Return I. Holcombe Papers.

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in the battle; it lost 1 killed and 6 wounded. (See War Records, Vol. 11, part 2.)

Manuscript Copy of the
History of the First Minnesota
By R. I. Holcombe
July 7 1914

#1-45

Preliminary.

A narration of the events immediately preceding the great American war belongs to other and more pretentious and elaborate histories. The record of the First Minnesota begins with the incidents which called it into existence, and, as to its actual military services, that record ends with the circumstances immediately connected with the literal closing of the war,—

> When the war drums throbbed no longer,
> And the battle flags were furled.

After a heroic resistance, Fort Sumter was surrendered to the Confederates, Saturday, April 13, 1861. Bad news travels fast, and within a few hours after, word of the surrender reached Lincoln at Washington. He was prepared for its reception and had 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." Some of his short-sighted advisers thought it altogether probable that a mere show of so formidable a force as 75,000 armed men would, within two months, 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 Wounded Union.

Gov. Alexander Ramsey, of Minnesota, chanced to be in Washington when 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 official, 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 Minister 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 to all intents 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. Its commander, in April, 1861, Capt. Alex. Wilkin, had been a captain in the regular army during the Mexican War, and was an accomplished soldier. The company was organized in 1856, in Territorial days, and was called the Pioneer Guard. 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 an agreement pledging themselves to regularly enlist as soldiers the next morning, as soon as the formal call should appear.

The First Volunteer.

The first man to sign this agreement was Josias R. King, a Virginian bred, but who had lived some years in Minnesota. As the signing of the pledge was virtually an enlistment, Col. King has always claimed, with reason, the distinction of having been the senior volunteer in the United States service during the great war. He rose from orderly sergeant to a captaincy in the First Minnesota, and then became a lieutenant colonel in the U. S. volunteer forces. He still lives in St. Paul, respected and honored, not alone for his distinction as the first volunteer, but for his high character and personal worth. He readily admits that it was the opportunity presented him to first enlist which gave him the honor. There were hundreds of his fellow citizens as eager as he to offer themselves to the country to defend and preserve it, but the opportunity did not come for some hours after the meeting in the St. Paul Armory, Monday night, April 15, 1861.

Among the patriotic young men of the city that tried to enlist in Company A for the war and were rejected was James Jerome Hill, then an active, rising young business man. He had been a member of the Pioneer Guard and one of the company's best drilled soldiers and was eager to become a fighting one. At that early period, when men were thronging to enlist, the authorities were particular in their selection of men, having many to choose from. Every man had to be physically perfect. Mr. Hill had slightly defective eyesight and was rejected for that reason. It seems strange at this day, in view of his great achievements and the exalted position he has come to occupy, that there ever was a time when Mr. Hill could not "see straight!" He has long been the First Minnesota's most practical and substantial friend. Had he been permitted to enlist, doubtless he would have become prominent if not eminent as a soldier.

The Fires of Patriotism Sweep the State.

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 were no telegraph systems throughout 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 Larrick Mead or some other muster place.

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 requisition 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 the best speakers of every shade of opinion. All political party lines were wholly ignored.

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

In St. Paul, Stillwater, St. Anthony, Minneapolis, Winona, Faribault, Mankato, and many smaller towns and villages, there were enthusiastic and inspiriting war meetings. Every able-bodied man that could ~~xxx~~ volunteer as a soldier was willing to do so; he who could not, devoutly wished he could. The people were all 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 and they were brave and eager.

The result was natural. The enrollment of volunteers for the war went on rapidly. On Monday, April 29, the ten companies that had been called for were 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 apparent qualifications for the place were that he was thoroughly loyal and 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.

The ten companies, as companies, had all 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, the number of men in them and their former designation in the State militia 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. Designation in the militia, Company A, 23d regiment.

Company B, Stillwater Guards, Stillwater--Captain, Carlyle A. Bromley; First Lieutenant, Mark W. Downie; Second Lieutenant, Minor T. Thomas. Number of men, 99. Designation in the militia, Company A, 25th regiment.

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. Designation in the militia, Company B, 23d regiment.

Company D, Lincoln Guards, Minneapolis--Captain, Henry R. Putnam; First Lieutenant, Geo. H. Woods; Second Lieutenant, Dewitt C. Smith. Number of men, 98. Designation in the militia, Company A, 16th regiment.

Company E, St. Anthony Zouaves, St. Anthony--Captain, Geo. N. Morgan; First Lieutenant, John B. Gilfillan; Second Lieutenant, George Pomeroy. Number of men, 86. Designation in the militia, Company A, 17th regiment.

Company F, Red Wing 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. Designation in militia, Company A, 7th regiment.

Company G, Faribault Guards, Faribault--Captain, Wm. H. Dike; First Lieutenant, Nathan S. Messick; Second Lieutenant, Wm. E. Smith. Number of men, 101. Designation in the militia, Company A, 8th regiment.

Company H, Dakota County Volunteers, Hastings--Captain, Chas. Powell Adams; First Lieutenant, Orrin T. Hayes; Second Lieutenant, Wm. B. Leach. Number of men, 83. In militia, Company A, 13th regiment.

Company I, Wabashaw Volunteers, Wabashaw--Captain, John H. Pell; First Lieutenant, Joseph Harley; Second Lieutenant, Chas. B. Halsey. Number of men, 82. Designation in the militia, Company A, 6th regiment.

Company K, Winona Volunteers, Winona--Captain Henry C. Lester; First Lieutenant, Gustavus Adolphus Holtzborn; Second Lieutenant, Joseph Perriam. Number of men, 79. Designation in militia Company B, 2d regiment.

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 an the steamer Golden 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. (Lochren.)

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 Lochren, Col. Gorman appointed as the regiment's staff officers Lieut. Thomas Foster, quartermaster, and Dr. Jacob H. Stewart, surgeon; but the official roster shows that Geo. H. Woods was appointed quartermaster. 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. 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 Governorship by Hon. Samuel Medary, 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 lieutenant 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 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 on its face, as it was in reality.

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

first a lieutenant, then

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 general.

At once the military education of the regiment was begun, and squad, company, and battalion drills were had daily. Hardee's tactics constituted the drill system then in vogue. Perhaps most of the men had undergone some experience on the drill ground, for a majority of the old militia companies had received more or less instruction in the manual of arms and in the "school of the company." The unexperienced 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.

HOW THE MEN WERE EQUIPPED.

The men were fairly well provided with arms. Many of the militia compa nies had been supplied with muskets "complete," and some of the new volunteers who had belonged to these companies brought their guns, cartridge boxes, etc., with them into the First Minnesota. Some of these guns were the (then) new pattern of Springfield percussion rifled muskets; not the altered flint-locks, many of which were used by the volunteers in 1861, but new bright-barreled 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 withthe 69-caliber musket, a larger, and in fact a formidable, but 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.

PERSONNEL OF THE REGIMENT.

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 ofxxxx 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.

THE MINNESOTIANS NOT MERE MERCENARIES.

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 xxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxx 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 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, etc. Visitors, in bevies, swarms, and crowds came up every day, "to see the soldiers." The ladies brought impractical and 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.

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. All these posts had been garrisoned by soldiers of the regular army up to shortly before the outbreak of the War.

On the 15th of April, three days after Sumter was fired upon, the garrison of Fort Ridgely came to St. Paul on the steamer Fanny Harris, en route to Washington under orders. The garrison, for some months, had been chiefly composed of two batteries of artillery, Company F of the Fourth, and Company I of the Second Regiment. The two were under Maj. John C. Pemberton, of the Fourth Artillery, and who, for two years, had been commander of the post at Fort Ridgely. Battery I was ~~generally known as~~ often called Sherman's Battery, from its commander, Brevet-Major Thos. W. Sherman. He and his family, with the remainder of the men, the horses, etc., reached St. Paul April 16, on the little steamer Antelope, but hurried on to La Crosse, stopping at the wharf in St. Paul only long enough to purchase forage for the horses.

The Fanny Harris, was the steamboat on which Maj. Pemberton and the batteries

made the trip from Fort Ridgely to St. Paul, even by the tortuous channel of the Minnesota, in 18 hours. This force also halted but a few hours in St. Paul. Soon after reaching Washington the Major resigned and entered the Confederate service. His military career practically closed when he surrendered Vicksburg to Grant. Maj. Sherman became a Union major general.(Hist.Minn.State Agl.Soc'y., p.69.)

The Government forts in Minnesota were now garrisoned by detachments of the Second Regular 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 First Regiment, two to each fort, to relieve the companies of the Second Regulars ~~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 the condemned and degenerate rebels against 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, where great glory awaited them, the men became reconciled and unapprehensive, although Col. Gorman continued preparations for

executing Gen. Scott's instructions about the forts. The companies sent to Ripley and Abercrombie must be provided with wagons for the transportation of commissary and quartermaster's supplies, and there must be a wagon-master. 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 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 pictureSon them, the men were picturesquely, if not fashionably, arrayed. True, they resembled New York firemen off duty or Baltimore "plug uglies" ready for service; but that was how they wanted to look, for the firemen and the plugs were renowned fighters! The men of the Winona company, however, continued to wear their neat gray uniforms.

AGREE TO SERVE THREE YEARS.

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 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 afterw rd vividly recalled when the Regiment was floundering in the mire of the Chickahominy and the mud of ~~Falmouth~~ the Peninsula, 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."

TAKING CHARGE OF THE LOCAL FORTS.

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.

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

Regim ent 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.

GOOD NEWS!'-THE REGIMENT ORDERED TO WASHINGTON.

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.)

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, 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 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 readhed 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.

OFF FOR THE FIELD OF DUTY 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 and were straining at their safety valves, impatient for their precious human cargo and eager to bear it forward on its righteous 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 stret, 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.

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

Only brief halts were made en route. At Hastings, Red Wing, Lake City, 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.(Searles.)

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 comfortswhen they could. They knit socks and made shirts for them and when the Regiment left St. Paul for W ashington nearly every soldier had a havelock, made for and given to him by the women of the Capitol City. 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 ~~xhixxxx~~ 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 burg came forth from their beds and homes and received them with an artillery salute and the most profuse hospitality.(Lochren.)

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. How often afterward did they remember this! 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 railwoad 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 strets, 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 & North-western Railroad depot, where they debarked from the cars at 6 o'clock.

Gallant Minnesota deserves high credit for her noble sons and their appearance yesterday. They have enjoyed in their make-up that rare and excellent process ofselection and culling from the older States which has thrown into the van of civilization the hardy lumbermen and first settlers in the Northwest 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 strets.

*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 Huntington, 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 dirty, even filthy, foul smelling, open cars, seatless and springless and void of comforts of any class! They had hitherto carried

only cattle en route and after the last trips had not been cleaned! Many of the men among the more fastidious preferred to stand up while riding in them, although a man had all he could do to keep his feet, so rough and swaying were they. Others made a virtue of necessity and sat on their knapsacks. Still others mocked at conditions and mooed, bellowed, and bawled in simulation of real cattle in transit for the market. The men thought they were enduring the real hardships of war as they rode along under such uncomfortable conditions. A year later these same "hardships" would have been welcomed as luxuries.

Soon the train left Pennsylvania and entered Maryland. All along the railroad the people were Unionists and by waving flags and handkerchiefs let the Regiment know their sentiments. A large majority of the people of the State were loyal to the old flag, although, two months before, as the work of rabid secessionists, the blood of Union soldiers had "flecked the streets of Baltimore." Nearing that city the men were greeted 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 & Washington.

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

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

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

AT WASHINGTON.

The next morning, June 27, after its arrival in Washington the Regiment went into camp, half a mile east of the capitol 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 brave, 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.

Old 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 possessed a vigorous mind and body, was a true patriot, and had the confidence of the people. In April he had offered the active command to 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, a very faithful soldier but a mediocre one. As the frontiersmen said, he was "not big enough for his job." 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 Union army be sent down to capture the rebel capital, make prisoners of the

rebel President and the Rebel Congress, and end the war! 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 Toutant Beauregard to command their forces in front of Washington. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was the supreme commander of the Confederate forces in all Virginia, but he was over in the Shenandoah Valley, with a snug little army of some 10,000 men, and 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 Commander, General Robert Patterson, with a force, nearly all three months' men, fifty per cent in the aggregate larger than Joe Johnston's. 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.

