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In Memoriam
Abner Doubleday
and
John C. Robinson



New York State
Monuments Commission

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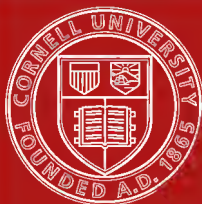


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Major-General
Abner Doubleday
And
Brevet Major General
John C. Robinson
in the
Civil War



MAJOR-GENERAL ABNER DOUBLEDAY.

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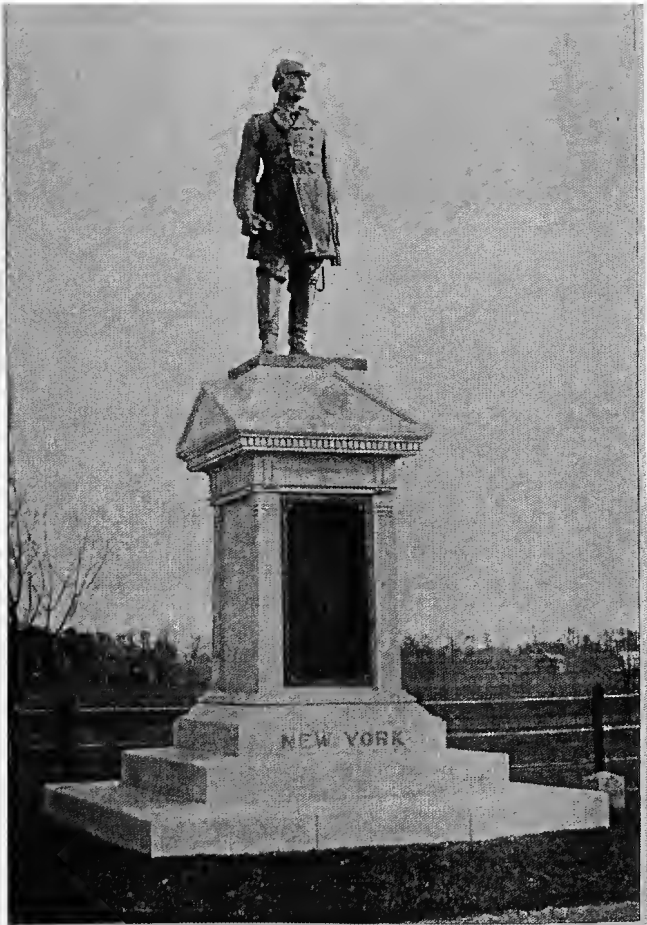
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THE GENERAL DOUBLEDAY MONUMENT.

In Memoriam

Abner Doubleday

1819-1893

and

John C. Robinson

1817-1897

Published by the State of New York,
Under the Supervision of the
New York Monuments Commission

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BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN C. ROBINSON.

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THE GENERAL ROBINSON MONUMENT.

In Memoriam

Abner Doubleday

and

John Cleveland Robinson

PARALLEL incidents not a few—some of them notable enough — occurred in the careers of Major-General Abner Doubleday and Brevet Major-General John Cleveland Robinson. Born within two years of each other, the former in 1819 and the latter in 1817, their fathers were natives of Connecticut who settled in New York. Just as General Robinson was completing his course at the military academy in West Point General Doubleday became a student there. Each of them took part in the “Military Occupation” of Texas, 1845-46, and in the Mexican war following they fought together at Monterey. General Doubleday took a leading part in the defense of Fort Sumter, and a week after its surrender General Robinson was successful in saving Fort McHenry, in Baltimore, from a similar fate. They led brigades in the Second Manassas campaign. Their commands fought at Fredericksburg, and, in the same corps, at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. In the latter field statues to their memories were dedicated the same day, September 25, 1917.

These statues, it is universally conceded, constitute well-deserved tributes. In veteran circles for a long time it was a foregone conclusion that the names of General Doubleday and General Robinson would be included, sooner or later, in the list of commanders to whose memories New York has erected monuments at Gettysburg.

