



[Return I. Holcombe Papers.](#)

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HISTORY OF THE FIRST REGIMENT
OF MINNESOTA VOLUNTEERS.
ITS ORGANIZATION.

CHAPTER I.

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

After a heroic resistance, Fort Sumter was surrendered to the Confederates, Saturday, April 13, 1861. Bad news travels fast, and, within a few hours ^{there} after, word of the surrender reached President Lincoln at Washington. He was prepared for its reception and already determined what was to be done. The next day-- perhaps with the thought that, "the better the day the better the deed"-- he issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteer soldiers to serve, in conjunction with the 10,000 regulars then composing the army, for three months, "unless sooner discharged". It was hoped that such a force would manifest the determination of the government, bring to their senses the misguided Confederates, although they already had 200,000 men ready for the field, had formed a confederated government of several millions of people and were swearing to fight to the last ditch.

Minnesota Offers First Aid to the Starved Union.

Gov. Alexander Ramsey, of Minnesota, chanced to be in Washington when ^{Fort} Sumter fell. The next morning, at about 9 o'clock, after a night of restlessness and anxiety over the situation, he went to the War Department and sought the Secretary, then Hon. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, (Ramsey's native State) whom he well knew. He encountered the Secretary as that officer, who was dressed for a walk and carrying bundles of papers, was leaving his office, apparently wrought up to strong tension and bent upon important business.

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

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

On Monday, April 15, the President made requisitions for troops upon the Governors of all the States then not in secession. The executives of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Missouri, and Kentucky refused; and shortly thereafter the first four named had joined the Confederacy. Gov. Ramsey, still detained in Washington, promptly telegraphed the acting Governor of Minnesota, Lieut-Gov. Ignatius Donnelly, instructing him to issue an immediate call for volunteers. That was an instruction to the pugnacious and patriotic Donnelly's liking, and straightway he obeyed it. The first Minnesota newspapers issued after the receipt of Ramsey's order appeared on Tuesday morning and they contained the formal call of Lieut-Gov. Donnelly for volunteers.

After admission into the Union, in May, 1858, and for fifteen years or so, Minnesota had on paper--but practically nowhere else--a magnificent army of State Militia, composed of about forty regiments, all properly numbered, officered, and divided into companies. Gov. Sibley, the State's first chief magistrate, had appointed, as the supreme commander of all the militia, Joseph R. Brown, who in many respects was the most prominent character in early Minnesota history, giving him the rank and title of major-general. Under him were brigadiers, colonels, and other subordinates. Not a single regiment of the Minnesota militia was ever paraded or assembled as an organization. From time to time, however, certain companies had been organized, uniformed, armed, and had a creditable existence. Occasionally too--as in the "Wright County War," the Sunrise

~~*For copies of the original orders and papers referred to see~~
Minn. in Civil & Ind. Wars, Vol. 2, pp. 1-3.

Expedition, the Inkpadoota outrages, and at other emergencies-- these companies had done the state some service.

In St. Paul, Company A of the Twenty-third Regiment of Militia was an efficient organization. It was armed, uniformed, and well drilled, and the personnel of its members was of a high order. The company was organized in 1856, in Territorial days, and was called the "Pioneer Guard"; ^{in the first part of April, 1861, it} ~~and at this time~~ was commanded by Captain A. T. ^{Chamblin} Chamberlin. At intervals many men who then were, or subsequently became, prominent characters, were members of the organization.

Lieut.- Gov. Donnelly verbally notified the officers of the Pioneer Guard on Monday (before the appearance of his proclamation in the papers on Tuesday morning) that volunteers were required and he asked them to take proper and especially immediate action. That night the Guard met at its armory, and many of the members, with many other patriotic citizens, signed their names as volunteers under the call.

The war feeling in the young pioneer State had been ardent and strong for many months, as the preparations for hostilities by the Southern secessionists went forward. The feeling was greatly intensified now that the Southerners had fired upon the Stars and Stripes and declared that they would fight to the bitter end for the disruption of the Union.

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

In an eloquent and inspiring proclamation, Lieut. Gov. Donnelly had, on Tuesday morning, April 16, called for one regiment of ten companies of infantry to report to the Adjutant General of the State, Wm. H. Acker, of St. Paul, for a service of three months. He announced that this requisition was made pursuant to the call of the President for "troops to support the Government." Each of the ten companies was to be composed of a captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, one bugler, and 64 privates.

The call met with enthusiastic response from every occupied portion of the State. Hon. Clement C. Clay, of Alabama,-- which State had seceded--was in St. Paul on private business at the time. Returning to his home, at Huntsville, he warned his

fellow-citizens, in a public address, that the war they had undertaken would be a bloody one and might last five years. He assured them that the North would fight to the death, and was thoroughly aroused; that in far-off and primitive Minnesota, from whence he had just come, the pioneers and frontiersmen of that young, poor, and scantily populated commonwealth were thronging forward to fight for the Union, and with earnest zeal were demanding to be led to the battle-field.

Public meetings were at once held in all the larger towns--and by the census of 1860 the population of St. Paul, the largest town in the State, was but 10,279-- and these meetings were attended by all classes and addressed by many prominent citizens. All political party lines were wholly ignored.

("Then none was for a party; then all were for the State.")

In St. Paul, Stillwater, St. Anthony, Minneapolis, Winona, Hastings, Red Wing, Wabasha, Faribault, Mankato, and many smaller towns and villages, there were enthusiastic and inspiring war meetings. Every able-bodied man that could volunteer as a soldier was willing to do so; he who could not, devoutly wished he could. The people were mostly newcomers and the most of them were poor. Many a man, though patriotic as a Spartan, could not enlist without abandoning a wife and little ones to peril and privation upon a lonely frontier. But there were many others more fortunately situated, who were brave and eager.

The result was natural. The enrollment went on rapidly. On Monday, April 29, the ten companies that had been called assembled at Fort Snelling,

the designated rendezvous, as directed by Adjutant General Acker.

That day, however, Gen. Acker resigned his position in the State militia to become a captain in the First Minnesota regiment. To succeed him Gov. Ramsey appointed Hon. John B. Sanborn, then a St. Paul lawyer, whose only military experience was as a volunteer in the war of 1812. He had been chairman of the committee on military affairs in the Senate branch of the preceding State Legislature. He often said that when appointed to this highly important military position he hardly knew gunpowder from black sand, and had never seen a musket cartridge in his life. Yet he learned fast and when the war closed he wore the twin stars of a major general and had won them by services in the field.

Official Roster of the Companies.

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

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

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

Company C, St. Paul Volunteers, St. Paul--Captain, Wm. H. Acker; First Lieutenant, Wilson B. Farrell; Second Lieutenant, Samuel T. Raguet. Number of men, 75.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The companies had been "accepted", but not mustered, into service as follows: Company A, April 19; Company B, April 20; Company C, April 22; Company D, April 23; Companies F. and G, April 25; Companies H, I, and K, April 26.

MUSTERING IN THE MEN.

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

At 12 o'clock, high noon, a flag was raised on the old Fort flagstaff. As the colors ascended and a strong April breeze flung them out, the cannon fired the national salute of 34 guns, and the multitude cheered. (See Winona Daily Republican, May 1, 1861.)

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

About 1 o'clock the mustering began. Capt. Anderson D. Nelson, of the regular army, had been detailed as the mustering officer, with Lieut. Sanders as assistant. Dr. J. H. Stewart, of St. Paul, had been appointed examining surgeon. The officers

did their work in the presence of many spectators--"about as many citizens as soldiers," said the St. Paul Pioneer.

The process was sufficiently thorough. Each company was ordered into line separately. Then the mustering officers and Dr. Stewart walked along in front and rear, cursorily examining the men. Afterwards each man's name was called and he was inspected closely. Nearly all were accepted. Then the oath of muster was taken by companies. The men uncovered their heads, held up their right hands, and Capt. Nelson administered the oath, the same obligation which the soldiers of the United States had taken for 80 years, "that you will bear true allegiance to the United States of America, and that you will serve them^{*} honestly and faithfully against all their enemies and opposers whatsoever," etc. The enlistment was for but three months.

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

Governor Ramsey, Adjutant-General Sanborn, and the acting adjutant of the regiment, Jacob J. Noah, were at their posts early and all day. In the afternoon the Adjutant General

*The makers of the Constitution and the authors of the early laws, when using a pronoun to refer to the United States always employed the plural form. See U.S. Constitution, Art. III, Sec. 3, and early laws.

announced the field officers of the regiment. The appointments had already been agreed upon and privately made known, but they were received with apparent surprise and delight and heartily cheered. Nearly everything that happened was cheered, and so there were much hurrahing and enthusiasm. The field officers, by appointment of the Governor, were: Colonel, Willis Arnold Gorman; Lieutenant Colonel, Stephen Miller; Major, Wm. H. Dike. According to the report, Col. Gorman appointed as the regiment's staff officers, Geo. H. Woods, quartermaster, and Dr. Jacob H. Stewart, surgeon. The next day Dr. Chas. W. Boutillier was made assistant surgeon and Lieutenant Wm. B. Leach became adjutant. Rev. Edward Duffield Neill was appointed chaplain. The non-commissioned staff were subsequently appointed.

Col. Willis A. Gorman was at the time preeminently the man best fitted to command the regiment. He had ability, experience, and the complete confidence of his men. He was born in Kentucky, in 1816, but removed to Indiana in young manhood and became a practicing lawyer. He served in two Indiana regiments during the Mexican War, first as major of the Third Indiana, and during the battle of Buena Vista, was severely wounded; later was colonel of the Fourth Indiana, and participated in several engagements in Mexico. He was elected to Congress from Indiana in 1848, and again in 1850, serving two terms. In 1853 he was appointed Territorial Governor of Minnesota and came to St. Paul, which city was ever afterward his home. He was succeeded in the Gov. by Fox. Seward, of Ohio, in 1857. At the time he became colonel of the First Minnesota Gov. Gorman was 45 years of age, in the prime of manhood, looked every inch the soldier and

the man, and it was felt that under his leadership the First Minnesota would make an honorable record, if not a distinguished one. He was promoted to brigadier general Oct. 1, 1861, and his subsequent distinguished and honorable military career during the war is sketched in the following pages. Gen. Gorman died in St. Paul in May, 1876.

Lieut. Col. Stephen Miller was born in Pennsylvania in 1816. He edited the Harrisburg Telegraph, a Whig journal, in 1853-55, and came to Minnesota in 1858, locating at St. Cloud. He was a prominent Republican and knew little of military matters in 1861, but he learned fast. He was promoted to colonel of the Seventh Minnesota in August, 1862; became a brigadier general in October, 1863, and resigned in January, 1864, to assume the duties of Governor of Minnesota. He died at Worthington, ^{Minnesota,} in August, 1881.

Major Dike was a Vermonter. He was at first captain of Company G, the Faribault company. On his elevation to the majority, he was succeeded in the captaincy by Hon. Lewis McKune, who had been a member of the State Constitutional Convention, etc. Col. Gorman was a staunch Democrat in politics, and Lieut. Col. Miller and Major Dike were Republicans; so that the field organization of the First Minnesota was non-partisan.

With Col. Gorman went his two sons, James W. Gorman, who was commissioned captain and served as assistant adjutant general on his father's staff from September, 1862, until his death, in February, 1863, and Capt. Richard L. Gorman, who was with the regiment in and after the battle of Bull Run, then became

a captain in the 34th New York Infantry, and was also for several months on the staff of his father when the latter became a brigadier general.

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

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

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

bunks in the barracks with plenty of good clean straw. Cooking utensils were furnished in proper quantities.

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 Of the make-up and character of the Regiment at its muster-in, the late Frank J. Mead, a former Company H man, has written well and truthfully. In an unpublished manuscript, now in possession of the Commissioners of this work, he thus describes himself and his comrades of the First Minnesota in April 1861:

The First Minnesota Regiment was probably as cosmopolitan in its make-up as any other organization in the service of the country during the Civil War. The men who served in this regiment were born in nearly every Northern State in the Union, and in many of the Southern States. There were among them natives of England, Ireland, and Wales; of France and Italy; of nearly every province in the Low Countries; of every State in Germany, and of each of the three Scandinavian countries.

Col. Gorman was born in Kentucky; Lieut-Col. Miller was a Pennsylvanian, and Maj. Dike a Vermonter. The line officers and the rank and file were composed of men from every walk in life; perhaps farmers and lumbermen outnumbered those of ~~other~~ other occupations.

In his sketch of the regiment (which is so frequently referred to and quoted from in these pages) Judge Lochren says of the personnel of the men:

Little personal examination of the men was necessary, as care had been taken to enlist none having any personal defect. The men were brawny and stalwart and of all professions, trades, and callings. There were many in the ranks that sought for no office, yet were well fitted by natural ability, education, and training to discharge well the duties of any position, civil or military.

Roosevelt's regiment of Rough Riders did not contain more and better types of American fighting men than the First Minnesota contained. But the latter regiment had in certain respects superior advantages and qualities to Roosevelt's men.

The men of the First Minnesota knew why they had enlisted. Their sympathy was as strong for the Union cause as if it had been their own personal concern. They knew what the war was about and they could discuss it intelligently. It is claimed that there were not in the entire regiment ten men who could not read and write. They were incensed against their Southern ~~brethren~~ brethren who had, without cause or provocation, but maliciously and wickedly, begun the war, and they were willing to peril their lives in an effort ^{p.13} to punish them as they deserved to be punished. There were no mere mercenaries or adventurers in the First Minnesota.

~~THE FIRST DAYS OF CAMP LIFE.~~

The men of the Regiment always remembered gratefully their first days as soldiers at Fort Snelling. Their condition then was far superior to what it was ever afterward. They cleaned out and soon had cosy and neat the old quarters in the fort which had been occupied by the regular soldiers forty years before, when Col. Snelling was in command, and 32 years before, when Zachary Taylor was in command, &c. Visitors, in beavies, swarms, and crowds came up every day, "to see the soldiers." The ladies brought ~~in~~ unsubstantial sweetmeats and nick-nacks of every sort, and also fair words and bright smiles, and were always welcomed.

Then there were social occasions of a military sort. On May 1, Col. Gorman was presented with a fine sword by his friend and compatriot, Maj. W. J. Cullen, of St. Paul. The ceremony of presentation was witnessed by a big crowd. That day also Ex-Gov. Sibley sent the Regiment \$100 as a contribution to its emergency fund. The next day the first regimental dress parade was held and a great multitude of men, women, and children witnessed it.

FIRST SERVICES IN MINNESOTA.

~~CHAPTER 2.~~

The first services performed by any of the companies of the regiment were rendered in Minnesota, as garrisons of the Government's forts in the State. These military posts-- or "forts," as they were officially termed-- were Fort Ridgely, on the Minnesota, in Nicollet County, a hundred miles west of St. Paul; Fort Ripley, on the upper Mississippi, in Crow Wing County, a hundred miles northwest of St. Paul, and Fort Abercrombie, on the North Dakota bank of the Red River, 15 miles above the present site of Wahpeton, and nearly 225 miles northwest of Fort Snelling. Fort Ridgely, the oldest post, was built in 1853, and Ripley and Abercrombie were constructed later.

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in the first part of April, 1861, 22

The Government forts in Minnesota were ~~new~~ garrisoned by detachments of the Second ^{Infantry} Infantry. These, about May 1, were ordered to Washington, and, on May 4, Gen. Scott directed Gov. Ramsey to send at once six companies of the ^{1st} first regiment, two to each fort, to relieve the companies of the Second Regular Infantry at Ridgely, Ripley, and Abercrombie. The movement was to be made as soon as the companies were fully armed and equipped, and the remaining companies were to remain at Fort Snelling and await further orders.