ON VIRGINIA'S "SACRED SOIL."

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 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 throught 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 comrade volunteers.

Fort Ellsworth was half a mile west and here the 11th New York Infantry, or 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. Wait and see!

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.

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. Sibley were intimates and friends.

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THE CONFEDERATE POSITION ON BULL RUN.

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 his point d'appui, or line where 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 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 south or west bank, at these fords, Gen. Beauregard prepared good breastworks with abattis 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.

GEN. MCDOWELL ADVANCES TOWARD THE ENEMY.

On the 16th of July Gen. McDowell moved his army from the banks of the Potomac towards the enemy. That army consisted of five 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 old Gen. Patterson, at Martinsburg, with (according to his statement, in his book,"Campaign in the Shenandoah,"p.57.) 18,000 men. 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 comrade's 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. Patterson sat supinely at Charlestown while Johnston was speeding toward Beauregard. He afterward tried to justify, to excuse, to explain, and to apologize for his criminal negligence. Among other things he said that he did not move against Johnston because he feared that the Confederate leader "had a trap set somewhere" for him. Then he said that, "Gen. Johnston had 40,000 men" against his (Patterson's) 18,000.

In conversation on this point with Swinton, the well known military writer, Gen. Johnston said: "If Gen. Patterson had really believed I had 40,000 men, or even half that number, he would never have dared to cross the Potomac; he would sooner have thrown himself headlong into that river!" (Campaigns Army of the Potomac,p.46.)

THE AFFAIR AT BLACKBURN'S FORD.

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.

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, strength, etc. 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.

To his chief engineer, Col. Alexander, Gen. Tyler said, as he was moving against Longstreet: "The big man of this war will be the commander that first gets to Manassas Junction, and I am going there tonight."(Swinton,p.48.) But he did not even get across Bull Run. He fired his cannon for awhile without eliciting a response. Then he sent two pieces of Ayres's Battery down in the low ground, nearer the enemy, and suddenly the Washington Artillery, with nine guns, opened and soon drove Ayres'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. The Twelfth New York, except two companies, broke after the first fire and ran in wild confusion; some of the men never stopped until they reached Fifth Avenue! 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.

FROM ALEXANDRIA TO CENTERVILLE.

Meanwhile, what of the First Minnesota? The Regiment 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:

> Yesterday, about 10 o'clock, we marched from our camp near Alexandria, and in a few hours there was a column under Col. Heintzelman moving in a direction to leave Fairfax Court House on our right; Gen. McDowell marched at the same time by another road for the same point which has now become so familiar to every one interested in the war.
>
> The regiments of Heintzelman's Division marched yesterday in the following order: Col. Franklin's Brigade, consisting of the Massachusetts 5th, Pennsylvania 4th, Minnesota 1st, and Ricketts' U.S. battery; then followed the rest of the Division,--Michigan 1st, U. S. Cavalry, New York [11th] Zouaves, Michigan 4th, New York 38th, Maine 4th, Vermont 2d, Maine 5th, and Maine 3d.
>
> All day yesterday we marched through a country diversified by fine forests and a few valleys, but sparsely settled. Toward night the country became broken, and the valley of the Accotink Creek was quite pleasing. After sunset we reached the Pohick, a small stream, and on the hillside of the valley,

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 anguish-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 illy-terminated 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.

But 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 Liuts. 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 the rumor of last night is confirmed. Yesterday, about midday, Sherman's artillery, [Ayres's Battery] the New York 12th, and another New York regiment marched into the mouth of a masked battery. The men behaved bravely, but they could not stand before the galling and unexpected fire, and after a time they retreated, with at least 60 killed. It is hinted by those who profess to know that this mishap was occasioned by Tyler's not strictly following orders. [Correct as to the cause.]

A negro that escaped from the rebel army and was picked up by Lieut. Thomas yesterday evening says that his master, a captain, was killed and hundreds of others by the fire of our artillery. [Only 15 Confederates, no officers, were killed.] He also states that Beauregard was there and that a shot struck a white house, [McLean's] from ~~xxxxx~~ the porch of which the General was viewing the engagement, and knocked out one end.

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.

The chaplain wrote the day after the affair at Blackburn's Ford. Insignificant as that little skirmish was, it had a bad effect upon McDowell's army. The Union troops had gone out to attack the rebels and whip them. They had attacked, but had been repulsed and forced to leave the field. "You had to run," their comrades said. They sought to explain that they were overwhelmingly outnumbered, that they had strewn the ground with

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

**The cawardly fellows that abused these helpless prisoners, ran wildly, like arrant cowards, from the comrades on the battle field two days later.

prisoners'

the Confederate dead, etc., but the explanation would not suffice. "You had to run, didn't you?"

The Confederates, feeling that they had repulsed a heavy attack, were greatly encouraged. The Union troops, having failed, and learning that the Confederates would fight, and fight to kill, were painfully surprised and greatly depressed.

Gen. J. B. Fry, who was Gen. McDowell's adjutant general, says (in "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," Vol.1,p.179.) that the depression of the repulse was felt throughout the army. It had its effect on Col. J. F. Hartrauft's Fourth Pennsylvania regiment of infantry, in the same brigade with the First Minnesota, and on Varian's New York Battery, both of which were three months' organizations, their time expiring July 20. They insisted on being discharged from the service, and Gen. McDowell granted their demands. The General says: "On the morning of the 21st they marched to the rear to the sound of the enemy's cannon." The Twelfth New York, of Richardson's Brigade, had run in disorder during the little fight, and was now completely demoralized. Many of its numbers deserted and went back to New York City. Under these conditions the First Minnesota went into camp at Centerville.

But 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.

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BULL RUN--THE FIRST BATTLE.

After Tyler's failure, 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.

In a little time Gen. McDowell had formed his plan of attack, and it was certainly a good one. He determined to send Gen. Tyler's big Division next morning, Sunday, July 21, to make another demonstration, this time against the Stone bridge, only a few miles away, with the good Warrenton pike to march over, and retreat over if necessary. Miles's Division, the Fifth, was to be left at Centerville as a reserve. The other two Divisions, Hunter's and Heintzelman's, respectively the Second and Third, were to move out along the pike from Centerville until they had crossed a small stream called Cub Run, and then they were to take the right hand road leading in a northwesterly direction to Sudley's Ford.

While Tyler's Division was cannonading and otherwise demonstrating against the Stone bridge, two miles below, Hunter and Heintzelman were to cross the Run, move down the little valley, and fall 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.

A GOOD PLAN--WHY WAS IT NOT CARRIED OUT?

Every military writer that has discussed Gen. McDowell's plan commends it. But it was not carried into effect. Why? In the first instance Gen. McDowell had ordered that his troops should march to the attack at 2:30 in the early morning, and that Hunter and Heintzelman should cross Sudley's Ford a little after sunrise if possible.

But Tyler's Division had the advance and its rear moved so slowly and encumbered the road so greatly that Porter's Brigade, of Hunter's Division, did not even reach Centerville until sunrise, at 4:30, did not reach the Cub Run road till 5:30, and Hunter did not pass Sudley's Ford until 8:30. Burnside's Brigade, of Hunter, had the advance, and when it reached the Ford Col. Burnside ordered it to halt for half an hour and stack arms, "for a supply of water and temporary rest!" (Burnside's report.)

Heintzelman's Division did not reach Sudley's Ford until later. After a march of some ten or twelve miles it 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. Capt. Wright, of Heintzelman's staff, guided the Regiment to its place at "quick" and "double quick" time. (Gorman's report.)

At the commencement of the action the majority of the Union officers believed that they had only Beauregard's "Army of the Potomac" to contend with; they thought that Gen. Patterson

was holding back Gen. Joe Johnston, over in the Shenandoah Valley. That morning, however, Gen. Scott telegraphed McDowell that a large force had left Winchester and that he would probably have to fight it, and McDowell "suspicioned" that this force was Joe Johnston's and that it was before him.

THE CONFEDERATES PLAN TO ATTACK MCDOWELL.

After the affair at Blackburn's Ford, Gen. Beauregard planned to anticipate McDowell's attack on him, and to cross Bull Run, march upon Centerville with all his force, and then "fall upon the Federals." He intended to make this movement on the morning of July 21, at the very time when McDowell made his advance upon Beauregard via Sudley's Ford. The plan was prepared and published to the other generals on the 20th. The greater portion of Gen. Johnston's forces were now up and they were to accompany Beauregard's. If Centerville was taken, the whole force was to push on to Fairfax Court House, etc. (Civ. War Recs.Vol.2,p.479.)

The plan failed because Gen. Ewell, at Union Mills Ford, did not receive the order in time to lead the movement, and because Gen. McDowell attacked the extreme Confederate left before that movement could be properly commenced. However, a part of Beauregard's Army of the Potomac did cross Bull Run and engage the Union forces on the 21st, but, after some sharp fighting, was forced to return.

THE BATTLE BEGINS AT THE STONE BRIDGE.

The Confederate forces defending the Stone bridge, at the crossing of the Warrenton turnpike, were Col. Cash's Fourth South Carolina and Wheat's Special Battalion of Louisiana Volunteers, infantry, Capt. W. R. Terry's squadron of cavalry, and Lieut. Geo. S. Davidson's section(2 guns) of Latham's Alexandria (Va.) Battery. The entire force was commanded by Gen. Nathan G. Evans, of South Carolina, formerly of the U. S. regular army.

Gen. Evans says (Vol.2,War Recs.,p.558.) that Tyler's Division opened fire on him at 5:15 on the morning of the 21st, using rifled cannon; Gen. Tyler thought it was at 6 o'clock when he opened the ball. Tyler had his men in line 1,500 yards away from Evans's, and rained a fierce artillery fire upon the bridge and Evans's position for an hour. His cannon were the six guns of Ayres's Battery and the two 30-pounders.

Gen. Evans at first concluded that the cannonade upon him was meant to cover a formidable charge of infantry, and he arranged with his little force, as best he could, to meet it. But when two or three hours had elapsed and no charge came, he became suspicious that the attack upon him was made "with intent to deceive." He wisely and correctly conjectured that the Union troops had slipped around to the northward, had crossed Bull Run, and were coming down the little valley to take the Confederates in reverse and flank.

Leaving four companies at the bridge, Gen. Evans, with the remainder of his command, including Wheat's Battalion, moved

rapidly northward, met the Union troops, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Burnside's Brigade, a mile or so north of the Warrenton turnpike, went into line, and opened fire at 9 :15.(Evans's Report.)

THE BATTLE BEGINS IN EARNEST.

Meanwhile the Confederates at the lower fords and in the vicinity of Manassas Junction had learned of the attack on Evans, and a part of Johnston's Division,(the latter having arrived the day before from Winchester) were hurrying up the Bull Run valley to help.

The first Confederate command to reach Gen. Evans on the firing line was the Brigade of Gen. Barnard E. Bee, of South Carolina, composed of the Fourth Alabama, the Sixth North Carolina, two companies of the Eleventh Mississippi, the Second Mississippi, and the First Tennessee regiments of infantry and Imboden's Virginia Battery.*

Gen. Bee hurried his brigade forward and went into line just behind Gen. Evans, who was already hard at work. Bee had a good position, and sent word to Evans: "Fall back on me." But Evans replied: "No; you come up here where I am." So Gen.Bee moved his brigade up and joined Evans. Their position was half a mile north of the Warrenton pike and to the east of the Sudley Spring and Manassas Junction dirt road, and was nearly half a

* Gen. Bee was an old regular army officer, had served in the Mexican war, and in 1856-7 was stationed with the 10th U.S. Infantry at Fort Snelling, and Fort Ridgely. It was he, as captain, and his company that, in March, 1857, marched from Ridgely to Springfield and Spirit Lake in pursuit of Inkpadoota and his murderous Indian band. At West Point, among the cadets, and in the army, among many of his associate officers, he was commonly called "Barnabee."

mile from the Stone house and south of the house of Edgar Matthews. The position was in the scrubby thicket on an elevation known as Buck Hill. Evans and Bee fought Hunter's Division hard.