So far, the Empire State has bestowed statuary honors on seven of its Gettysburg Generals. The first statue to be put up there by this State is that to General Warren, picturesquely displayed on a boulder on Little Round Top. Which his prescience and timely action prevented from being seized by General Longstreet's troops

in the second day's conflict. This was dedicated in 1888. Then, in 1902, came the statue to General Slocum, on Steven's Knoll, at Culp's Hill. General Slocum commanded the Twelfth Corps, the right wing of the Union army. It was he who said at the council of war held July 2d, "Stay and fight it out." New York's third statue, that to General Greene, was erected at Culp's Hill in 1907. General Greene's Brigade alone, with only 1,300 men, valiantly clung to its ground on Culp's Hill against assailants three times as many, the night of the second day, and thus saved that very important point from being lost to the Union army. The fourth monument, General Wadsworth's, was put up in 1914. General Wadsworth's Division composed the first infantry troops to go into action on the Federal side at Gettysburg and scored the first triumph there. In 1915 a statue was erected at the Angle to the hero of that renowned spot, General Webb.

The following list contains the names of New York's commanders at Gettysburg to whom no individual memorials have been erected there yet:

- Major-General Daniel E. Sickles, U. S.
- Brigadier-General Samuel K. Zook (killed at Gettysburg).
- Brigadier-General David A. Russell (killed at Opequan, Va., Sept. 10, 1864).
- Brigadier-General Charles K. Graham (wounded and captured at Gettysburg).
- Brigadier-General R. B. Ayres.
- Brigadier-General Alexander Shaler.
- Brigadier-General S. H. Weed (killed at Gettysburg).
- Major-General Daniel Butterfield (wounded at Gettysburg).
- Brigadier-General Adolph Von Steinwehr.
- Brigadier-General M. R. Patrick.
- Brigadier-General Joseph B. Carr.
- Brigadier-General Francis C. Barlow (wounded at Gettysburg).
- Brigadier-General J. H. H. Ward.
- Brigadier-General J. J. Bartlett.

Also holding the rank of colonel and who commanded brigades at Gettysburg were the following New York officers:

- James C. Rice (killed at Spotsylvania).
- Eliakim R. Sherrill (killed at Gettysburg).
- Charles R. Coster.
- William R. Brewster.
- Thomas C. Devin.
- Kenner Garrard.
- Patrick Kelly.
- W. Krzyzanowski
- David J. Nevin.
- Archibald McDougall (mortally wounded, near Dallas, Ga., June, 1864).
- George L. Willard (killed at Gettysburg).
- Philip R. DeTrobriand.
- George von Amsberg.

The facts and figures in support of the claims of General Doubleday and General Robinson to statues at Gettysburg were specially rehearsed by veterans on the battlefield in October, 1914, on the occasion of the dedication of the statue to General Wadsworth. Participating thereat was a large delegation representing the New York organizations in General Wadsworth's Division. Captain Albert M. Mills, of Little Falls, N. Y., who delivered the oration for the occasion, was well qualified to be spokesman for his comrades then revisiting Seminary Ridge, where little more than half a century before bullets whizzed past them and shrapnel exploded in their midst, and where also some four thousand of the Corps to which they belonged, the First, were killed or wounded. Captain Mills was with Gamble's Brigade, of Buford's Cavalry, when it encountered the Confederate advance west of Gettysburg the early morning of July 1, 1863, thus provoking the skirmish which precipitated the big three-day battle. None could fail to be deeply impressed with his narration of that unexpected first collision and the fierce contest into which it rapidly developed. Renewed admiration for what the men of the First Corps accomplished and reverent recollection of what they endured while striving strenuously to hold back the hosts that kept swarming in their front found frequent expression among the veterans visiting Gettysburg that day. There was testimony in plenty all around to convince them that Seminary Ridge and its environments are well regarded as hallowed ground. A monument to General Wadsworth was being dedicated, and close by it are the statues to General Reynolds and General Buford, while numerous regimental monuments have also been erected there.

But why, it was asked, has there been no statue erected there as yet to General Doubleday, the foremost hero of the opening conflict, and who took the place of the ill-fated General Reynolds, or to General Robinson, who is no less worthy as a Seminary Ridge hero?