The men of the companies likely to be affected by this order, were greatly disappointed and disconcerted upon its being made known. They said they had enlisted to fight for the preservation of the Union, not to dry up and shrivel away under the lonely and dispiriting conditions at the isolated frontier posts-- "yet, if Uncle Sam says so, we must obey orders, and it's all right".

But when it was realized that several days must elapse before the order could be carried out, and that in the meanwhile it might be countermanded and the regiment sent to the front, the men became reconciled to the situation. *The companies*

excuse Gen. Booth's and ~~the companies~~ ^{had to} sent to Ripley and Abercrombie ~~must~~ be provided with wagons for the transportation of commissary and quartermaster's supplies, ^{to manage} ~~and there must~~ ^{had to} be a wagon-master; ^{the wagons} So the noted and noble old pioneer, Anson Northrop, was appointed to the position.

The date of the complete organization of the Regiment was April 30; for on that day Col. Gorman notified Gov. Ramsey that the regiment had been mustered into the service, was "ready for duty," and awaited the orders of the Secretary of War, saying: "The First Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers, 950 men strong, are fully organized and mustered into service and await your orders."

And yet the Regiment was hardly ready for active duty. Three days later the Colonel notified Gov. Ramsey that immediate provision must be made for uniforming the men, who, he said, numbered 867; that they needed ¹⁵ shoes, shirts, caps, and socks, of the regular army pattern; that they were without proper camp and garrison equipage, and had no knapsacks, canteens, tents, cooking utensils, axes, picks, or spades. A regiment without these articles could hardly be considered ready for active duty. It was six days after the Colonel's notice, or May 9, when the black hats and black trousers were given the men.

Then, with their red shirts, or the blue ones with the pictures on them, the men were picturesquely, if not fashionably, arrayed; but that did not disturb them or impair their capacity for service.

wanted for the ~~pirates~~ for the ~~pirates~~ ~~the~~ ~~blue~~ ~~were~~ ~~discussed~~ ~~pirates!~~ The men of the Winona company, however, continued to wear their neat gray uniforms.

Pencil / Schren says it was May 7 See near top of page 4 Minn.
in Civil & Ind. Wars, vol. 1. R. I. H.

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But May 7 the Secretary of War suggested to Gov. Ramsey that the Regiment re-enlist and be mustered into the service for three years, instead of serving for but three months. It seemed probable now that it would take longer to suppress the great rebellion than was at first thought! The Secretary said that no more three months men would be accepted from any source; that the First Minnesota, not having taken the field, would, if its members consented, be mustered out and be re-enlisted for three years. The re-enlistment would be voluntary, and the places of those declining to serve longer were to be filled by new recruits.

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

Gov. Ramsey was then in Washington, and, though the tender had been addressed to him, it was received by Lieut-Gov. Donnelly and ^{p. 16} duly forwarded. The next day the Governor telegraphed that the men of the First Regiment must know that their being permitted to enlist for three years was, "a favor which has been extended to no other regiment." A year later the obligation was reversed, and it was the Government that felt itself "favored" when a regiment enlisted for three years! Not many men declined

to re-enlist. The vacancies occasioned by those that did decline were very promptly filled.

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

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

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

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

THE HISTORY OF THE LEGAL FORCES.

The design that detachments of the First Regiment should constitute the guards and garrisons of the three Government forts in the State, for a time, was neither abandoned or changed.

May 28 Maj. Dike, in command of Company B, the Stillwater company, and Company G, the Faribault company, set out, on the steamer Frank Steele and via the Minnesota river, to relieve the garrison at Fort Ridgely, then composed of two companies of the Second U. S. Infantry, under Maj. Patton. At that period, and for years later, the Minnesota was navigable for light-draught steamboats, in the boating season, as far up as the Lower Sioux Agency, six miles below Redwood Falls, and often far beyond.

The next day after Maj. Dike's command left, Company A, Capt. Wilkin, marched for Fort Ripley, to relieve the companies of the Second Infantry, under Col. Abercrombie. A week later Company E, Capt. Morgan, marched also for Ripley, and en route met Col. Abercrombie, with the former garrison, coming down. June 10, Company C, Capt. Acker, and Company D, Capt. Putnam, with Lieut-Col. Miller in command of the battalion, set out on a long march for Fort Abercrombie, 225 miles distant to the northwest.

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

Meanwhile, on May 28, at the close of dress parade, the ladies of Winona, through Capt. Henry K. Lester, presented the

Regiment with a fine national flag, the regimental colors, the Star Spangled Banner-- and long may it wave. This beautiful standard did not last long. It was virtually shot to pieces at the first battle of Bull Run, was unfit for service thereafter, and was returned to the Minnesota State Capitol, where its tattered but revered fragments still are.

THE REGIMENT ORDERED TO WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER 3.

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

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

^{7/19} But on receiving Senator Rice's telegram, June 12, Gov. Ramsey at once telegraphed Secretary Cameron bluntly and to the point:

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

The old War Secretary took his time about the "answer." Senator Rice got after him, however, and June 14 he sent it to Governor Ramsey and it read:

"Send to Harrisburg, to await further orders, Col. Gorman's Regiment. Replace the companies at the forts with companies of the Second Regiment. Report the day the Regiment will be at Harrisburg."

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

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

"The news that the First Regiment was ordered to Harrisburg was transmitted to Fort Snelling about 10 o'clock Friday night. Almost everybody, save the sentinels, was asleep. The Colonel and staff had the information first, and it was received with every demonstration of delight. Our informant says the Colonel fairly howled with joy."

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

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

And Lochren says that although the men realized that their time thus far had been well employed in the drill and discipline necessary to fit them for their duties as soldiers, and that in going to the seat of war they would lose many of their accustomed

comforts and fare harder than at Fort Snelling,--yet they had enlisted to fight to put down the Rebellion and they did not wish to be disappointed. They did not want their experience in the war to be confined to garrison duty in the local forts, for a comparatively brief time, when--the war being over(!)--they would be relieved by returning regulars who had composed the former garrisons. They did not want their military experience to be a bloodless one. Oh, if they could have foreseen their future!

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

The dispatches of the Colonel, ordering the companies back to Fort Snelling, preparatory to a speedy departure for the front, were received by them with great joy and exultation. Good news is always greeted more heartily when received under disappointing conditions. With such acceptance and alacrity were the return orders obeyed, that in a week, or by the morning of Friday, June 21, all the companies were back in Fort Snelling, except Company A, which had to remain at Fort Ripley and 25 men of Company G, under Capt. McKune, which had to stay at Ridgely and guard valuable Government property there until relieved by the companies of the Second Regiment, then being made ready. Therefore, Company A and the detachment of Company G did not reach Snelling until after the Regiment proper had left the State and caught up

with it at Washington. A rumor reached Company E at Ripley, that the Regiment would leave Snelling Friday morning, and so eager were the men not to be left that they cheerfully obeyed Capt. Morgan's order to march all night long, and were very happy when they got into the fort at sunrise and learned that the Regiment would not depart until the next day.

ONE FOR THE FIELD OF BATTLE AND GLORY.

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

Their heavy keels, impelled by their powerful engines, were eager to bear it forward on its destined mission.

The services over, the men, by companies, were marched down the bluff road to and on the boats, well crowding them. In a few minutes the fine palatial-like crafts cast off their shore lines and turned their prows outward and were soon swiftly gliding over the broad, deep bosom of old Father Mississippi, vain of their beauty and grace and proud of the work they were doing.

On reaching the upper levee in St. Paul, at the foot of Eagle street, the boats landed and the Regiment, by a previous arrangement, disembarked and marched through the city to the lower levee, at the foot of Jackson street. This program was carried out to allow the many friends of the Regiment in the city to say farewell and God speed. It was only 7 o'clock, but the streets were thronged by a sympathetic and enthusiastic multitude.

Insert on p. 21, where marked.

Short time for leave taking, though hearts are sore and fears are brooding. ²²In half an hour the men were aboard the boats again and sweeping down the river, the Northern Belle for La Crosse and the War Eagle for Prairie du Chien. Fifty years later the event was properly celebrated.

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

The women of Minnesota had full sympathy for their soldiers.

The fair have always loved the brave. Our women and girls loved the soldier boys and gave their feelings practical expression. They fed them dainties and supplied them with comforts when they could. They knit socks and made shirts for them and when the Regiment left St. Paul for Washington nearly every soldier had a havelock, made for and given to him by the women of the cities and towns where the companies were organized.

Of course, after a little while havelocks went out of popularity and style. The boys didn't care whether or not the backs of their necks were sunburned; other things were of more importance.

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

for the country.

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

It must be borne in mind that at that time, and for more than a year later, the nearest railroad depots to Minnesota were at La Crosse and Prairie du Chien. The railroads which they represented were in imperfect condition and had but limited facilities. Neither the LaCrosse or the Prairie du Chien depot could entrain 900 men on a single train or a single day. For this reason, both depots and their roads had to be utilized in transporting the First Regiment from the Mississippi River to Chicago. Luckily both roads made connection at Janesville, Wis., and there was a good solid roadbed from thence to Chicago.

From both LaCrosse and Prairie du Chien railway transportation in first-class passenger cars was furnished the Minnesotians. Many of the men had never ridden on a railway car before and the sensation was as novel as it was pleasant. Moreover, both detachments were given bountiful and sumptuous dinners next day as the guests of the railroad company. The junction at Janesville was made on time and the Regiment arrived in Chicago at 6 o'clock on the evening of June 23. The entire trip through Wisconsin was really a great continuous ovation.

"Brave boys are they; gone at their country's call;
 And yet--ah! yet,--we cannot forget
 That many brave boys must fall!"



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

"Our city has been for some days on the qui vive to see the first installment of troops from loyal Minnesota pass through the streets en route for the seat of war. Their arrival last evening was heralded by a dispatch from our special reporter at Janesville, and a bulletin from the Tribune office. An immense concourse of spectators greeted their arrival at the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad depot, where they debarked from the cars at 6 o'clock."

"Callant Minnesota deserves high credit for her noble sons and their appearance yesterday. They have enjoyed in their make-up that rare and excellent process of selection and culling from the older States which has thrown into the van of civilization the hardy lumbermen and first settlers in the Northwest^{ern} wilds. There are few regiments we have ever seen that can compare in brawn and muscle with these Minnesotians, used to the ax, the plow, the rifle, the oar and the setting pole. They are unquestionably the finest body of troops that has yet appeared in our streets."

*He was a Member of Congress when Minnesota was organized as a Territory.

The Regiment arrived in Chicago at 6 P.M. and four hours later, or at 10 o'clock, in the first-class cars of the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railway, departed for Harrisburg. Good meals were furnished the men by the railroad company and everything possible done for their comfort. Pittsburg was reached at midnight. At Johnstown, in the mountains of Pennsylvania, just as the sun was rising, the train halted for fifteen minutes. Early as was the hour, the ladies of the place were ready and waiting. As soon as the train stopped, they boarded it laden with hot and delicious coffee, pastry, etc., and gave the men a bountiful luncheon.

Harrisburg was reached at 10 o'clock in the forenoon of the 25th. The Regiment left the cars and went into a "camp of instruction," recently established, and where were already several other new regiments in tents. The entire trip from Fort Snelling had been practically a grand junket. Companies A and K, that had been temporarily left behind in Minnesota, were commiserated because they had missed such a good time.

The men of the Regiment expected to remain in the Harrisburg instruction camp for some time and be drilled and otherwise prepared for their further duties, although Col. Gorman had fairly drilled their legs off at Fort Snelling. But at the unseasonable hour of 3 o'clock, on the morning following their arrival, the men were called out of their sleeping quarters and rushed aboard a train of cattle cars bound for Baltimore.

Cattle cars! No soft velvet and plush seats with comfortable backs, and springy cars with the furnishings of salons, but dirt, open cars, seatless and springless and void of comforts of any class!

*Lockren
says it was
Huntington
R. I. H.
Pencil*

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

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

Two months before, the Sixth Massachusetts, while passing quietly through the streets, had been fired upon by a mob and a few of its men were killed and others wounded. The

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

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

History of the First Regiment
Maine Vol. Infantry 1861 - 1864
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AT WASHINGTON AND ALEXANDRIA.

CHAPTER

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

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

The authorities of the Confederacy had removed its capital from Montgomery, Alabama, to Richmond, Virginia, 100 miles or so from Washington. It was a popular idea that the objective of operations in the east should be the capture of Richmond, the rebel capital, both for its effect on the south as well as its effect on foreign opinion.

For weeks Horace Greely, in the New York Tribune, and many other wiseacres in the North had been crying out, "On to Richmond! On to Richmond! Why don't our army move upon the rebel forces and the rebel capital at once?"

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fort Ellsworth was half a mile west and here the 11th New York Infantry, or ^{the} ^{the} Fire Zouaves, were quartered. Picturesque looking fellows they were in the uniforms of the French-Arabian Zouaves, with red fez caps covering shaved heads, blue cut-away jackets, red or white baggy trousers, and a general sauciness and devil-may-care manner about them. Many of them were former firemen of the New York City department, and all were said to be most desperate fighters, so that many believed the

Fire Zouaves would be a strong factor in putting down the Rebellion.

In their new camp in what was fairly a tented field, the Regiment resumed drilling. There were daily details for guard duty. Posts were established on the railroad to guard that thoroughfare and the telegraph. There were guards on all the roads and especially at every cross roads. Corporal Sam E. Stebbins, of Company K, wrote to the Winona Republican:

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

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

³⁰ While at the Alexandria camp the Regiment was sent out to the west and south on scouting expeditions, "feeling for the enemy." Two or three times it was called out under arms late in the night, to repel an imaginary attack. These false alarms were then considered essential to a correct military training.

Also, while at Alexandria, the Regiment became a part of its first brigade organization. With the Fifth and Eleventh

Massachusetts regiments and Battery I, First U. S. Artillery, it constituted Gen. W. B. Franklin's First Brigade of Gen. Samuel P. Heintzelman's Third Division of Gen. McDowell's Army of Northeastern Virginia. Both generals were regular army officers of long service. Gen. Heintzelman had served on the Northwest frontier and for a long time had been stationed at Mackinaw and Fort Snelling. He and Gen. Franklin were intimates and friends.

CHAPTER

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

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

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

Gen. Beauregard had established the Confederate position along Bull Run at a distance of four or five miles northeast of Manassas Junction, convenient for the transmission of supplies, etc. The Confederate forces were drawn out along a line about eight miles in length.

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

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

On the 16th of July Gen. McDowell moved his army from the banks of the Potomac towards the enemy. That army consisted of five^{3y} divisions. The First Division was commanded by Gen. Daniel Tyler, the Second Division by Col. David Hunter, the Third Division by Col. Sam'l. P. Heintzelman, the Fifth Division by Col. Dixon S. Miles. Cols. Hunter, Heintzelman, and Miles were colonels in the regular army. The Fourth Division, commanded by Gen. Theodore Runyon, was left in the works on the south bank of the Potomac.

The forces reached Fairfax Court House, 16 miles south of west of Washington, at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 17th, and Centerville, four miles from Fairfax, the next day. Centerville is six miles eastwardly from Bull Run. A few scattered Confederate scouts were encountered, resulting in the wounding of three Union soldiers. The men were unused to marching, the weather was hot, the roads dusty and the movement was attended with some personal discomfort and much loud complaint. Two years later the march would have been easily and indifferently made. One of the Union spies with the army was Matthias Mitchell, who lived on a tract which became part of the battle-field of Bull Run.

As soon as Beauregard was well satisfied that McDowell was moving against him with a superior force, he called earnestly for help. He telegraphed Jeff Davis and the other authorities at Richmond and he besought Gen. Joe Johnston, over at Winchester, in this wise: "If you wish to help me, now is the time." He expected a general attack on the 18th, and was in great distress about it; for he did not want to run without a fight, and he

feared that if he fought he would be overwhelmed and beaten.