Hunter's Division was composed of two brigades; the First , commanded by Col. Andrew Porter, Sixteenth U. S. Infantry, was about 3,700 strong. The Second Brigade was commanded by Col. A. E. Burnside. The Fourteenth New York, of Porter's Brigade, was from the city of Brooklyn and was commonly known as the "Fourteenth Brooklyn." Col. Hunter was wounded early in the action and thereafter the Division was commanded by Col. Porter.

Gen. Bee's brigade was soon very busy with the Union troops. His battery, under Capt. John D. Imboden, was well served. At first all his men fought well, as did Evans's command. Soon the two Brigades were re-enforced by Gen. F. S. Bartow's Brigade, also of Johnston's Division. This was composed of the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Georgia infantry, Blanton Duncan's and Pope's Kentucky Battalions, and Alburtis's Battery.

Hard fighting now and very bloody. The Union troops advanced steadily, behaved well and, being of superior strength, finally drove the Confederates in great disorder from the field, the greater part below the Warrenton pike, while some left the field entirely. Bee and Bartow made strenuous efforts to rally and reform their men, but they would not stand.

The brigade of Gen. T. J. Jackson, also of Johnston's Army of the Shenandoah, had now come up and was in position a little south of the Warrenton pike, a mile west of the Stone bridge and near the house of Mrs. Judith Henry, an invalid woman,

bedridden and unable to be moved. She was killed and her house destroyed during the battle. The position was also xxxxxx west of the house of a free negro man named Robinson, a one-story frame structure, a quarter of a mile northeast of the Henry house, and immediately on the turnpike. It was also a quarter of a mile east of the Stone house, which was at the crossing of the Warrenton pike and the Sudley and Manassas road. A few hundred yards north of the Stone house, as stated, was Evans's first position on Buck Hill.

Gen. Jackson went into position as the fugitives of Bee, Bartow, and Evans were passing by to the rear. He urged them to reform on his brigade and position, and Gen. Bee called out to his men the famous exhortation which gave Gen. Jackson his distinguished sobriquet: "Look at Gen. Jackson, men! There he stands like a stone wall! Rally on the Virginians, men."

In twenty minutes or so the greater part of Bee's and Bartow's brigades had "rallied on the Virginians;" half of Stuart's First Virginia and Radford's Thirtieth Virginia Cavalry regiments came up, and here now was the strongest Confederate position of the day. It was located in the southeastern angle formed by the Sudley and Manassas Junction and the Warrenton pike, where they crossed at the Stone house, the former running nearly north and south, the pike east and west. The free negro Robinson's little one-story frame house was on the south side of the Warrenton pike, a third of a mile east of the Stone house. The Confederate line was now all south of the Warrenton pike and at first all east of the Sudley road. It began behind or east of the Robinson house and curved first south then through a pine thicket and then nearly westward through an oak thicket to a bald hill and

the Sudley road.

O, FOR A SHERIDAN THEN!

The rout of Bee, Bartow, and Evans by Burnside and Porter occurred about 11:30, certainly before 12 o'clock. (Jackson's and Beauregard's reports; Fry in Batts. and Leads., p.186.) That rout was complete, and the Union troops had won a victory. Followed up, it would have been a signal triumph on the field for the Union cause and secured the possession of Northern Virginia.

There were plenty of fresh troops near at hand that had not been under fire. The brigades of Porter and Burnside had done practically all of the fighting and swept the earth of the enemy, and were not in bad condition.

It was a Union victory. What did the Union commanders do with it? Threw it away! They were unequal to the situation. They grouped together, McDowell and Porter and Burnside, and not one of them said:"In God's name, and for the country's sake, let us press on!" They stood like "dumb driven cattle" and not like "heroes in the strife."

McDowell was all smiles and excitement and thought the men "had done nobly." Burnside said his brigade was short of cartridges, and tired anyhow, and he asked that it might be allowed to withdraw to fill up its cartridge boxes and get a little rest. The permission was graciously granted, the brigade marched to the rear, stacked arms, and took no further part in the fight! (Burnside's report; Fry, Batts. and Leads., p.187.)

McDowell expressed wonder and impatience that Tyler had not crossed the Run, and come into the fight, but the commanding

general seemed to have no doubt but that he had done and was doing his own full duty.

O, for one hour of Phil Sheridan or some other forceful commander! When he had them on the run he would not have halted but pressed after them--on and on. The Confederate forces coming to the rescue were scattered over different routes and would have partaken of the demoralization among the comrades they met, and everything under the stars and bars would have either been killed, wounded, captured, or chased from the field in two hours.

All the testimony is that the brigades of Bee, Bartow, and Evans were completely whipped and were fleeing in terror from the field at noon. Jeff Davis had hurried from Richmond to Manassas, when he heard that a battle was imminent, and got to the field before noon. He saw the full evidence of the disastrous defeat that had come to the first Confederates engaged, and in his book, "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government" (p.349) thus describes it:

> On reaching the railroad junction,(Manassas) I found a large number of men bearing the usual evidence of those who leave the field of battle under a panic. They crowded around the train with fearful stories of a defeat of our army. The railroad conductor announced his decision that the railroad train should proceed no farther. One, whose gray beard and calm face gave best assurance, said our line was broken, all was confusion, the army routed, and the battle lost. I asked for Generals Johnston and Beauregard; he said they were on the field when he left it.***While the horses were being prepared, Col. Jordan took occasion to advise of the hazard of going to the field. ***The stragglers soon became numerous and warnings as to the fate which awaited us if we advanced were not only frequent, but evidently sincere.

The Confederate straggling and running from the fight continued throughout the battle, even when they were getting the better of it. An editor of the Richmond Dispatch, who saw the

battle from north of the railroad junction, wrote of the scene at betwen 2 and 3 o'clock in the afternoon:

Between 2 and 3 o'clock large numbers of our men were leaving the field, some of them wounded, who gave us gloomy reports. It is the truth to say that the result of this hour hung trembling in the balance. We had lost numbers of our most distinguished officers. Generals Bartow and Bee had been stricken down; Lieut. Col. Johnson, of the Hampton Legion, Col. Jones, of the Fourth Alabama, and other prominent officers had been killed. Your correspon dent heard Gen. Johnston exclaim to Gen. Cocke just at the critical moment, "O, for four more regiments!" His wish was answered, for in the distance our reenforcements appeared.

O, for one hour of Phil Sheridan, beginning at 12 o'clock!

THE SECOND UNION ATTACK AND ITS DIRE RESULTS.

Just when Stonewall Jackson and his companions had, by McDowell's delay, got their position good and strong and well nigh impregnable to attack, Gens. Johnston and Beauregard both came upon the scene and supervised operations generally, sending for re-enforcements, etc. Gen. Johnston was the superior officer.

Gen. McDowell ordered over from the east, or Fairfax county side, W. T. Sherman's and Keyes's brigades, of Tyler's Division, and Willcox's, of Heintzelman's, to the west or Prince William county side of Bull Run. Sherman's and Keyes's were the first to come.

Gen. McDowell left Howard's Brigade of Heintzelman on the east side of the Run for a time and sent Franklin's and Willcox's, the First and Second, against the new Confederate position. But his commands were not compact and in regular order, and the re-enforcements came up in detail, usually a regiment at a time.

About 12 o'clock (or later) began the attack on the new Confederate position, of Jackson's, Bee's, Bartow's and Evans's Brigades, the Hampton Legion, Stuart's and Radford's Virginia Cavalry, and 26 pieces of artillery. The Union troops comprised Porter's brigade of Hunter, Franklin's and Willcox's, of Heintzelman, Ricketts' and Griffin's fine batteries, and seven companies of Regular cavalry. From time to time re-enforcements came to both sides. The first to reach Jackson and Lee was the Hampton Legion.

In this second fight of the day Griffin's and Ricketts'

Batteries were sent forward to make the main assault on the Confederate position. Griffin's was Battery D, Fifth U. S. Artillery, with six pieces, two 10-pound Parrott's, two 12-pound howitzers, and two 6-pound smooth bores. The battery had been engaged in the first fight and had driven Imboden's Battery away, besides doing other good work. Ricketts' was Light Company I, First U. S. Artillery, and had six 10-pound Parrotts. It was not Maj. Sherman's old battery once at Fort Ridgely. The Sherman battery was I, Second Artillery; Ricketts' was I, First Artillery.

Maj. Barry, the Union Chief of Artillery, put the two batteries into position first, as follows: Ricketts', a few hundred yards east of the Sudley road, half a mile north of the Warrenton pike, and a little south of the Edgar Matthews house. At this time Griffin's was in position southwest of Ricketts', just west of the Sudley road and a quarter of a mile north of the crossing of that road over the Warrenton pike, at the Stone house.

But when the second attack was begun and in progress the two batteries were unwisely moved south across the Warrenton pike and to positions a little east of the Sudley road and on open ground, on a part of what was called the Henry house plateau, but a little south of the house. They were also directly confronting the Confederate stronghold, with the four brigades of Jackson, Bee, Bartow, and Evans, comprising 14 regiments, including the Hampton Legion of South Carolina, and four battalions of infantry, two semi-regiments of cavalry, and 13 (if not 26) pieces of artillery. Gen. Imboden(Batts. and Leads.,p.236,) says:"***Several other batteries soon came into line, so that by the time Griffin and Ricketts were in position, near the Henry house, we had, as I now remember,

26 fresh guns ready for them." They unlimbered, went "in battery," and Griffin says he fired two rounds.

To support Ricketts on the right Col. Heintzelman ordered up the Eleventh New York, of Willcox's Second Brigade. This was the much advertised regiment of Fire Zouaves, organized by Col. Elmer E. Ellsworth, who was shot at Alexandria.

In his report, Col. Heintzelman says he sent orders for the Zouaves to move forward and support the Battery, "and as soon as they came up I led them forward against an Alabama regiment, partly concealed in a clump of small pines in an old field." The Alabama regiment was the Fourth, of Bee's Brigade, and it had been badly whipped in the first fight with Hunter's Division and driven from the field, with its commander, Col. E.J. Jones, mortally wounded, the other field officers shot down, and a heavy loss in rank and file. But it had been rallied, brought back, and put into line again under Jackson, and was redeeming itself. Gen. Johnston himself had seized its colors and led what had remained of the regiment into position. The Fourth Alabama was the regiment with the red and parti-colored shirts.

Continuing his report regarding the Zouaves, Col. Heintzelman says:

> 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. They were then charged by a company of secession cavalry, on their rear, that came by a road through two strips of woods on our extreme right. The fire of the Zouaves killed four and wounded one, dispersing them.. A fire from Capt. Colburn's Company of U. S. Cavalry killed and wounded several more. Col. Farnham, with some of his officers and men, behaved gallantly, but the regiment, as a regiment, did not appear again on the field. Many of the men joined other regiments and did good service as skirmishers.

The cavalry that charged the Zouaves was but two companies,

Carter's and Hoge's, of Col. J. E. B. Stuart's First Virginia Cavalry.(Johnston's, Beauregard's, and Stuart's reports.) Col. Stuart had marched to Manassas Junction from Winchester with his command. At the Henry house he says he had but 300 men on that part of the field, and only two companies of them charged the Zouaves; that he lost nine men killed in the charge, instead of four, as Heintzelman says.*

Further referring to the Zouaves, Col. Porter, who commanded the Second Division, reports: "The evanescent courage of the Zouaves prompted them to fire perhaps a hundred shots, when they broke and fled, leaving the batteries open to a charge of the enemy's cavalry, which took place immediately."

