3d Brigade, driving in the pickets, and reaching the temporary rifle-pits with his colors, but he was soon driven back and the lines re-established. On the 2d, pursuant to orders, the division was moved to the right through the enemy's works, which had been penetrated by the 6th Corps, relieving a portion of that corps. The division then advanced in line of battle, the 1st Brigade (Col. Osborn) on the right, inside the captured works in the direction of Petersburg, driving the enemy from several lines of works and forcing him to retire into the strong double lines of forts around that city, the division halting directly in front of Forts Gregg and Baldwin. Shortly after noon the division charged upon Fort Gregg, and after a desperate struggle captured the fort and the entire garrison of 250 officers and men. Fort Baldwin was immediately evacuated after the surrender of Gregg, the guns of the latter being turned on the fleeing enemy. The division bivouacked in rear of the captured forts during the night with the picket line established in their front. Petersburg was found to be evacuated during the morning of the 3d, and at 8 a.m., the division moved on the Cox road down the line of the South Side Railroad (following Gen. Turner's division), and bivouacked that night in line of battle about three miles beyond Sutherland's Station, covering about 13 miles during the day.

On April 4 the head of the column started at 6 a.m., and after marching 15 miles, the division bivouacked in line of battle at Wilson's Station. On April 5, the division marched about 30 miles and bivouacked at 11 p.m., near Burkeville. On the 6th the division passed through Burkeville, and formed line of battle, the right resting on the Richmond and Danville Railroad, the left on the Lynchburg Railroad, throwing a strong picket-line in front. At noon the division moved down the Farmville road until it reached Rice's Station where the enemy was in force. Line of battle was formed and the division advanced under a heavy skirmish fire until within close proximity to a strong position of the enemy, and the troops bivouacked in line of battle for the night. At daylight, April 7, it was discovered that the enemy had withdrawn and the division moved forward on the Farmville road until Bush River was reached. Here a strong skirmish line of the enemy was found intrenched on the hills on the opposite bank. The First Brigade was formed in line of battle, preceded by a strong line of skirmishers under command of Lieut. Col. R. P. Hughes, of the 199th Pennsylvania Regiment, formerly captain of the 85th Regiment, and advanced and drove the enemy from his position, the skirmishers com-
manded by Lieut. Col. Hughes constantly engaging the rear of the enemy. A portion of the division, including the First Brigade, crossed the Sandy and Bush Rivers, and bivouacked near Farmville on the west side of the town.

On April 8, march was resumed at 6 a.m., and continued until midnight, covering more than thirty miles. On Sunday, April 9, march was resumed between 3 and 4 o'clock a.m.; a halt was made at 6 a.m. for breakfast. While at breakfast heavy skirmishing was heard in advance in the vicinity of Appomattox Court House, and the First and Third Brigades moved rapidly forward and charged upon the enemy, driving him from the field, capturing one piece of heavy artillery. The division was advancing by the enemy's right when orders came for it to halt, word having been received that Lee's army had surrendered.

In his official report of the Appomattox campaign Gen. Foster, who commanded the First Division of the 24th Corps, says:

I do not consider it egotistical to say, to this division is due the credit of preventing the enemy from gaining possession of the Lynchburg road (their only line of retreat), and of being among those who struck the last blow against the Army of Northern Virginia. Too much cannot be said in praise of both officers and men of the division for the cheerfulness with which they have endured the fatigue attendant upon the long and rapid marches, and for the almost entire absence of stragglers from the command. All seemed to feel the importance of our movements, and to do their utmost to insure their success. (O. R., Vol. XLVI, part I, p. 1181.)

During this campaign the division had the following casualties: Killed, 9 officers and 156 men; Wounded, 34 officers and 561 men; Missing, 6 officers and 67 men; Total, 49 officers and 784 men. It captured 955 prisoners, 13 pieces of artillery, 6 caissons, and 5 flags. As four officers of the 199th Pennsylvania Regiment of the First Brigade were from the 85th Regiment and the veterans and recruits forming the Detachment had been attached to this regiment, although now serving as provost-guard at division headquarters, a brief extract from the official report of the commanding officer of this regiment, Col. James C. Briscoe, will be relevant, as follows:

Next morning, the 8th instant, marched at 6 a.m., and at midnight halted a short distance from Appomattox Station until 4 a.m. of the 9th instant. The men were very much fatigued, weary, and footsore, yet not a murmur was uttered as they fell in again for the march, none of them having had breakfast and but a few had anything to eat since noon of the previous day, as they were too tired after their thirty miles march to do anything save sink down beside their gun stacks and take the short sleep allowed them. Pushing on for a couple of miles, the command halted for breakfast, and again moved forward rapidly, passing at double-quick through Sheridan's cavalry corps. We arrived on the extreme left in time to check what seemed very like a rout of a brigade of cavalry; coming into line very quickly, though much encumbered by demoralized cavalrmen breaking through my ranks, I charged, under Col. Osborn's orders, with the 39th Illinois Volunteers on my right, the 62d Ohio on the left, and the 67th Ohio in reserve. The men advanced with great ardor through the woods for about one-third of a mile, until we reached the open ground. Here I endeavored to check the regiment until the enemy's line could be developed by our skirmishers, but the excitement was so great that my regiment and the 39th Illinois could not be halted, until a discharge of canister from a battery 300 yards in front brought them to their senses. I gave the order to lie down, and at that moment another battery, about 400 yards on my right, poured in an
enfilade fire with spherical case. In a minute or two I lost 5 enlisted men killed and 20 wounded. The enemy fired a few rounds, and were beginning to get a most accurate range, which would have had a murderous effect on my men, when Col. Osborn directed me to withdraw behind a crest in the edge of the woods. The enemy, perceiving this movement, redoubled his efforts, and the bursting of case-shot from his guns, together with musketry from the left, for a time rendered it impossible to re-form the whole regiment. Two companies, E and K, under Captains Craven and Eckels, did not hear the order to fall back, and advancing as skirmishers compelled the enemy to withdraw his artillery, these companies actually capturing one 20-pounder gun, while the rest of the command were retiring. Having re-formed the balance of the regiment, under orders from Gen. Foster I again advanced and found no enemy. Changing direction to the left the command moved about 600 yards in that direction, when intelligence was received that Gen. Lee had surrendered. Since then the regiment has laid in its present camp at Appomattox Court House, April 14, 1865, and is now in, if possible, better fighting condition than when it left the front of Richmond. * * * Of the heroism and endurance of the officers and men of this regiment I cannot speak too highly; a noble spirit of emulation seemed to actuate the entire command. I desire particularly to mention Lieut. Col. R. P. Hughes; his gallantry in action and unwearied services on the march entitle him to the highest praise. First Lieut. Oliver Sproul distinguished himself at Fort Gregg by seizing the colors of the 39th Illinois Regiment, when the color-bearer was shot down, and was the first, in my opinion, to plant the stars and stripes on the parapet. (O. R., Vol. XLVI, part I, pp. 1191-1192.)

Brig. Gen. R. S. Foster, commanding the First Division of the 24th Army Corps, credits Col. Howell's old brigade for preventing Lee's army from making its escape from Appomattox, in the following terms:

To the promptness of Col. Osborn in putting his brigade into position and attacking the enemy on the morning of the 9th of April, after the cavalry were forced back, is due the credit of preventing the enemy from gaining the Lynchburg road, their only line of retreat. (O. R., Vol. XLVI, part I, p. 1184.)

The brigade at this time embraced the following regiments: 39th Illinois, 62d and 67th Ohio, Detachment 85th Pennsylvania [provost-guard at division headquarters], and 199th Pennsylvania Volunteers. (O. R., Vol. XLVI, part I, p. 577.) The four officers especially mentioned in Col. Briscoe's report, Lieut. Col. Hughes; Captains Walter C. Cravins and Charles E. Eckels and 1st Lieut. Oliver Sproul, were all original members of the 85th Regiment. Lieut. Col. Hughes had been captain of Company C; Capt. Cravin, sergeant of Company C; Capt. Eckels, first sergeant of Company E, and 1st Lieut. Oliver Sproul, first sergeant of Company K.

Foster's division remained encamped near Appomattox Court House, on the Bent Creek road until April 17, when it broke camp, and about 10 a. m. took up the line of march for Richmond, and after covering about 19 miles, passing Evergreen, Pamplin's and Prospect Stations, bivouacked two miles west of the latter. On the 18th resumed march at 5 a. m., passed through Farmville at 1 p. m., and after marching 18 miles halted at 4 p. m. near Bush Creek and encamped for the night. On April 19, resumed march at 6 a. m., passing through Burkeville at 1 p. m., and bivouacked about one mile west of Burkeville Station until 6 o'clock Saturday morning, April 22, when march
was resumed, and after passing Jetersville Station, covering 18 miles, a halt was made at 3 p.m., within two miles of Amelia Court House. The following morning at 6 a.m., march was resumed, passing Amelia Court House at 7 a.m., crossing the Appomattox River at 10:30 a.m., and after marching 19 miles halted at Dry Creek where it bivouacked for the night. The following morning, April 24, march was resumed at 5 o'clock, and after marching 18 miles the division halted at 2 o'clock p.m., at the outskirts of Manchester, on the opposite side of the James River from Richmond, where it went into bivouac for the night. On the next day, Tuesday, April 25, the division broke camp at 10 a.m., and marched through Manchester, crossed the James River and marched through Richmond, encamping in the suburbs of the latter city on the north side of the intermediate line of works.

The Detachment of the 85th Regiment, acting as provost-guard at headquarters First Division, 24th Army Corps, remained encamped in the northern suburbs of Richmond until July 9, when it broke camp and marched to the camp of the 188th Pennsylvania Regiment, reaching the camp of the latter after a two hours march. Immediately after arrival of the camp of the 188th Regiment the Detachment was formed into companies, and pitched tents. Two days later, July 11, the Detachment of the 85th Regiment was consolidated with the 188th Pennsylvania Regiment, by the enlisted men of the former being distributed among the various companies of the latter, Lieut. Dial, who succeeded Lieut. Nichlow in command of the Detachment, being transferred to Company F, of the 188th Regiment, on that date. Lieut. Dial was promoted captain of Company F, to date from August 25, 1865, and assumed command of the company December 11, 1865, three days before the company was mustered out of the service. The veterans of the 85th Regiment, and those who enlisted subsequent to 1862, who were formed into a Detachment after the Regiment took its departure from the brigade on October 14, 1864, were mustered out of the service at City Point, Virginia, December 14, 1865, and received their discharge at Camp Cadwallader, Philadelphia, on December 19, 1865.

The daily record of events which follow was compiled from the diaries of Com. Sergt. Bell, 1st Sergt. Swearer, and Corp. Chick, supplemented from notes made at the time by Surgeon Kurtz.

Oct. 13: Regiment routed out at 3 a.m. and by four o'clock was marching over the same route covered the day before; moved with the division across the Darbytown road to the plains lying between it and the Charles City road, and advanced towards Richmond again; after several ineffectual attempts to carry the enemy's works by the 10th Corps, the entire force retired, the Regiment reaching camp about dark; having eight light casualties; among the wounded were Pvt. David W. Baker, Company B, Pvt. George Rodeback, Company C, Sergt. C. E. Eckels, Company E; Corp. Nicholas Derbins, and Pvt. Jacob Huffman, Company F; M. F. Bradley and Samuel E. Johnson, Company I.

Oct. 14: Regiment received orders about 2 p.m. to report at Butler's headquarters; started at 3 p.m., leaving the veterans who re-enlisted, and recruits in camp; arrived at Aiken's Landing about sunset and bivouacked for the night.

Oct. 15: Crossed on pontoon bridge at Aiken's Landing and march to Jones' Landing and from there was ordered to Bermuda Hundred, where it embarked on the U. S.
Steamer Ironsides at 3 p. m., and arrived at Jamestown Island about 9 p. m., disembarked and bivouacked for the night.

Sunday, Oct. 16: Embarked on the transport Blackbird in the forenoon, reaching Norfolk about noon, and thence, without disembarking, across to Portsmouth; disembarked and marched through the town to the Whitehead Farm and bivouacked for the night.

Oct. 17: Pitched camp during the forenoon in a grove about a half mile west of Portsmouth, called Oak Forest.

Oct. 18: Remained at Oak Forest camp awaiting orders; Sergt. Swearer, who had been ill with chills and fever, was sent to U. S. General Hospital in Portsmouth.