All now depended on Joe Johnston, who had a little army of 10,000 at Winchester, fifty miles away to the northwest. Watching Johnston, was Gen. Patterson, at Martinsburg, with (according to his statement, in his book, "Campaign in the Shenandoah, "p.57.) 18,000 men.³³) He had been enjoined to keep close watch on Johnston; had been advised to attack him and beat him, but under all circumstances he must prevent his going to Beauregard's assistance. He did not do anything he was told. He was loyal, but he was 70 years of age.

When informed that McDowell had advanced, Gen. Patterson moved from Martinsburg to Charlestown, a few miles out from Harper's Ferry, and then Joe Johnston was free to go where he pleased. It pleased him to go to Gen. Beauregard. Responding to his comrades' telegram of the 18th and pursuant to orders from Richmond, Johnston made a rapid flank march by way of Ashby's Gap, took the cars on the Manassas Gap Railroad at Piedmont station, and with his advance brigades joined Beauregard at Manassas Junction, Saturday, July 20. His reserve brigades came along as fast as they could get transportation. His cavalry, under Stuart and Radford, rode their horses across the country. (McClellan's "Campaigns of Stuart's Cavalry. "p.34).

Gen. McDowell's first plan was to attack the Confederates on the South, or right, of their line, notably at Blackburn's and Mitchell's Fords. Good roads from Centerville crossed Bull Run at each ford; but as Blackburn's was the farthest down stream, and at the more vital point of the Confederate flank, it was thought probable that the main Union attack would be made there. This was McDowell's opinion. It was also Beauregard's. Oftimes the leaders of opposing armies agree upon military propositions.

Gen. Beauregard, therefore, strengthened the defenses of Blackburn's Ford to meet the emergency. Gen. James Longstreet's brigade, of the 1st, 11th, and 17th Virginia Regiments of infantry, and Eshelman's Battery of the Washington (New Orleans) Artillery, with six 6-pounders and three ten-pound rifles, constituted the defenders.

³⁴ July 18, Gen. McDowell sent Gen. Tyler with his Division to make a strong reconnoissance against Blackburn's and Mitchell's Fords, to develop the enemy's exact position, and strength.

Gen. Tyler was instructed not to make more than a demonstration, "not to bring on an engagement." (Swinton, p.47; War Records, Vol. 2, p.312.) He moved out from Centerville with his Division, which included two 20-pound rifled cannon and Ayres's Battery, and after marching five miles went into position and first cannonaded the Confederates at Mitchell's Ford. Then he went down to Blackburn's Ford and "demonstrated" against Gen. Longstreet.

He fired his cannon awhile without eliciting a response. Then he sent two pieces of Ayre's Battery down in the low ground, nearer the enemy, and suddenly the Washington Artillery, with nine guns, opened and soon drove Ayre's two pieces away. Col. Israel B. Richardson's Brigade had been sent into the woods opposite the Ford. Longstreet sent his brigade over, and it soon sent Richardson's flying from the field. Col. Tyler marched the command back to Centerville. He lost 19 killed and 64 wounded and missing. The Confederates lost 15 killed and 55 wounded.

Ayre's Battery, ^{Commanded by Captain Romeyn B. Ayres,} was Battery E, ^{5th U.S. Artillery.} It was often called "Sherman's Battery," ^{because it was thought that its commander} at one time was Thos. W. Sherman, who became a major general in the U. S. army, etc. Somehow certain Minnesotians came to think that Sherman's Battery was Battery I, Second U. S. Artillery, which was so long stationed at Fort Ridgely, and was brought down in April, 1861, in charge of ^{Lieutenants} ~~Romeyn B. Ayres and Beck-~~ man du Barry. ^(See Merrick's "Old Times," etc., p. 173.) But Sherman's Battery, the old "Buena Vista" organization, belonged to the Third U. S., while the Fort Ridgely battery was Company I, of the Second U. S. Lieutenant Ayres was made captain May 11 and transferred from the Second to the Fifth, ^{Artillery} ~~Artillery~~ Battery, which bore his name, and which had no claim-ants an experience in the battle of Bull Run. Battery I of the Second U. S. Artillery, that battery from Fort Ridgely, was stationed in the defenses of Baltimore and Washington from April, 1861, until the close of the War and never fired a hostile shot.

The First Minnesota, left its camp near Fort Ellsworth on July 16, and joined in the general advance of the army. Ten men from each company, mostly sick or ailing ones-- making 100 in all-- were left behind to care for the camp. The march that day was a slow one, and the Regiment only reached the near vicinity of Fairfax Court House, a few miles from Fort Ellsworth. Camp was made in a jack-pine thicket on a ridge.

The next day Sangster's Station, on the Orange & Alexandria Railroad, (locally called Sangster's Cross-roads) was reached early in the afternoon, and the Regiment went into camp in a region abounding in ripe blackberries. The soil of the country was thin and worn out by more than a hundred years of cultivation. The farmers were not progressive, and their crops were always scanty; but fruits, especially small fruits, both the wild and cultivated kinds, grew bountifully.

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

~~toward the west, we rested for the night.~~

I slept under the hospital ambulance. During the night another regiment, the 11th Massachusetts, joined our brigade. Before sunrise we were all on our winding way, the artillery immediately in front of our Regiment.

We traveled all the forenoon through a wooded country, with here and there a clearing, and with a poor log farm-house and an apology for a barn in the shape of a few pine logs loosely put together and half decayed. The inmates are what the Virginians call "poor whites." The mother stands at the door, a tall, vacant, gaunt, care-worn woman; the children pale and buttonless; the father ill clad and looking as if he were half ashamed to hold his head up in the presence of decent people.

Two miles after we began our march this morning, we passed an ~~aguish~~ looking, badly frightened man, whose horse had been shot last night by our pickets, and who had received a wound himself. Two women were by his side, one white and coarse-featured; the other more refined, a plump matronly quadroon, who seemed to show quite a conjugal interest in the man. She told me that he was hunting for a colt when our soldiers challenged him, and not understanding them he did not stop and they fired on and wounded him and killed his horse.

While we were standing at the farm gate of a Union family, originally from New York, news came that the enemy was in force at Fairfax Station and his pickets near by. Axmen soon went forward to cut away the obstructions the enemy had placed in the road. The Zouaves were hurried up and went by us, jumping like squirrels, to strike the railway near the supposed rebel camp, while we move along with the Massachusetts 5th and the battery to attack the left flank.

We soon came to deserted picket posts, and in a little while, at an abandoned camp ground, there was a great dense smoke, and we learned that the rebels had left in haste this morning, burning up all the stores they could not carry with them. We hastened on until we reached a high plateau overlooking the valley through which the railways pass and also looking over toward the Blue Ridge Mountains. We again saw smoke ahead and in half an hour arrived at Sangster's Station, which is six miles southwest of Fairfax C. H. and only eight from Manassas Junction, the headquarters of Beauregard. The rebels retreated and in passing down from Fairfax C.H. today they burned all the railroad bridges. Had we been here four or five hours sooner, we could have caught them all. We tramped 16 miles today under a hot sun.

The following day, July 18, occurred the ~~affair~~ affair at Blackburn's Ford. That day Lieut-Col. Miller, with Companies A and B, made a reconnoissance five miles to the front,

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

July 19 the Regiment and Heintzelman's Division marched to the vicinity of Centerville and united with the main army. Centerville (commonly spelled Centreville) was a little hamlet of one street with half a dozen or more houses. Its principal building was a small one-story stone church. The most abundant and the cheapest building material in the country was stone, and that material was much used in constructive work.

Centerville was on the Warrenton turnpike, "a good, broad highway leading down " from Washington to Warrenton, a southwest course of some 50 miles, and almost as straight as the crow flies. It was a fine thoroughfare, for plenty of stones had been used in its construction, and it was firm and strong.

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

A three days' march brought us to this place, where we found the rear of Gen. McDowell's Division. The first day we advanced from Alexandria to Pohick Creek; the second day, 16 miles to Sangster's Station, on the Orange Railway, 20 miles from Alexandria.****

Yesterday morning Capt. Wilkin was sent up the railway, with 20 men, to scout. He returned in about two hours, with intelligence that three miles distant he perceived about 500 of the enemy on a hill commanding the road. In the afternoon, Lieut-Col. Miller, with Companies A and B, was ordered to proceed on the railway and discover if the bridge over Bull Run at Union Mills was burned. They proceeded about the same distance, and with the aid of a field glass Col. Miller and Lieuts. Downie and Thomas all distinctly saw a battery of five or six guns at the point where Capt. Wilkin saw the enemy in the morning.

While they were absent the long roll was sounded and the brigades of Col. Heintzelman's Division were quickly on the march again. Just at dark, not far from Centerville, we heard that there had been a bloody engagement at Bull Run, where a detachment under Gen. Tyler had been mowed down by a

masked battery. Shortly after this rumor came, it began to rain and we were drenched. Without provisions, surrounded by 20 hungry and wet regiments, and with nothing but the bad news of the afternoon fight* to digest, we went supperless to bed, if sleeping in the open air can be called going to bed

* * * * *

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

*Reference is made to the affair at Blackburn's Ford, an account of which is given on a preceding page.

The Confederates, feeling that they had repulsed a heavy attack, were greatly encouraged.

³⁸ The next day, Saturday, July 20, was a gala day in McDowell's camps. Visitors, officials, and private citizens, came out from Washington in carriages, bringing their own supplies, including plenty of liquors, and bound for a good time. They were under no military restraint and were so numerous that as they thronged the streets and passed to and fro among the troops, the camp fairly resembled a monster military picnic ground. (Fry, Batts. and Leads., p.183). Many of these visitors, to their subsequent humiliation and sorrow, remained over in the camp until and including the greater part of Sunday. The troops were encamped at various distances from Centerville.

Transport

burn's

After Tyler's failure at Blackford's Ford, Gen McDowell abandoned his first plan of attacking Beauregard on the latter's right flank, at Blackburn's, Mitchell's, and McLean's Fords. The Confederate line was too strong and too well defended along that part. His engineers spent a great part of July 19 and 20 in reconnoitering Bull Run for several miles in search of a good place to cross and get at the enemy.

In the afternoon of the 20th they reported that the Stone bridge, over which the Warrenton pike crossed Bull Run, was, like every ford below it, well guarded and was probably mined, etc. But two miles up stream from the Stone bridge, near the Sudley spring, was Sudley's Ford over the Run, which was unguarded, and above that point the stream was, almost everywhere, easily passable, by both infantry and artillery. Moreover there were good roads from Centerville to Sudley's Ford.

Gen. Tyler's big division next morning, Sunday, July 21, made another demonstration, this time against the Stone bridge, only a few miles away, on the Warrenton pike. Miles' Division, the Fifth, was left at Centerville as a reserve. The other two Divisions, Hunter's and Heintzelman's, respectively the Second and Third, moved out along the pike from Centerville until they crossed a small stream called Cub Run, and then took a right hand road leading in a northwesterly direction to Sudley's Ford.

(Pencil) It seems that there ought to be something said preliminary to the account of the battle of Bull Run. The account in its present shape appears to break too abruptly from the Blackburn Ford affair to the main battle. R. J. H.

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

After a march of ten or twelve miles, Heintzelman's Division came up to the Ford at 11 A.M., having been enlivened and inspirited for an hour or so by the sound of battle in front. Franklin's Brigade, to which the First Minnesota belonged, crossed the Ford at about 11:30, and Col. Franklin, by direction of Gen. McDowell, sent the Regiment forward a few hundred yards to re-enforce the flanking force.

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

The Regiment came up and Col. Gorman quickly put it into battle line. It was in advance of all the other Union troops.

To the The right ^{companies} rested within a few feet of the woods, and the left ^{side} around Ricketts' Battery upon the crest of the plateau. Gorman says the position was "within 50 or 60 ~~feet~~ of the enemy's line of infantry." When Col. Heintzelman rode between the lines, "within a pistol shot of each," Col. Gorman says the circumstance "staggered my judgment whether those in front were friends or enemies. But in a few seconds they displayed the rebel and we the Union flag."

The Confederates had time to re-load after cleaning up the batteries and driving away the Zouaves and were crouching in the jungles of scrub oaks and pines waiting for the ~~Union~~ *Union attack*. Companies A and F, the right companies of the Regiment, were two rods from the Henry wood, when Col. Heintzelman rode along and gave the order to "feel in the woods for the enemy." Capt. Colvill, of Company F, says the order was promptly responded to by the two companies, first "by volleys and then by a continued fire."

Somehow, in its movements, the Regiment had become divided into two wings. Lieut. Col. Miller was present with and commanded the detached portion of the right wing. Col. Gorman says the division was caused by "the configuration of the ground and the ~~intervening~~ intervening woods;" Lochren says the left companies were separated from the right companies when Ricketts' "guns were taken back through the center of the regiment," etc. Others say the division occurred when Ricketts went forward from his first stand with his battery to his new position.

But Lochren further says that in moving the Regiment "by

companies into line," in the brush, as it neared the top of the hill, the left companies were the last to get into line at the edge of a narrow clearing into which the batteries had "just" passed. Lieut. Colonel Miller wrote to the New York Tribune, referring to Col. Gorman at Bull Run, as follows: "Our wings were necessarily separated by the battery of Capt. Ricketts, so that he [Gorman] and I and our respective wings could not see each other until the conclusion of the conflict." (Bloomer's Scrap Book, p.20.) This would indicate that the wings of the Regiment were placed on either flank of the Battery.

at no time was any part of the Regt on left of the Battery

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

Lochren says that soon after the Regiment was in line, "there was already firing at the right of the Regiment, but the occasion was not understood." This would seem to have been the firing of Companies A and F mentioned by Colville, and which was ordered by Heintzelman. As if in response to this firing, Lieut. Col. Boone, of Col. Falkner's regiment, the Second Mississippi,* rode from the Confederate position to that of the two right companies of the First Minnesota. He had seen the red

~~Mississippi Regiment~~

*Colville calls him, "Col. Coon, of a Georgia regiment."

(Pencil) This last statement is by Heppelinger. R.S.H.

shirts of the Regiment and thought it was the Fourth Alabama, many of whose men were similarly garbed. He came to caution the Minnesotians not to fire on their "friends!" Mr. Javan B. Irvine, who was serving with Company A, promptly made a prisoner of Col. Boone, to the latter's great astonishment, and he was sent to Washington. He was the officer of highest rank captured and retained by the Union troops that day. The incident made Mr. Irvine an officer in the Regular army for the rest of his life. *

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The Confederates were near enough to witness the capture of Col. Boone. They now knew that the forces in front of them were Union troops, and not the Fourth Alabama, ~~xxxxxxx advanced~~
~~xxxxxxx fired at the Union troops and were dispersed~~

Suddenly from the entire Confederate line came another terrible explosion of artillery and musketry and another volley of lead and iron swept the Henry house plateau. The deadly storm, with its fierce red lightning and crashing thunder, struck the Minnesotians squarely in their faces. The shock was as if there had been a great explosion of dynamite before their eyes. ~~xxxx~~
~~xxxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxxx~~

Only for a second were the Minnesotians staggered or stunned. Then Col. ^A ~~woman~~ gave the order to fire and the order was obeyed on the instant. For a few minutes it was give and take between the forces. Owing to the very short distance between the contending lines the fighting was very hot and very deadly.