What a disappointment the Zouaves were! Admittedly the best drilled regiment in the service; said to be extraordinarily proficient in fancy work with the bayonet and the bowie knife; the men all athletes, reputed as brave as Spartans, and burning

*Stuart's regiment was known to the Unionists as "the Black Horse Cavalry," and many and marvelous were the reports about it within the Union lines. The truth was, as we now know, only a very small portion of the regiment rode black horses. As is commonly the case in cavalry regiments, a large majority of Col. Stuart's horses were bays, sorrels, and chestnuts. There were but few blacks. (Randall's "Stuart's Cavalry," p.56 et seq.) The only Confederate organization of mounted men at Bull Run that the Confederates knew as the "Black Horse" was Capt. Payne's Company of Col.Radford's Thirtieth Virginia Cavalry. This company was called the Black Horse Troop. It was present at Bull Run, but took no part in the fight until after 5 o'clock in the evening, when it was sent in pursuit of the retreating Union troops. It was hardly under fire, and had not a man killed or wounded, but Private Taliaferro's horse was killed. (See Munford's report,Vol.2,War Recs.,p.534.) The company was armed with double-barreled shot guns chiefly, and revolvers. The "Black Horse Cavalry" was an engaging myth, a pleasant fiction, like the "Louisiana Tigers."

to avenge the death of Col. Ellsworth--much was expected of them. But, as a regiment, they ran at the first fire, could not be rallied or halted, and many of them never stopped until they got back to New York City.(McDowell's report, Vol.2,p.322.)

When Ricketts' Battery was in its first position(North of the Warrenton pike and Buck Hill) the Fifth and Eleventh Massachusetts, of Franklin's Brigade,(and comrade regiments of the First Minnesota) were put in support behind a hill. A round or two of the Confederate artillery so demoralized them that they fired wildly, formed blunderingly, and were in confusion. After a time they were sent to the Battery's second position, on the Henry house plateau. They finally broke and left the field in great disorder.(Heintzelman's Report.)

THE BATTERIES ARE DISABLED.

Scarcely had Griffin fired his second round, when suddenly, with volcanic report and force, there came from the Confederate position a most terrible and murderous fire from the 18 regiments of infantry and 13(if not 26) pieces of artillery! This storm of iron and lead beat directly upon the Union batteries and past them upon their supports. By these deadly blasts 27 of Ricketts' and 17 men of Griffin's Battery were killed and wounded including Lieut. Douglas Ramsay, of Ricketts' Battery, killed, Capt. Ricketts wounded and taken prisoner, and Lieut. Kirby severely wounded.

Capt. Griffin says in his report--and there is abundant proof to corroborate ~~xixxx~~ him--that the force which fired upon and charged him,(the Thirty-third Virginia) when it first appeared, was mistaken for a Union force. Maj. Barry stated *that it was the Fourteenth Brooklyn coming to support the Battery, having been sent by Col. Heintzelman. But it soon let its identity be known.

Lieut. Ed. Kirby, the senior officer of Ricketts' Battery after the loss of the captain and first lieutenant, says in his report that after the Battery went into its last position it fired "as fast as possible until obliged to retreat." He further reports that the Battery's position was 500 yards from the Confederates.

If Had Gen. McDowell left the two batteries in their Just Position and not moved them to the Warrenton pike they could have been made to blow Stonewall Jackson's infantry and Imboden's battery off the face of the earth--that is if they had gone to work before Jackson got all his 26 piece of artillery up. Their Just Position was the key to that part of the field.

*Nicolay, in "Opening of the Rebellion," gives the alleged conversation between Col.Heintzelman and Capt. Griffin.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA GOES IN.

We come now to describe what the First Minnesota did, in part, at Bull Run. The story is difficult to tell. No verbal description of a battle can be complete and absolutely correct; no account of the fighting of a regiment can be entirely accuarte and satisfactory. No participant in the Regiment's fighting saw it all, or any very considerable portion of it. He saw fairly well what his company did, and not much more. Some one has computed that there were 868 officers and men in the First Minnesota at the Bull Run battle. If so there were 688 all told who came safely away from the field. If each of these men had told the story of the Regiment's part in the fight, there would be 688 different versions, 600 of which would be impossible to reconcile.

The best story to be told, therefore, is a general ane, and this can best be made up from the reports of the Commanders of the Regiment and its comrade organizations in the battle, and from the commanders of the organizations of its enemies that fought against it. The recollections of hardly any two of the Regiment would agree. The reports were made at the time, when memory was best and knowledge was freshest.

As previously stated, the First Minnesota 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 to the south. Here the Regiment remained for several minutes. Some of the men wandered about and amused and refreshed themselves by gathering blackberries, which were somewhat plentiful. Others picked flowers that abounded. In a little while, however, it was ordered through the woods to a position near the front and

center of the Confederate line. This position was in an open field and was under the direct fire of the enemy's batteries. (Gorman's report.)

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

This was to be the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Regiment's first fight, its baptism of battle, and the form of that baptism was to be an immersion! There had been no proper preparation for the ordeal. It had not yet been in a skirmish fight--never under fire. There were no braver spirits, physically and morally, than the men of the First Minnesota. They were also finely drilled and well disciplined. But to march into a fierce battle,"into the jaws of death," for the first time, without perturbation, misgivings, and nervousness, is a march that has never yet been made.

Of course the men knew their danger, but bravely they faced it. As they marched into position on the brink of the Henry hill, they passed the dead bodies of a few Zouaves that had been killed a few minutes before, their showy and gaudy uniforms now dabbled with blood, their forms and faces distorted by an agonizing death, and their glassy eyes staring up into the sky. The spectacle was not encouraging or inspiriting.

The Regiment came up and Col. Gorman quickly put it into battle line. It was in advance ofall the other Union troops. The right rested within a few feet of the woods and the left 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 copses and jungles of scrub oaks and pines waiting for the Yankees. 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. Colville, 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 ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ 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.

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 Regimant 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

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

shirts of the Regiment and thought it was the Fourth Alabama, many of whose men were similarly garbed. He came to caution theMinnesotians not to fire on their "friends!" Mr. Javan B. Irvin, 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.

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, and they advanced with the flag of the stars and bars displayed.

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. Then comrades and friends who had laughed and shouted but a moment before caught wildly at the empty air and fell, their life blood spurting and flowing.

Only for a second were the Minnesotians staggered or stunned. Then Gorman 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

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

Dreadful work now! In a few minutes Companies H,I,K,C, and G, and those immediately about the Regimental flag which the Winona ladies had given "were so desperately cut to pieces as to make it more of a slaughter than an equal combat."(Gorman.) The Confederates had the decided advantage. They out-numbered the Minnesotians very largely. While not behind artificial breast-works, they were really intrenched in the thickets of jack-pines 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.

Of the experience of the First Minnesota during its fighting at the Henry house plateau, Sergeant Martin Maginnis, (afterward Major) of Company F, the Red Wing company, wrote, a week after the battle, a most vivid description. His letter was to Judge Welch, of Red Wing, to console him for the loss of his son Edward, who had been wounded and taken prisoner. It was printed in a Red Wing paper and has been re-published in Hancock's "History of Goodhue County." In part ~~xxxxx~~ Sergeant Maginnis wrote:

> We began to think we had nothing to do."Feel for an enemy in there, Col. Gorman," said the General, as he rode past. Col. Gorman gave the word in clear tones:"Steady,steady,Minnesota; aim low; fire!" And we poured a thousand rifle bullets into the woods. That volley seemed the signal to unchain Pandemonium. A masked battery on our left, within a hundred yards, opened a terrific fire, and all along the line of woods, not thirty [?] feet from us, rolled out upon us a sheet of flame and a storm of bullets from the Alabama and Mississippi infantry.

Terrific and sudden was that shower of grape and canister, ball and bombs, bullets and bursting shells, which tore through our ranks and raged along our line and mowed down our gallant lads like grass before the scythe. The din of battle was above all sounds.****Our left flank was driven backward on the tide of fire. So were the Zouaves behind us; our flag was pushed down the slope. The cannon were taken by the enemy. But the two right companies stood firm. Company A and Company F never lost an inch of ground. We were all kneeling, not for fear, but for accuracy in taking aim. Our boys were cool; every shot told. The two Bevans brothers were present in Company F, Sergt. Henry T. and Milton L. The enemy at one time were between us and our regiment. The General called on us to run to the woods. We were too busy to hear such an order."Stand fast, for God's sake, Company F," shouted the gallant Lieut. Welch, and we stood fast."If you budge an inch,Mit,"shouted Sergt. Bevans to his brother, "I'll shoot you in your tracks!" The threat was unnecessary.*****

We fought our way out of the woods as best we could, dragging with us the prisoners* we had taken. Away in a sheltered hollow we looked around us. Neither Capt. Colville, nor Capt. Wilkin, nor Lieut. Welch nor Sergt. Clark nor Sergt. Bevans had come out of the woods. We supposed they were dead.****We took our place in the battalion and in pretty good shape fell back on Centerville. Here Capt. Colville, Sergt. Clark, and our boys to the number of 60 joined us; at Alexandria 8 more met us, which left us 68 out of 90 with which we went into the fight.

Col. Gorman saw that he must have a re-enforcement to hold his position. The contest was too unequal--fairly one-sided. He tried vainly to get help from the few demoralized Fire Zouaves to the left--broken reeds and fragile sticks. The condition was terrible and growing worse every moment . The Colonel says: "Two or three different orders came to retire."

Willis A. Gorman was not the man to retire from danger merely because of danger; but he had been in too many battles

*All told, the Confederates lost but 13 prisoners captured at Bull Run who were taken off the field and to Centerville. More were taken, but they were re-captured by their comrades before the fight was over. So far as the record shows and is now remembered, the First Minnesota "dragged off" but three prisoners, Lieut.Col. Boone, another Mississippian named Walker, and ----Lewis, of the South Carolina Palmetto Rifles.

not to comprehend the situation and his duty. He 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 that any command left that part of the field during the battle.

While falling back, however, the ground passed over was contested by skirmishers 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 [illegible] crossed the Run whereever 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

before the two divisions could be united. This indicates the general state of disorder at the time.

Half a mile below or south of the Sudley Ford and very near the Sudley Spring, in the Sudley Church, a Union field hospital was established, and here the severely wounded of the Regiment were left, with Surgeon J. H. Stewart and Asst. Surg. C. W. LeBoutillier in charge. The name Sudley was of much geographic prominence in this immediate section, and became noted. The Sudley road, the Sudley Ford, the Sudley Spring, the Sudley House, the Sudley Mill, the Sudley Church, and the Sudley Hospital all became historic.

The Regiment moved from Sudley Ford toward Centerville next to the rearmost regiment, the First Rhode Island, of Burnside's Brigade, then temporarily commanded by Gov. Sprague, the plucky Governor of the plucky little State from which the regiment came. It is to be presumed that Burnside's men had filled their cartridge boxes by this time. The First Minnesota marched first by platoons, but some demoralized cavalry came rushing to the rear and threw them into confusion, and the men "did not afterward try to kepp in regular order."

Nearing Centerville, the route over which they passed was under the fire of Kemper's Virginia battery, from Alexandria, which had crossed Bull Run below the Stone bridge and was shelling the retreating, straggling Unionists. (Kemper's report.) The First Minnesota staggered through Centerville, and at the close of that long, hot, terrible, but eventful day, stumbled into its camp of the night before, and what men were present dropped upon the ground and went instantly to sleep without eating. They expected that the fighting would be renewed the next morning at

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

That the men of the First Minnesota were taken off their guard and by overpowering amazement when they walked into the fiery furnace at the Henry plateau, is certain. The battle was not at all as they had imagined it would be. They fell back from it hardly from pure physical fear, but as men flee from a

forest fire or a cyclone or any other danger not to be resisted. To an observer from a distance, the retirement from the firing line resembled the adjournment of a mass meeting or the "letting out" of church!* In time, seeing demoralization everywhere, many of them became panic stricken and some fled wildly.

Capt. Searles remembers that not far from the Henry house plateau, as the Minnesotians and others were retreating in a confused mass, a single Confederate cavalryman, who was doubtless himself running away from the fight, leaped his horse into the road over which the Union forces were retiring. His steed chanced to be a black one, and suddenly some very badly demoralized "Yankees" called out: "O Lord! There comes the Black Horse Cavalry!" Whereupon the fugitives scattered wildly and widely, on the sides of the road and scampered away! The fleeing trooper retreated the other way as fast as he could gallop!