Oct. 19: In Oak Forest camp awaiting orders; received two days' rations; a number of the comrades attend colored church where 23 colored women presented a communion service set to the church; they had a musical treat, rendered by colored vocalists, male and female.

Oct. 20: In camp at Oak Forest grove awaiting orders.

Oct. 21: Awaiting orders at Oak Forest camp; a large number of the men attended the Norfolk Theatre at night to witness “The Pioneer Patriot;” Gen. Israel Vogdes is in command of the post; received two days' rations.

Sunday, Oct. 22: In Oak Forest camp awaiting orders.

Oct. 26: Lieut. Elmore A. Russell, Company F, and Marquis L. Gordon, Company G, received commissions today, the former as captain and the latter as lieutenant; they were not mustered.

Oct. 28: At Oak Forest camp awaiting orders; Surg. Sandt arrived in camp from the Army of the James.

Oct. 29: Awaiting orders at Oak Forest camp; 5 officers and 56 men were detailed to guard prisoners from Point Lookout, Md., to Pulaski, Georgia, the points at which prisoners were then exchanged.

Oct. 31: Awaiting orders at Oak Forest camp, mustered for pay by Lieut. Col. Campbell; the latter had a petition circulated addressed to Governor Curtin in which the signers agree to re-enlist provided that all the commissioned officers of the Regiment will tender their resignations; Sergeants George W. Ramage, Company I, Sylvanus Hason, Company K; and Privates Isaac F. Overholt, Company B, and Joseph A. Demuth, Company D, signed it; prayer-meeting in camp in the evening.

November 1, 1864: Awaiting orders at Oak Forest camp, Portsmouth, Va.

Nov. 2: Awaiting orders at Oak Forest camp, Portsmouth, Va.; Lieut. Col. Campbell is having the names of engagements in which the Regiment participated inscribed on the Regimental colors.

Nov. 3: Regiment moved from Oak Forest camp to Norfolk, Va.; quartered in buildings in different parts of the City; headquarters on South Catherine Street; Companies A and F occupied Concert Hall on Talbot Street; the sick and convalescent remained in camp at Oak Forest; camp and garrison equipage turned in.

Nov. 4: No change in situation, except the sick, convalescents, and Regimental baggage were moved from Oak Forest camp to Norfolk.

Nov. 5: No further change in situation; a number of the Regiment attended the Opera House at night to see Charlotte Thompson in Camille.

Sunday, Nov. 6: No change in situation; a number of the Regiment attended St. Paul's Episcopal Union Church in the morning, and the Methodist Protestant Church at night; at the latter place they witnessed a marriage ceremony performed in the basement of the church; a white woman married to a negro soldier.

Nov. 7: No change in situation; the Regiment doing provost duty in Norfolk, and well represented nightly at the Opera House.

Nov. 8: Regiment on provost duty in Norfolk; election day; Regiment polled 136 votes as follows: Lincoln 106; McClellan 30; the vote from Washington County was, Lincoln 40; McClellan 2.
Nov. 9: Regiment on provost duty in Norfolk; a number of the Regiment attended service at the Methodist Protestant Church at night.

Nov. 10: Regiment on provost duty in Norfolk; Sergt. Geo. S. Fulmer, Company D, and Private Nathan Morgan, Company I, had a verbal altercation which ended without resort to physical violence.

Nov. 11: Provost duty in Norfolk; a number of the enlisted men had a heated verbal altercation with Lieut. Col. Campbell, due to the apparent indifference of the lieutenant-colonel in having the Regiment mustered out; the men all having served a considerable period over three years from date of enlistment, and many of them three years from date of the second muster, and no indications of being discharged; after the controversy the lieutenant-colonel started for department headquarters.

Nov. 12: Regiment on provost duty in Norfolk; paymaster arrived and paid the Regiment up to October 31.

Sunday, Nov. 13: Regiment doing provost duty in Norfolk; groups of the Regiment attended service at various churches of Norfolk in the morning, afternoon and at night; the M. E. Church in Portsmouth was destroyed by fire, causing considerable excitement.

Nov. 14: Regiment on provost duty in Norfolk; Private Joseph Shell, Company A, was married to a Norfolk woman.

Nov. 15: Regiment on provost duty in Norfolk; Lieut. Col. Campbell returned from department headquarters at the front with orders for the Regiment to proceed to Pittsburgh, Penna., there to be mustered out; on his return to Norfolk he ordered all the officers of the Regiment, with the exception of Lieut. Jacob Davis, placed in arrest.

Nov. 16: The Regiment was relieved from provost duty in Norfolk by the Ist U. S. Volunteers, and at 4 p. m., embarked on the Steamer Adelaide, the entire force being 176 enlisted men, commanded by but one line officer, 1st Lieut. Jacob Davis, Company E; the other commissioned officers having been placed in arrest by Lieut. Col. Campbell because of some disagreement were detained; as the Steamer Adelaide was leaving the dock at Norfolk, between 4 and 5 p. m., the men gave three lusty cheers for Quarter-master Beall and Surgeon Kurtz, who had come to witness the departure, followed by three groans for the lieutenant-colonel; the Adelaide touched at Fortress Monroe, leaving the dock at dusk; the men being under no restraint, a number of them became gleefully exhilarated by frequent visits to the bar of the vessel, and although the bay was quite calm the trip was exceedingly boisterous during a portion of the night.

Nov. 17: The Adelaide arrived at the dock in Baltimore at the break of day; the men immediately hurried to the railroad depot, in order to catch the first train going in the direction of Pittsburgh; they left Baltimore at 9:20 a. m., and arrived at Harrisburg at 2 p. m., and marched to the “Soldier’s Retreat.”

Nov. 18: The men remained at the “Soldier’s Retreat” in Harrisburg until Friday evening, leaving at 6:20 p. m., on an accommodation train for Pittsburgh.

Nov. 19: The survivors of the Regiment who did not re-enlist and who were not absent on detached service, or otherwise absent, who left Uniontown, Penna., on November 20, 1861, arrived at Pittsburgh at daybreak Saturday, November 19, 1864; breakfasted at old City Hall, and then went to the Girard House, on Smithfield Street, where they took their other meals, sleeping in an old warehouse at the corner of First Avenue and Smithfield Street, a dilapidated building minus several doors, without fire or gas, with an open elevator shaft as dangerous to some of the men who came in late at night as were the shells of the enemy in front of Petersburgh; during the day the men turned in their arms and accoutrements at the Allegheny Arsenal in Lawrenceville; some of the men left in the afternoon to visit their homes over Sunday; the officers who had been detained at Norfolk received orders to report at Harrisburgh, Penna., to be mustered out, and embarked on the Steamer Louisiana, for Baltimore; during the early part of the night the shaft of the steamer broke, and the vessel was helpless for six or seven hours, having cast anchor; finally the Steamer Georgia came alongside, to which the passengers were transferred.
Sunday, Nov. 20: The men took their meals at the Girard House and spent most of the day strolling about the city; although quite a number attended church services; a group went to the First Presbyterian Church in the morning, and to the Second Presbyterian in the evening; the officers who had been transferred to the Steamer Georgia arrived at Baltimore at 5 p.m., and at 7:30 p.m. took train for Harrisburgh.

Nov. 21: First Sergeants engaged making out the muster-out rolls.

Nov. 22: A number of the officers arrived during the day, but Lieut. Col. Campbell and Adjutant Shields are absent; first sergeants working at muster-out rolls and discharges; the muster-out and discharges of all the officers and men whose term of service has expired date from November 22, 1864, although but very few received them on that date, the majority of them receiving them on November 23, and the others scattered along for the next fortnight.

THE EIGHTY-FIFTH REGIMENTAL ASSOCIATION.

The Eighty-fifth Regimental Association was organized at Uniontown, Pa., May 30, 1873. A temporary organization had been effected the previous day with Maj. I. M. Abraham as chairman, Capt. John E. Michener, vice-chairman, Lieut. S. Stevenson and Sergt. George S. Fulmer secretaries. A permanent organization was effected on Friday, May 30 (Memorial Day), and the following officers elected: President, Lieut. Col. Norton McGiffin; vice-president, Capt. Jacob Davis; secretaries, Lieut. S. Stevenson and Sergt. Geo. S. Fulmer. A committee was appointed to draft resolutions consisting of a representative from each company as follows: Sergt. Oscar Lyon (Co. A), Priv. Moses Smith (Co. B), Capt. Wm. H. Davis (Co. C), Sergt. B. F. Johnson (Co. D), Sergt. Moses McKeag (Co. E), Sergt. John McIlvain (representing Co. F), Priv. M. A. Ramor (Co. G), Lieut Norman B. Ream (Co. H), Priv. S. E. Johnson (Co. I), Capt. John E. Michener (Co. K).

Chaplain J. N. Pierce addressed the Association at some length after which the committee on resolutions submitted its report in which Washington, Pa., was named as the place for the second meeting, and Thursday May 25, 1874, as the time.

From the Court House, where the Association was organized, the members of the Eighty-fifth marched to Oak Grove Cemetery where Memorial Services were held, thence to the Presbyterian Cemetery where the services were repeated, and thence back to the Court House where they were dismissed.

The Association has met annually since its organization, and with very few exceptions, at points within the counties of Fayette, Greene, Somerset and Washington, the four counties from which the Regiment was recruited. At the 34th Annual Reunion, held at Brownsville, Pa., September 19, 1906, Sergt. James A. Swearer was elected president, and Sergt. Charles E. Eckels, 1st vice-president; Corp. William E. Chick, who for many years had been acting as secretary-treasurer, was elected to that position for life. At the 35th Reunion, held at Waynesburg, Pa., September 19, 1907, Com. Sergt. John B. Bell was elected assistant secretary. At the 37th Reunion, held at Uniontown, Pa., September 22 and 23, 1909, the officers were re-elected; the election of Corp. Chick as secretary-treasurer for life being confirmed by a unanimous vote. The 42d Annual Reunion was held at Bentleyville, Washington County, Pa., September 9, 1914, President Swearer and colleagues were again re-elected, and Claysville, Washington County, Pa., selected as the point at which the 43d Annual Reunion is to be held.
Brig. Gen. Joshua Blackwood Howell

Brig. Gen. Joshua Blackwood Howell was born at Fancy Hill, on the bank of the Delaware River, near Woodbury, New Jersey, September 11, 1806; and died at the Headquarters of the 10th Corps, near Petersburg, Va., September 14, 1864, from injuries received about 1 o’clock in the morning of September 12, and while in temporary command of the 3d Division of the 10th Corps.