Volley after volley followed. The Confederates had by far the

* A few weeks after his capture, Colonel Boone took the oath of allegiance to the United States, renounced the Confederacy, and was released from the Old Capitol prison at Washington. During the reconstruction period, he was made

He died at Romeville, when he died in 1880, district judge in the Romeville district of Mississippi.

greater volume of fire, and after again sweeping the ground occupied by the batteries, they seemed to concentrate it upon the First Minnesota.

The Confederates had the decided advantage. They outnumbered the Minnesotians very largely. While not behind artificial breastworks, they were really intrenched in the thickets of jack-pine and scrub oaks and in the natural ditches and gullies of that hilly site. The Minnesotians were fairly in the open, with the Confederate artillery "en enfilade" and hurling death into them from a position only 350 yards away, and the infantry volleying at them from the front.

not to complain by situation and ~~his~~ Col. Gorman saw that his men could not, under the forbidding circumstances, accomplish any good purpose in their perilous position, and if they remained longer they would be involved either in terrible destruction or hopeless confusion. Whereupon, seeing also that the greater part of the Union forces present were apparently falling back, he gave the order to retire. The Regiment moved back in the best order ^{in which} ~~that~~ any command left that part of the field during the battle.

While falling back, however, the ground passed over was contested by ^{desultory firing} ~~sixty boxes~~ for four hundred yards, until a small stream called Young's Branch was reached and the men supplied themselves with water, of which they were in great need. Reforming, the Regiment marched northward on the Sudley road, the route generally over which they had come to the battle field. The men who were in the ranks re-crossed Bull Run at the Sudley Ford and then followed the road they traversed in the morning down to the Warrenton pike and thence east; those who had broken ranks ~~reformed~~ crossed the Run wherever they came to it and took what route seemed safest.

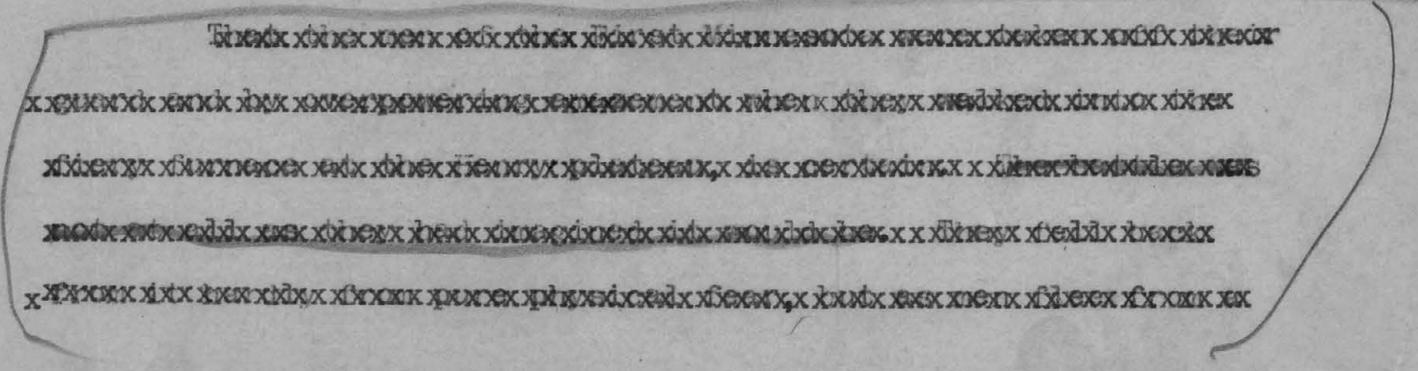
The division in the Regiment continued until after Bull Run was crossed. Lochren says that after it retired from the battle line it remained for some time at the foot of the hill on whose crest it had fought, and then went back to Buck Hill, where the knapsacks had been left. From thence it went to the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

Centerville, when they would be on the defense and the Confederates on the aggressive, and they wanted to be rested and refreshed for the encounter. Half an hour later they were called up by the cooks for hot coffee and to receive an order.

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

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

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



THE CONCLUSION OF THE BATTLE.

After the First Minnesota retired from the battlefield, at perhaps 2:30 P. M., the fight was continued for more than two hours. The struggle for Ricketts' and Griffith's guns and the possession of the Henry house plateau or field went on harder and deadlier than ever.

Re-enforcements came to both sides. Johnston's little army on the field had all been engaged from the beginning of the second battle below the Warrenton pike; but about 3 o'clock his last brigade, Gen. E. Kirby Smith's, arrived near Manassas Junction, on the cars from Piedmont. Gen. Smith heard the noise of battle and stopped his train west of Manassas Junction, because it was near the sound of firing, disembarked his command, numbering in all 1,700 men, and hurried across country up to the fighting. He was badly wounded as soon as he reached the firing line, and his brigade was then commanded by Gen. Arnold Elzey, of the First Maryland ^{Confederate} regiment. This was the only Confederate re-enforcement that came during the battle.

As soon as Gen. Beauregard realized that his right flank, at the Bull Run fords, would not be heavily attacked, he withdrew certain of his brigades that were guarding the fords and hurried them up to the Henry house.

Sherman's and Keyes's brigades, of Tyler's Division, Willcox's and Howards, of Heintzelman's, did the fighting for the Union side, after Franklin's Brigade had gone to pieces and Porter's command had retired.

There were hard fights for the Henry house plateau. It changed

(Pencil) Heppel fingers pencil note referring to the first paragraph says: "This can't be correct" But all the official reports and histories show that the paragraph is correct. — R.D.H.

possessors three times. The dead lay thick around Ricketts' Battery. During the first Confederate charge of the Thirty-third Virginia (Capt. Ricketts lay bleeding under a gun carriage, and when the Virginians retired they carried him off with them. The Confederates could capture the plateau, but could not hold it; the Union troops could drive them away from it, but could not keep them away.

At last the Thirty-Eighth New York, of Willcox's Brigade, Division of Heintzelman, drove away a force of Confederates that were trying to turn the Ricketts guns on the Thirty-Eighth. The New Yorkers dragged away three of the cannon for a distance of 300 yards, but were forced to leave them in a farm road. A few minutes later the Thirty-Eighth and the remainder of Willcox's Brigade were driven off the field. Col. Willcox was wounded and taken prisoner by Col. Preston's Twenty-Eighth Virginia. (Lieut. Col. Farnsworth's and Col. Preston's reports.) Gen. T.S. Allen, then of the Second Wisconsin, Sherman's Brigade, in his paper, ~~*****~~ "The Second Wisconsin at Bull Run," (Wis. Loyal Leg. Coll.) says: "As we moved forward I distinctly saw two pieces of Ricketts' Battery, over which the forces on each side were contending, hauled to the rear."

As stated, the fighting of Sherman's, Keyes's, Willcox's, Howard's and a part of Porter's Brigades continued against the Confederates long after Franklin's Brigade (including the First Minnesota) and many other Union commands had left the field. Brave fighting and bloody too on both sides. Toward the close the Confederates had engaged eleven full brigades against the four and a half of Gen. McDowell's.

WHAT THE COMMANDERS SAID.

The First Minnesota's Division commander, Heintzelman, and its Brigade commander, Franklin, were both colonels in the regular army. They were strict disciplinarians, without fear or favor, praised good conduct sparingly but denounced bad conduct unmercifully. Of the work of the Regiment at the Henry house plateau, Col. Heintzelman, in his official report, describing his attempts to capture the plateau, said:

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

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

Col. Franklin, the Brigade commander, reported:

The First Minnesota Regiment moved from its position on the left of the field to the support of Ricketts' Battery, and gallantly engaged the enemy at that point. It was so near the enemy's lines that friends and foes were for a time confounded. The Regiment behaved exceedingly well and finally retired from the field in good order. The other two regiments of the Brigade

(the Fifth and the Eleventh Massachusetts) retired in confusion, and no effort of myself or staff were successful in rallying them."

"Gallantly engaged the enemy", "behaved exceedingly well," "retired in good order,"-- these were high commendations indeed to be bestowed on a Union regiment that fought at Bull Run, and are extremely rare in the records.

THE LOSSES IN THE BATTLE.

According to ~~the same~~ eminent and reliable authorities *at the first Battle of Bull Run*, the total casualties in the Union army were 460 killed, 1,124 wounded, and 1,312 captured unwounded, or missing; total, 2,896. The army lost 25 pieces of cannon, mostly six and ten pounders, a considerable number of caissons, wagons, etc.

The total Confederate loss in killed was 387; in wounded, 1,582; captured or missing, 13. No cannon lost.

The Union ~~xxx~~ army lost 73 ~~more~~ more men killed than the Confederates, 458 less wounded, and 1,300 more captured.

The First Minnesota had 1 commissioned officer killed and 5 officers wounded. Capt. Lewis McKune, of Company G, the Faribault company, was the officer killed. He was a prominent citizen of Faribault, had been a member of the Republican wing of the State Constitutional Convention, in 1857, and was highly esteemed. He was 39 years of age.

The officers wounded were Capt. Wm. H. Acker and Second Lt. Saml. T. Raguet, of Company C, one of the St. Paul companies; Capt. H. D. Putnam, of Company D, the Minneapolis company; First Lieut. A. E. Welch, of Company F, the Red Wing company, and First Lt. Joseph Harley, of Company I, the Wabashaw company.

A fortnight later Capt. Acker was transferred to the Sixteenth U. S. Regular Infantry, and April 6 following he was killed at the battle of Shiloh. Capt. Putnam was afterward made a captain in the Twelfth U. S. and duly transferred. Lieut. Welch became major of the Fourth Minnesota and died at Nashville, Feb. 1, 1864, at the early age of 24. Lieut. Harley resigned ten days

after he was wounded.

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

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

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

According to the official reports of the commanders made soon after the battle and published in Vol.2 of the ~~War Records~~ War Records, in the Union army the regiment suffering the greatest loss in killed was the Eleventh New York, the Fire Zouaves, with 48. Then came the First Minnesota with 42; the Sixty-Ninth New York, 38; the Seventy-Ninth New York, 32.

The regiment losing the greatest number of killed and wounded was the First Minnesota, with 1 officer and 41 men killed and 8 officers and 100 men wounded; a total of 150. It seems

probable, however, that the number of wounded given is too small and was only estimated in the first reports. Lochren, however, adopts the above figures.

The nominal list of killed and wounded, as published in Vol. 2 of Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, does not agree with the official reports. That list gives 1 officer, and 31 men killed and 4 died of wounds, a total of 36. The list, however, gives the name of John O. Milne, Company I, as killed, when he was wounded and made a prisoner. The number of wounded by the list was 5 officers and 119 men, a total of 124, making a total of 160, killed and wounded. The War Records (Heintzelman's report) give 28 as the number of the Regiment's missing.

TENTING ON THE OLD CAMP GROUND.

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

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

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(Gen.) Sanborn rushed to Washington and reached the Regiment's camp July 29, finding that a full supply of coats, blouses, and pants had been distributed among the men two days before and that previously they had been provided with shoes and caps, ^{so} that he found the Regiment fully provided with all needed clothing." (Minn. in Civ. and Ind. Wars, Vol. 2, p. 32.) Quartermaster Geo. H.

Woods wrote to Gen. Sanborn: "Our Regiment has always had, since first we came to Washington, the full amount of rations." Chaplain Neill wrote: "~~Our Regiment~~" I have no idea that there has been any suffering among the Regiment for the lack of proper clothing. ⁹³ With a few exceptions the men have appeared tidy and not 'all tattered and torn,' in their dress of blue pants and red shirts. This week they have received the blue uniform of the United States. From the first, in tidiness and general appearance, they have appeared well in the clothing which they obtained in Minnesota."

Col. Gorman wrote:

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

Very soon the kickers were silenced and their friends at home satisfied. A great majority of the men never murmured at conditions, no matter how severe. They expected toil, hardships, and even suffering, and were ready to bear them at all times. Some

~~of the men were disappointed because they~~
~~of the men were disappointed because they~~
~~of the men were disappointed because they~~
~~of the men were disappointed because they~~

A fine superb body of men physically, the First Minnesota always looked well. Even when it wore red shirts and black pants, it seemed more fit for the service than the fancifully dressed regiments-- the Zouaves, garbed to resemble Turcos, Arabs, or French troops.

THE UPPER POTOMAC AND CAMP STONE.

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

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

The day after the battle of Bull Run Gen. George B. McClellan was telegraphed to come immediately from West Virginia and take command of the discomfited and disorganized army at Washington and instantly he obeyed. Gen. McDowell vacated the command very willingly and gracefully and without any sort of ill feeling. He seemed heartily glad to get rid of his job.

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

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

The First Minnesota was one of the regiments sent up the river. August 2 the Regiment broke camp and marched for the upper Potomac. Four or five miles out they halted at Brightwood, a suburb, practically, of Washington. Here the following day came a paymaster and gave the men three months' pay in gold and Treasury notes. The privates received pay then at \$11 a month; soon after the rate was raised to \$13 a month. When the men received their pay and heard the gold and silver jingling in their pockets, Lochren Says, "discontent

vanished at once."

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

August 16 Seneca Mills was abandoned and a permanent camp established in a slightly sloping field, about midway between Poolesville and Edwards Ferry over the Potomac, and about a mile and a half from each of these points. Poolesville was a little village, five miles back or east of the Potomac. Edwards Ferry was at or near the mouth of Goose creek, and 30 miles northeast of Washington. The camp became the permanent locale for the Regiment for more than six months, or until the latter part of February, 1862. In honor of the brigade commander, Gen. Charles P. Stone, the camp was called Camp Stone.

Miss Cowles - Do not put Edwards in the press case R. I. N.

Gen. Stone had long been an officer in the Regular army. He was very prominent, active and useful in the operations to prevent Washington City from falling into the hands of the secessionists in the winter and early spring of 1861, and commanded a brigade in Patterson's army. August 4 he was given a brigade in the "Division" of the Potomac, as it was then called. This brigade was composed of the First Minnesota, the Fifteenth Massachusetts, the Second Regiment N.Y. State Militia, (Eighty-Second Volunteers) and the Thirty-Fourth ~~and Forty-Seventh~~ Regiments of New York Volunteers. Upon the organization of the Army of the Potomac, Oct. 15, 1861,

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

Scarcely had we become familiar with the scenery and associations around Seneca Falls before we were again ordered to move. On the 13th the Red Wing, the Hastings, and the Wabashaw companies proceeded to Edwards' Ferry, and two days later the remaining companies followed them. Our march this time led by Seneca Mills up a steep hill, and thence through a fine wooded country, bordered on both sides with waving fields of corn ^{and} rich orchards, ^{while} elegant dwellings dot the landscape. In some places, where orchards lined the sides of the narrow road, the branches, drooping under the heavy loads of apples and peaches, formed natural arches of foliage and fruit.

About noon we passed through Poolesville, a little village of about 150 inhabitants. Here Ricketts' Battery was re-organized after the late battle.***Dr. Murphy, from St. Anthony, is now our surgeon and with zealous devotion attends to the suffering of our sick and disabled. Dr. Hand acts as assistant surgeon.

DELIGHTFUL DAYS IN CAMP.

Commence here

Camp Stone was the one particular bright spot in all of the many camps sojourned in by the First Minnesota. The site was fine and healthy; the country was as beautiful as any in all bonnie Maryland. Loyal people abounded, the young ladies were attractive, and everybody was friendly--even the "secesh" of the country. More clothing was issued; pay-day came again; a sutler arrived with a big stock of notions and other supplies; the men built good cook-houses and bake ovens, and by drawing rations of flour instead ofhardtack, and buying ^{by} corn meal at a neighboring mill, greatly improved their fare, so that, as they expressed it, they lived like "princes and fighting cocks!" Being well fed, well cared for, and well exercised, the Regiment became more efficient and contented than ever before. (Lochren.)

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

****We are stationed about two miles from the Potomac river, about 30 miles from Washington, and form a line of guards from Harper's Ferry to Washington.