Many Union regiments disgraced themselves at Bull Run. The First Minnesota, by all the records and authoritative reports, was not one of these. Many of its members, however, did become demoralized and did things of which they were afterwards sorry and ashamed.

Patience! This was the Regiment that charged at Gettysburg!

*Nicolay, "Outbreak of the Rebellion," p.195.)

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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 efforts 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 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 Griffin'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 w as then commanded by Col. Arnold Elzey, of the First Maryland. 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

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-Eigth New York, of Willcox's Brigade, 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, Sherman's Brigade~~ "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.

McDowell certainly conducted his side of the conflict upon original ideas. He put his troops into action by fragments, generally, a regiment at a time, only twice or thrice a brigade strong. He put his troops in by fragments and soon he had nothing but fragments. He used up four regiments in the support of Ricketts' Battery by putting in one at a time and having them whipped in detail.

He pushed stragglingly and disconnectedly his brigades down to the position where Beauregard, Johnston, and Jackson--especially Jackson--were. He did not try to flank and half surround that position as he had the strength and opportunity to do, but made square attacks. Upon this point Gen. Johnston, who knew every point involved in the battle, afterwards wrote:

> The key-point to the battle [the Henry house plateau] was a flat, bare crest. It was here the Federals made their attacks. But they were made a brigade at a time. Our position here was really hardly tenable, and had an attack been made in force, with a double line of battle,--such as any major general in the United States would now make--we could not have held it half an hour, for they would have enveloped us on both flanks. (See Swinton, Camp. Army Potom., p.58.)

THE LAST CONFEDERATE ASSAULT.

It was about 4 P.M. when the Confederates advanced to the assault on the Union position below the Henry house. Previously they had acted generally on the defensive. Under a strong combined attack of infantry and artillery the already weakened Union lines gave away. They fell back over Young's Branch and the Warrenton pike into the fields of the Dogan farm, west of the Sudley road, and thence in disorder in all available directions towards Bull Run.

The Confederates at once pursued. Stuart's cavalry followed the retreating forces that were hurrying along the Sudley road northward, but Stuart says he soon had so many prisoners and had to send so many escorts with them to the rear that after he reached the Sudley Ford his command became practically ineffective and went into camp. The forces that retreated eastward over the Warrenton pike were pursued by Kemper's Battery, the Hampton Legion, two South Carolina, and two Virginia regiments across Bull Run, with Radford's Thirtieth Virginia Cavalry, in the advance, leaping on the Union rear every hundred yards from the Stone bridge to Centerville.

The battle was lost to the Union army. Perhaps it was lost when Ricketts' and Griffin's Batteries were lost. Gen. Fry intimates as much.

THE RESPECTIVE STRENGTHS OF THE FIGHTING FORCES.

The total strength of the Confederates actually engaged in the fighting of Gen. Johnston's Army of the Shenandoah was 8,340; of Gen. Beauregard's Army of the Potomac,9,713; total number of Confederates that fought, 18,053.

The total number of Gen. McDowell's Army of Northeastern Virginia engaged in the battle was 18,572. So that the Union army outnumbered the Confederate by 500 officers and men. (Batts.and Leads.Vol.1,p.194-95.)

THE LOSSES IN THE BATTLE.

According to the same eminent and reliable authorities quoted, 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 St. Anthony 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 withthe 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 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 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.

THE SUB-BATTLE AT BLACKBURN'S FORD.

While the battle of Bull Run was raging another engagement was in progress on the east side of the Run opposite Blackburn's Ford, where Tyler had fought on the 18th. Beauregard had meditated attacking McDowell at Centerville, by way of Blackburn's and two other lower fords and did not abandon the idea even after the battle had begun. But McDowell, to cover the movement on the enemy by way of the Sudley Ford, had sent Richardson's Brigade, of Tyler, and Davies' Brigade, of Miles's Division,(each brigade having four regiments and a battery) to move against Blackburn's Ford and make such demonstrations as would mask the real Union plan.

In the afternoon the Confederate Gen.D.R.Jones, who with his brigade was guarding McLean's Ford, the first ford below Blackburn's was directed by Beauregard to cross the Run and "attack the Federals." Jones took his three regiments across the Run and attacked, but Hunt's Battery and the infantry soon drove him back by what Gen. Jones characterized as a "murderous shower" of canister and musketry. Gen. Jones reported 14 killed and 62 wounded. The Union loss was but two wounded, none killed.

MINNESOTA PARTICIPANTS DESCRIBE THE BATTLE.

Mr. Javan B. Irvine, of St. Paul, previously mentioned as the captor of Lieut. Col.Boone, arrived at the Regiment's camp a few days before the battle of Bull Run on a visit to his brother-in-law, John T. Halsted, of Company A. In his civilian character and dress Mr. Irvine took a musket and went to the battle in Company A. For his good conduct on that occasion he was commissioned a lieutenant in the 13th U.S.Infantry Oct.26,1861, and remained in the regular army until in May, 1891, when he was retired with the rank of major.

JAVAN B. IRVINE'S ACCOUNT.

Mr. Irvine's letters descriptive of the battle, which were written to his wife a few days after the battle, and published in the St. Paul Pioneer, were regarded as among the very best written on the subject. In part, one of his letters reads:

We took a circuitous route throught the woods and arrived in the vicinity of the enemy at about 10 o'clock in the morning. While on the march the battle was commenced by the artillery in the advance and the roar of which we could distinctly hear some three or four miles off, the smoke rising at every discharge. You can form some idea of the number of our forces, when I tell you that our lines were some miles in length, and the Minnesota Regiment was simply one in a crowd of other regiments.

At about 11 o'clock we halted in a ravine to give the men an opportunity to fill their canteens with water. At this time the firing had become pretty general, and the roar of artillery and the rattle of musketry was heard only about a mile distant. You have, no doubt, read of the agitation and fear which come over individuals on the approach of battle; but I must say--and not in the spirit of braggadocio--that I experienced no such fears or agitation during the conflict. I was surprised at this myself, for I certainly thought that I should experience the fears so often described.

While halting at this ravine, I, together with others of the boys, cooly went to picking blackberries, with which the whole country abounds. We soon took up the line of march again, and drew near the battle-field(at double-quick time) and were stationed in a field, sheltered by a strip of woods, about one-half mile from where our forces were fighting. Here we divested ourselves of our blankets and haversacks of provisions and whatever might impede us in fighting--retaining, of course, our arms and ammunition. You have no idea how desperate men will act while approaching or retiring from a battle-field. They appeared to have no care or anxiety for anything except their arms; all else was thrown off and strewn along the road.

We did not remain long in the field where we were stationed before the order came to advance, which we did through the woods at double-quick , and soon came up to the field where theconflict was raging. Here we halted in the edge of the woods in the presence of the dead and wounded, who were lying all around us, until about 5,000 troops filed past us to take their positions. As they passed the general officers and staff, they cheered in the wildest and most enthusiastic manner.

After they had passed we took up our position in the open field in sight of the enemy's batteries. We were soon ordered to the left, for the purpose of outflanking and taking them. While doing this the cannon balls and bomb-shells flew around us thick and fast, but fortunately they were aimed too high and we passed unharmed, although not without frequent dodging by some of the boys as the balls and shells

whistled b--. Our battery [Ricketts'] had engaged them by this time in front while we were passing to the left.

We ran down a hill and crossed a small stream. Being a little in advance, I stopped to pick a few blackberries to quench my thirst while the Regiment came up. We soon came to a road where we were met by an aid [Capt. Wright] to the commanding officer, [Heintzelman] who desired us to follow him and take up a position where he could get no other troops to stand. [In support of Ricketts' Battery.] We told him we would follow him, and he gave us a position to the left of the battery and directly opposite to it. Here we formed in line of battle, with a strip of woods between us and about 4,000 secessionists.

We had just formed when we were ordered to kneel and fire upon the rebels, who were advancing under cover of the woods. We fired two volleys through the woods, when we were ordered to rally in the woods on our rear, which all did, except the first platoon of our own company, that did not hear the order, and stood its ground. The rebels soon came out from their shelter between us and their battery. Col. Gorman mistook them for friends and told the men to cease firing upon them, althoughthey had three secession flags flying directly in front of their advancing columns. This threw our men into confusion, some declaring they were friends, others that they were enemies. I called to our boys to give it to them and fired away myself as rapidly as possible.***

As to the fighting qualities of the First Minnesota, Company A took its position and the first platoon never moved from it until ordered to retreat. Capt. Wilkin fought like a hero. He seized a rifle and shot down at least one rebel and took one prisoner. The drummer boy of Company A, Henry C. Hines, took an officer's horse, with sword, pistol, and trappings.

Much praise is awarded to Lieutenant Welch, of Red Wing, for the gallantry and intrepidity he displayed in rallying and cheering his men. Lieutenant Harris, of the same company, also behaved nobly. Capt. McKune, of the Faribault company, while leading his men, was shot dead. The regimental flag, presented by the ladies of Winona, was pierced by thirteen balls, one a cannon ball through the blue field, making a hole about a foot long.

As to the probability of his becoming a soldier, Mr. Irvine wrote:

I have not been mustered in yet and think I shall not be. I shall fight on my own hook always, however, going into the field with Company A and sticking to them.

Mr. Irvine gave also this particular description of his capture of Col. Boone:

The rebels themselves mistook us for their troops, and waved their hands for us to cease firing. I had just loaded to give them another charge, when a lieutenant colonel of a Mississippi regiment rode out between us, waving his hand for us to stop firing. I rushed up to him and asked him if he was a secessionist. He replied: "I am a Mississippian." I presented my bayonet to his breast and commanded him to surrender, which he did, after some hesitation. I ordered him to dismount and led him and his horse from the field, in the meantime disarming him of his sword and pistol. I led him off about two miles and placed him in charge of a lieutenant, with an escort of cavalry, to be taken to Gen. McDowell. He requested the officer to allow me to accompany him, as he desired my protection. The officersassured him that he would be safe in their hands, and he rode off. I retained his pistol, but sent his sword with him.

A few days later, when the Regiment was back at Washington, Mr. Irvine visited Col. Boone, who was then confined in the Old Capitol prison. Of his interview with the prisoner Mr. Irvine wrote:

I have just returned from a visit to Lieutenant Colonel Boone, who is confined in the Old Capitol. I found him in a pleasant room on the third story, surrounded by several Southern gentlemen, among whom was Senator Breckinridge. There were with me Chaplain Neill, Captains Wilkin and Colvill, and Lieutenant Coates, who were introduced to the Colonel. We had a very pleasant interview and invited the Colonel to call on us at our camp when he obtained his parole. He is a fine-appearing and pleasant man. We also saw the other two prisoners. They are fine-looking fellows, and one, Mr. Lewis, of the Palmetto Rifles, of South Carolina, is very much of a gentleman. The other man's name is Walker, of Mississippi.

CHAPLAIN NEILL'S STORY.

Chaplain E. D. Neill/ was under fire on the battle-field and wrote an interesting account of his experiences which was published in the St. Paul papers. In part he wrote:

Sergeant Young [Alonzo I Young, of Company H] came and told me that it was time to rise. The night was cold, and after I rose I hastened to one of the few camp-fires that had been lighted, to warm myself. The moon shone brightly, and men moved about without much speaking, feeling that this might be their last Sunday on earth. About 3 o'clock A.M. we left camp and wound up the hill to Centerville. At the end of the village we hal ted until daylight, being delayed by the passage of Col. Hunter's column, which had preceded us by another road to this point.

Following the column of Hunter, we passed a bridge near Centerville, on the Warrenton road. While Tyler's Division kept on this road, those of Hunter and Heintzelman soon turned. For several miles we passed through woodlands of oak and hickory, where no springs could be found that were serviceable and the men suffered much for water and were quite fatigued, as it was warm; also many of them had neither supper the night before or breakfast that morning.

Emerging into an open country, and looking to our left, we could see the smoke of artillery rising/from the woods about a mile or two distant, indicating that the action of the enemy had fairly commenced.