General Howell was the tenth child of Colonel Joshua Ladd and Anna Blackwood Howell of Fancy Hill (now Washington Park), Gloucester County, New Jersey, fronting on the Delaware River opposite the upper end of the League Island Naval Station. Gen. Howell’s father, Colonel J. Ladd Howell, commanded the 2d Regiment of New Jersey troops during the War of 1812-15, guarding the approaches to Philadelphia from the sea, on the New Jersey side of the Delaware River. His paternal grand-father, Colonel John Ladd Howell, of Caudor Hall, New Jersey, was a commissary of the Revolutionary Army, and is frequently mentioned in the records as having been detailed on important expeditions to visit powder mills and to collect subsistence stores for the Army, on one of which he was escorted by Harry Lee’s Legion. He is also mentioned as a member of a Court Martial Board. The General’s paternal great-grand-parents were John Howell, and his wife Catherine Ladd Howell, of Caudor Hall, one mile, northeast of Woodbury, N. J. John Howell, the great-grand-father, was the son of Jacob Howell, of Chester, Penna., and his wife, Sarah Vernon Howell, a niece of Admiral Vernon of the British Navy. The father of Jacob Howell was John Howell who emigrated from Averystwyth, Wales, to Pennsylvania, after the death of his wife, with his three children, Jacob, Evan, and Sarah, in 1698, settled in Philadelphia and is buried in the old Cemetery at Fourth and Arch Streets. Catherine Ladd, the great-grandmother of Gen. Howell, was the daughter of John Ladd, an English surveyor who settled in Burlington, New Jersey, in 1678. Upon his first visit to this country in 1681, William Penn commissioned Ladd to lay out the City of Philadelphia. Upon Penn’s return in 1683 he found that Ladd had performed this work in a very satisfactory manner, and paid him therefor the sum of £50 Sterling. In 1688 Ladd became possessor of about 7,000 acres of heavily timbered land, fronting on the Delaware River, forming what was then called Ladd’s Cover, and in later years became known as Howell’s Cover. It is frequently spoken of as the “Horse Shoe,” and lies between Gloucester and Red Bank (or Eagles) Point, one mile east of the Delaware River and about one and a half miles from the Woodbury Court House. Shortly after the purchase of this tract of land, Ladd built the Manor House, Caudor Hall, the main portion of which was of brick made on the grounds, and flanked on either end by expensive wings of hewn timber. This was built probably about 1690. The brick two-story portion is still standing in good condition, and is the birth-place of nine of Gen. Howell’s brothers and sisters. John Ladd lived to a great age and became prominent in Colonial affairs and for years was a member of the Proprietary
Governor's Council. By inheritance Col. Joshua B. Howell's father became the owner of about 3,000 acres of the Ladd estate, including "Caudor Hall," and the portion fronting on the Delaware River, together with the shad and herring fisheries, the grants to which gave possession to the middle of the river channel. About midway of this river frontage and within 100 yards of the river bluff, Gen. Howell's parents built their new home, "Fancy Hill," completing it in 1805. This manor house was of brick, two stories to the eaves, with the third story finished with dormer windows piercing the roof. The total frontage of this house was 90 feet, and 43 feet in width, with cellars underlying the entire structure. The grounds were laid out with great care, and, taken altogether, it was a beautiful home with a magnificent outlook. Upon its completion Gen. Howell's parents with their family moved from Caudor Hall and took up their residence there. Gen. Howell was born here on September 11, 1806. His brother, Benjamin Paschal Howell, M. D., was born here on Nov. 26, 1808. Upon the death of Gen. Howell's father in 1818, at the age of 51 years, his widow, Anna Blackwood Howell, took upon herself the management of her large estate and the education of her younger children. With exceptionally eminent executive ability, foresight and prudence she was entirely successful, and the widely recognized hospitality of "Fancy Hill" was maintained. She earned and received the unstinted love, admiration, and respect of all classes of society. Born in Woodbury, N. J., in 1769, her memory was perfectly clear as to the stirring events incident to the occupation of that part of the country and of Philadelphia by the British and Hessians. The home of her stepfather, Col. Joseph Ellis, in Haddonfield, N. J., was seized and occupied by Count Von Donop, and used as headquarters for sometime prior to his disastrous assault on Fort Mercer, at Red Bank on the Delaware. Of this gigantic young nobleman, who became very found of her, she told many interesting anecdotes. The town of Blackwood, N. J., was founded by her grandfather, who gave it his own name. Of kin to the Harrisons, near Gloucester, direct descendants of the regicide, Gen. Thomas Harrison, and herself a direct descendant, through her mother, a Clement, of another regicide, Gregory Clement, she came of sturdy Presbyterian Scotch, English, and Welsh stock. Her death occurred January 14, 1855, at the age of 86, retaining her vivacity and activity to the last, and during the night, succeeding a day of enjoyment spent with her son and "daughter," Dr. and Mrs. Benj. P. Howell at Caudor Hall, driving back to Fancy Hill late in the afternoon.

Gen. Joshua B. Howell was educated at Woodbury, N. J., and Philadelphia, Pa., studying law under Richard C. Wood, Esq., at the latter place. While in Philadelphia when in his 21st year, he wrote to his mother, who was visiting her eldest child, at Princeton, N. J., Samuel Ladd Howell, M. D., who held the chair of Anatomy at the Princeton University, in part, as follows:

We had the "sweetness" time of it last Sunday when brother Scovel (Presbyterian minister at Woodbury) administered a violent sudorific in the shape of a three mile prayer and a half mile grace which put me into a melting mood. Our Reverend brother
has with his long prayer cured me of church going for at least one month. I am fully aware dearest mother that time with rapid strides is hurrying on the dreaded month of July. I even fancy I can see the awful Phyzes of the examiners sitting in Judgment on me. Still, my dear mother, the Lord and the examiners willing, I think I shall pass through the mill without being ground to powder. I read at home all day in my room, where free from interruption I can enjoy the poetical entertainment of Coke and find considerable pleasure in viewing through the vista of the coming months the approach of my examination. I go down to Fancy Hill every Saturday evening and remain until Monday morning for the double purpose of keeping stragglers along the shore from trespassing, and by my presence keep some of the retinue about the establishment, or they would all go to hear brother Scovel hold forth.

Gen. Howell was admitted to the bar at the age of 21, and shortly thereafter, during the autumn of 1827 settled in Uniontown, Pa., and was admitted to the Fayette County Bar, January 5, 1828. He was appointed District Attorney or Assistant Attorney General during his first year of practice holding that position for several years. Under date of May 22, 1829, in a letter to his mother, he refers to his reception at his new home as follows:

“I have received nothing but kindness in this place. I am exceedingly busy now preparing for an important case which is to be tried next court. It has excited a great deal of interest in this county, and well it may, for if we establish our case, one-half the property in the County belongs to the United States, at least that which lies on the National Road.”

Gen. Howell formed a law partnership with Judge Thomas Irwin, and later with Judge Nathaniel Ewing, both eminent members of the bar. He soon acquired a reputation as a careful and able lawyer, and was very successful in his pleadings before Juries. He had a predilection for military affairs and for some years prior to the Civil War had occupied the rank of brigadier general of the State Militia. In politics he affiliated with the Democratic party and was an elector on the Douglas and Johnson ticket in the presidential campaign of 1860. Gen. Howell was twice married. On April 7, 1831, he married Mary Lewis, daughter of Reeve and Rachel W. T. Lewis, of Philadelphia. She was born November 22, 1809, in Philadelphia, and died September 7, 1852, at Fancy Hill, after a happy married life, during which several children were born, all dying in early infancy, save Anna Blackwood Howell, who married David S. Stewart, a son of old “Tariff Andy,” and brother of Adjutant Stewart of the 85th Regiment. Mrs. Anna Blackwood Howell Stewart died in Washington, D. C., June 4, 1905; her husband predeceased her by eight years. From this marriage two children were born, Howell and Andrew. Howell Stewart was born May 10, 1862, and died March 29, 1913. He married Olive Rebecca Barton of Pittsburgh, who bore him three children, all of whom are now (Feb. 8, 1915) living. They are Barton Shriver Stewart; Mrs. Wm. A. J. Kopp, nee Anna Howell Stewart, and Andrew Stewart. Mr. and Mrs. Kopp have one child, a boy born March 12, 1914. The second son, Andrew Stewart, A. M., Ph. D., was born Sept. 3, 1867; married Florence Heine Behrend, March 4, 1903. Dr. Andrew Stewart and Florence Behrend Stewart reside in Washington, D. C., and have three children: William Behrend Stewart, born March 31, 1907;
Marion (a girl), born August 25, 1908, and Henry Howell Stewart, born December 9, 1909.

Gen. Howell's second marriage was to Catherine Whitely of Wilmington, Delaware, the marriage taking place on October 15, 1854. Of this marriage there were two children, one of whom still lives (January, 1915) at Milledgeville, Georgia, the widow of Maj. Albert Blackstone Scott. Maj. Scott was so severely wounded at San Juan Hill that he was never afterward able to walk without assistance, and finally died as a result of his wounds on January 10, 1906. To Major and Mrs. Scott were born two daughters: Katherine Kirkwood Scott, born at Milledgeville, Ga., November 26, 1894, and Mary Agnes Scott, born November 16, 1896. These two grand-daughters of Gen. Howell, both unmarried (January 1915), reside with their mother, at Milledgeville, Ga.

There was an exceptionally strong bond of attachment between Gen. Howell and his younger brother, Dr. Benjamin Paschal Howell. In childhood, boyhood and youth they were inseparable, riding together on the same pony to Woodbury Academy. Shortly after locating at Uniontown, in a letter to his mother, the General gives evidence of his regard for his brother in the following terms:

I am delighted to find Ben is with thee—he will be a great comfort and assistance—thee must keep him with thee till Abby arrives. Our dear Ben is one of the best of men; generous and noble in his disposition, possessing an affectionate heart, and a firm and correct sense of integrity.

For wives they chose sisters, and with these wives, they now rest in the same burial lot in Eglington Cemetery five miles southwest of Woodbury. The Howells, Ladds and Lewises were all "Friends." Gen. Howell's grandfather, Col. John Ladd Howell, was expelled from the society for participation in the Revolutionary War, and his father, for participating in the War of 1812. The General's mother united with the Society of Friends upon her marriage and remained a member until death—but always held a pew in the Presbyterian Church at Woodbury.

The last days of Gen. Howell's military life are described by himself in a letter to his brother Benjamin, and in letters to his daughter, Mrs. Anna Howell Stewart, of Uniontown, Pa. The letter to his brother was without date, but was no doubt written on August 20, 1864, the day following his return to his command from his last visit to his boyhood home. It is as follows:

**Headquarters, 1st Brigade, 1st Division, 10th A. C., In the Field.**

My beloved Brother: On my way up the River, I discovered that our whole Corps had moved to this side of the River. I reached the front at one o'clock in the morning, August 19, and immediately assumed command of my Brigade. We had some very sharp fighting yesterday. I lost some men. On Sunday and Tuesday there was very hard fighting. My Brigade suffered severely, both officers and enlisted men. My Asst. Adjt. Gen'l was badly wounded, also. I am writing in the open air on a box and it is raining. I must close. Show this to beloved dear sister Anna; to whom and her dear family give
my most affectionate love. Give my love to my dear sister Rachel and to your dear children. God bless you all and protect you all. Ever your most affectionate brother,

JOSHUA B. HOWELL.

Under date of Headquarters, 1st Division, 10th A. C. In the Field, near Malvern Hill, August 19, 1864, he writes to his daughter, Mrs. Stewart:

Returned from Woodbury to the command of my Brigade last night. I found on my way up from Fort Monroe to City Point that our whole corps had moved.

Under date of August 27, he writes to her as follows:

On the 22d received orders to march and move on to this place, and here we are in front of this celebrated City of Petersburg. My command is a mile and a quarter from the City. The steeple of the churches and the clock are plainly in sight from my forts. The celebrated Burnside mine and crater are directly in front of us. About 300 yards from us are two of my forts. We are under heavy fire of artillery and musketry the entire day and night—shell and ball (rifle and artillery) fly about headquarters with "a perfect looseness." An orderly's horse was shot this morning just in front of my quarters. A shell exploded over my quarters about thirty paces beyond it in front, whilst I was asleep yesterday morning. I am very busy; I have in addition to my Brigade a line of heavy forts (5) containing in all 42 pieces of artillery of different calibre under my command.

Two days later, August 29, he wrote to her as follows:

We are firing tremendously; three shells and lots of rifle balls have come over my headquarters. The shells struck the ground within ten paces of my quarters. Whilst I am writing the booming of cannon and the fire in the trenches is magnificent. Yesterday I was Corps Officer of the Day, and as we rode out of the ravine in front of Fort Clifton (Rebel) with my escort, the Fort blazed away, the balls passing over our heads; my compliments to Petersburg. I shall go out to the forts directly, and will open fire from everything on the Rebs and on Petersburg.

Under date of September 4, he again wrote to Mrs. Stewart:

To my great surprise I received an order last week assigning me to the command of this Division (Third) during the illness of the general-commanding who has gone to Fort Monroe. It is a high compliment from Corps Headquarters and a responsible command. * * * I am now separated from my dear old brigade (it is in another part of the line.) As soon as I can go there I will make inquiries about my wounded soldiers. I am sure Stephen McDowell is living. In one of my visits through my regimental hospitals at Bermuda Hundred a day before we left there, I saw him sick with neuralgia. I inquired for him afterward and heard he was better. [McDowell died of Epilepsy and General Debility July 21, 1864.] We had a splendid fireworks between my line of batteries and the enemy last night. Some of our batteries threw 4 shells at once. To see them on their blazing way through the heavens, and then their explosion! It was grand. I regret that it was not my privilege to be in the battles of the 14th, &c, in which my Brigade distinguished itself. Thank Heaven, I was there and led them in the fight of the last day.

Ten days after penning the above lines Gen. Howell was dead. His death occurred at 7 P. M., September 14, 1864, three days after the 58th anniversary of his birth. The body arrived at Woodbury, N. J., on September 19, 1864. His death caused universal gloom throughout the town, and Broad Street was
BRIG. GEN. JOSHUA BLACKWOOD HOWELL

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draped in black on the day of his burial. On Sunday, September 23, services were held in his honor in the Presbyterian Church of Woodbury. The pastor, Dr. Samuel J. Baird, preached the funeral sermon, taking his text from 2 Samuel, 1st Chapter, Ver. 19-27:

The beauty of Israel, is slain upon thy high places! How are the mighty fallen! Tell it not in Gath! * * * Thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of woman. How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished.