These questions were pending for a long time, had, in fact, been brought to the attention, often, of the New York Monuments Commission; and at a meeting of its Board, held October 23, 1914, at which all the members were present, the first formal action was taken on them. The military records of General Doubleday and General Robinson at Gettysburg and the other fields where they held commands were carefully reviewed by the Commissioners at that session in their deliberations for the proposed statues; and a resolution

was adopted to the effect that as soon as practicable the Legislature would be requested for authorization to erect monuments to their memories.

When submitting statement of its estimates to the Legislature of 1916, the Commission made request for funds to erect those statues; and pursuant thereto, appropriations amounting to \$5,000 each, for preliminary work, were granted, under chapter 646; and the Legislature of 1917, under chapter 181, allowed the additional sums of \$3,000 required for completing the monuments.

In conference with Colonel John P. Nicholson, chairman, and Colonel E. B. Cope, engineer, of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission, sites for the monuments were selected by this Commission on June 26, 1916; the War Department in due course approving same, as well as the designs for the monuments and the texts prepared for the bronze inscription tablets.

General Doubleday's statue stands on Reynolds Avenue, near the Springs Road, a little to the south of the spot where General Reynolds was killed. This place was the center of a very active arena throughout the unequal contest of the first day. It is close to the McPherson Woods, where the Iron Brigade, that General Doubleday helped put into action, just as the combat commenced, scored the first triumph at Gettysburg.

General Robinson's statue standing on the avenue that bears his name, at the northern extremity of Seminary Ridge, is located in a section of the field that was, perhaps, the most perilous and untenable during the conflict of the first day. A little to the north is the Mummasburg Road, across which were extended the five Confederate brigades that attacked General Robinson's two brigades.

The models for both statues were designed and executed by J. Massey Rhind, of New York. The following sculptors, in competition with Mr. Rhind, also favored the Commission with designs from which to make selections: R. Hinton Perry, Henry Price and F. Landi, of New York, Louis A. Gudebrod, Meriden, Conn., and H. K. Bush Brown, of Washington, D. C.

The sculptor's models and the inscription tablets were reproduced in bronze by Jno. Williams, Inc., of New York. Worden-Gilboy Co., of Batavia, N. Y., was awarded the contracts for furnishing the pedestals.

Both statues are nine feet in height. The pedestal of the General Doubleday monument is eleven feet six inches square at the base

and eleven feet in height; the General Robinson pedestal measures eleven feet six inches square at the base and eleven feet in height. The stone used in their construction is dark Barre granite.

Of the \$8,000 appropriated for the General Doubleday monument \$7,527.68 were expended on it, leaving a balance of \$472.32; the cost of the monument to General Robinson, for which the same amount was allowed, was \$7,409.56, leaving a balance of \$590.44; these balances reverting to the State Treasury.

The monuments were constructed and erected under the supervision of Commissioner Clinton Beckwith.

The Dedications

By chapter 181 of the Laws of 1917 the sum of \$8,000 was appropriated for the purpose of dedicating the statues to General Double day and General Robinson. The ceremonies were held on Tuesday, September 25, 1917, and can well be counted among the most brilliant and impressive functions ever witnessed on the battlefield. Delegations numbering about 180 veterans, from the ten New York organizations in the commands of the two generals in the engagement, were in attendance. These are the Seventy-sixth, Eightieth, Eighty-third, Eighty-fourth, Ninety-fourth, Ninety-fifth, Ninety seventh, One hundred and fourth and One hundred and forty-seventh regiments of infantry, and Battery L, First New York Light Artillery. Also present thereat were members of both branches of the Legislature, State officials, members of the family of General Robinson and relatives of General Doubleday. Colonel Lewis R. Stegman, of the One hundred and second N. Y. Veteran Volunteers, Chairman of the New York Monuments Commission, was master of ceremonies. Two of his colleagues on the Board were absent — General Horatio C. King, on account of illness, and Brigadier General Charles H. Sherrill, the Adjutant General, because of pressure of other business. The invocations were pronounced by the Reverend William T. Pray, of the One hundred and second N. Y. regiment. The procession was led by the grand marshal for the occasion. General John A. Reynolds, of Battery L., and the Adjutant General, Major Henry M. Maguire, with whom were aides from the different organizations represented. Through the courtesy of the War Department, Colonel F. B. Jones, U. S. A., assigned a large