About 11 o'clock we crossed a small branch, which I supposed [and rightly] was Bull Run. As Company A was crossing, Col. Gorman, who was on the other side, in a loud voice urged the Regiment to close up and hurry on. With alacrity the men obeyed, and with double-quick step they ran up the hillside, which was through woodland. Just before we reached the summit we met ambulances and soldiers carrying down wounded and dying men to a church called Sudley Church, which was on the roadside between the scene of action and thr ford. As we turned into the wood near the battle-field an officer in uniform, and wounded badly in the neck, passed in a vehicle. With a smile of enthusiasm he threw out his arms and urged us on; he was said to be Col. Hunter.

After passing through the woods several rods, we came to a clearing, and out Regiment formed in column and stood alone, the other regiments of the brigade having passed at a later period directly up the road from the ford. As the Regiment waited for a few moments, Col. Heintzelman, the commander of our Division, and another officer went to an eminence near by and with a telescope took a view.

As the wounded men of the regiments began to appear on the edge of the woods, Surgeon LeBoutillier requested me to go and

ask Dr. Stewart to come up with the hospital attendants and the litters. I went back as requested and saw the Doctor; he told me that the Medical Director had requested him to stay at and near Sudley Church. With Privates Dengle* and Williams,** who were attached to the assistant surgeon, I hurried back with the litters, and found the Regiment had left the clearing.

Passing through a narrow strip of woods, I came to open and cultivated land and found the Regiments. They occupied ground lately occupied by the enemy, who had been driven back by Col. Burnside's Rhode Island Brigade. The enemy's batteries were planted on the heights, Henry hill on the opposite side of the open valley.

Captain Ricketts' U.S.Battery, belonging to our Brigade, was ordered to engage the enemy, and the Minnesota Regiment was ordered to support it. As it hurried through an old gate-way to take position opposite the enemy's rifled cannon, it was difficult for the soldiers to push through, and I busied myself in pulling down fence rails so that they could move faster and not break column. After Ricketts' U.S. Artillery began to fire, I did not follow our Regiment, but remained on the field at the point where the artillery unlimbered.

As I stood, Col. Burnside, of Rhode Island--whose acquaintance I had made in the winter of 1859-60, at the house of Gen. McClellan, in Chicago--rode up on horseback.***While talking with Col.Burnside,*Gen. McDowell rode on to the elevated field on the left hand side of the road, and he and several members of his staff sat in their saddles and viewed the action.

Ricketts' Battery now ceased firing, and, attacking their caissons, came out of the field where they were first posted and, wheeling into the road, descended to a position nearer the Regiment and also nearer to the enemy. While in this second position the enemy opened a heavy fire on it and it suffered severely. One of its lieutenants, Douglas Ramsey, a nephew of one Gov. Ramsey with whom I am acquainted, had his head shot off.

As I stood I could see the locality where the Minnesota First and the Fire Zouaves were fighting. With a piece of woods on their right, they had reached the ascent of the slope on the crest of which was the principal battery of the Confederates; but the woods, as the clouds of dust indicated, were fast being filled with reenforcements, fresh troops of the enemy. As the cannon balls flew past me, I changed my position from time to time and once came to a small one-story house Matthews's to our left filled with wounded of other regiments. Even here the shots from the rifled cannon came.

*No such name in Regimental roster.
**Probably H. H. Williams, Company C.

*Gen.Burnside should have been with his brigade, and both he and it ought to have been on the battle-field doing their duty.--Compiler.

Just before the retreat from the field, I went into the woods that skirted over near where stood the ambulances. One of these, attached to our Brigade, was foremost, and a horse with a saddle on, that was standing next the ambulance, was shot while I was talking to the driver. I had been here but a few minutes when a young man named [William] Workman, a member of the Regimental Band, came up and told me that there were several of our Regiment wounded and on the field not far distant, and that he feared, unless we could reach them soon, they would be captured. In the absence of the surgeons I told the driver of the ambulance to take Workman and myself to the spot indicated. We drove up to a fence of a small farm house, and into the yard of a house, where lay numbers of our wounded men; all were eager to be placed in the ambulance, but I was obliged to tell them it was reserved for the wounded of the Minnesota Regiment. Receiving four of our men, I drove off the field to Sudley Church, which was used as a hospital.

At the church the scene baffled all description. The benches from this rude country church had all been removed and the floor was strewn with wounded and dying. The gallery also was full. Ascending to it, I found Dr. Stewart. Stretched on his back was a man of mature age [probably Lewis Cathoman or Sergt. Zebulon E. Binns] who was begging for water; his look was irresistible, and, picking up a cup besmeared with blood, I went to a brook some distance off and brought him what was mud and water, but the impure potion was eagerly quaffed.

Finding John T. Halsted, of St. Paul, I led him up-stairs to the Doctor, as the fingers of his left hand were shattered by a ball. While his right arm was round my neck he manifested some feeling, and when I told him his wound was not serious he said: "O, I am not thinking of that, but of how many of our brave men have been cut down by the enemy."

Captain Acker, of St. Paul, slightly wounded in the eye, was lying on the church floor near the pulpit. As the groans of those mortally wounded were dreadful and distressed him, he walked out in the open air leaning on my arm. As I sat with him near a tree, I noticed my trunk, containing my surplus wardrobe, etc., not far distant; also the trunks of Doctors Stewart and LeBoutillier, all of which finally became spoil to the enemy.

While under the tree a private of Company K called my attention to a prisoner he had taken, a soldier of a Mississippi regiment. The prisoner first adressed me as "captain," but I told him I was a chaplain; he then grasped my hand and said he was a Christian and had enlisted from conscientious motives, as he thought Southern rights had been infringed upon. He then begged me to protect him from ill-usage, and not force him to fight against his brethren; I assured him there was neither danger of ill treatment from our troops, nor of compulsion by the U.S. government to make him bear arms on our side.

Capt. Acker, fearing capture, told me he would like to find our Regiment. We walked down to the [Sudley] ford, not far from the church, and there learned that Col. Gorman, with such

officers and soldiers as he could find, had returned towards Centerville. Meeting Gates Gibbs [of Company A] (a son of Justice Gibbs, of St. Paul, and one of my Sunday school scholars when I preached in the First Presbyterian Church) driving an empty ambulance, I placed therein Capt. Acker. We had not proceeded far before I found soldiers carrying Lieutenant [Joseph] Harley, of Captain Pell's [Wabashaw] company, on a litter. He was taken up and in a few minutes we had our ambulance full of our wounded, and among others, Robert Stephens, [Stevens] who, in 1849, when a lad, assisted in plastering my house, the first brick edifice built in Minnesota. [Stevens was badly wounded in the arm, which had to be amputated.]

***While on the Warrenton Turnpike, in the woods, about two miles south of the bridge over Cub Run, the soldiers in front of the ambulance appeared to be in great confusion; we were told that the enemy had flanked us. Fearing that a charge might be made, I asked the firver for something red to hang out of the ambulance as a hospital flag. A youth of the Faribault [Wabashaw] company, by the name of [Edwin M.] Kerrott, hearing my question, although lying in the bottom of the ambulance, wounded in the leg and very weak, sat up and tore off his red flannel shirt and gave it to me. Placing it on a sabre bayonet, I held it for a time over the ambulance. [Kerrott, aged 18, was crippled by his wound and thereby discharged.]

As we neared Cub Run Bridge there was evidence of a panic. Baggage wagons were overturned, muskets and blankets strewn on the road, and cavalry, infantry, and artillery mingled together without any officers to restore confidence. Just at the bridge were broken artillery wagons and a horse lying in the road with a great wound in the breast. When we crossed at dusk by the ford adjoining the bridge, which was done with difficulty, we saw in an open field a regiment drawn up in line, and their flag indicated they were a reserve of friends.

Just after dark we reached the old camping ground at Centerville. Met Adjutant Leach and was told that the field officers and a portion of the Regiment were in the field, near the old quarters of Gen. McDowell. I soon joined them and prepared to go to sleep on some blankets I had borrowed, when an order came for us to retire to Washington. By the kindness of the wagon-master, the well known old settler, Anton Northrop, I obtained a tin cup of coffee and some pilot bread, and I think it was the most refreshing meal I ever had. About half-past 9 o'clock, the Regiment formed and began its march to Washington. Beyond Fai fax C.H. a portion, by mistake, took the Vienna road. This was the advance with the field officers. We reached Vienna about half-past 3 Monday morning.

MONDAY, JULY 22.--As the men had been on their feet 24 hours, we halted at Vienna until 5 o'clock. Major Dike and I lay on the grass, with his saddle for a pillow, but as it rained I did not sleep half an hour. At 5 we began the march for Georgetown, 15 miles distant; when about 10 miles out we hired a blacksmith, with a rickety one-horse wagon, for $6 to take Captain Putnam, Lieut. Coates, and Lieut. Zierenberg to Georgetown. The smith drove so

slow that it was some time before we reached Capt. Putnam. By the time the wagon reached Falls Church a wounded Zouave and a soldier of the [Seventieth] New York Highland Regiment begged a place in it and it was impossible to refuse them. Finding Capt. Putnam I relinquished my seat by the driver, and was glad to be on my feet again.

About 11 o'clock, in the rain, we called at Fort Corcoran with Col. Gorman and Major Dike. The commanding officer, Col. W. T. Sherman, was not very obliging. With some difficulty the guard allowed me to pass to Georgetown Ferry, under an order from Col. Gorman. Taking an omnibus at Georgetown, I went to Washington and informed Mrs. Dike and Mrs. Leach that their husbands were safe. In the afternoon I went to Philadelphia to replenish my wardrobe and to procure supplies for our wounded.

Chaplain Neill was born and reared in Philadelphia, and he was able to obtain a considerable amount of money and a quantity of supplies for the wounded of the Regiment before help could be had from Minnesota. Of his conduct at the ba tle of Bull Run, Col. Gorman, in his report, said: "My chaplain, Rev. E. D. Neill, was on the field the whole time, in the midst of danger, giving aid and comfort to the wounded."

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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, best disciplined regiment in the service, and such is the judgment of the regular officers that have seen us." (Minn. in Civ. and Mil. Wars, 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 the hardtack were not tender and toothsome; two years later they would have relished such rations. 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 the woolen shirts and black pants they had donned, and what was left (so Lochren says) was "rags and tatters." The men wrote back to Minnesota about their hardships. Ten letters from the St. Anthony company 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.

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 I 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:"~~xxxRegimentxxx~~ I have no idea that there has been any suffering among the Regiment for the lack of proper clothing. With a few exceptions the men have appeared tidy and not 'all tattered and torn,' in their dress of blue pants and red shirts. This week they have received the blue uniform of the United States. From the first, in tidiness and general appearance, they have appeared well in the clothing which they obtained in Minnesota."

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 other 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 murmered 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 swell dressers among the men seemed disappointed because they were unable to wear society suits on the then gay and fashionable streets of Washington, but their comrades simply derided them.

A fine superb body of men physically, the First Minnesota always looked well. Even when it wore red shirts and black pants, it seemed as attractive in appearance as the fancifully dressed regiments--the Zouaves, garbed to resemble Turcos, Arabs, French mercenaries, harlequins, court jesters, and comedians, and various other organizations in fantastic attire.

THE UPPER POTOMAC AND CAMP STONE.

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

In a little time, however, Gen. Johnston set his men at a work more practical than flaunting a flag before the Yankee 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." ~~Maxyixxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ 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~~ l.c. 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.

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-Second(Tammany) Regiments of New York Volunteers. Upon the organization of the Army of the Potomac, Oct.15,1861,

Gen. Stone was given a division, composed of his old brigade, now under Gen. Gorman, to which had been added Kirby's Battery; Lander's Brigade, of a Michigan and two Massachusetts regiments, and Vaughan's Battery,B, First Rhode Island Artillery, and Baker's Brigade of Pennsylvania volunteers,(chiefly) including the Seventy-First Pennsylvania command, called the California Regiment, and Bunting's Sixth N. Y. Battery.