I like this guard duty first rate; there is something exciting about it. It takes three companies for picket guard at a time. The companies whose turn it is to go on duty put their knapsacks in a wagon, take two days' rations in their haversacks, and march down to the Ferry, which is headquarters for the guards. Then we are distributed to the posts, six or seven in a place, except at the Ferry, where, besides the guards, there are 20 or 30 men left as a reserve. The posts are half a mile apart. In the daytime we can all sleep, except one at a time, but at night we all have to keep awake, with our eyes and ears wide open.

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

We can see our enemies every day ~~xxx~~ and sometimes we can talk with them. The other day some of our boys were working in the river, when two of the rebels came along on the other side and asked them where their guns were. Our boys replied that they had them close by, and then inquired what kind of guns the others had; the rebels responded that they had the Minie rifle, and one of our boys told them it was "a d---d lie." The rebels thought that was an insult, so they instantly fired at our boys and then ran into the bushes out of sight.

At the Ferry our boys have a swing put up among the trees, and I have often seen them sit and swing for a long time right in sight of the enemy. In fact, none of us would take any pains to keep out of sight of them if it were not for the strict orders of Gen. Stone. We are told by the men on the other side of the river that they have the same orders over there; so all of our little battles must commence in disobedience to orders.

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

On one occasion in the early days of picketing at Edwards Ferry, Sergeant Chris. B. Hefelfinger, of Company D, was in command of the guard. Suddenly, on the Virginia side, three mounted Confederate officers rode up to the river bearing a white flag. Hefelfinger's guard promptly challenged and the Southerners halted. The sergeant and two men hurriedly crossed the river and confronted ^{the} flag of truce party, which consisted of a Virginia Captain and lieutenant and a South Carolina lieutenant. The sergeant demanded their business and the Captain answered:

"We are bearing a large number of letters from Federal prisoners at Richmond to their friends in the North; but we can confer only with commissioned officers, and" (pointing to the sergeant's chevrons) "I see you are only a non-commissioned officer. Where is the officer that commands your post?"

Sergeant Hefelfinger answered that the lieutenant regularly in command was absent, and then added: "In his absence I am commanding officer of the post and my orders are obeyed. The post now has

no other commander."

"You are quite right, sergeant," assented the Virginian readily and very pleasantly; "you are the commander of the post and we will be pleased to treat with you, no matter about your rank." He then delivered the letters, which eventually found their way to their destinations, to the great joy and relief of the recipients, and the interview between the "coms" in gray and the "non-com" in blue ended in mutual satisfaction and pleasant memory.

But the enemies of General Stone tried to use the incident to his discredit. Laboring hard to disgrace him, they said he had received "communications" from the rebel authorities, ^{under flag of truce,} which indicated that he was in "reasonable correspondence" with them! General Stone was unmercifully and unjustly treated in his prosecution upon unjust and unwarranted charges. He was imprisoned for a long time in the effort to make him the scape-goat for the sins and blunders of Ball's Bluff.

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

The next morning the Richmond Howitzers moved down to the river and cannonaded the position of the Tammany Regiment for an hour or more. (Stebbins.) The regiment at the time was armed with what were known as Harper's Ferry muskets, old smooth-bore guns, altered from flint-locks to percussion at the Harper's Ferry Arsenal, and which had doubtless seen service in the Mexican War and elsewhere. The Tammanyites had them in the battle of Bull Run. Now they had them at Conrad's Ferry, but they were not effective against artillery at a distance of half a mile, since they could not be depended upon

to carry a ball more than 400 or 500 yards. After a time, finding that they were only wasting ammunition, the Confederates went back to Leesburg. One Tammany man had been slightly wounded. (Ibid.)

Alarmed at the cannonading, Lieut. Col. Miller, then temporarily in command of the Regiment at Edwards Ferry, sent out a detachment of 42 men, six from each of the seven companies not on active duty, -- under Lieut. Gus Holzborn, of the Winona company, to see what the trouble was. The Lieutenant marched his men up to Conrad's and encamped there for the night. The next morning the Richmond Howitzers came down and resumed the cannonading, this time coming closer to the river. The 42 Minnesotians returned the fire with their Springfields, which carried well into the Confederate line and perhaps did some damage. At all events the battery retired after an hour or so, and Lieut. Holzborn marched his detachment back to Edwards Ferry⁴² and reported. The men had been sheltered in a ditch and were unscathed. (Ibid.)

Firing now began at all the other stations up and down the river from Edwards. At the latter post, however, the Minnesotians soon arranged a truce with the Nineteenth Virginia, on the opposite side of the river. The conditions were: "I'll let you alone if you'll let me alone," and they were religiously observed for many days. Frequent conversations, friendly enough, were held between the opposing factions, even with the consent of the officers.

Gen. Stone, who was in command, did not forbid these courtesies. In fact, he was all courtesy, kindness, and chivalry himself toward the Virginia people. He gave numerous passes and permissions for citizens, men and women--but chiefly women--to cross

the river each way. It was claimed that his good nature was imposed upon, and that many a pretty woman who was allowed to pass upon some plausible excuse, sweetly and irresistibly alleged, was really a Confederate emissary or spy.

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

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

While at Camp Stone there were many shiftings and changes among the officers and men of the Regiment. A squad was transferred to the Western gunboat service, and a few sent to the U. S. Signal Corps. Of the latter Asa T. Abbott, of the St. Anthony company, became a lieutenant in the regular army.

October 1 Col. Gorman was appointed a brigadier general of volunteers, and duly assigned to the command of a brigade in Gen. Stone's Division. The brigade had been commanded by Gen.

evolutions, and, Lochren says, "developed the muscle." He adds:
 "The men became devoted to him."* Gen. Dana died in 1905.

Other changes in the official roster of the Regiment were made while at Camp Stone. Maj. Wm. H. Dike resigned, Capt. Geo.

N. Morgan, of the St. Anthony company, succeeded him and Lieut. Col.

George Pomeroy became captain of Company E, ^{subsequently becoming lieutenant-colonel} Capt. Alex. Wilkin, of Company A, of St. Paul, was commissioned major of the Second Minnesota, then being organized, and was succeeded in the captaincy

by Lieut. Harry C. Coates. Maj. Wilkin afterward became Colonel of the Ninth Minnesota and was shot dead from his saddle at the battle of Tupelo, Miss., in July, 1864. Lieut. Minor T. Thomas,

of the Stillwater company, was promoted to be major of the Fourth Minnesota and finally became colonel of the Eighth Minnesota.

William H. Capt. Acker, of Company C, of St. Paul, had been transferred to the regular army and was succeeded by Lieut. Wilson B. Farrell.

Capt. H. R. Putnam, of the Minneapolis company, was transferred to the Twelfth Regulars, and then Lieut. DeWitt C. Smith became captain of Company D. Lieut. ^{1st} Geo. H. Woods, of the Minneapolis company, was made a commissary captain and became a lieutenant colonel.

Private Wesley F. Miller, of the Minneapolis company and a son of Lieut. Col. Miller, was made a lieutenant in the regular army and subsequently killed at Gettysburg.

*Lochren wrote so admiringly of Dana in 1889. When Dana was Colonel, Lochren was a sergeant in the St. Anthony company. In 1893 Lochren was U. S. Commissioner of Pensions and Gen. Dana was a subordinate under him. Both were Democrats and President McKinley relieved them in 1897.

of the 146th N. Y.

Capt. Henry C. Lester, of the Winona company, was promoted to the colonelcy of the Third Minnesota, and Lieut. Gustavus A. Holzborn succeeded to the captaincy of Company K. While in the First Regiment Col. Lester made a good record. Lochren says: "He was efficient and very highly regarded." His conduct as captain of Company K in the battle of Bull Run was extolled and he was heartily recommended for promotion to the colonelcy of the Third. But while in command of that regiment, at Murfreesboro, Tenn., in July, 1862, he had the misfortune to encounter the redoubtable Confederate leader, Nathan B. Forrest, pronounced by many the greatest genius of the War, and the result was that Col. Lester surrendered himself and his men as prisoners.

There were extenuating circumstances. The Confederates greatly outnumbered Col. Lester; Forrest had captured the Third's comrade regiment, the Ninth Michigan; the colonel and other officers of that regiment, and Gen. Crittenden, the commander of the post, and a majority of his regimental line officers all counseled Col. Lester to surrender; yet when he did so he was dismissed from the service, went into obscurity, and Minnesota never forgave him.

Lochren notes, and many will remember, that up to this time, and even later, vacancies in company commissioned officers in volunteer regiments were filled by elections held by the enlisted men of the companies interested. The result was often not for the good of the service, and the practice was discontinued. The colonel of the regiment named the enlisted men for promotion to the Governor, and after the first year promotions were made strictly by

seniority. The officers of the First Minnesota, with scarcely an exception justified their selection.

Shortly after the battle of Bull Run, when Surgeon Stewart and Asst. Surgeon LeBoutillier remained with our wounded and became prisoners, a report came that Dr. LeBoutillier had died from wounds received. To fill his place Dr. ^D W. Hand, of St. Paul, was commissioned assistant surgeon and immediately came on and assumed his duties. Not long afterward this eminent medical man was made a brigade surgeon, and Dr. John H. Murphy, one of the very earliest physicians in Minnesota came on and performed the duties of surgeon for some months without being commissioned.

Lochren says his great humor and love of fun worked many cures, especially among malingers and pretenders. He pretended to believe the doleful tales of misery and suffering endured by these characters and then blistered or starved or physicked them unmercifully. He always effected a cure in such cases. In December he left the First to become surgeon of the Fourth Regiment, and was subsequently surgeon of the Eighth. He died in St. Paul in 1894.

The pleasant sojourn at Camp Stone lasted well through the golden days of October with their many delightful features, to be seen only in the mountain districts of the Border States. The camp was located near the foot-hills of the Blue Ridge Mountains and spurs of that elevated range penetrated all the region roundabout. The foliage of the trees in the Indian summer time was red, yellow, and green in all shades. The lowlands and dales were spread with autumn blooms. Gazing over them and the beautiful ~~XXXX~~

vari-colored woodlands, one could see the line of the Blue Ridge, lying like a low storm cloud on the ³ horizon, and imagine that just beyond that line was the Land of Beulah.

But about the 20th of October a storm cloud spoiled the picture!

THE BUNGLED BATTLE OF BALL'S BLUFF.

Gen. McClellan finally decided to clear the west shore of the Potomac of the Confederate forces that were giving so much annoyance. Gen. George A. McCall's Division of Pennsylvanians was sent up the river on the Virginia side. Oct. 19 it advanced nearly to Dranesville, a small village on the northwest border of Fairfax county, 20 miles northwest of Washington, and ten miles southeast of Leesburg, the county seat of Loudoun county.

Gen. McCall's movement was ordered for the purpose of covering reconnaissances in all directions to be made the next day, the 20th, preparatory to driving away the Confederates from the Potomac. (McClellan's Own Story.) The reconnaissances were successfully accomplished.

Gen. McClellan believed that these demonstrations would cause the enemy to evacuate Leesburg, and directed Gen. Stone, whose headquarters were then at Poolesville, to "keep a good lookout upon Leesburg," and suggested a "slight demonstration" as likely to help force the evacuation. (Ibid) Gen. Stone admitted that McClellan did not positively order him to cross the river.

On the 20th Gen. Stone ordered Gen. Gorman to take his brigade, with the exception of the Forty-Second New York and the Fifteenth Massachusetts, to Edwards Ferry and make a "display of force,"

~~xxxxxxx~~ The Fifteenth Massachusetts, under Col. Chas. Devens, was sent to Harrison's Island, in the Potomac, near Conrad's Ferry, four miles above Edwards, and about the same distance due east from the Confederates at Leesburg.

Gen. Gorman marched the First Minnesota and the Eighty-Second New York down to the Ferry on the afternoon of the 20th, and

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"displayed" these regiments in all their imposing strength. Kirby's Battery shelled the Virginia woods for a time without response.

Then the St. Anthony and Winona companies were sent across the river drove back the enemy's pickets and reserves, a company of Missisippians, and a detachment of Jenifer's Cavalry, and after scouting about on the Virginia side for some time, they recrossed to the Maryland side, and then both regiments returned to their camps.

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

The next morning, October 21, at the "unholy hour" of 1:30 in the morning, raw and chilly and dark as pitch, the First Minnesota was routed out of their tents, took a hasty and illy-relished breakfast, and then, accompanied by the Eighty-Second New York and with knapsacks and all other equipments, marched down to Edwards Ferry again. The two regiments reached the Ferry at day-break and immediately began to cross the Potomac in flat-boats, previously provided, two companies at a time. In a little while the regiment was in line, two companies sent out as skirmishers, covering the advance on the Leesburg road of Maj. Mix's detachment of 35 men of the Third New York Cavalry, that went up the road two miles but were finally driven summarily back by detachments of the Thirteenth Mississippi and Jenifer's Cavalry. At 11 o'clock the Thirty-Fourth New York came over from Seneca Mills. The Seventh Michigan, of Lander's brigade, also came; the muskets of this regiment were worthless, and it was made to dig rifle pits, and Gorman's

command, 2,250 strong, remained here all day and the ensuing night. The Fifteenth Massachusetts and the Forty-Second New York did the fighting for the brigade elsewhere.

Meanwhile what had been going on up river and near Gen. Evans' camp at Leesburg? On this morning of the 21st Col. Devens, with five companies of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, crossed from Harrison's Island to the Virginia shore to capture the camp discovered by Capt. Philbrick and his scouts the previous evening. It was 4 o'clock in the morning when all his men had landed. He marched them down the river 60 rods and then up the steep bluff ^{by the people} called in the vicinity Ball's Bluff, from the name of the owner of the land on its crest. In places this bluff was a hundred feet high and its face was precipitous.

Col. Devens halted on top of the bluff at an open field and was joined by 100 men from the Twentieth Massachusetts, of Lander's brigade, under Col. Lee. At daylight the force pushed forward toward the supposed "line of tents", which were discovered to be mere triangular openings in the trees, which, against a whitish sky, somewhat resembled tents! There was no Confederate camp nearer than Leesburg.

Thinking he was securely hidden in the thick woods, and that the enemy was unaware of his presence, Col. Devens so notified Gen. Stone, adding that he could certainly hold his position until re-enforcements were sent to him, and intimating that, if this were done properly, much good might be accomplished, even to the driving away of the Confederates at Leesburg. (Devens' report.) Gen. Stone thereupon determined to throw a strong re-enforcement across the river and make a formidable attack on the enemy.

As has been stated the Confederate force at Leesburg consisted of Gen. N. G. Evans's brigade of Beauregard's Army of the Potomac, In his report Gen. Evans says his force numbered 1,709, "in the aggregate." Gen. Evans was alert and on his guard. His scouts watched and reported every movement made by both Devens and Gorman. Early on the morning of the 21st, Col. Devens pushed Capt. Philbrick's company to the front and it encountered Capt. Duff's company, of the Seventeenth Mississippi, and, as a result of the skirmish, Philbrick had to fall back.

Gen. Evans readily saw that the principal attack would be made upon him via Harrison's Island and Ball's Bluff, and that the movement at Edwards Ferry was only diversionary. He sent Col. Wm. Barksdale's Thirteenth Mississippi and 25 of the Virginia Cavalry down to Edwards Ferry to confront Gorman and held the Eighth Virginia, the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Mississippi, and the rest of Jenifer's cavalry to resist the force coming from Ball's Bluff. The Richmond Howitzers were retained in Leesburg.

At 11 o'clock Col. Devens was joined by the remaining companies of his regiment which had been left behind and he now had 653 officers and men in line (Devens's report.) He was also informed that Baker's brigade, under Col. E. D. Baker, then U. S. Senator from California, would soon be up and re-enforce him and then Baker would assume command. (Ibid.)