detachment of troops, with a band, from the training camp at Gettysburg for escort duty, which greatly enhanced the exercises. Miss Alice Seymour Doubleday, of Quogue, L. I. (a grandniece), unveiled General Doubleday's statue, and Mrs. Robert A. Hall, of Whitehall, N. Y. (a daughter), that of General Robinson. Corporal James Tanner, of Washington, D. C., whose regiment was the Eighty-seventh N. Y. (Robinson's Brigade, Kearny's Division), delivered the oration at the General Robinson statue.

Corporal Tanner lost both legs in the campaign of the Second Manassas. He is widely known for his spirited addresses — reminiscent and topical — at veteran reunions, and fully sustained his reputation as an effective speaker on this occasion, when he had only to draw on his memory for battlefield happenings, while admiration for his old commander furnished inspiration in abundance.

The oratorical honors at the Springs Road fell to General Henry S. Huidekoper, of Philadelphia. General Huidekoper lost an arm leading a gallant bayonet charge made by the One hundred and fiftieth Pennsylvania regiment, part of General Doubleday's Division, during the first day's conflict at Gettysburg. As the undoubted hero of Seminary Ridge, and for that matter, the hero of the first day at Gettysburg, on the Union side. General Doubleday's military ability and splendid achievement were amply and enthusiastically set forth in General Huidekoper's oration. Following him, Colonel Meredith L. Jones, of New York, who was on General Doubleday's staff during the battle, was no less emphatic in pronouncing the First Corps leader second to no other commander in the field where Southern aggression reached its high-water mark.

Among the other speakers at the General Robinson statue was a Southern veteran, Colonel Hilary A. Herbert (former Secretary of the Navy under President Cleveland), of the Eighth Alabama, who had a command in A. P. Hill's Corps at Gettysburg. His address was a valuable contribution to the exercises, eliciting all round applause, which could not be warmer if he were speaking to his own Alabama comrades. Colonel Samuel M. Morgan, commandant of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home, Bath, N. Y., spoke interestingly at the statue to General Robinson, under whom he fought at Gettysburg. Colonel John H. Cochrane, of the Eighty-third regiment, belonging to one of General Robinson's brigades, recited a poem of his own composition.

All the addresses were by veterans, but one, that of Francis M. Hugo, Secretary of State, who appeared as the representative, for the occasion, of the Empire State, which, as he pointed out, won its title from Virginia a hundred years ago, the year, singularly enough, when General Robinson was born. General Doubleday being his junior by two years; and that New York has ever since maintained that pride of place goes without saying. At Gettysburg New York among the Northern states had the most troops and Virginia on the other side, so that they were both rivals and to the front again in 1863, with New York once more pre-eminent. Mr. Hugo then drew attention to the fact that it was exactly a century ago since the first sod was dug for the construction of the Erie canal, of which the most that was predicted when projected fell short long ago of the great benefits derived from it. Another item in the chronicle of that year, 1817, of which this State had additional reason to be proud was the enactment, during the administration of Governor Daniel D. Tompkins, of the law ordering the abolition of slavery in all its counties after Independence Day, 1827. Mr. Hugo paid a glowing tribute to the memory of General Doubleday, at whose statue he spoke, for his distinguished service at Gettysburg and other scenes of strife during that herculean struggle of the early sixties, the outcome of which has been to make this nation the foremost democracy in the world; and for anything and everything required to keep it so henceforth there was not the slightest doubt in his mind that the Empire State will be always available and advancing to an effective and exemplary degree.

One of the most popular contributions to the literature of the Spanish-American war is a battle ballad by a Manhattan band; and another poem by the same author, Joseph I. C. Clarke, recited by him at the General Doubleday dedicatory exercises, should also find room in anthologies to be compiled hereafter. Partly on Gettysburg, partly on the Civil War in general and its heroes, on both sides, and brought down to date by appropriate allusion to the new national and international crisis, "Guns of the Old and the New" is a masterpiece.