So flowed the wailing notes of David's harp, lamenting, in dirge strains, the discomfiture of Israel before the Philistines. We have not met to honor the memory of one who—by his entire consecration, by his noble deeds, and by the sacrifice of his life,—has acquired a title to his country's gratitude and cherished remembrance, and secured a place high on history's scroll of honor. We have met to mingle tears of affection and sympathy upon the coffin and the grave; to surrender to the dust its kindred dust; and while thus standing upon the verge of life and time, and at the open gates of eternity, to endeavor, from this high point of observation, to survey and estimate, at their just value, the aims and ends, the hopes and achievements, the labors and rewards, of past and vanished time; and on the other hand to gain a glimpse of that boundless expanse, to the bosom of which the disencumbered spirit has fled from our midst;—that eternity whose depths are even now heaving up to meet our coming, and among whose mysteries soon must be our homes. We have met to consign to the grave all that remains of Joshua Blackwood Howell.

And most becoming it is that here and by us these sad rites be performed; amid the scenes of his childhood's sports, and his youthful studies, where his maturing powers were trained and furnished for the business of life,—it is most fitting, that, life's labor done, he should here return, and be carried, amid the lamentations and tears of the attached companions and friends of his early years, to rest by the side of the wife of his youth.

* * * A few weeks ago he was again in our midst, constrained to seek repose and strength for the field in the quiet associations of his native home. Anticipating an early close of the war, his imagination dwelt with delight upon the prospect of soon removing to this place, with his family, and spending the remainder of his days among the scenes upon which his heart so longed to linger. Alas! how little we know what is before us. As he then busied himself with affectionate and pious care, in repairing and adorning the graves of his kindred resting among us, who would have dreamed that so soon, he would join them in the unseen world! As, some five weeks ago, from the passing cars, I caught sight of his manly figure, standing in yonder burial place, at the head of his Mary's grave, how little did I imagine that I this day should gaze on the present scene, and myself upon that same spot, look into the open grave, and behold his form lowered down to its last resting place at her side!"

Though aggressive, impulsive, and quick of temper, his general and courtly bearing, extreme generosity and many other lovable traits had made him an universal favorite in his native town, as well as in the army. The esteem in which he was held in his native town and county is evidenced by the fact that the Grand Army Post of Woodbury is named after him, notwithstanding the county lost two other general officers, both of whom were graduates of West Point. Had Gen. Howell survived the war it was his intention to spend his latter years amid the scenes of his youthful days. This is made evident in a letter to his daughter, Mrs. Anna Howell Stewart, under date of January 4, 1864, in which he referred to the death of a cousin, John Harrison, then recently deceased, as follows:
In the day dreams I have had of the future, should I survive the war, John Harrison has been in the group which I have fancied would collect around me at Fancy Hill and I would have with me there, with my old companions of childhood, some of my old brothers-in-arms, and we would spend and enjoy the last "bivouac" of life. But one by one these old friends of mine are "mustered" above, and if I should survive the war and be permitted to return to my old home on the Delaware, the prospects seem to be that I shall be a lonely sentinel on the picket line between time and eternity, waiting for the call of my name to be "relieved" from duty. Well, when "that turn comes" if my "knapsack is strapped," all will be well. Good bye Harrison; Good bye, old friend.

Gen. Howell was an Odd Fellow and also a Mason. At a stated meeting of Tonnaleuka Lodge, No. 365, I. O. O. F., held at Uniontown, Pa., September 27, 1864, a series of resolutions were unanimously adopted, with the following preamble:

Whereas, it has pleased Almighty God, in his inscrutable Providence, to remove from time to eternity our highly esteemed friend and honored brother, P. G., General Joshua B. Howell, U. S. Army, a member of this Lodge, whose many impulses, many virtues, and liberal principles of benevolence made him so eminently a true Odd Fellow, and endeared him to our Order, and whose self-sacrificing and patriotic devotion to his Government which impelled to the field of carnage in its defense, so endeared him to his battle worn soldiery of the brave 8th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers and to his countrymen.

Fayette Lodge, No. 228, A. Y. Masons, Uniontown, Pa., in a series of resolutions unanimously, October 17, 1864, eulogized his memory in the following terms:

He was one of our most talented, active, useful, and benevolent citizens; one of the most zealous and devoted members of our fraternity, and his genial disposition, his affable and courteous manners, his enduring friendships for all with whom he had been intimately associated in life, the uniform purity of his moral conduct and principles, and his energy, industry and talents not only elevated him to a high standing among his fellow-citizens, but endeared him especially to the brothers of this Lodge, with whom he was so closely connected in social and fraternal relations.

During the Autumn season of the Fayette County Court in 1864, a series of resolutions in memory of Gen. Howell, were spread upon the minutes, one of which was as follows:

Resolved—That we entertain a lively remembrance of the many attractive qualities of the deceased. His urbanity and courtesy were universal and invariable, a second nature with him, which never ceased to control his conduct. In his professional intercourse, notwithstanding his age, long practice, and high standing at the Bar; his modesty and deference to even younger members were remarkable. Assumption was no part of his nature, and his whole demeanor was that of a model gentleman.

Gen. Howell's courage and urbanity, coupled with his zeal and ambition to always be at the front where the danger was the greatest, were recognized by his superior commanders. Gen. Casey recommended him for promotion to Brigadier-General of Volunteers, for his gallant conduct at Seven Pines, and President Lincoln forwarded his name to the Senate for confirmation to that position, but that body adjourned without considering it, as along with it there was a large list nominated for promotion. He had been repeatedly recommended
for promotion to Brigadier-General of Volunteers, but the commission never reached his hands, it not being issued before he had become unconscious, two days preceding his death. On September 26, 1864, in General Orders, No. 139, Department of the South, Hilton Head, S. C., Maj. Gen. John G. Foster, commanding, ordered a new fortification then recently erected at Mitchellville, in the Department of the South to

"be known as Fort Howell, after Brigadier General Joshua B. Howell, formerly colonel of the 85th Pennsylvania Volunteers, killed at Petersburg, Va., September 14, 1864. (O. R., Vol. XXXV, part II, p. 302.)

In a letter under date of Fort Snelling, Minnesota, March 3, 1882, Maj. Gen. Alfred H. Terry referred to Col. Howell in the following complimentary terms:

At this distance of time I cannot speak of particular incidents of Gen. Howell's military career; but my recollections of him as a man and officer are as clear and distinct as they were eighteen years ago. I have never known a more courteous gentleman; I never saw a more gallant and devoted officer. The record of his service was without spot or blemish. In the Army Corps in which he served he was widely known and universally respected and admired. His untimely death was lamented by all his comrades as a loss well nigh irreparable, not only to themselves, but to the country also. (From Ellis History of Fayette Co., published in 1882.)

Gen. Howell's remains were first interred in the Presbyterian Cemetery in Woodbury, N. J., but subsequently were removed to Eglington Cemetery at Clarksboro, N. J., four and a half miles from Woodbury. His first wife's remains and her mother's are buried in the same lot. The General's grave stone is of Italian marble but very much impaired by the climate. It is about four feet high with a sword in its scabbard and apparently supported by the belt resting on the top—the sword hanging diagonally on the front of the stone. The only inscription on the front of the stone is simply the name:


On the reverse side the inscription is as follows:

Brigadier General
Joshua B. Howell
1st Brigade 1st Division
10th Army Corps
Born Sept. 11, 1806,
Died from injuries received by the
falling of his horse while in
temporary command
of the 3d Div. 10th Corps
In front of Petersburg, Va.
Sept. 14, 1864.
The inscription on the front of the grave stone of the General's wife is:

DEAR MARY

My counsellor, companion
and Friend from childhood.
My Affectionate
and Devoted Wife.
Mary Lewis Howell.

On the Reverse side:

Mary Lewis
wife of
Joshua B. Howell.
Daughter of
Reeve and Rachel T. Lewis
Born Nov. 22, A. D., 1809.
Died Sept. 7, A. D., 1852.
Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God.
First Lieutenant Norman Bruce Ream

First Lieutenant Norman B. Ream was the youngest commissioned officer in the 85th Pennsylvania Regiment. He enlisted as a private in Company H, October 1, 1861, before he was 17 years old. When the company was organized at the rendezvous camp he was appointed Fourth Sergeant from which he was promoted to second lieutenant to date from August 15, 1862. At what seemed a most critical moment at the battle of Kinston, N. C., December 14, 1862, when, owing to the swamp and irregular condition of the grounds through which the Regiment had just passed, under a heavy fire of the enemy, the lines of the Regiment had become broken, and some of the officers had become separated from their commands, the youthful sergeant, while urging his company forward, attracted the attention of Col. Howell who then and there addressed him as follows: "Sergeant, consider yourself first lieutenant of this company from this date!" At this time Col. Howell had anticipated the immediate acceptance of the resignation of Capt. Jackson owing to impaired health. The latter's resignation not being accepted until March 13, 1863, Lieut. Ream's commission as first lieutenant is dated March 14, 1863. However, he was commissioned second lieutenant on February 7, 1863, to date from August 15, 1862. Col. Elbridge J. Copp, author of "Reminiscences of the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865," in the preface to this work, claims to have been the youngest commissioned officer in the Union army who rose from the ranks. He makes this claim after having made considerable research. However, his record as given in his work, shows that, when he was promoted from the ranks, he was several months older than was Lieut. Ream when he received his commission. Lieut. Ream participated in all the battles in which his Regiment was engaged during the Peninsular Campaign, and was with it at the battle of Seven Pines, where for three hours, the 85th Regiment maintained its position in the rifle-pits at the immediate right of Casey's redoubt, extending from the redoubt to the Williamsburg road—the right wing of the Regiment holding the rifle-pits north of the road. Although only a youth of seventeen at this time, Lieut. Ream had a vivid recollection of many of the important events of this battle, and being an eye-witness for the first three hours of this conflict, of the action at the immediate vicinity of the pivotal point of the battle, he was able to verify the statements which appear in this volume as to the troops which defended Casey's redoubt.

During the entire campaign in South Carolina, in front of Fort Wagner, and Fort Sumter, Lieut. Ream was on duty with his Regiment. While acting as adjutant of the Regiment, on an expedition on White Marsh Island, within five or six miles of Savannah, Georgia, on February 22, 1864, he was severely wounded in the groin. Returning to his Regiment while yet using crutches, and while commanding a portion of the Regiment near Ware Bottom Church, near Petersburg, Va., June 17, 1864, he was again wounded; and was discharged from the service on account of wounds August 31, 1864. A souvenir of the war which has been safely kept in Mr. Ream's private vault, is one of the
bullets extracted from his body. As a result of these wounds he was forced to undergo a series of critical surgical operations during the summer of 1913, such operations being performed by Surgeon Joseph A. Blake, at the Presbyterian Hospital, New York. After a lapse of upwards a year and a half, on February 2, 1915, he was again operated on at the same hospital by Surgeon George E. Brewer, assisted by several members of the medical profession, among whom was Dr. Frank Billings of Chicago, his former family physician. On Sunday morning, February 7, the physicians indicated that he would not survive the ordeal of the surgeon's knife but a few hours longer. However, his final departure did not occur until 8.40 a.m. Tuesday, February 9, 1915. Funeral services were held in St. George's Protestant Episcopal Church, Stuyvesant Square, New York City, at 10 o'clock a.m., Saturday, February 13. The services were conducted by the Rev. Karl Reiland, pastor of St. George's Church, assisted by the Rev. Dr. Slattery of Grace Episcopal Church. The pall-bearers were Hon. Robert T. Lincoln, J. S. Runnells, Elbert H. Gary, Otto T. Bannard, James A. Blair, E. R. Bacon, A. W. Green, F. D. Underwood, M. S. Kemmerer and W. W. Heaton. The interment was in Woodlawn Cemetery, in Westchester County, not far from the Harlem Division of the New York Central Railroad. The Eighty-fifth Regimental Association was represented at the bier of Mr. Ream by its president, Mr. James A. Swearer, of Pittsburgh, Pa., and Mr. Crawford H. Scott, of Dayton, O. It was to Mr. Swearer, who was First Sergeant of Company C of the Eighty-fifth Regiment, that Mr. Ream turned over the command of the company, when he retired from the battle-field of Ware Bottom Church, June 17, 1864, after receiving his second wound.