The contest was inaugurated by sending in Col. Devens with a single regiment; then Col. Lee, with 300 men of the Twentieth Massachusetts, went in. Gen. Evans ran out from Leesburg with the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Mississippi and at 12:30 attacked the two Massachusetts commands, and after nearly two hours of brisk fighting

4 pushed them well back toward the river. Then came Col. Baker, at 2:15 with another regiment, the Seventy-First Pennsylvania, commonly known as the California regiment; it had 689 men, and accompanying it were three pieces of artillery of the First Rhode Island, two little 6-pound mountain howitzers, and a 10-pound rifled Parrott. Later came five companies of the Tammany regiment.

Col. Baker was a brave, patriotic man, but he was a greater statesman than a soldier. He had commanded an Illinois regiment in the Mexican War. On this occasion he allowed affairs at the place where the re-enforcements landed to fall into inextricable confusion, so that a boat load of wounded Union soldiers was dumped into the Potomac and nearly all the poor fellows were drowned. By this mishap, only five companies of the Tammany regiment could be sent across into the fight. He formed his battle position, so that the Confederates could fire upon it in safety from their concealment in the woods and on a hill, and the result was disastrous. (War Recs. Vol.5, pp.293 to 326.)

At about 2:30 Gen. Evans, with Col. Burt's Eighteenth Mississippi, Col. Hunton's Eighth Virginia, and 50 of Jentfer's cavalry, re-enforced the Seventeenth Mississippi and renewed the attack on the Union troops, now commanded by Col. Baker. The Confederates numbered in all, some 1,300 men, with no artillery. The Union troops numbered at least, 1,300, viz: Fifteenth Massachusetts, 600; Twentieth Massachusetts, 340; Forty-Second New York, 326; artillery, three pieces and 50 men. The fighting was stubborn, but the Union troops were gradually pushed back to the river.

At 5 P.M. Col. Baker was killed by four shots from a revolver in the hands of a Virginia cavalryman, who in turn was killed. (War Recs., Vol.5, p.328.) Soon after Col. Milton Cogswell,

Forty-Second New York, (Tammany) assumed command of the forces by virtue of his seniority of rank, and the battle went on. But the Confederates ²assaulted impetuously, and in a few minutes Col. Cogswell was wounded and taken prisoner and the Union forces retreated in disorder down Ball's Bluff towards the river. (Cogswell's report.)

It was now dusk and an appalling scene ensued. The Union troops ran down the steep bluff pursued by the Southerners, ^{who} and made prisoners of many ^{of the fugitives.} The Union troops threw their arms and accoutrements into the Potomac rather than the Southerners should have them.

The means of transportation across the river had been very inadequate; there was left but one rather small flat-boat to be used as a ferryboat and it was soon swamped by the throng of fugitives seeking to get over to Maryland and safety. The life-boat drifted away down stream, and two skiffs, which completed the total of Union water craft, were lost. Many tried to swim the river and a few succeeded. Many were shot while in the water; many drowned; many more surrendered. Perhaps not half of those that left the Maryland side that day returned. (Swinton.)

Early in the morning, when ordering Col. Baker to Harrison's Island, Gen. Stone directed him to assume command on his arrival and that "in case of heavy firing" he was to use his discretion about putting in the California regiment, or retiring Deven's and Lee's Massachusetts regiments. But at near 12 o'clock he dispatched Baker that the enemy in Leesburg numbered but 4,000, and "if you can push them, you may do so!"

Col. Baker was not killed till 5 o'clock in the evening, and on his person were found orders from Gen. Stone to push the enemy

if he could, so that Gorman ^{might} come in on their flank.

Gorman's brigade at Edwards Ferry would gladly have gone to the assistance of their comrade regiment, the Tammany, the Fifteenth Massachusetts, and the "Californians." Gen. Gorman was ready and ¹³leager to be ordered in, but no order came.

But the First Minnesota was destined to exchange shots with the enemy and smell his powder before the affair at Ball's Bluff was entirely over.

Confederate bullets in the engagement. Lewis F. Mitchell, of Company I, the Wabashaw company, was killed and another man of the same company was severely wounded. Gen. Lander, of the Second brigade, was wounded while on the skirmish line. ⁷⁴ Total Union loss, 1 killed, 2 wounded.

In the evening of the 22nd Gen. McClellan came to Edwards Ferry, and looked over the situation. He did not consider the Union position on the Virginia side of the Ferry "tenable." It was occupied now by 6,500 Union troops, with two good pieces of cannon in line, and four full batteries across the river with a range of at least a mile into Virginia, and supporting these batteries were practically 5,000 more infantry.

Lochren's account of the re-crossing of Gorman's Command is as follows:

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

The First Minnesota, reduced by the detail handling the boats, was selected and placed in position to become the rear guard.. All the other troops were new and such withdrawal in the night, after knowledge of Baker's disaster, might easily have been mismanaged so as to cause trepidation and disorder. But the movement was effected

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

in perfect quiet and order. The troops nearest the river were first crossed; then others apprised of the retreat only as they received orders to move to the boats at once and in silence. There was no crowding and no delays. When nearly all had crossed, the picket was withdrawn, the writer traversing its length in the darkness and timber and communicating the order to each reserve. As the picket fell back, the First Minnesota alone was left, and it was also called in and crossed, as light began to dawn in the east, Gen. Stone being the last man to embark. Not a man or a pound of material was left behind.

Private M. F. Taylor, ^{of Company E,} (one of the Commission preparing this publication) had a personal experience ^{which} ~~that~~ shows that Gen.

Stone was not the last man to cross. He says:

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

*This bundle is the new draft of
Manuscript*

BACK TO CAMP STONE.

After recrossing Edwards Ferry to the Maryland side, the troops generally went to their former camps. The First Minnesota returned to Camp Stone and resumed its picket service and constant or daily drilling. It was said that the drill was more necessary for exercise than anything else. Every man in the Regiment now could execute the manual of arms, the facings, etc., as well as an expert drill master, and the officers were proficient in the "school of the company" and the "school of the battalion," and there was really no need of further practice in this direction. But camp life is apt to be a lazy life, ~~and the men were dangerous that they would not bestir themselves and the men were very poor and they were not exercised as they well every day.~~

The men were idle a part of the time, notwithstanding the drills and the picket duty, and the Enemy of Souls "finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." Lochren records that there was a great deal of illicit and illegal liquor selling, or "boot-legging," at Camp Stone. Gen. Gorman took stringent measures to suppress this evil. Col. Dana seized and destroyed some bottles of "schnapps," stomach bitters, and brandied cherries which the sutler of the First Minnesota was vending. Gen. Gorman had the ~~sutler~~ ⁷⁶ of the Thirty-Fourth New York drummed out of camp for liquor selling.

Lochren relates that, in endeavoring to put down boot-legging in his brigade, Gen. Gorman ~~had some trouble with some negro slaves of the region.~~ ^{had some trouble with some} Two negro men, slaves of a planter

living not far from Camp Stone, were noted boot-leggers. Patronized liberally by certain of the soldiers who were their customers, they plied their reprehensible traffic most industriously. At last they were "caught in the act" and arrested. Gen Gorman sent for their master, and asked his advice as to what ought to be done with the culprits.

The master said he did not like to meddle with military matters, even though his own slaves were concerned, but he thought the best thing to do with the "black rascals" was to have them soundly whipped by the soldiers who had been their last customers. Gen. Gorman adopted the suggestion, and the soldiers gave the negroes a moderate "switching." The soldiers probably suffered as much from the mortification at having to inflict the punishment as the negroes did from having to suffer it.

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

January 16, 1862, Gen Stone having been removed, Gen. John Sedgwick assumed command of the Division to which the First Minnesota belonged. February 3, Col. Dana was appointed a brigadier general and assigned to a brigade in Sedgwick's Division.

Adj. Wm. B. Leach was promoted to the rank of Captain and assigned to duty as assistant adjutant general of General Dana's brigade. February 1, Dr. Wm. H. Morton, of St. Paul, was commissioned surgeon of the First Minnesota.

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

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

Sergeant Chris B. Heffelfinger, of Company B of the First Minnesota, was promoted to second lieutenant about the 1st of December. A few days after his promotion he was officer of the guard at Edwards Ferry, including White's house. He determined to ferret out the real meaning

of the alleged rebel signal lights in White's house. In a barn and a corn crib, with a good view of the house, he stationed a squad of men, one night, with instructions to watch the house carefully for the lights until daylight. The next morning the sentinels reported that they saw nothing of a suspicious character until a little time before daybreak, when the mysterious lights appeared, passing in front of windows, etc., as seemed to be their reported habit. But, when they investigated more particularly, it was revealed that the lights were those of burning candles in the hands of the negroes of the household who had to rise before daybreak and prepare their breakfasts and perform other household tasks, in order to be engaged in the farm work by sunrise. When he made his report, Lieutenant Heflinger and his men were congratulated upon their solution of the suspicious mystery.

THE VIRGINIA VALLEY CAMPAIGN.

By the middle of December, 1861, the Union troops had the Potomac river reasonably safe for navigation from its mouth to Washington, and this was of great advantage. They now sought to re-open the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, a great commercial artery connecting Washington and Pittsburg, and making it possible for supplies to be sent to the national capital directly from the West and Middle West, without going the round-about route by way of Baltimore.

The Confederates had broken this great iron thoroughfare in many places, at Harper's Ferry and elsewhere, and were determined that it should be kept broken. The Divisions of Gen Stonewall Jackson and Gen. W. W. Loring had been sent up into what was called the Valley of Virginia, meaning the district of country through which flowed the Shenandoah and the Potomac, and especially the district between these streams, which unite at Harper's Ferry.

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

About the 20th of February, Gen. McClellan deemed it necessary to take additional measures to secure the re-opening of the Baltimore & Ohio, which was not yet in complete operation, Stonewall Jackson having burned some important bridge in the

Harper's Ferry region. The General thought it might be necessary to fight a battle to secure the reconstruction of the road.

(McClellan's report, Vol.5 War Recs., p.48.)

Gen. Jackson and Gen Loring, with their divisions, were now at Winchester and they had made all the trouble. They must be driven out of the Valley of Virginia or destroyed. Then Winchester and Stratsburg must be held by the Union forces to protect the B. & O. on the South. Gen. Banks's and Gen. Sedgwick's divisions were ordered to Harper's Ferry and from thence to go up the Valley and drive away the Confederates. The First Minnesota belonged to Sedgwick's Division.

On the morning of February 25, 1862, the Regiment left Camp Stone for what was called the Valley Campaign. With the whole division it marched up the Potomac and went into a cold, snowy, frozen camp or bivouac near the Monocacy river. What a change to the comfortable quarters at Camp Stone the previous

evening! The next day the Regiment ⁸⁰crossed the Monocacy at Winfield Mills and marched to Adamstown, a station on the B. & O. Here the division entrained and was taken by rail to Sandy Hook, a suburb of Harper's Ferry. The First Minnesota crossed the Potomac on a pontoon bridge. Its quarters that night were in some of the partially destroyed Government buildings formerly connected with the Harper's Ferry Arsenal.* These were examined with interest, especially those said to have been connected with John Brown's raid, in October, 1859.

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

*Lochren says the men were quartered in the buildings in which John Brown and his partisans "had attempted defense" at the time of their famous raid. But only Brown and 6 or 7 of his raiders

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

When Gen. Sedgwick's division reached Harper's Ferry, it had 9,400 men and 18 field guns, three batteries. Two brigades of Sedgwick's and the whole of Bank's division were thrown to the south, or Virginia, side of the Potomac; one brigade of Sedgwick's was left on the Maryland side to guard the Potomac and the Baltimore & Ohio from Greta Falls to the mouth of the Monocacy. A day or two after its arrival the Regiment was moved to higher ground and more comfortable buildings.

About the 1st of March, Gen. McClellan divided his forces into army corps. Gen Banks was made commander of the fifth

Army Corps and given charge of affairs in the "Valley of Virginia." Sedgwick's Division was in Banks' command.

Very soon, with a force of perhaps 18,000 men of all arms, Gen. Banks moved up the Shenandoah valley towards Winchester, where Stonewall Jackson was stationed with about 4,000 men, including 300 cavalry and Chew's horse artillery, under Turner Ashby, and the Rockbridge and Waters' batteries. Winchester is the county seat of Frederick county, is 30 miles southwest of Harper's Ferry, and a few miles west of Opequan Creek. As has been said the place was the key to the Valley of Virginia. During the War the town was fought for again and again. It was the initial point of one of the military routes to Richmond, 135 miles away. A railroad connected it with Harper's Ferry, and 75 miles south another railroad, in almost constant operation, ran to Richmond, with Gordonsville, in Orange county, the nearest most important station to Winchester.

Friday, March 7, the First Minnesota, as a portion of Banks's army, marched from Harper's Ferry, nine miles, to Charlestown, the county seat of Jefferson county, where John Brown was tried and hung. Harper's Ferry is in Jefferson county, now in West Virginia. At Charlestown the Regiment remained two days. On Sunday, the 9th, many of the men attended religious services, which were held in the Presbyterian church and conducted by Chaplain Neill.

Monday, March 10, the Regiment had the advance of the Division in the march to Berryville, the county seat of Clarke county, and 12 miles southwest of Charlestown. The march was over a fine macadamized road known as the valley "stone pike," but it rained that day and conditions were not altogether pleasant. If the turnpike had been a dirt road, the mud would have been knee deep.

As it was, the walking was good, although the stones of the road were a little rough on the men's thin and indifferent army shoes.

On nearing Berryville the Stillwater and Winona companies, B and K, were advanced as skirmishers. A section of artillery was also sent forward and fired a few shots; and then the Minnesotians, preceded by a detachment of cavalry, dashed into the town. A company of Ashby's cavalry, in the place as a corps of observation, galloped away to carry the news to Jackson, at Winchester, that the Yankees were at Berryville, 12 miles southwest of him.

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

The Regiment had representatives of every vocation in life, from statesmen and professional military men down to common laborers, ³trappers, and a man milliners. Of course there were printers and good ones too. Some of these ascertained that there

was a printing office in Berryville, from which was issued a weekly newspaper called the Berryville Conservator. The editor and proprietor, H. K. Gregg, had run away. The Minnesota printers visited the office, found that one side of the paper for the week had been printed, and went to work and set up the other side and issued the paper the following morning. It was a four-page sheet of five columns to the page.

Two of the pages, the "secesh" side, constituted the Berryville Conservator; the other two, the Union side, made up "The First Minnesota." A large edition was issued and quickly sold.

The printers publishing the Union side were Ed A. Stevens, Thos. H. Pressnell, O. Nelson, Chas. S. Drake, Frank J. Mead, Julian J. Kendall, and Henry W. Lindergreen, who styled themselves "the Typographic Fraternity of the First Minnesota Regiment."

As shown by the copy preserved by ^{Mrs.} Sam Bloomer in ~~her~~ scrapbook, now in the Stillwater Public Library, the Union side ~~of~~ the paper was filled with an humorous melange of patriotism, satire, jibes, jokes, and censure.

The "secesh" side was, and still is, interesting. Berryville was a small town and there were but few local advertisements. The bulk of the advertising patronage came from Winchester, only ten miles away. The people in both towns had come to be violent, vindictive, and even venomous Confederates. C. B. Rouss, of Winchester, appended to his advertisement the following offer, then peculiar to the degenerate and unscrupulous element of the Confederates:

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

The greater part of his advertisement was made up of the vilest abuse of President Lincoln, as: "He has done more harm

than any other man since the creation. He has, with a fiendish malignity, unsurpassed by the savage or barbarian, brought a calamity upon a happy country and a mighty people, amounting to universal destruction. Talk of Arnold or Judas; why, they were white men compared to this scoundrel."