In Attendance at the Dedications

Relatives of General Doubleday: Dr. J. Stewart Doubleday, Miss Alice Doubleday, Cecil M. Doubleday, J. Stewart Doubleday, Stephen Ward Doubleday and F. N. Doubleday.

Family of General Robinson: Robert A. Hall and Mrs. Hall, Miss Elizabeth Hall, Miss Eleanor Hall, Miss Marion Hall, Mrs. Cleveland Robinson, Mrs. J. Marshall Robinson, Miss Katherine Robinson, Mrs. E. C. Robinson, Wm. E. Cary, Mrs. Chas. L. Corbin, Clinton E. Collier, Mrs. Collier and Master Sherman T. Collier, and Victor A. Richardson.

Senator James A. Emerson, Senator Alfred J. Gilchrist and Mrs. Gilchrist, Senator George A. Slater and Mrs. Slater, Senator John D. Stivers and Mrs. Stivers, Senator George L. Thompson and Mrs. Thompson, Assemblyman Robert P. Bush, Assemblyman Erastus C. Davis and Mrs. Davis, Assemblyman E. A. Everett and Mrs. Everett, Assemblyman Abram P. Lefevre and Mrs. Lefevre, Assemblyman Bert Lord, Assemblyman Peter P. McElligott and Mrs. McElligott, Assemblyman H. Edmund Machold and Mrs. Machold.

Francis M. Hugo, Secretary of State, and Mrs. Hugo, Merton E. Lewis, Attorney General, and Mrs. Lewis, Brig.-Gen. W. W. Wotherspoon, U. S. A., Superintendent of Public Works, and Mrs. Wotherspoon, John C. dark. Civil Service Commissioner, and John C. Birdseye, Secretary, Wm. B. Landreth, Deputy State Engineer, and Mrs. Landreth, Mr. and Mrs. L. G. DeCant, Mr. and Mrs. D. F. Griggs, Mr. and Mrs. Harold J. Hichman and Charles H. Dorn.

Gen. H. S. Huidekoper, Gen. John A. Reynolds, Col. S. C. Clobridge and Mrs. Clobridge, Col. John H. Cochrane, Col. John H. Gribbel, Col. Hilary A. Herbert, Col. Meredith L. Jones, Col. S. C. Morgan, Col. S. C. Pierce, Col. Frank Sellers, Col. Frank West, U. S. A., Col. Americus Whedon, Major Alex. Barnie, Major George Breck, Major Charles E. Fiske, Major Henry M. Maguire, Captain George K. Collins, Captain George A. Hussey, Captain George P. Morgan, Captain C. St. John, Captain Arch. B. Snow, Corporal James Tanner and Miss Nettie Tanner.

J. Quincy Adams, C. Loomis Alien, G. D. Bangs, Charles S. Barker, E. C. Burgess and Mrs. Burgess, H. W. Burlingame, Aaron N. Burr, Homer D. Call, Ramon Cardona, J. I. C. Clarke and Mrs. Clarke, Charles A. Dow, Francis J. Egan, H. M. Golden, Lewellyn J. Hall, M. D. Hartford, P. Kappesser, Wm. H. Lakeman and Mrs. Lakeman, F. N. Lewis and Mrs. Lewis, Mrs. Clara K. Litchfield, Miss Ethel Litchfield, Willis Litchfield, J. W. Lynch, Thomas J. McConekey, John H. McGean, H. D. Mack, Miss Nettie Maloon, Frank Martlock, Wm. Donald Mitchell, Frank E. Munson and Mrs.

Munson, Enoch J. Nichols, Hiram Osborne, Peter W. Ostrander, Dr. Lewis S. Pilcher and Mrs. Pilcher, Wm. H. H. Pinckney, Wm. H. Powell, Rev. Wm. T. Pray and Mrs. Pray, J. E. Rafter, E. J. Robinson, Martin Rust and Mrs. Rust, Edward Schenck, Charles Schoeneck and Mrs. Schoeneck, John S. Seaman, C. A. Shaw, Wm. H. Shelton, George W. Steele, H. B. Sykes, Isaac Thomas, J. E. Toole, Wm. Vallette, James Whitlock.