Like Colonel Howell, the antecedents of Lieut. Ream were revolutionary patriots. The first to settle in America was Andrew Ream, a German emigrant, who settled in Pennsylvania during the first half of the eighteenth century. He had a son, John Ream (great-grandfather of Norman Bruce Ream), who was a patriot soldier in the War for American Independence, and Samuel Ream, his son, married Mary Rheims, who had issue.

Levi Ream, son of Samuel and Mary (Rheims) Ream, was born in 1816, in Somerset County, Pennsylvania; was a farmer who resided there until his death in July, 1902. He married Highley King, daughter of Jacob and Eva (Pringry) King, in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. She was descended from English-Scotch ancestry, who came to New Jersey in Colonial days and was the mother of several children among them a son, the subject of this sketch.

Norman Bruce Ream, son of Levi and Highley (King) Ream, was born November 5, 1844, in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. He attended the district schools of his native county until he was fourteen years of age and then worked on his father's farm, taught school one term of four months and traveled about the country making ambrotypes, then a new improvement in photography, between terms of the Somerset Normal School, which he attended until 1861, about three years altogether.

After returning from the army he clerked in a store at Harnedsville, Somerset County, Pennsylvania, in 1864 and 1865; in 1866 he moved to Princeton, Illinois, where he conducted a general mercantile business. A year later he
moved to Osceola, Iowa, where he remained until 1871 and conducted a general live-stock and grain business, in connection with farming. In 1871 he went to Chicago, Illinois, where he began trading as a commission merchant in grain and live-stock in which he was very successful. Later he became an operator on the Chicago Board of Trade and there laid the foundation of his fortune and subsequent career. In time he became interested in real estate and when, in 1886, he organized a syndicate to erect a large office building, it was suggested that the frame be made of steel, riveted together so as to form a bridge-like structure; and thus he authorized the construction of the first steel frame building in Chicago known as the Rookery. He was one of the promoters in the formation of the National Biscuit Company, which company has achieved great success due to the introduction of improved and scientific methods of baking and wrapping soda and other biscuits. He was also interested in the Corn Products Company of Illinois; The Pullman Company, and in the United States Steel Corporation of which he was a member of its finance committee. He was interested in the reorganization of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and the Colorado Southern Railroad Company; also financed and built several systems of street railroads in different cities and was largely interested in the First National Bank of Chicago.

During recent years Mr. Ream served on the directorates of many financial and commercial organizations. He was Vice-President and Director of the Central Safety Deposit Company of Chicago, Illinois; likewise of the Securities Company of New York, and Trustee of the New York Trust Company. He was a director of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, The Chicago & Erie Railroad Company, the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railway Company, The Erie Railroad Company, and the Seaboard Air Line Railway Company. Was a Director of the United States Steel Corporation, the Pullman Company, the National Biscuit Company, the Société Franco Américain, the Cumberland Corporation, Carolina, Clinchfield & Ohio Railroad Company, the Clinchfield Coal Corporation, the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, the Fidelity-Phenix Fire Insurance Company, the Sussex Realty Company, and the Mount Hope Cemetery Association.

Mr. Ream married February 17, 1876, at Madison, New York, Carrie Thompson, daughter of Dr. John and Elizabeth Putnam; she was born March 1, 1852, at Madison, New York; is descended from a well known old New England family. Mr. and Mrs. Ream had children; 1—Marion B. Ream, born in Chicago, Illinois, married Redmond D. Stephens; 2—Frances M., born in Chicago, married John L. Kemmerer; 3—Norman P., born in Chicago; 4—Robert C., born in Chicago, married Mabel Wrightson; 5—Edward King, married Nellie Speed; 6—Louis Marshall.

In politics Mr. Ream always acted independently of party ties. He was a member of many social and recreation clubs, among which were the Pennsylvania Society of New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Union Club of New York, the Art, the Metropolitan, the New York Yacht, the South Side; in Chicago he was a member of the Chicago Club and of the Illinois Commandery of the Loyal Legion.
Explanations and Abbreviations

The original commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians and teamsters of the respective companies are given on pages 6, 7 and 8, which see. The commissioned officers as given of Companies C and H should be transposed, those of Company C belonging to Company H, and vice versa. Unless otherwise noted, "date of enlistment" in 1861, and "end of service" in 1865, as shown in first and last columns respectively of roster indicate re-enlistment as veteran volunteers. "End of service" subsequent to October 14, 1864, unless otherwise noted, indicates the enlisted men as discharged by reason of expiration of term of service; "end of service" given as November 22, 1864, indicates mustered out with Company or Regiment at Pittsburgh, Pa., or discharged subsequently to date from November 22, 1864; "end of service" subsequent to June 28, 1865, indicates enlisted men as transferred to 188th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers; "end of service" given as December 14, 1865, indicates mustered out with the 188th Regiment, at City Point, Va., on that date. Where date of enlistment, place, age and end of service do not appear, no such record appears on any of the muster rolls.

a—age or aged
aag—assistant adjutant-general
ac—army corps
aig—assistant inspector-general
ajt—adjutant
ap—appointed
a-sgn—assistant surgeon
bd—buried
bvt—brevet
cap—captain
cmy—commissary
cnd—commissioned
co—company
col—colonel
cor—corporal
dd—died
disapd—disappeared and never returned to company
e1—elected
en—enlisted
fr—from
gen—general
hosp stew—hospital steward
lt—lieutenant
1 lt—first lieutenant
2 lt—second lieutenant
lt col—lieutenant colonel
m—mustered
mi—mustered in
mo—mustered out
maj—major
mn—musician
owd—orders of war department
p—page
pl mn—principal musician
poa—post office address
p of w—prisoner of war
pr—promoted
pv—Pennsylvania Vols.
pvt—private
qm—quartermaster
qm sgt—quartermaster sergeant
rd—resigned
rt—regiment
sgn—surgeon
sgn cert—surgeon's certificate of disability
tdf—to date from
tmr—teamster
trfd—transferred
vrc—veteran reserve corps
wd—wound or wounded
wds—wounds
whc—writ of habeas corpus
## ROSTER

### FIELD AND STAFF.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COLONEL</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>End of Service</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edward Campbell</td>
<td>Sept. 21, '61</td>
<td>Uniontown, Pa.</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Nov. 22, '64</td>
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### LIEUT. COLONELS
- Norton McGiffin
- Henry A. Purviance
- Edward Campbell

### MAJORS
- Absalom Guiler, Nov. 4, '61, Uniontown, 42, May 31, '62
- James B. Tredwell, Sept. 1, '61, Somerset, 24, Sept. 5, '62
- Isaac M. Abraham, Sept. 10, '61, Smithfield, 44, Dec. 33, '64

### ADJUTANTS
- Andrew Stewart, Jr., Sept. 16, '61, Uniontown
- Samuel L. McHenry, Oct. 16, '61, Florence
- David W. Shields, Sept. 14, '61, Canonsburg

### QUARTERMASTERS
- John Murphy, Jr., Aug. 27, '61, Canonsburg, 28, June 15, '62
- William E. Beall, Sept. 1, '61, Somersfield, 27, Nov. 22, '64

### SURGEONS
- Samuel L. Kurtz, Mch. 3, '62
- John B. Laidley, Oct. 15, '61, Greene Co.
- Joseph W. Alexander, June 10, '62

### ASSISTANT SURGEONS
- Hugh W. Siddall, Aug. 2, '62, Philadelphia
- Samuel Sandt, Aug. 4, '62, Northampton Co.

### CHAPLAINS
- J. P. Caldwell, Oct. 21, '62, Florence

### SERGEANT MAJORS
- Thomas J. Black, Oct. 21, '61, Uniontown, 21, Nov. 22, '64
- James B. Lindsey, July 13, '61, Waynesburg, 21, Feb. 25, '62
- Thomas M. Harford, Oct. 21, '61, Uniontown, 24, Nov. 22, '64

### Q. M. SERGEANTS
- William L. Pershing, Oct. 26, '61, Amity, 22, Nov. 22, '64
- Samuel M. Walton, Oct. 1, '61, Amity, 34, Dec. 23, '64

### COM'Y SERGEANT
- John B. Bell, Sept. 13, '61, Canonsburg, 24, Nov. 22, '64
- Abraham Miller, Nov. 9, '61, Connellsville, 38, Dec. 19, '65

### HOSPITAL STEWARDS
- Samuel M. H. Bebout, Sept. 30, '61, Canonsburg, 28, Nov. 22, '64
- Robinson Elder, Sept. 11, '61, Springfield Twp., 18, June 5, '62
## PRINCIPAL MUSICIANS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>Samuel Wood</td>
<td>Sept. 30, '61</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry L. Regar</td>
<td>Nov. 11, '61</td>
<td>Connellsville</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Nov. 22, '64</td>
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<tr>
<td>David Ewing Hook</td>
<td>Aug. 1, '61</td>
<td>Uniontown</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>June 17, '62</td>
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## ROSTER OF COMPANY A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAPTAINS</th>
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<th>Age</th>
<th>Service</th>
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<td>Harvey J. Vankirk</td>
<td>Sept. 23, '61</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Nov. 7, '62</td>
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<tr>
<td>William W. Kerr</td>
<td>Sept. 13, '61</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Nov. 22, '64</td>
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</table>

1ST LIEUT'S

| Socrates McGregor      | Sept. 23, '61 | Florence      | 33    | Nov. 22, '64 |

2D LIEUT'S

| John Rowley            | Sept. 23, '61 | Thompsonville | 30    | Apr. 7, '62  |
| John W. Acheson        | Nov. 1, '61   | Washington    | 24    | Sept. 19, '65 |
| Robert T. Wishart      | Oct. 16, '61  | Washington    | 40    | Nov. 20, '62 |

1ST SERGT'S

<p>| Andrew Gilkeson        | Sept. 13, '61 | Thompsonville | 19    | Nov. 22, '64 |
| Alexander W. Pollock   | Sept. 13, '61 | Thompsonville | 22    | May 28, '64  |</p>
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<td>Robert Caldwell,</td>
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<td>Robert W. Crisswell,</td>
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<td>William D. Shaw,</td>
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<td>Greer Hair,</td>
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<td>CORPORALS</td>
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<td>Matthew Templeton,</td>
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<td>Jonathan Beatty,</td>
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<td>Thomas Griffith,</td>
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<td>John S. Butterfoss,</td>
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<td>Alexander M. Ross,</td>
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<td>Oscar F. Lyon,</td>
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<td>William Milligan,</td>
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<td>James M. S. Cratty,</td>
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<td>MUSICIANS</td>
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<td>Robert B. Thompson,</td>
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<td>John W. Ingles,</td>
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<td>WAGONER</td>
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<td>Adam Johnston,</td>
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<td>Allison, James,</td>
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<td>Andrews, Joseph W.,</td>
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<td>Baldwin, David,</td>
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<td>Barr, Colin W.,</td>
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<td>Barr, Thomas J.,</td>
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<td>Bebout, Jonathan L.,</td>
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<td>Bebout, Samuel M. H.,</td>
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<td>Bell, James H.,</td>
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<td>Brownlee, Ariel,</td>
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<td>Greaves, Cyrus,</td>
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<td>Greer, Robert,</td>
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<td>Henderson, Franklin,</td>
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Hendrickson, Samuel, Sept. 13, '61 Thompsonville 21 Feb. 16, '63
Higby, James, Sept. 13, '61 Pinewyly 22 Oct. 27, '62
Hines, William H., Sept. 30, '61 Chartiers 22 Aug. 16, '64
Hutchison, Andrew J., Sept. 20, '61 Washington 22 Nov. 22, '64
Jobs, Patterson, Sept. 14, '61 East Finley 24 June 17, '64
Kerr, Joseph G., Sept. 13, '61 Thompsonville 19 Nov. 22, '64
Kline, John R., Sept. 30, '61 Florence 32 Nov. 22, '64
Lovejoy, Andrew A., Sept. 18, '61 Linden 19 Apr. 8, '62
Low, John, Sept. 23, '61 Paris 23 June 23, '62
Lynn, Matthew, Sept. 18, '61 North Strabane 25 Dec. 31, '61
Lyon, Hamilton, Sept. 13, '61 Hookstown 20 Nov. 23, '64
M'Cabe, Joseph E., Sept. 13, '61 Thompsonville 21 Sept. 1, '63
McCready, George R., July 16, '63 Chartiers 19 Oct. 23, '63
McMillan, John A., Sept. 16, '61 Linden 21 June 10, '62
Martin, Philip, Sept. 30, '61 Chartiers 23 Nov. 23, '64
Morrison, William H., Sept. 23, '61 Washington 29 Nov. 15, '62
Neill, John, Sept. 18, '61 Thompsonville 21 Oct. 17, '64
Nickerson, Henry W., Sept. 13, '61 Burnsville 18 Mch. 19, '63
Park, John, Sept. 13, '61 Thompsonville 22 Nov. 23, '64
Paschal, David G., Sept. 14, '61 Chartiers 31 Sept. 28, '62
Patterson, John, Sept. 13, '61 Washington Co. 29 Nov. 15, '62
Proudfit, James A., Sept. 13, '61 Gill Hall 25 Nov. 22, '64
Randolph, William H., Oct. 14, '61 10 Mile 16 June 17, '64
Reynolds, Henry T., Sept. 19, '61 Taylorstown 23 Nov. 22, '64
Richardson, Jacob, Sept. 20, '61 Thompsonville 25 Oct. 30, '61
Ross, Jr., Matthew, Sept. 28, '61 Canonsburg 22 May 2 '65
Ross, Moses, Sept. 24, '61 East Finley 23 Nov. 3, '62
Sawhill, Thomas H., Sept. 23, '61 Paris 18 Nov. 22, '64
Scott, William A., Sept. 4, '61 Chartiers 20 Nov. 22, '64
Shaw, Joseph, Sept. 13, '61 Thompsonville, Pa. 20 Nov. 22, '64
Shell, Joseph L., Sept. 13, '61 Pinewyly 21 Nov. 23, '64
Sias, William H. H., Sept. 13, '61 Pineville 21 Nov. 23, '64
Tanner, Amos J., Aug. 16, '64 May 30, '65
Thompson, Andrew, Sept. 18, '61 Thompsonville 23 June 30, '62
Thompson, Jacob L., Sept. 18, '61 Thompsonville 21 Nov. 23, '64
Thompson, Thomas, Sept. 18, '61 Thompsonville 25 Oct. 4, '64
Vance, Alexander H., Sept. 23, '61 Frankfort Springs 30 Nov. 22, '64
Welch, Alexander P., Aug. 22, '64 June 10, '65
Welch, Joseph, Sept. 13, '61 Pinewyly 18 Aug. 16, '64
Wibley, John, Sept. 13, '61 Pinewyly 18 May 1, '62
Wibley, John (2), March 1, '64 New Brighton 21 Oct. 15, '65
Wibley, William A., Sept. 18, '61 Pinewyly 21 Nov. 22, '64
Wilson, William J., Aug. 23, '61 Washington 50 Apr. 4, '63
ROSTER