The Tammany regiment, so-called, was a regiment equipped and sent to the field by the Tammany Society, the well known Democratic organization in New York City. The families of its members, while their protectors were at the front, were always well provided and cared for by the Tammany Society, as were the soldiers when discharged for disabilities incurred in the line of duty. Kirby's Battery was the old Ricketts' Battery(I,First U.S.) re-organized and now under Lieut. Edmund Kirby, who at Bull Run, brought away three limber chests and 56 horses, all of the battery that was saved, and did this while his face was covered and streaming with blood from wounds.(See Howard's report,Vol.2,War Recs.,p.418.) A number of the men from the infantry regiments of this brigade were transferred at their request to this battery.

August 8, while at Seneca Mills, John Thorp, of Company K, the Winona company, wrote to his father, who lived at Rollingstone, as follows:

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

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

Scarcely had we become familiar with the scenery and associations around Seneca Falls before we were again ordered to move. On the 13th the Red Wing, 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, rich orchards, and 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 reorganized 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.

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 of hardtack, and buying 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 Stebbin s, 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 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 wasnot practical in results and did not hasten the close of hostilities. Rougher work had tobe done, and it was done.

Not All Quiet on the Potomac.

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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 as 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, ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ 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 Ferry 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. Co mmonly the skies are clear, the temperature agreeable, apples and peaches abound, and sweet potatoes are ready for the digging. At one time Stebbins wrote:"The condition of the Regiment seems to be, in many respects, better than it ever was before. Many peddlers come into camp every day, bringing in for sale vegetables, butter, pies, cakes, family bread, etc., 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 confirmed as 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.

Stone, who was now promoted to Division commander. It was, as has been said, composed of the First Minnesota, the Thirty-Fourth, the Forty-Second(Tammany) and the Eighty-Second New York, the Fifteenth Massachusetts, and Kirby's (formerly Ricketts') Battery.*

To succeed Gen. Gorman, as Colonel of the First Minnesota, it had been arranged to appoint Napoleon Jackson Tecumseh Dana, and his commission was dated Oct.2 and he joined the Regiment ten days later. Col. Dana was then practically a Minnesotian. He was born in Maine, in 1822; graduated from West Point in 1842 and served in the regular army nearly 15 years; was in the Mexican War and wounded at Cerro Gordo; came to Fort Snelling as quartermaster in 1852, and subsequently selected the sites of Forts Ridgely and Ripley, building the latter post; left the army in 1855, and for some time engaged in banking in St. Paul. He had been of much service in raising the First Regiment and it was contemplated that Gorman would soon be made a general and that Dana should succeed him as colonel.

Col. Dana was with the Regiment but four months, when he too became a brigadier,Feb.2,1862. He was wounded at Antietam and a month later was made a full major general of volunteers. Lochren says that he was a model officer. Always calm, temperate, and gentlemanly in demeanor, he enforced the strictest discipline, without causing any friction or complaint or giving rise to any dissatisfaction. His long daily drills, with packed knapsacks (still drilling!) made the Regiment perfect in the execution of all battalion

*Lochren, in his roster of the Brigade, omits the 42d N.Y. and the battery; but see War Records,Vol.5,p.16.

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. George Pomeroy became captain of Company E. Capt. Alex.Wilkin, of Company A, of St. Paul, was commissioned major of the Second Minnesota, then being organized, and was succeeded in the captaincy by Lieut. Harry C. Coates. 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. Capt. Billy 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. 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.

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 malingerers andpretenders. 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 and yellow and green in all shades. The lowlands and dales were spread with autumn blooms. Gazing over them and the beautiful xxxxx

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

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

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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 reconnoissances 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 reconnoissances 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," with the idea that Gen. Evans would be induced to run away with his little army from Leesburg. 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

"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 Mississippians 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 toward 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.

But Gen. Evans was not a goose to be frightened off by a mere "boo!" He had stood at the Stone bridge over Bull Run with but fourteen companies against Gen. Tyler's big Division of some thousands. Then, divining his enemy's purpose, he had turned with but ten companies and marched northward against Hunter's Division, met it, fought it, had to fall back, reformed again, and fought through the battle. Such a general is not easily scared away, and Gens. McClellan and Stone ought to have known as much.

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 its 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 daybreak and immediately began to cross the Potomac in flat-boats, previously provided, two companies ~~at a time. In a little while the regiment~~

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 soon Gorman's command, 2,250 strong, was safely entrenched, and remained here all that 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 the river and near Gen. Evans's camp at Leesburg? On the 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 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 quite 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 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's report.) Gen. Stone thereupon determined to throw a strong re-enforcement across the river and make a formidable attack on the enemy. Gen. McClellan, always cautious about assuming responsibilities, told him to exercise his own discretion in the matter.(McClellan's Own Story,p.187.)

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." It was composed of the Eighth Virginia, the Thirteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Mississippi regiments of infantry, about 75 Virginia cavalry under Lieut. Col. Jenifer, and the Richmond Howitzers, six fine pieces, in all, about 1,700 men. 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 was now thoroughly aroused and realized the situation as accurately as he had at Bull Run. He saw that the principal attack would be made upon him via Harrison's Island and Ball's Bluff, and that the demonstration 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 he 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 to be 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.) Having reported at 10 o'clock that all things on the Virginia side were going well, Gen. Stone was ordered by Gen. McClellan to entrench on that side and await re-enforcements if necessary.(McClellan's Own Story,p.185.)

The Union commanders fought the battle under the miserable tactics used at Bull Run--attacking in detail. First Col. Devens was sent in with a single regiment; then Col. Lee, with 300 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 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, but a colonelcy was the highest rank he was fit to assume. When he came to the shore with his re-enforcements at Ball's Bluff, he spent one precious hour in personally superintending the lifting of a boat from the canal to the river and properly preparing it for use, when he should have been upon the battle-field directing operations, and allowing a sergeant or corporal to boss the job of righting the boat. 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, which might have been avoided, only five companies of the Tammany regiment could be sent across into the fight. He formed his battle position most unwisely, so that the Confederates could fire upon it in safety from their concealment in the woods amd 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 Jenifer'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 not more than 1,300 men, with no artillery. The Union troops numbered at least 1,300, viz: [redacted]

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 gradu ally pushed back to the river. At one time Gen. Evans sent over to the Edwards Ferry road for Barksdale's Thirteenth Mississippi, but in a few minutes the union lines fell back and Barksdale returned to watch Gorman.

At no time during the 21st and 22d, until the night of the 22d, did Gen. Evans bring any of his artillery, the Richmond Howitzers, upon the field. They were six 12-pound Napoleons and well manned. He kept them back at Leesburg in the entrenched position called Fort Evans. If his four regiments were defeated they could run back to Fort Evans, take shelter behind its walls, and the Napoleons would protect them. If the guns were taken out into the thick woods, they might be lost! The night of the 22d two of them were sent to Col. Barksdale in front of the retiring force under Gen. Stone at Edwards Ferry.

At 5 P.M. Col. Baker was killed by four shots from a revolver in the hands of a Virginia cavalryman, who was in turn 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 assaulted 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 yelling

Southerners, who overtook and bayoneted some of the fleeing "Yankees" and made prisoners of many. The Union troops threw their arms and accoutrements into the Potomac rather than the Southerners should have them, and then were maltreated for their vindictiveness.

The means of transportation across the river had been very inadequate; there was left but one rather small flat-boat to be used a s 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~~ comprised the total of Union water craft, were lost. The fugitive troops sought to get to Harrison's Island, to reach the Maryland shore, to find any haven of refuge. 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.)

And all that day Gen. Gorman, with his three good stout regiments and stouter battery, and the Seventh Michigan for a reserve, was compelled to lay within sound of the fighting and forbidden to go to the help of his sore-beset comrades. To watch him was but one regiment, Barksdale's Thirteenth Mississippi, and Gorman could have brushed it away as easily as a lady's fan brushes away a fly, or else he could have smashed it XXXXXXXX to atoms. Why was he not ordered up? Because Gen. Stone hadn't knowledge enough of the situation, or how to fight a battle, to give the order. He preferred to send up a regiment at a time and be whipped in detail. A flank attack by Gorman's command could have been easily made and would have brought a complete Union victory.

Gen. Stone was not on the battle-field, but in the vicinity of Edwards Ferry all day. He ought to have risen to the occasion and sent Gorman in. The lying scout and spy, Buxton, had reported 11,000 Confederates in Leesburg,(War Recs.,p.339.) but Gen. Stone should have known the truth, that there were not 2,000 there, and that he could easily whip them with his three brigades. The day of the battle he believed there were but 4,000.

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 Devens'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." Then he added: "Report frequently, so that when they are pushed Gorman can come in on their flank." These orders, all dabbled with his blood, were found in Col. Baker's hat when his body was picked up.(War Recs.,Vol.5,pp.301-03.)

Col. Baker was not killed till 5 o'clock in the evening and meanwhile Gen. Stone, at Edwards Ferry, had heard the sounds of battle for hours. He should have grown impatient of waiting for Col. Baker to "report" and marched with that fine brigade to the fighting and helped with the "pushing."

Gorman's brigade at Edwards Ferry would gladly have gone to the assistance of their comrade regiments, the Tammany, the Fifteenth Massachusetts, and the "Californians." The First Minnesota had an especial grudge against the enemy on account of

Bull Run, and was really anxious for another round with him. All four of Gen. Evans's regiments had fought at Bull Run, but not against the First Minnesotians; they did their fighting at the lower fords of the Run. Gen. Gorman was ready and eager to be ordered in, but no order came.

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

The Nineteenth Massachusetts, Col. E. W. Hinks, arrived on Harrison's Island, at about 5 P.M., or after Gen. Baker had been killed, and covered the retreat of the Union forces to the Maryland shore through the night as best it could. Col. Hinks asked Gen. Evans's permission to bury the dead and this was granted. Captain Vaughan, of the Rhode Island battery, was sent over with 10 men and remained until after dark, during which time as they reported, they buried 47 bodies,"about two-thirds of the number lying on the ground."*(War Recs.,Vol.5,p.313.) That night when darkness had come good and black and concealing, Col. Hinks took his command of 700 men and the three remaining pieces of the Rhode Island battery over to the Maryland shore. The other three pieces, two howitzers and a rifled gun, were left on the battle-field, but without ammunition.

*The following March, when the Union troops came again into this section and possessed it, the skeletons of 26 Union soldiers were found unburied on the Ball's Bluff battle-field. It had been believed that many of the men whose remains these were had been carried off as prisoners. The Confederates thought the Union detail had buried all. The number of Union killed or who died of wounds on the battle-field was therefore at least 73 and not 49, as officially reported.

While these incidents were occurring at Harrison's Island, there was--at least in the afternoon--something doing at Edwards Ferry. It was then when the Minnesotians smelled powder. Gen. Banks had come up in the night and assumed command over Gen. Stone. Near by, just across the river, he had his division of 10,000 men, but only Gen. Abercrombie's brigade crossed to the Virginia side. Gen. Banks put Gen. Gorman in command of the position at Edwards Ferry and in charge of their ferriage over to the Virginia side. By 10 o'clock on Tuesday, the 22d, Gen. Gorman had crossed 4,500 men, 110 of Van Alen's cavalry and two 12-pound howitzers of Kirby's Battery--formerly Ricketts'.

Col. Barksdale, watching Edwards Ferry, discovered that the big force had been crossed, and Gen. Evans ordered him to move down with his Thirteenth Mississippi and reconnoiter. Barksdale promptly moved at about 3:30 that afternoon and sent forward Randell's and Eckford's companies as skirmishers. These soon ran against the Union picket lines and began skirmishing. Col. Barksdale moved up the remainder of his regiment and the engagement became general. It did not last very long. The Union forces were ~~xxx~~ largely in the majority and had artillery. The Confederates had only muskets, and but one regiment. They went forward a considerable distance, notwithstanding the heavy fire poured upon them, but Col. Barksdale finally withdrew them from the field. Their loss was Lieut. H. C. Fluker and Private Asa Simmons, of McElroy's company, both mortally wounded. The Confederates were not pursued and annihilated, as they could have been.