There were advertisements of runaway slaves. "A girl who calls herself Mary Randolph," and who was "a bright mulatto, about 18 years old, tall and slender, hair quite straight, teeth a little decayed in front, no mark save a mole near the right eye," had run away ~~on the 20th of August~~, taking with her a boy of 15 years, "her brother, Frederick Randolph, also a bright mulatto, [~~not much taller than her~~] with a low forehead, hair growing closely around it; is not very intelligent, and stammers slightly." A reward of \$50 each was offered for their return if taken in Clarke county, "or what the law allows" if taken outside.

Another slave, James Johnson, 20 years old five feet and four inches high, "of copper color," had also run away, and the same reward as for the Randolphs was offered for his return. John G. Morris, of Winchester, wanted to purchase "any number of negroes, for which he will pay the highest market price in cash that the market will justify." These ads were strange and suggestive literature to the Minnesota boys.

March 13, the Regiment, with the Divisions, set out for Winchester, 10 miles west of Berryville. Stonewall Jackson was reported to be still at Winchester ready for a fight, and the First Regiment wanted to balance the account it had against him for Bull Run. But when within two miles of Winchester it was learned that Jackson had retreated on the night of the 11th and was now miles away, to the southward in Page county, and in

almost inaccessible positions in the spurs and ranges of the Blue Ridge Mountains. The forenoon of the 11th he had fought with Banks' advance, on the Martinsburg road, six miles out from Winchester and been compelled to fall back.

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

On the 13th, when leaving camp at Berryville for Winchester, the new colonel of the Regiment, who had been appointed to succeed Col. Dana, took command. This was the then Col. Alfred Sully, who had been appointed February 22, while engaged in the

defense of Washington, and had been unable to join his new command earlier. There was some disappointment that Lieut. Col. Miller had not been promoted to the Colonelcy, but there was no ill feeling; it seemed best that an officer of long experience should command the Regiment, a West Pointer preferred, one that could fill Dana's shoes.

Col. Sully was born in Philadelphia, a son of the noted Thomas Sully, the English-American painter. He graduated from West Point in 1841, served as a lieutenant of the Second U. S. Infantry against the Seminole Indians and in the Mexican War, and as Captain in the Second U. S. Infantry was stationed at Fort Ridgely, Minn., in 1854-56, and again in 1857-58-59. In 1861, still with the rank of Captain in the regular army, he served in North Missouri, at Fort Leavenworth, and in the defenses of Washington. While stationed in Minnesota he had become acquainted with many prominent men, and was a frank and open aspirant for the colonelcy of the First Minnesota after Col. Dana was promoted. He had accompanied Sedgwick's Division from Harper's Ferry, expecting ^{to} his commission every day.

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

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

and was given hot coffee and shelter from a most disagreeable storm at a place of refuge called the Soldier's Retreat, which had been established for such and other emergencies.

Going on the old camp ground near the capitol, the Regiment remained three days, or until the night of the 26th. Then, crossing the famous Long Bridge into Virginia, it was conveyed by railroad to Alexandria, which was reached after midnight. A cold drenching rain was again falling. Because "someone had blundered," the men had to stand in the street under the pitiless pouring until daylight. Then they were marched out to the old grounds, near "Camp Ellsworth," occupied before the march to Bull Run. Lochren says: "The men, wet and shivering, quickly resurrected a barrel of sutler's whiskey which they had purloined and buried the year before, and its contents, fairly distributed, were probably beneficial in counteracting the effects of the exposure."

Handwritten notes in the top right corner, including "10/10/10" and "S. Paul".

Faint, mostly illegible text covering the middle section of the page, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.

Handwritten number "6" at the bottom left.

Handwritten calculations at the bottom center:
27 25 600
20 4 44
27 1000
27 1000

PREPARING FOR THE PENINSULA.

The First Minnesota was ordered from the valley of Virginia to Washington for a purpose. For the many weary and trying months after August, 1861, Gen. McClellan had been preparing the Union army for offensive operations against the Confederates. He had now the strongest military force ever before assembled in the country, and it was completely equipped.

At this period of the war the capture of Richmond, the Confederate capital, was considered the most important objective, principally for the effect it would have abroad in preventing recognition of the Southern Confederacy, as well as the disaster such a blow would inflict on the hopes and confidence of the South.

Two plans for accomplishing the result were open for choice.

The army might move overland directly toward Richmond, driving the Confederate army before it, or it might take transport to Chesapeake bay and move up to Richmond along the Peninsula between the Rappahanock and York rivers.

There was much to recommend the latter course. The flanks of the army would be protected by navigable streams and these would enable transports to support the movements of the land force, by transporting troops and supplies, and enable the navy to support, to a greater or lesser extent, the entire operation. *The*

~~This~~ latter plan was adopted by Gen. McClellan.

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

and the Pamunkey rivers. That army was to unite with another which should come up the big York river to West Point, after demolishing the Confederate fortifications at Yorktown, near the mouth of the river, where Washington had forced Cornwallis to surrender, 80 years before. The armies united, they would set out for Richmond, following the Richmond & York ~~railroad~~.

on the ends, to resemble holes to an observer at a distance, and these logs were laid across breastworks with the black spots⁸⁹ or "muzzles" facing Washington.

Of course the Confederate abandonment of Manassas necessitated a change in McClellan's program. His favorite point for his new base of operations, as has been said, had been Urbana, on the lower Rappahanock. Now the Confederates were south of the Rappahanock--even south of the Rapidan, near Culpeper and Gordonsville-- and Urbana and the Rappahanock river route had to be eliminated from the plan, and only the York river route considered. Gordonsville is 5 miles south of the Rapidan, 80 miles southwest of Washington, 40 miles southwest of Fredericksburg, and 60 miles northwest of Richmond.

Gen. Johnston divined the plans and almost the details of Gen. McClellan's scheme for capturing Richmond by way of the Peninsula. It was ^{plausible} ~~inevitable~~ that his spy work and secret service should be much superior to those of Gen. McClellan, inasmuch as the city of Washington and surrounding country abounded with southern sympathizers who were constantly alert to any political or military movement. ^{Johnston} He was

as well prepared as he could be to thwart the plans of McClellan before that general began to execute them. He withdrew his army from Manassas to Gordonsville and the Orange county country, because here were supplies and a good railroad running 60 miles to Richmond, and here he could better organize and prepare his army to meet McClellan's and any other Union force sent out to divert his attention.

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

⁹⁰/₁ President Lincoln and ^{his} Cabinet had given reluctant consent to the plan, and, even after agreeing to it, had attached thereto many conditions or "strings." A sufficient force to defend and protect Washington was to be left behind, the Shenandoah Valley was to be well looked after, etc. But, after all deductions, Gen. McClellan expected to take with him, "a force of 146,122 present for duty, to be increased by a division of 10,000 formed from the troops at Fort Monroe--a total of about 156,000 men."
(Own Story, p.164.)

The Administration agreed that he should have this number, but a short time thereafter withdrew McDowell's First Corps, Blenker's Division, and enough other troops to amount to 63,000. This reduced the army to a force on paper of 93,000, but which, McClellan says, amounted to "only about 70,000 effectives." (Ibid.)

GOES TO THE FRONT BY ARMY CORPS.

On the 8th of March President Lincoln, after conference with his Cabinet and certain military men, but without consulting Gen. McClellan, divided the organization of the Army of the Potomac into four army Corps. McClellan says this "was the work of the President and Secretary of War, probably urged by McDowell." (Own Story, p. 222.) The First Corps was to be commanded by Gen. McDowell; the Second by Gen. E. V. Sumner; the Third, by Gen. Heintzelman; the Fourth by Gen. Erasmus D. Keyes.

Of Gen. Sumner, the commander of the Corps to which the First Minnesota was assigned, Swinton says: "He was the ideal of a soldier, but he had few of the qualities that make a general."

At the time he was made commander of the Second Corps he was past 65 years of age, but he was vigorous in mind and body and capable of good work, as he demonstrated. He was not a West Pointer, but had served in the regular army for 43 years, or since 1819. He served in the United States and a great part of Mexico. In the year 1846, while in command of Fort Sumner, he was sent to the northwestern Iowa, to a battalion of cavalry, to march through Minnesota to the Minnesota to Big Stone Lake, thence down the Red River to the mouth of the Red River, and thence down the same route. Later in the year he went to Mexico.

9/ On the 11th of March Gen. McClellan was removed from the general command of all the armies of the United States and his authority confined to the Army of the Potomac. The order of removal said that it was issued because he had "personally taken the field at the head of the Army of the Potomac," and the infer-

ence was that he would have his hands full without undertaking to manage affairs in Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and elsewhere. He had been in general command since the retirement of Gen. Scott, Nov. 1.

After McClellan had obtained the assent of the Administration to his plans, he was eager for their fulfillment. The order to furnish him water transportation for his army to the Peninsula was issued February 27, and on the 17th of March it was ready--400 steamers and sailing craft. The van of the army was led by Gen. C. S. Hamilton's Division, (afterward Phil Kearney's) of Heintzelman's Third Corps. On the 22d it was followed by Fitz John Porter's Division of the same Corps. The other divisions followed as fast as vessels could be furnished them.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

On the evening of March 29 the First Minnesota embarked at Washington for the Peninsula. The Regiment went on board two small steamers, the Golden Gate and the Jenny Lind, with transports in tow, and early next morning the boats moved. The Regiment was still in Gorman's Brigade, with the 15th Massachusetts, the (34th) and 82d (2d State Militia) New York, and Kirby's Battery, I, First U. S. Sedgwick's Division was composed of Gorman's, Burns's, and Dana's Brigades, with four batteries. Sumner's Corps was composed of I. B. Richardson's and John Sedgwick's Divisions.

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

The next day and night the vessels voyaged southward then sixty miles down Chesapeake Bay, ~~and~~ thronged with army transports of all kinds. On the morning of April 1 the Regiment halted for some hours at Fortress Monroe, the base of operations. Here, among other objects of interest, they saw the Monitor, which three weeks before, in its fight with the Merrimac, had distinguished itself and revolutionized the construction of war vessels and naval warfare. Upon it now rested Gen. McClellan's hopes for the safe landing of his army on the Peninsula. If there was nothing to prevent her, the big solid iron-clad Merrimac was at liberty to

(Pencil) Hoppel finger makes a note saying: "Battle between Monitor and Merrimac was after arrival of the Regiment at Fort Monroe." Part all his notes prove that the battle occurred March 8 and 9.

Battle between Monitor + Merrimac was after arrival of the Regt at Ft Monroe

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come down and play havoc with his transports, as it had with the Cumberland and the Congress. Of the Monitor Lochren writes: "It lay quietly among a crowd of vessels, so small and unlike anything ever before imagined as a water craft, and yet so powerful and impregnable. We could not study it enough."

Moving out from Fort Monroe, the Regiment finally disembarked at the ruins of the town of Hampton, which had been destroyed the previous spring. Here now is the site of a national soldiers' home. The men were glad to be on shore again, for some of them had been seasick, and the quarters on the ship had been very cramped and uncomfortable. But conditions on shore were not much improved, for that night the Regiment went into camp in a low field without wood and good water. The water was brackish from the salt and iodine of the sea. Lochren remembers that at this camp the Minnesota ^{boys} had a new experience in hunting for grub oysters. These oysters ^{bury} ~~hide~~ themselves in the mud ~~and~~ and are not found in sea beds. They are obtained generally by digging, or "gnubbing," as the natives call it, and hence the local name. The Minnesota boys, who were "put wise" by some old sailors, hunted this luscious sea food in ⁹³ their bare legs, wading through the cold mud and finding the oysters with their toes! They were very fine oysters, too, and much relished.

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

THE PENINSULAR SITUATION.

The region of Virginia known as the Peninsula, on which McClellan's army landed, is in the southeastern part of the State.

~~It is an isthmus, in a sense, formed by the York and the James rivers, but it becomes a peninsula by the extension of Chesapeake Bay and the ocean from the mouth of one river to the other.~~ It

is from seven to fifteen miles wide and fifty miles in length.

The country is low and flat, generally wooded, but with many marshes. Looking toward the sea, the Peninsula has the big

~~York river on the left side~~ ^{northeast, or} and the James river on the right of south ~~west side.~~ As has been stated, the York river

is formed by the union of the Mattaponi and the Pamunkey, at the town of West Point, and the James river has its source in the mountains of Virginia, near Lynchburg.

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

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

The chief constructor of the Yorktown defenses, and their commander afterward, was Gen. John Bankhead Magruder, a West Pointer, a soldier with a dashing record, and then 53 years of age. He had many military qualities; he was a fine civil engineer, a good tactician, a safe commander for a division of infantry or cavalry, a dashing and very brave fighter, and was an expert at planning and executing ruses to deceive his enemy. In front of Richmond, his dragging brush up and down a dusty road and raising great clouds of pulverized Virginia dirt, making the Union generals believe that a large rebel force was marching along the road, is a well established fact.

Gen. Magruder's fortifications that girdled Yorktown about were practically on the site of those built and occupied by Lord Cornwallis's army during the War of the Revolution, 81 years before. On the northeast side of the town was the big wide York river, virtually an arm of Chesapeake Bay. Across the river from Yorktown was Gloucester Point, also fortified. On the west was the Warwick River, a small stream, heading a mile from Yorktown and running nearly across the Peninsula from the York to the James, 14 miles, and emptying into the latter river.

The line of the Warwick was well defended. Its source was commanded by the guns of the Yorktown forts, and its fords ^{were} had been replaced by dams which ~~defended~~ were defended by artillery and

therefrom, that the force at Yorktown was not very large. He offered to take his own Army Corps, Hooker's and Kearney's Divisions, and shut Magruder up within the walls of Yorktown, and keep him shut up until the Union fleet with its big guns could get at him, and then it would not be long until a surrender would come. Meanwhile McClellan with the main army would be marching on towards Richmond.

~~Heintzelman's report to the Committee on the Conduct of the War. Heintzelman said "I think we have permitted the advance when I first landed on the Peninsula. I isolated the troops in Yorktown and the orders were very stringent not to make any demonstration." (Report on Gen. Magruder, p. 377.) Gen. Johnston, however, expressed a contrary opinion. "When we did advance," he said, "we found the enemy in a strong force wherever we approached." (Ibid., p. 429.)~~

It must be borne in mind, however, that Heintzelman's proposition was based on a movement to be made very soon after the army landed on the Peninsula--not ten days or two weeks after, but as soon as possible. For when it was certain that McClellan's army had come to Fortress Monroe, and even before it arrived, Gen. Johnston began re-enforcing Magruder, and kept re-enforcing him as long as he could. McClellan's delay "gave the Confederate Government time to swell Magruder's handful to an army of respectable size." (Johnston's Narrative, p. 111.)

^{ab} But this force of 11,000 which Magruder had was stretched over a rather long line: "I was compelled," says he, "to place in Gloucester Point, Yorktown, and Mulberry Island fixed garrisons, amounting to 6,000 men. The balance of my line, embracing a length of thirteen miles, was defended by about 5,000 men. (Official

Report; also Swinton, p. 109.)

Magruder greatly feared an assault, but it did not come. "To my surprise," he adds, "he [McClellan] permitted day after day to pass without an assault. In a few days the object of his delay was apparent. In every direction in front of our lines, through the intervening woods, and along the open fields, earth-works began to appear." The Confederate position, with its 11,000 defenders, was to be invested by siege by the Union troops with 85,000 assailants. In this game of war, spades were to be trumps, and ^{other} ~~the~~ **intrenching tools** the game cards.