ROSTER OF COMPANY B.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAPTAINS</th>
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<th>Age</th>
<th>Service</th>
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<tr>
<td>Morgan W. Zellars,</td>
<td>Sept. 12, '61</td>
<td>Zollarsville</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>May 19, '62</td>
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<tr>
<td>George H. Hooker,</td>
<td>Sept. 2, '61</td>
<td>Eldersville</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Nov. 22, '64</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert P. Hughes,</td>
<td>Aug. 28, '61</td>
<td>Canonsburg</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>June 23, '65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1ST LIEUT'S

| John Murphy, | Aug. 27, '61 | Canonsburg | 28  | June 15, '62 |

2D LIEUT'S

| Julius A. Smith, | Aug. 28, '61 | Canonsburg | 26  | June 30, '62 |
| David W. Shields, | Sept. 4, '61 | Canonsburg | 19  | Nov. 22, '64 |

1ST SER'G'T'S

| James R. Keane, | Nov. 9, '61 | Broadford   | 19  | Nov. 22, '64 |
| Samuel Stevenson, | Sept. 21, '61 | Broadford | 18  | July 11, '64 |

SERGEANTS

| Isaac F. Overholt, | Sept. 21, '61 | Broadford   | 18  | Nov. 23, '64 |
| John B. Norris, | Sept. 21, '61 | Broadford   | 20  | Nov. 22, '64 |
| Benjamin Orbin, | Sept. 21, '61 | Broadford   | 25  | Nov. 22, '64 |
| Adam Harbinson, | Aug. 28, '61 | Canonsburg | 23  | Apr. 9, '62  |
| James F. Speer, | Sept. 11, '61 | Canonsburg | 18  | Oct. 11, '64 |
| Joseph C. Douds, | Aug. 28, '61 | Canonsburg | 20  | May 21, '62  |
| Walter B. Smith, | Sept. 16, '61 | Pittsburgh | 23  | May 21, '62  |
| George W. Bigler, | Oct. 1, '61 | Amity       | 25  | Nov. 16, '64 |

CORPORALS

| David Miller, | Sept. 12, '61 | Zollarsville | 33  | Nov. 22, '64 |
| Manaen Sharp, | Oct. 1, '61  | Amity       | 24  | Sept. 15, '63 |
| William M. McCollough, | Sept. 12, '61 | Zollarsville | 20  | Nov. 22, '64 |
| Jackson Crumrine, | Sept. 12, '61 | Zollarsville | 18  | Nov. 22, '64 |
| Cephas Dodd, | Oct. 16, '61 | Amity       | 19  | Nov. 22, '64 |
| George K. Strawn, | Sept. 30, '61 | Perryopolis | 23  | Nov. 26, '64 |
| John S. Shallenberger, | Oct. 12, '61 | Perryopolis | 22  | Dec. 23, '64 |
| John B. Clayton, | Sept. 2, '61 | Clarktown   | 16  | Aug. 28, '64 |
| Abraham B. Croner, | Sept. 17, '61 | Canonsburg | 28  | May 25, '63  |
| Alexander F. Hutchinson, | Sept. 21, '61 | Broadford   | 28  | May 31, '62  |

MUSICIANS

| Eli Crumrine, | Sept. 10, '61 | Zollarsville | 18  | Nov. 22, '64 |
| William J. Barker, | Oct. 11, '61 | Brownsville | 16  | Nov. 22, '64 |

PRIVES

| Anderson, Christopher, | Oct. 8, '61 | Clarktown   | 21  | Nov. 22, '64 |
| Bair, James R., | Dec. 27, '61 | Zollarsville | 23  | Nov. 22, '64 |
| Baker, David W., | Feb. 12, '62 | Brownsville | 45  | Nov. 29, '62 |
| Ballantine, James, | Oct. 9, '61 | Uniontown  | 47  | Apr. 9, '62  |
| Ballantine, John, | Oct. 7, '61 | Uniontown  | 47  | Apr. 9, '62  |
| Bane, Alexander, | Oct. 23, '61 | Amity       | 18  | Oct. 16, '62 |
| Bane, Amos, | Oct. 5, '61 | Amity       | 18  | June 24, '65 |
| Beattie, Joseph, | Jan. 4, '64 | Pittsburg  | 31  | May 31, '62  |
| Braden, William, | Oct. 27, '61 | Clarktown  | 23  | July 29, '62 |
| Bristor, John, | Oct. 12, '61 | Clarktown  | 23  | July 29, '62 |
| Brooks, Cephas, | Feb. 12, '62 | Brownsville | 45  | Dec. 15, '62 |
| Brownlee, James W., | Sept. 12, '61 | Holliday's Cove | 45  | Oct. 15, '62 |
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Butler, William H., Oct. 26, '61 Eldersville      May 21, '64
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Campbell, John C., Oct. 11, '61 Canonsburg       Aug. 2, '62
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1st Lieut's:

William H. Horn,
Rolla A. Phillips,

2d Lieut's:

John E. Michener,
William H. Myers.
### 1ST SERG'TS

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Cartright, Jesse L., Aug. 19, '64
Chaney, Jesse, Sept. 5, '61
Chapman, Charles, Aug. 31, '61
Church, Franklin, Aug. 28, '62
Church, George, Feb. 24, '64
Clouse, John, Jan. 20, '64
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Cowen, John, Oct. 23, '61
Cree, Alexander D., Aug. 28, '62
Crouse, Nathan, July 13, '61
Crouse, William, Sept. 5, '61
Davis, Benjamin, July 13, '61
Duvall, Elias, Oct. 4, '61
Earnest, Jacob, Oct. 5, '61
Engle, Solomon, Oct. 1, '61
Estep, Cornelius, Oct. 13, '61
Fordyce, John A., Sept. 7, '61
Fordyce, William C., Sept. 23, '61
Fry, David, Oct. 4, '61
Fry, Thomas R., Oct. 4, '61
Garrison, Silas, Feb. 6, '64
Garrison, Thompson L. J., Sept. 9, '61
Gilbert, Eliel, July 13, '61
Gilbert, John, Feb. 24, '62
Gladden, William H., July 13, '61
Graham, John P., July 15, '61
Gray, Isaac, Sept. 24, '61
Hathaway, Adolphus, Sept. 1, '61
Hays, George W., Oct. 21, '61
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Hunt, Josephus, Oct. 1, '61
Johnson, Nicholas, Sept. 23, '61
Johnston, Francis M., July 13, '61
Kimble, Jackson, Sept. 23, '61
Knight, James, July 13, '61
Lanier, John Morgan, Oct. 17, '61
Leonard, Harvey, Oct. 13, '61
Leonard, William E., Oct. 11, '61
Lewis, George F., Dec. 5, '61
Lewis, Richard F., Sept. 5, '61
Loughman, Henry, Sept. 9, '61
McDonald, Alfred, Oct. 12, '61
McNaill, Spencer, Oct. 8, '61
McClumphy, Harvey, Sept. 24, '61
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McMullin, William, Sept. 28, '61
Martin, Jason M., July 13, '61
Martin, Perry W., July 13, '61
Martin, Silas W., Sept. 9, '62
Mitchell, Andrew J., Sept. 9, '61
Mitchell, James H., Sept. 19, '61
Montgomery, John, Aug. 11, '62
Montgomery, William, Oct. 22, '62
Moore, Carle, Mch. 26, '64
Moore, Samuel H., Mch. 26, '64
Morris, Andrew J., Oct. 8, '61

ROSTER

Waynesburg 9/20/64
Nineveh 11/22/64
Pittsburgh 12/31/64
Jackson Twp. 11/20/64
Center Twp. 11/20/64
Waynesburg 11/20/64
Waynesburg 11/20/64
Waynesburg 11/20/64
Waynesburg 11/20/64
Jefferson Twp. 12/21/64

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Murdy, John, Aug. 19, '64 Allegheny City June 10, '65
Nelson, LaFayette, Aug. 31, '61 Jackson Twp. 36 June 10, '65
Ott, Ezra, Jan. 20, '64 Wayneburg May 24, '62
Ott, Salem, March 31, '64 New Brighton Dec. 14, '65
Patterson, Joseph L., Sept. 11, '61 Washington Twp. 21 Aug. 5, '63
Patterson, Samuel, Sept. 10, '62 Wayneburg Sept. 14, '64
Petitt, George, Oct. 11, '61 Jackson Twp. 23 July 9, '62
Petitt, Henry, Oct. 20, '61 Jackson Twp. 20 July 9, '62
Plants, Maxwell, Sept. 24, '61 Spring Hill Twp. 41 Nov. 22, '64
Riggs, Peter, Oct. 8, '61 Spring Hill Twp. 21 Feb. 14, '63
Riggs, William, Sept. 24, '61 Spring Hill Twp. 23 Nov. 22, '64
Rinehart, Meeker, Dec. 21, '61 Rogersville 21 July 9, '62
Rinehart, Morgan, Oct. 8, '61 Jackson Twp. 24 Nov. 22, '64
Rinehart, Thomas, Sept. 8, '61 Wayneburg 24 Dec. 14, '65
Roach, George, Jan. 20, '64 New Brighton 19 June 23, '64
Roseberry, Thomas, July 13, '61 Center Twp. 24 Feb. 10, '63
Scott, Abijah M., July 13, '61 Center Twp. 19 Nov. 22, '64
Scott, Lisbon, July 13, '65 Center Twp. 18 July 5, '65
Sellers, John R., Aug. 28, '62 Wayneburg June 10, '65
Smith, Anthony A., Mch. 6, '62 Wayneburg Oct. 25, '62
Smith, Ezra, Sept. 8, '62 Wayneburg 19 May 16, '61
Smith, Thomas E., Mch. 7, '62 Wayneburg 36 Sept. 12, '62
Stroh, Armor, Sept. 5, '61 Jackson Twp. 30 Nov. 23, '61
Sutton, John, Oct. 8, '61 Jacksonville 18 Mch. 26, '62
Taylor, Levi, Feb. 29, '64 Wayneburg 21 July 23, '65
Teagarden, Isaac, Oct. 20, '61 Rich Hill Twp. 44 Apr. 4, '63
Terrell, George W., Aug. 19, '64 Allegheny City June 10, '65
Thomas, Samuel, Feb. 8, '64 Wayneburg Feb. 7, '63
Thomas, William, Sept. 30, '61 Center Twp. 43 Aug. 30, '62
Thompson, Samuel, Oct. 10, '61 Rogersville 23 Nov. 22, '64
Vandivert, Elia, July 28, '62 Wayneburg 19 June 10, '65
Weaver, Jacob, Sept. 9, '61 Jackson Twp. 18 July 9, '62
West, Jacob, July 13, '61 Center Twp. 32 Nov. 25, '64
West, Samuel, July 13, '61 Center Twp. 29 July 26, '64
Wilkinson, Andrew J., July 13, '61 Wayneburg 33 May 26, '64
Wiseman, George, Jan. 20, '64 Greene Co. Aug. 16, '64
Wiseman, John, Feb. 24, '62 Wayneburg Oct. 29, '63