The First Minnesota bore the brunt of the fight at Edwards Ferry. It was on the firing line and the men behaved splendidly. The Regiment had the only private soldiers hit by

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

Gen. Gorman reported that this affair was a serious one. He says (War Recs.,p.333) that the Confederates numbered "over 3,000 infantry,(!) with some cavalry;" that the firing was rapid; that the two pieces of artillery on the Union side did "fearful execution," that the enemy suffered a loss of "60 killed and wounded," etc. But Lochren discribed it as "some skirmishing on the picket line." Col. Barksdale reported that, of the Union troops, he killed,"so far as I have been able to learn, 35 or 40 of their number." He declared that he drove his enemy "back behind his field works."

After the battle of Ball's Bluff was lost, Gen. Banks had come up at 3 o'clock on the morning of Oct. 22. He had men enough to eat alive all the Confederates at Leesburg. But he did not order them served up. In the evening of the 22d 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 ~~x~~ 6,500 Union troops behind rifle pits, 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.

Yet the Young Napoleon, as he was called, somehow feared that Gen. Evans, with his four regiments in all, which since the

battle were not more than 1,400 strong, would come down and destroy or play havoc with the Union force! So, very cautiously and stealthily, lest Evans should hear of it, he ordered and prepared for the retreat of his whole outfit across to the Maryland side. ~~XXXX~~ "Before nightfall," he writes, "all the precautions were taken to secure an orderly and quiet passage of the troops and guns."(Own Story,p.188.) And so he led away 6,500 men from before 1,400.

But while Gen. McClellan, with all his artillery,"horse, foot, and dragoons," was preparing to run away from Gen. Evans, with his 1,400, the latter was actually running away from Gen. McClellan! He says in his report:"Finding my brigade very much exhausted, I left Col. Barksdale, with his regiment, two pieces of artillery, and a small cavalry force as a grand guard, and I ordered the other three regiments to fall back towards Carter's Mill to rest and be collected in order."

Carter's Mill was on Goose creek, seven miles south of Leesburg, and Oct. 17 Gen. Evans was encamped there moving the next day back to Leesburg.

The First Minnesota was to have the honor of covering the retreat of the big, strong force which its timorous commander was causing to run away from a force so small and insignificant in numbers that it was simply contemptible, and which itself had retreated and was still retreating. Gen. McClellan ordered Gen. Stone to take charge of the crossing over the Potomac to "dear old Maryland," and Gen. Stone passed the job on to Gen. Gorman. Let Lochren, who was present, describe how well the duty was performed:

As soon as it was dark Gen. Gorman launched several canal boats into the river and manned them with lumber men, mainly from the Stillwater, Minneapolis and St. Anthony companies, who, with poles, handled the boats expertly.* Gen. Stone attended 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 perfect quiet and order. The troops nearest the river were first crossed; then others were 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.

Lochren's account is sufficiently grave and impressive to warrant the belief that the withdrawal of Gen. Stone's division across the Potomac was a timely planned and skillfully conducted escape from a great and impending peril. The truth is, as the records show, that it was a senseless runaway from Col. Barksdale's force of not to exceed 500 men, who were trembling in their shoes lest at daylight the next morning they would be attacked by the overwhelming force confronting them and swept from the face of Loudoun county. How glad and how surprised they must have been when the sun rose and

*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.

illumined the situation!

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THE LOSSES AT BALL'S BLUFF.

As reported by the commanders the losses of the contending forces in the operations at and about Ball's Bluff were not very disproportionate. Gen. Evans reported his loss as 4 officers and 33 men killed, 12 officers and 105 wounded; total of killed and wounded, 154. The Union loss, compiled from Adjutant General's records for Gen. Stone did not report it, was 10 officers and 39 men killed, 15 officers and 143 men wounded; total killed and wounded, 207. But these figures do not include Private Mitchell of the First Minnesota among the killed, nor the one private and Gen. Lander wounded at Edwards Ferry. And as Capt. Vaughan buried 47 bodies on the battle-field and 26 more were found in March, 1862, the Union loss in killed must have been 10 officers and 74 men killed, and 16 officers and 144 men wounded; total, 244. But in the number of missing there was a great difference. The Union records show 26 officers and 688 men missing, total 714. The Confederates reported 1 officer and 1 man missing. The Confederates report that they marched 529 able-bodied prisoners 25 miles to Manassas Junction.

The most prominent officer killed on the Union side was Col. E. D. Baker, of the "California regiment." Col. Devens was wounded; Col. Cogswell, of the Tammany Regiment was wounded and captured, and Capt. Alden, of that regiment, a noted New Yorker, was killed. Col. Lee, Maj. Revere, Surgeon Revere, and Adjutant Pierson, of the Twentieth Massachusetts, were made prisoners.

The most prominent Confederate officer killed was Col. E. R. Burt, of the Eighteenth Mississippi, who was mortally wounded at about 4 o'clock, while leading his regiment on a charge.

Who was to blame? A scape-goat was demanded. The Northern press and people clamored that the responsibility for the result at Ball's Bluff be ascertained and its author given the extremest punishment. The discreditible facts had come out and it was generally known that on the Union side the fight had been made in detail, by putting in a regiment or so at a time; that by Gen. Stone's orders Gen. Gorman's brigade had stood at arms the livelong day of the battle, within easy distance of it, and though every man in it, from General to drummer boy, was eager to go to the fighting, permission was not given. The people also knew that the enemy's force had been very largely over-estimated, and that, while the Union forces were much larger and every way stronger, they retired from before that enemy while he was running away from them.

Gen. McClellan would not be the goat. All the way he acted circumspectly, even adroitly. He did not order Gen. Stone positively to cross the Potomac, but he did order him to "keep a good look-out upon Leesburg," and suggested that a "demonstration" on Stone's part "would have the effect to move" the enemy out of Leesburg.(Own Story; War Records, Vol.2,p.290.) And how could Stone properly demonstrate so as to cause the Confederates to move out of Leesburg unless he crossed the river? Then, on being informed of the crossing during the day, McClellan congratulated Gen. Stone, thereby, inferentially at least, approving it.(Swinton, p.78.) And at the close of the fight on the 21st, when he knew how it had gone, he sent this order to Stone:"Entrench yourself on the Virginia side and await re-enforcements if necessary." An hour later he ordered:"Hold your position on the Virginia side of the Potomac at all hazards; Gen. Baker will support you," etc.(Own Story,pp.185-86.)

It seems reasonable now to infer that if Gen. Stone's crossing had been a success, Gen. McClellan would have claimed a great share of the credit for it; as it was a failure, he denied any responsibility for it, saying:"I did not direct him [Gen Stone] to cross, nor did I intend that he should cross the river in force for the purpose of fighting."(Own Story,p.182.)

The most available scape-goat was Gen. Stone. Of course he was largely responsible. He had not made sufficient preparation for the fight and he had not thoroughly supervised it after it had begun. He failed in these respects because of lack of knowledge--he simply did not know enough. The people opened their vials of wrath upon him. They denounced him even as a traitor, said he was in the pay of the Southern Confederacy, etc. He had been very lenient about allowing citizens to cross the Potomac back and forth, a and it was charged that these were Confederate spies and emissaries whom he was assisting. "Many people actually thought he was one of a band of conspirators in the Union army working in the interest of the rebellion."(Nicolay & Hay, Abr.Linc.,p.459.) The Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, Ben Wade of Ohio, chairman, represented to Secretary Stanton that Gen. Stone was dangerous to the public welfare, the clamor against him kept up and was intensified, and at last Feb. 8, 1862, more than three months after Ball's Bluff, he was arrested by Secretary Stanton's order and thrown into close prison, like a common and dangerous felon, at Fort Lafayette, N. Y., where he remained until Aug. 16, when he was unconditionally released and restored to duty. No charges were ever made public against him, although he repeatedly asked for them, and that he be given a hearing and investigation. He was unjustly and even cruelly and brutally

treated, and no reparation ever made him, so that at last the country believed in his innocence, his loyalty, his good intentions--and his unfitness for important command.

In 1863 he was ordered to report to Gen. Banks in Louisiana; assisted in the siege of Fort Hudson, and that year and in 1864 was Gen. Banks's chief of staff and on the Red River expedition, in that capacity. After the war he was in the military service of the Khedive of Egypt and became a Pasha. Returning to the United States, he died in New York City in 1887. He was born in Massachusetts and graduated from West Point in 1845, serving in the Mexican War very creditably. He was of much service to the Union cause in Washington City in the winter and early spring of 1861 and organized and commanded the District of Columbia Volunteers. He never harbored a thought of disloyalty to his country.

Lochren blames Secretary Stanton for Gen. Stone's arrest and detention in prison for 189 days without charges or a hearing. But Stanton had only been Secretary of War a few days when Gen. Stone was arrested, and the arrest was really caused by Senator Ben Wade and the War Committee. The entire administration was to blame for Gen. Stone's retention in prison for so long; any member of it could have procured his release at almost any time.

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 there was danger that the men would not bestir themselves and their livers would become inactive, their appetites poor, and their digestion bad if they were not exercised pretty 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 of the Thirty-Fourth New York drummed out of camp for liquor selling.

Lochren relates how, in endeavoring to put down boot-legging in his brigade, Gen. Gorman got a great deal of notoriety of a not very enviable kind. 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 mortification at having to inflict the punishment as the negores did from having to suffer it.

At this time there was a great sensitiveness throughout the loyal sections of the country regarding the slavery question. Slavery had indirectly caused the war, and it was plain that the "peculiar institution" would be abolished before the war was ended, or immediately thereafter. Radical Republicans wanted the abolition to come immediately; conservatives wanted it to come gradu ally. In August Congress had resolved that the object of the war was not bo abolish slavery or interfere with it in any way, and the loyal men among the slave owners in the Border States were insistent that the pledge should be kept. Gen. Gorman was a conservative, a staunch War Democrat, and did not want to interfere with slavery then one way or another, either to protect it or to make war upon it. Doubtless he sympathized with the Maryland negroes that were in slavery, but he did not want them to peddle vile liquors to his soldiers.

But intthe Regiment was a certain radical abolitionist, who hated slavery as he hated the Evil One, and disliked Gen. Gorman as much as he did slavery. He was a good writer and occasionally wrote for the newspapers. Immediately after the negro whipping he wrote an account of it to the radical New York Tribune, intimating that Gen. Gorman had the darkies flogged because he was a sympathizer with slavery and wanted to make himself popular with Maryland slave owners. The Tribune published the article with the heading: "Union General Has Poor Negroes Cruelly Beaten!" There was also an editorial in the same issue, soundly denouncing Gen. Gorman. Lochren says:

> The soldier followed this up by another communication purporting to come from a friend of Gorman, making flimsy excuses for the General's action, but admitting the facts mainly as at first charged. A bogus controversy was kept up by the writer's managing both sides, to the injury of Gorman's reputation. Repeated editorials were brought out against him and the abolitionists were so inflamed towards him that when his confirmation as a brigadier general came up for adtion in the Senate he was saved only by the persistent labor of friends, including Gen. Scott, under whom he had served in Mexico.

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.

On the 20th of December, news of a little battle that had taken place at Dranesville, Va., only ten miles south of

Camp Stone, excited the men for a few days. Dranesville is just over the west line of Fairfax county and five miles south of the Potomac. The surrounding country then abounded in forage and the Confederates were gathering it for their forces down at Manassas Junction. Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, with about 2,000 men of all arms, was superintending the foraging. Gen. Ord, with nearly 4,000 Union troops, moved up and occupied Dranesville. Dare-devil "Jeb" Stuart attacked Ord. Stuart was easily driven off with a loss of 194 (by actual count) killed and wounded, left on the field. Ord's loss was 68. The Confederates stopped foraging in that region. (McClellan's Life and Campaigns of Stuart,pp.43-45;War Recs.Vol.5,ppp473-94.)

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. Adjt. Wm. B. Leach was promoted to the rank of captain and assigned to duty as assistant adjutant general of Gen. Dana's brigade.

February 1, Dr. Wm. H. Morton, of St. Paul, was commissioned surgeon of the First Regiment.