But in a few days Magruder's army was stronger than 11,000 men. He says: "Through the energetic action of the Government, re-enforcements began to pour in, and each hour the Army of the Peninsula grew stronger and stronger, until anxiety passed from my mind as to the result of an attack upon us."

(Magr's Rep., Confed. Reps. of Battles, p. 517; Swinton, p. 109.)

Finally the Confederate works at Yorktown, ^{along the Warwick, Gloucester Point, and} ~~at~~ West Point, were held by "about 35,000." (Johnston's Narrative, p. 112.)

THE FIRST MINNESOTA ON THE PENINSULA.

We left the First Minnesota at Hampton digging "grub" oysters in the marshes. April 5, at 1 o'clock in the morning, the Regiment broke camp and marched that day about ten miles to the northeast to Big Bethel. ~~Here xx years before had occurred~~
~~xxxxxx the famous battle of Big Bethel, where the Union soldiers were killed and so were~~
~~and the Confederate loss reported by "The Times," Among the~~
~~xxxxxx killed was Major Theodore Mintrop, xxxxx~~
~~xxxxxx the acting as a xxxxx de camp for xxx~~
~~xxxxxx~~

The march was trying on the men. The country was generally flat, without hills. The weather had changed to sweltering heat. Before they had walked many miles, many of them had thrown away their overcoats, their dress coats, and even their blankets, to lighten the loads they were compelled to carry. Previously, when marching through the Valley of Virginia, or about Camp Stone, the weather had been cool, and the loads carried were not uncomfortable.

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

At first the march was orderly, the men in four ranks, with files well aligned and the route step observed. But under the hot sun, and the unaccustomed burden of the heavy equipments,

the men disregarded the knowledge they had obtained by so much drilling and "disciplining" and straggled along the roads almost at will. They strayed away from the road, lagged behind, and mingled with the baggage wagons and ambulances. Finally they discarded every article of clothing they could possibly dispense with--and even then were scarcely able to drag one mud-laden foot after the other.

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

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

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

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

⁹⁹ Gorman's Brigade was encamped about two miles south of Yorktown, in what was known as headquarters camp No. 1, for some days. The First Minnesota was set to work cutting out and building corduroy roads over which supplies could be hauled from Hampton or Fortress Monroe. The camp was in a low muddy flat and it rained all the time. The men called it "Camp Misery." April 11, Sedgwick's entire Division was moved a mile away to another camp called Camp Winfield Scott. The Division's camp was on the left of Gen. C. S. Hamilton's, of Heintzelman's Corps, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ and extended down to the Warwick creek bottom in front of Wynn's Mill, three miles south of Yorktown.

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

Camp Winfield Scott was a great improvement over Camp Misery. It was on higher and dryer ground and in a good piece of woodland which furnished abundant shade and fuel. Shelter tents big enough for only two on a campaign, were issued to the men, and were found to be just suited to their purpose. Here the Regiment spent the remainder of the month of April, from the 11th to and including the 30th.

¹⁰⁰ It was a twenty days' season of hard work. Every second day the men were on picket duty along the Warwick, with the Confederate pickets just across the stream, hidden in the woods, 300 yards away. When they were not on picket they were building fortifications or corduroy roads, or were being routed out of their beds by musketry firing on the picket lines and made to double-quick out to some point supposed to be threatened by an assault from the enemy. And all the while it rained! The poor soldier boys went about commonly wet to the skin; for, even when not on duty, they had no water-

proof shelter. The little "dog tents" leaked like sieves, there was a scarcity of rubber blankets and ponchos, and the only relief was when the rain clouds drifted away and the sun shone out-- and then it was insufferably hot.

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

THE CONFEDERATES EVACUATE YORKTOWN.

Saturday evening, May 3, the Confederate batteries in Yorktown kept up a fire of shot and shell on the Union lines until after midnight. Nobody hurt. It was all a bluff. At daybreak the next morning (Sunday) Gen. Heintzelman, at his headquarters, heard what he thought was skirmishing in Yorktown and saw a bright light there. Prof. Lowe, the noted aeronaut, immediately went up in his balloon and reported that the light was a burning vessel at Yorktown wharf, and it was subsequently learned that the noise like a skirmish was caused by the explosion of several thousand musket cartridges and shells of small caliber, which the Confederates were destroying in one of their magazines.

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

On that Sunday morning, May 4, the Regiment, as usual when its turn came, went out on picket before daylight. But after daylight the word came that the Confederates had skedaddled, and then the men went back to camp for their tents and knapsacks, preparatory to marching. But they did not march far. Only to the Confederate intrenchments at Wynn's Mill and along the Warwick thereabouts. Lochren says that Dana's Third Brigade of Sedgwick's Division was first in the enemy's abandoned works, and Gorman's was next. Seemingly the Confederates had leisurely

made up their minds about evacuating, but when they did decide they stood not on the order of ^{theirs} going but went at once.

About the 1st of May Gen. Magruder's spies and field glasses told him that the Union troops were ready to begin the long-threatened bombardment and at once he began to retreat. (See Magruder's report; also Johnston's Narrative, p. 111.) The line of retreat was already fixed; there was nothing to do but follow it.

At Wynn's Mill, where the First Minnesota was, the Confederates left in a hurry. Their breakfasts, such as they were, and they were not very luxurious, were still in the frying pans, skillets, pots, and bake kettles. They abandoned quite a stock of provisions and camp ¹⁰² equipage. In a plantation store house near by was a goodly supply of delicious smoked hams and bacon. The men secured a large supply of frying pans and bake kettles. ~~And all this while it rained!~~ The brigade remained in the enemy's abandoned works at Wynn's Mill until on the morning of the 6th, when it marched three miles to the northeast, in deep mud and pouring rain, ~~of course, the Yorktown.~~

The fortifications at Yorktown were of much interest to the Minnesota boys. They were scientifically constructed of dirt walls and sand bags, with timber re-enforcements, etc., and their armament was a miscellaneous collection of old United States naval guns which had been taken from the Gosport Navy Yard the previous spring. More than 70 pieces of these archaic, inefficient pieces of ordinance were left in the works. ~~Most of them had not been and never were used, until they were broken up and sold for ordnance.~~ It was believed that a majority of them would burst ~~after a few discharges,~~ though they could throw a ball or shell weighing from 64 to 100 pounds. ~~But what of that?~~ McClellan's and Commodore Goldsborough's 125-pounder steel rifled Parrotts

would have knocked them all to pieces in ten minutes or less. The works at Yorktown were for the most part built by negro slaves impressed from their masters by the Confederate authorities.

To re-enforce the front walls or glacis of the works, in case of an assault, and to make an approach to them in any part dangerous, the Confederates had planted a considerable number of loaded shells, generally 8-inch and 10-inch mortar shells, so arranged as to explode when trod upon or otherwise disturbed. This was against the laws of war, and the Union commanders and some of the Confederate leaders protested against it. It was an ugly thing for men to do that prided themselves on their "Chivalry."

THE BATTLE OF WILLIAMSBURG.

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

Stoneman's Cavalry took after the retreating Confederates, who were floundering through the mud as fast as they could, but that was not very fast. Stuart's Cavalry was protecting Magruder's (or rather Longstreet's) rear. Gen. Longstreet had, by orders, that morning relieved the forces in front of Williamsburg, Magruder's command, by two brigades of his own Division. Magruder was ill and Gen. D. R. Jones was given temporary command of his Division. Longstreet was in command, on the field, of all the forces. Gen. Sumner, as second in command of the Union army, had charge of affairs on that side, McClellan being absent at Yorktown.

Williamsburg is 12 miles west of Yorktown, but the Confederate fortifications were two or three miles nearer. Stoneman and his cavalry followed hard after Jeb Stuart's cavalry and a fortification called by the Confederates Longstreet's infantry, and nine miles out, or at Fort Magruder, brought them to a stand. They were too strong for his cavalry alone, and Stoneman waited for the Union infantry, Hooker's and Kearney's Divisions, which he knew were coming on through the mud.

On the morning of the 5th the battle of Williamsburg began. It lasted all day. There was some very bloody fighting. On the Union side Hooker's Division bore the brunt; it lost 1,575 men. The total Union loss was 468 killed, 1,442 wounded, and 373 captured or missing; total 2,283.

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The total Confederate loss was 288 killed, 975 wounded, and 297 captured or missing; total 1,560. ^{Confederates} They captured and carried off five cannon. The aggregate loss of both armies in killed and wounded was nearly as large as at Bull Run. The advantage of the battle was clearly with the Confederates. Their loss was much the smaller, and their retreating march was scarcely interfered with.

Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock won great renown at the battle of Williamsburg. He was then in command of the First Brigade of W. F. Smith's Division of Keyes' Fourth Corps.

After the fighting was well over, McClellan came galloping upon the field. Hancock already had the key to complete victory. Next morning, if the fight should be renewed, the Confederates would be disastrously defeated. Their commanders realized this, and that night Longstreet left the field and set out for the Chickahominy.

The Confederates did not want to fight at Williamsburg. They did not want to fight anywhere until they got in front of Richmond.

OFF FOR THE CHICKAHOMINY.

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

About dark Gorman's brigade set out towards Williamsburg. It was a terrible march, though a short one. It was raining, of course, and the roads had been for a long time almost impassable. The mud and slush and ruts and quagmires were now something frightful. A black, impenetrable darkness added to the discomforts.

Other troops were marching ahead, toiling along, with frequent halts. The Regiment ran into their wagons, their artillery, and ^{their} troops, and there ~~was~~ ^{were} great confusion and disorder.

Though it had left Yorktown three hours before, the Regiment had compassed only about one mile, when it was ordered to countermarch and return to ^{the starting point} Yorktown. Welcome news! The return march was made in far less time than the outward, and at midnight the men were safely sheltered within Magruder's fortifications back of Yorktown.

Gen. McClellan had ordered up the naval vessels of Flag Officer Goldsborough and some transports to convey Franklin's Division and other troops up the big broad York River to its head, at West Point.

Franklin's Division belonged to McDowell's First Corps, which had been promised to McClellan as a part of his army, but which, April 4, had been detached and kept at Washington, in open

But while an enemy that could be met and contended with was getting ready to meet McClellan's army at Richmond, there was a more dangerous enemy awaiting the Northern forces, and this enemy could not be met and fought outright . This was the deadly malaria of the low, swampy, miasmatic marshes and flats of the James and the Chickahominy rivers. Upon these flats and through these marshes and swamps the Union troops would have to go, and if they waited until near the 1st of June, the regular annual fever season would be on in all its terror and deadliness.

FROM WEST POINT TO THE CHICKAHOMINY.

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 McClellan started the movement of his troops from Williamsburg on the 8th, Keyes's Fourth Corps in advance, following Stoneman's Cavalry, which soon opened communication with Gen. Franklin at Eltham, a little town two miles west of West Point but on the south side of the Pamunkey. ~~And on the 6th, while Keyes's had just started to march, McClellan modified the War Department's that according to the best information, "a army of from 80,000 to 120,000" was opposed to Franklin's advance, "although, happily, that supposed huge force was "in fact not near the Chickahominy." Actually there were but 10,000 men in front of Franklin.~~

That portion of McClellan's army which was sent up the York River from Yorktown to West Point made more progress with more safety than the troops that marched by way of and fought at Williamsburg. Franklin's Division was ordered up on the 5th but did not leave Yorktown until the 6th. The distance from Yorktown to West Point up the river is about 30 miles. The Division reached Eltham, two miles south of West Point, at 1 P.M., immediately disembarked, and Gen. Franklin dispatched the transports back to Yorktown to bring up Sedgwick's Division. (Webb's Peninsula, p. 82.)

On the evening of the 6th the killing of one of Franklin's pickets and the capture of two Confederate scouts gave notice that an attack might be expected on Franklin at Eltham the following morning. The attack came. Gen. W. H. C. Whiting's Division, of Gustavus Smith's ^{Confederate} Corps, had marched out from New Kent Court House and at 7 o'clock, Gen. J. B. Hood's brigade leading, fell upon Newton's Brigade, of Franklin. Other troops became involved and there was artillery firing, but the commands most prominently engaged were Hood's Texas Brigade and the Hampton Legion on the

Gen. Confederate and John Newton's Brigade on the Union side.

After an hour or so of rather brisk fighting, the Confederates went back to New Kent. ~~Their loss, as reported by Gen. Whiting, was 8 killed and 32 wounded. As it seemed was~~ ~~the case in every fight, the Union loss was far the~~ ~~greater. Franklin reported it as 17 officers and 41 men killed,~~ ~~600 prisoners and 104 men wounded, and 28 missing; total, 186.~~

On the retreat of the Confederates from Williamsburg, Heintzelman's and Keyes' Corps pushed forward as fast as they could, not especially after the fleeing enemy, who could not be overtaken, but to make haste and form a junction with Franklin's, Sedgwick's, and ¹⁵¹Porter's Divisions, then near West Point or Eltham's. This was soon accomplished. ~~As stated, the York river~~ ~~is powered at West Point by the union of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi~~ ~~Rivers, and the Pamunkey is the western river. The North Anna,~~ ~~the South Anna, and the Middle River between them form the~~ ~~Pamunkey near Hanover Court House, a few miles northeast of~~ ~~Richmond.~~

The Pamunkey being navigable several miles above West Point, Gen. McClellan determined to make that stream ^{a portion of} the highway over which he should obtain his supplies, and some good point on the south bank was sought for as a depot for them and as a base of operations. Cumberland, a good landing, fronting a wide, low, flat plain, was first selected, May 15. Vessels of good draft could sail directly from New York to Cumberland. But the very next day White House Landing, on the south bank of the Pamunkey, 15 miles up the river on a straight line from West Point, and 22 miles almost due east of Richmond, was selected as the permanent base.

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

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

¹⁰⁹ The Regiment remained in camp at Eltham for about a week, or until May 15. Then, when a rain the day before had softened the roads, and another soaking one was falling, it set out on the march again, going directly westward towards New Kent C.H. It rained all day and a march of only about eight miles was made, the command going into camp in a yellow pine grove, two miles east of New Kent. Here a stop of three days was made.

May 18 the Regiment again moved, this time four miles, encamping on the farm of Dr. May; then a surgeon on the staff of Gen. Lee. After a rest of three days, ^{it} ~~the~~ Regiment again moved,

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

The march of the Minnesota boys from Eltham to the Chickahominy was a memorable one--memorable because so miserable. First, the roads were almost untraversable and the weather extremely disagreeable. It is a military adage that in time of war all roads are bad and all weather disagreeable, and the rule certainly applied to the Peninsula of Virginia in the spring of 1862. That is an old country and the roads were worn down well into the tough clay subsoil. The soil back from the streams was unproductive and its occupants were poor. Along the rivers there were some good plantations, but not many. Live stock of any kind was scarce. This is said, so that it will be understood that it was quite a poor country for foraging and adding fresh provisions to the soldier's stale rations. ~~The situation has not improved much since the occupation of Southeastern Virginia now is pronounced as "goobers," as the natives call them.~~

But even if the country had been as fair as a garden of the Lord's, and as rich withal, that fact would not have helped the soldiers much. Gen. McClellan sternly forbade all unauthorized foraging, and enforced his orders, too. The excess of precaution and the severity of his measures to preserve from trespass and

injury, every species of property belonging to the people ^{were} was felt by the soldiers as a grievance. Every farmhouse and cottage, was furnished with a guard by the army provost guard of Gen. Andrew Porter, of Bull Run fame, who was Provost Marshall. And this provost guard went ahead of the main army, so that the column, when it came up, found the sentinels on duty, with strict orders to protect not only the persons and the household goods, but to watch over the farmyards, the stables, the forage, the wells, and even the rail fences of the people.