# ROSTER OF COMPANY G.

## CAPTAINS

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## SERGEANTS

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## CORPORALS

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## MUSICIANS

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## WAGONER

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## PRIVATES

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Goodwin, Daniel S., Oct. 4, '61 Smithfield 25 Apr. 24, '63
Graham, John, Oct. 28, '61 Oak Forest 18 Aug. 18, '63
Graham, William A., Oct. 28, '61 Oak Forest 28 Nov. 22, '64
Gray, James, Sept. 23, '61 New Geneva 26 Nov. 17, '64
Green, William P., Oct. 4, '61 Smithfield 39 Nov. 22, '64
Gregg, John, Sept. 28, '61 Oak Forest 29 Nov. 6, '61
Griffin, Charles A., Sept. 20, '61 Reppert's X Roads 23 Sept. 20, '64
Grove, David L., Oct. 25, '61 Carmichaels 18 Feb. '63
Haney, William H., Mch. 6, '62 Brownsville 25 Aug. 29, '63
Harden, John P., Oct. 10, '61 Oak Forest 21 Nov. 22, '64
Hayden, Henry M., Sept. 27, '61 Greensboro 18 Apr. 26, '62
Hoffman, George, Sept. 15, '61 Smithfield 21 Nov. 11, '61
Honsaker, Nicholas, Sept. 18, '61 Carmichaels 21 Nov. 22, '64
Hunter, Isaac, Sept. 16, '61 Carmichaels 22 June 10, '63
Husk, Frederick, Sept. 15, '61 Carmichaels 22 June 30, '62
Husk, James, Oct. 29, '61 Waynesburg 31 Nov. 21, '64
Kennedy, Van Buren, Oct. 2, '61 Greensboro 20 Apr. 25, '62
Kent, John R., Sept. 28, '61 Oak Forest 19 Nov. 22, '64
Kniseley, George W., Oct. 1, '61 Oak Forest 28 June 24, '63
Lloyd, George, Oct. 7, '61 Uniontown 26 Aug. 29, '62
Lynn, James E., Sept. 18, '61 Carmichaels 35 July 9, '62
Lytte, Rolandus, Sept. 4, '61 Smithfield 84 Aug. 14, '63
McDonald, John, Oct. 4, '61 Smithfield 28 May 15, '63
McMasters, James, Oct. 29, '61 Waynesburg 31 May 10, '63
Martin, David W., Oct. 5, '61 Waynesburg 28 Nov. 22, '64
Moore, John, Sept. 28, '61 Oak Forest 18 Dec. 6, '61
Moredock, James H. L., Dec. 28, '61 Oak Forest 18 June 30, '62
Mosley, John T., Nov. 6, '61 Uniontown 24 Dec. 14, '63
Mosley, Silas L., Nov. 6, '61 Uniontown 18 Nov. 18, '61
Nicholson, James W., July 10, '62 Pittsburgh 18 Nov. 1, '63
O'Neal, Henry, Sept. 23, '61 New Geneva 26 Nov. 13, '62
Patton, William H., Sept. 18, '61 Repperts X Roads 26 Nov. 23, '62
Patton, Henry B., Sept. 4, '61 Smithfield 25 Nov. 22, '64
Phillips, Asberry, Oct. 24, '61 Waynesburg 20 June 10, '63
Pitcock, Owen, Oct. 5, '61 Waynesburg 20 Nov. 10, '64
Pratt, Ashbel F., Sept. 18, '61 Reppert's X Roads 18 Aug. 5, '63
Pratt, Joseph S., Sept. 18, '61 Reppert's X Roads 18 Dec. 23, '64
Reamer, Minor N., Oct. 15, '61 Carmichaels 18 May 9, '63
Reid, Joel, Oct. 4, '61 Smithfield 18 Sept. 22, '62
Rush, John D., Sept. 28, '62 Oak Forest 20 Nov. 7, '61
Rush, John W., Sept. 28, '62 Oak Forest 19 Nov. 22, '64
Shultz, Israel, Oct. 25, '61 Waynesburg 19 Nov. 30, '61
Strickler, John, Sept. 12, '61 McClellandtown 52 Dec. 13, '64
Strosnider, Reason, Sept. 28, '61 Waynesburg 50 Nov. 7, '61
Sturgis, David R., Sept. 27, '61 Taylortown 32 May 29, '62
Sturgis, Phineas W., Oct. 15, '61 Spring Hill 28 June 2, '63
Sutton, William A., Oct. 23, '61 Uniontown 21 Oct. 6, '64
Tannehill, Joseph, Sept. 18, '61 Carmichaels 37 Aug. 29, '63
Tell, William, July 21, '62 Pittsburg 26 June 8, '63
Thomas, Joseph A., Oct. 25, '61 Waynesburg 23 Nov. 29, '64
Thomas, Benjamin, Oct. 15, '61 Taylortown 27 Nov. 22, '64
Utt, William H., Sept. 30, '61 Smithfield 28 May 20, '62
Wilcox, Moses, Oct. 14, '61 Greensboro 23 Feb. 11, '64

Cap Abraham: pr maj Apr. 28, '64. 1 lt Gordon; end cap Sept. 8, '63, not m. Cor Gooden: pr sgt Nov. 1, '64. Cor Gilmore: pr sgt Mch. 1, '63; to 1 sgt June 26, '63. Cor Patton: pr 1 sgt Nov. 25, '62; trfd to rks June 20, '63. Pvt Gordon: pr cor Mch. 1, '63; sgt Nov. 22, '63.
ROSTER


ROSTER OF COMPANY H.

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ROSTER

CAPTAINS

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1ST LIEUT'S

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SERGEANTS

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CORPORALS

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ROSTER OF COMPANY I.
MUSCIANS

John Bunting, Oct. 10, '61 Uniontown 18 Nov. 22, '64
John Stuck, Oct. 10, '61 Uniontown 18 Nov. 22, '64

PRIVATEs

Adams, William, Sept. 9, '61 Uniontown 32 Dec. 14, '65
Beatty, Thomas, Sept. 21, '61 Uniontown 24 Dec. 14, '65
Bees, Andrew J., Sept. 8, '61 Franklin Twp. 24 Aug. 16, '64
Beeson, James, Sept. 21, '61 Uniontown 25 Nov. 13, '64
Bell, Henry J., Sept. 19, '61 Uniontown 41 Dec. 1, '65
Bittle, Levering, Oct. 31, '61 Uniontown Aug. 5, '65
Bolen, Albert W., Aug. 27, '61 New Salem 18 Mch. 17, '62
Bradley, Milton F., Feb. 29, '64 Pittsburgh Dec. 14, '65
Campbell, Isaac, Oct. 28, '61 Uniontown 27 June 9, '62
Chick, George W., Oct. 1, '61 Uniontown 43 Nov. 22, '64
Clear, Alexander, Sept. 26, '61 Uniontown 19 Nov. 18, '61
Crago, Henry C., Sept. 30, '61 Uniontown 21 Nov. 22, '64
Cunningham, George W., Oct. 22, '61 Waynesburg 24 July 24, '62
Darby, John, Oct. 29, '61 Uniontown 31 Sept. 23, '62
Deffenbaugh, Jacob, Aug. 27, '61 Uniontown 31 Nov. 22, '64
Dull, Joseph, Feb. 10, '64 Greensburg Dec. 14, '65
Freeman, Moses H., Aug. 10, '61 Uniontown 24 Nov. 22, '64
Grimes, Greenberry, Oct. 10, '61 Uniontown 18 July 24, '62
Harris, William N., Sept. 19, '61 Uniontown 43 Sept. 23, '62
Henecy, Cornelius, Nov. 9, '61 Uniontown 27 Nov. 22, '64
Henecy, Patrick, Sept. 21, '61 Uniontown 40 Nov. 10, '62
Hoge, Andrew H., Nov. 11, '61 Uniontown 19 Dec. 27, '61
Hook, Ewing D., Aug. 1, '61 Uniontown 25 Nov. 22, '64
Johnson, Samuel E., Sept. 14, '61 New Salem 21 Nov. 20, '61
Jones, William W., Oct. 4, '61 Uniontown 21 Sept. 29, '62
Kilgore, Warren S., Oct. 24, '61 Waynesburg 21 Nov. 22, '64
Kremer, Charles C., Aug. 19, '61 Uniontown 24 Nov. 23, '64
Lenhard, James S., Feb. 29, '64
Lenhard, Milton F., Feb. 29, '64
Letten, John, Oct. 19, '61 Uniontown 18 Nov. 3, '61
Lewis, John, Sept. 23, '61 Uniontown 33 Dec. 5, '63
Lilly, Thomas P., Oct. 15, '61 Uniontown 43 Mch. 11, '62
Loafman, Thaddeus, Sept. 9, '61 Waynesburg 26 Nov. 22, '64
Lynn, Andrew C., Sept. 2, '61 Uniontown 21 Aug. 23, '64
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McKnight, John, Oct. 23, '61 Upper Middletown 22 June 17, '62
Martin, Emanuel, Sept. 21, '61 Uniontown 21 July 2, '62
Mayhorn, Johnson, Sept. 19, '61 New Salem 18 Oct. 21, '61
Miller, George W., Aug. 4, '61 Uniontown 39 Jan. 21, '63
Miner, Isaac, Oct. 18, '62 Uniontown 16 Oct. 28, '65
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Miner, William, Sept. 6, '61 Wharton Twp. 21 Nov. 22, '64
Morgan, Nathan, Oct. 23, '61 Uniontown 29 Nov. 22, '64
O'Conner, Michael, Oct. 10, '61 Waynesburg 31 Nov. 22, '64
Ogle, Andrew, Sept. 16, '61 Wharton Twp. 20 Sept. 24, '62
Ogle, Elias, Sept. 19, '61 Wharton Twp. 24 Dec. 23, '64
Pratt, William A., Mch. 1, '64 Uniontown 15 Feb. 28, '65
Rager, Benjamin, Sept. 19, '61 Uniontown 42 Sept. 19, '63
Rager, Thomas, Oct. 10, '61 Uniontown 18 Oct. 20, '63
Ramage, Samuel D., Dec. 21, '61 Uniontown 21 Apr. 5, '62
Rolland, Edward D., Sept. 13, '61 Uniontown 22 June 26, '63
Rose, Albert D., Oct. 12, '61 Webster Sept. 18, '62
Sanders, Stephen, Oct. 1, '61 Waynesburg 28 Aug. 28, '65
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<td>Springfield Twp.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Nov. 22, '64</td>
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ROSTER OF COMPANY K

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAPTAINS</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>End of Service</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hagan Z. Ludington</td>
<td>Aug. 6, '61</td>
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<td>Feb. 7, '63</td>
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<tr>
<td>John E. Michener</td>
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<td>Zollarsville, Pa.</td>
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1ST SERGT'S

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Place</th>
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<tr>
<td>Oliver K. Sproul</td>
<td>Aug. 21, '61</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coulson Coughanour</td>
<td>Aug. 10, '61</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Sept. 20, '69</td>
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### SERGEANTS

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sylvanus Hasson</td>
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<tr>
<td>William H. Showman</td>
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<tr>
<td>John M. Moore</td>
<td>Sept. 13, '61</td>
<td>Thompsonsville</td>
<td>19</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob F. Miller</td>
<td>Nov. 13, '61</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zachariah Snyder</td>
<td>Aug. 23, '61</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samuel Grim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daniel F. Miller</td>
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<td>William H. Murphy</td>
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### CORPORALS

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<td>Louis P. Gibson</td>
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<td>Samuel Liston</td>
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<td>James C. Bailey</td>
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<tr>
<td>John C. Brown</td>
<td>Apr. 5, '62</td>
<td>Uniontown</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Apr. 26, '65</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry C. Dean</td>
<td>Oct. 10, '61</td>
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<td>Isaac Cossel</td>
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<td>Francis D. Morrison</td>
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### MUSICIAN

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<td>Thomas H. Morrison</td>
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### TEAMSTER

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<td>James Reynolds</td>
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### PRIVATES

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<td>Eicher, John R.</td>
<td>Feb. 14, '62</td>
<td>Greensburg</td>
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<td>Oct. 25, '61</td>
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Imel, Samuel H., Aug. 25, '61
Inks, John, Oct. 1, '62
Johnston, Charles, May 23, '64
Johnston, Samuel K., Aug. 24, '61
Keever, Benjamin, Sept. 12, '62
Keever, Henry, Sept. 12, '62
Keever, John, Sept. 12, '62
Kephart, Cyrus, Nov. 18, '64
Kern, Abraham B., Aug. 26, '61
Kern, David, Aug. 26, '61
Kern, Jane, Aug. 26, '61
Kimmel, Ludwig A., Aug. 22, '61
Leonard, James, Aug. 22, '61
Lowrie, Israel D., Feb. 18, '62
Lytle, Charles, Aug. 23, '61
McMillen, Jacob, Nov. 7, '61
Miller, Amzi, May 23, '64
Morrison, Isaiah, June 21, '64
Morrison, Perry, Oct. 1, '62
Mountain, Harrison, Aug. 26, '61
New, Barthel, Aug. 26, '61
Nicholson, David, Aug. 21, '61
Nicholson, Samuel, Aug. 21, '61
Phillippi, Jacob, Aug. 21, '61
Phillippi, Phillip, May 23, '64
Rager, Henry L., May 23, '64
Rankin, Alexander, April 11, '64
Rankin, Paul, Nov. 1, '61
Reppert, John, Mch. 21, '64
Ritenauer, William, Nov. 6, '61
Romesberger, Harrison, Sept. 8, '61
Rowen, James, Aug. 18, '61
Rowen, Jane, Aug. 18, '61
Ses, George, Aug. 22, '61
Shaw, William S., Sept. 2, '61
Solomon, Enoch, Aug. 22, '61
Stuck, Thomas, Aug. 21, '61
Stull, Charles, Oct. 2, '61
Stull, Isaiah P., Feb. 18, '62
Stull, John, Mch. 21, '64
Taylor, Benjamin, Sept. 9, '61
Taylor, Jeremiah, Oct. 23, '61
Tower, Isaiah, April 11, '64
Trump, Harmon, Sept. 4, '61
Vantisse, Ephraim, Sept. 25, '61
Vaux, John, Nov. 1, '61
Whipkey, Samuel, Aug. 21, '61
Whipkey, William, Aug. 16, '61
Wilson, Perry B., Aug. 21, '61
Zebley, Perry C., Nov. 1, '61
Zebley, Thomas B., Nov. 1, '61

ROSTER 459

Greensburg
Wharton Twp.
Wharton Twp.
Springfield Twp.
Bull Skin Twp.
Bull Skin Twp.

Aug. 14, '64
June '62
Oct. 18, '65
July 28, '62
Apr. 6, '65
Sept. 15, '63
Nov. 18, '64
Aug. 16, '64
Aug. 24, '63
Aug. 6, '62
Nov. 22, '64
Dec. 8, '62
Nov. 22, '64
Dec. 14, '65
Feb. 12, '63
Nov. 22, '64
June 12, '62
Pittsburgh
Springfield Twp.
Springfield Twp.
Springfield Twp.
Springfield Twp.
Springfield Twp.

Aug. 18, '61
Sept. 2, '61
Aug. 18, '61
Aug. 22, '61
Aug. 21, '61
Aug. 21, '61

Stewart Twp.
Henry Clay Twp.
Henry Clay Twp.
Henry Clay Twp.
Henry Clay Twp.
Stewart Twp.

45
38
43
22
22
48

Aug. 15, '62
Aug. 18, '61
Aug. 18, '61
Aug. 22, '61
Aug. 21, '61
Aug. 21, '61

Pvt
Cor
Cor
Cor
Cor
Stewart Twp.

22
26
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18
22
48

Sept. 19, '61
Jan. 30, '60
Aug. 19, '63
Aug. 19, '63
Aug. 19, '63
Aug. 19, '63

18
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43
22
22
19

June 12, '62
July 1, '62
Oct. 6, '62
Dec. 14, '64
July 22, '62
Aug. 14, '64

18
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43
22
22
19

Connelsville
Henry Clay Twp.
Henry Clay Twp.
Stewart Twp.
Stewart Twp.
Stewart Twp.

18
28
19
26
26
22

June 29, '62
Nov. 10, '61
Aug. 24, '63
Sept. 2, '63
Aug. 15, '64
Aug. 19, '64

18
28
19
26
26
22

Aug. 14, '64

26

5, '62

5, '62

1, '61
DETACHMENT OF THE 85TH REGIMENT.

The Eighty-fifth Regiment was ordered from the front on October 14, 1864, with the exception of those who had re-enlisted as Veteran Volunteers, and those who had enlisted subsequent to the departure of the Regiment from Camp Lafayette. On the following day, October 15, 1864, these were formed into a Detachment, and temporarily assigned to duty with the 199th Regiment, Pennsylvania Infantry. Sergt. James Nichlow of Company H, who had been awarded a medal of honor for meritorious conduct in front of Fort Wagner, was commissioned first lieutenant, November 22, 1864, and assumed command of the Detachment the following day, remaining in command until February 1, 1865, when he was succeeded by 1st Lieut. Absalom Dial, formerly of Company B. The Detachment remained with the 199th Regiment until December 15, 1864, when it was assigned to duty as provost guard at the headquarters of the First Division of the 24th Army Corps. This Detachment remained intact as of the 85th Regiment until June 28, 1865, when the men comprising it were distributed into various companies of the 188th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, and served with this regiment until the expiration of their term of service, or until it was mustered out December 14, 1865. The following officers and men were enrolled with the Detachment:

Richard W. Dawson, Capt., Co. I
Absalom S. Dial, 1st Lieut., Co. B
James Nichlow, 1st Lieut., Co. H
Elmore A. Russell, 1st Lieut., Co. F
Charles E. Eckels, 1st Sergt., Co. E
Isaac D. Haveley, 1st Sergt., Co. F
James E. Sayers, 1st Sergt., Co. F
Oliver Sproul, 1st Sergt., Co. K
William E. Brown, Sergt., Co. I
Benjamin F. Campbell, Sergt., Co. G
Rinehart B. Church, Sergt., Co. F
Franklin D. Condon, Sergt., Co. C
Walter C. Cravin, Sergt., Co. C
Henry M. Hand, Sergt., Co. E
Adolphus I. Inks, Sergt., Co. E
William G. Miller, Sergt., Co. E
John T. Norris, Sergt., Co. C
Ross R. Sterner, Sergt., Co. H

John Brown, Corp., Co. K
Newton W. Chase, Corp., Co. E
William E. Chick, Corp., Co. I
James N. Derbins, Corp., Co. F
Robert M. Fields, Corp., Co. C
Benjamin F. Hathaway, Corp., Co. D
William Jeffries, Corp., Co. H
Henry J. McAllister, Corp., Co. E
Silas W. Martin, Corp., Co. F
Robert M. Mitchell, Corp., Co. E
Martin Pope, Corp., Co. E
John V. Rossell, Corp., Co. B
Thomas M. Sellers, Corp., Co. F
Henry B. VanSickle, Corp., Co. H
Matthew C. Axton, Mus., Co. E
William Rimmell, Mus., Co. E
Stephen Sanders, Wagoner, Co. I
Adams, Isaac, Private, unassigned
Adams, William, Private, Co. I
Augustine, Peter S., Private, Co. H
Baker, David W., Private, Co. B
Beattie, Joseph S., Private, Co. B
Beatty, James, Private, Co. C
Beatty, Thomas, Private, Co. I
Bissett, Jeremiah, Private, Co. F
Bittle, Leavering, Private, Co. I
Black, Lindsey, Private, Co. G
Bradley, Milton F., Private, Co. I
Bryan, James H., Private, Co. B
Burroughs, John B., Private, Co. F
Byers, Thomas, Private, Co. E
Cady, Nelson E., Private, Co. A
Cage, James G., Private, Co. B
Caldwell, Charles, Private, Co. A
Caldwell, Samuel R., Private, Co. A
Campbell, James R., Private, Co. K
Campsey, Joseph, Private, Co. A
Carothers, John, Private, Co. A
Chase, Milton B., Private, Co. E
Chase, Sherman, Private, Co. E
Church, Franklin, Private, Co. F
Church, George, Private, Co. F
Clendaniel, John, Private, Co. F
Clouse, John, Private, Co. F
Coder, Eli, Private, Co. B
Collins, Henry F., Private, Co. K
Cook, James R., Private, Co. C
Cooper, James E., Private, Co. F
Crossan, William, Private, Co. A
Cree, Alexander D., Private, Co. F
Davis, James C., Private, Co. E
Dawson, Jeremiah, Private, Co. E
Dial, John W., Private, Co. H
Dowler, James A., Private, Co. C
Downer, George W., Private, Co. E
Dull, Joseph, Private, Co. I
Earnest, John, Private, unassigned
Eicher, Isaac, Private, Co. K
Elder, Julius R., Private, Co. K
Firestone, Simon, Private, Co. H
Fisher, Isaac L., Private, Co. E
Frakes, Andrew J., Private, Co. C
Fry, David, Private, Co. F
Garrett, Henry, Private, Co. E
Garrison, Eli, Private, unassigned
Garrison, Silas, Private, Co. F
Gooden, David, Private, Co. G
Gray, Isaac, Private, Co. F
Hagerman, George W., Private, Co. B
Hagerman, William F., Private, Co. B
Hartzell, Jeremiah, Private, Co. E
Hays, William B., Private, Co. E
Heinbaugh, Jacob, Private, Co. H
Henderson, William, Private, Co. F
Hileman, William, Private, Co. H
Hiles, George, Private, Co. K
Holland, Springer, Private, Co. H
Howard, John H., Private, Co. B
Huffman, Jacob, Private, Co. F
Huffman, James, Private, Co. F
Jenkins, Thomas B., Private, Co. E
Johnston, Charles, Private, Co. K
Jordan, James, Private, Co. E
Keenan, Michael, Private, Co. E
Kelly, Isaac M., Private, Co. B
Layton, Martin E., Private, Co. B
Leclere, Lewis P., Private, Co. C
Lowe, Jefferson, Private, Co. E
Lowrie, Isaiah D., Private, Co. K
Lowry, Samuel, Private, Co. H
Lucas, John P., Private, Co. E
Mahaffey, William, Private, Co. E
Mayhorn, James W., Private, Co. E
McAllister, Benjamin, Private, Co. E
McCann, William, Private, Co. E
McCoy, John, Private, Co. E
McIlvain, John, Private, Co. D
McKeag, David C., Private, Co. E
Miller, Abraham, Private, Co. H
Miller, Amzi, Private, Co. K
Minerd, Isaac, Private, Co. I
Montgomery, John, Private, Co. F
Montgomery, William, Private, Co. F
Moore, Carl, Private, Co. F
Moore, Samuel H., Private, Co. F
Morrison, Francis, Private, Co. H
Morrow, John L., Private, Co. B
Moser, John T., Private, Co. A
Murdy, John, Private, Co. F
New, Barthel, Private, Co. K
Nichola, Aaron, Private, Co. H
Ott, Ezra, Private, Co. F
Ott, Salem, Private, Co. F
Overholt, John F., Private, Co. B
Perry, William B., Private, Co. I
Pettit, George, Private, Co. F
Pratt, William A., Private, Co. I
Ralston, Wesley, Private, Co. E
Rankin, Paul, Private, Co. K
Reese, John, Private, Co. D
Regar, Jacob, Private, Co. H
Reppert, John, Private, Co. K
Rice, William, Private, Co. D
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<td>Rizor, John</td>
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<td>Rush, John</td>
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<td>Seabold, William H.</td>
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<td>Sellers, John R.</td>
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<td>Shook, James A.</td>
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<td>Smith, John W.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strauch, Benedict F.</td>
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