Col. Lewis R. Stegman and Mrs. Stegman and Col. Clinton Beckwith.

The official party for these celebrations also took part in the dedication of the monument to the One hundred and fourth New York regiment (Wadsworth Guards) at Antietam, Md. The ceremonies were held on September 27, 1917. U. S. Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., and State Senator John Knight, delivered interesting and spirited addresses on the great topic of the day and the engagement at Antietam, September 17, 1862, the severest one-day battle of the Civil War. Colonel Lewis R. Stegman and H. W. Burlingame, secretary of the One hundred and fourth Association, also spoke. They are both veterans of the battle.

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NEW YORK MONUMENTS COMMISSION
FOR THE BATTLEFIELDS OF
GETTYSBURG. CHATTANOOGA AND ANTIETAM
HALL OF RECORDS, CHAMBERS STREET

**Dedication of Monuments to General Abner Doubleday
and General John C. Robinson**

Circular

By chapter 181 of the Laws of 1917 this Board of Commissioners is authorized and directed to dedicate the bronze statues that are to be erected on the battlefield of Gettysburg to the memories of Major-General Abner Doubleday and Major-General John C. Robinson.

The dedication exercises for both statues will be held the same day, Tuesday, September 25, 1917.

On the Union side, General Doubleday is admittedly the hero of the first day's fight at Gettysburg, and contributed as much, perhaps, toward the final result achieved on that field as any other commander in the entire engagement; and in the opening conflict there also General Robinson displayed valor and ability of the highest order.

The site to be occupied by the General Doubleday statue is on Reynolds Avenue, near the Springs Road; and the statue of General Robinson will stand on Robinson Avenue, in the northern part of the battlefield.

That those dedications may be conducted with appropriate ceremonies, the Commission is asking the New York organizations of the First Army Corps, at Gettysburg, to send delegations to the battlefield to participate in them.

Those organizations are: the 76th, 80th, 83d, 84th, 94th, 95th, 97th, 104th and 147th Regiments of Infantry, and Battery L, First New York Light Artillery.

Muster Roll blanks are being forwarded to the officers of the veteran associations concerned, for them to enter thereon the names of their comrades whom they desire to designate for going to Gettysburg for this occasion.

Transportation orders made out by the undersigned from the certified muster rolls will be forwarded to the organization officers for distribution among the veterans in whose favor they are drawn.

Those transportation orders will not be accepted for passage on trains, but must be exchanged for railroad tickets; neither are the orders transferable; if not used they should be returned to the New York Monuments Commission.

It is requested that the muster rolls be completed in time for returning to this office not later than Saturday, September 1st, in order that there may be ample time to transmit the certificates, and as well to notify the railroads of the stations for which transportation orders will be issued.

Application has been made to the railroad companies, through the Trunk Line Association, to honor tickets for this occasion, from points in New York State, any day from September 18th to September 24th, inclusive.

It is requested that veterans attending these dedications will, as far as practicable, appear in the uniform usually worn on Memorial Day.

Badges, specially ordered for these functions, will be forwarded to the officers of the various organizations for distribution, at the same time that the transportation certificates are sent out.

Flags and streamers will also be furnished at Gettysburg. Carriages will be provided by the Commission for conveying the veterans from Gettysburg Square to the ceremonies; and benches for them will be placed in front of the platforms.

It is expected that a good many Civil War veterans other than those entitled to free transportation will travel to the battlefield for this event, and a cordial invitation is extended to them to attend the exercises. Preparations becoming these important battlefield events are being made by this Commission, and it is confidently expected

that each of the ten veteran organizations concerned will be worthily represented at the ceremonies for them.

The headquarters of the New York Monuments Commission will be at the Eagle Hotel, Gettysburg.

Fraternally,
LEWIS R. STEGMAN,
Chairman.

Order of Exercises

at

General Doubleday Monument

1. Music, Citizens Band of Gettysburg.
2. Prayer, by Rev. Wm. T. Pray, 102d N. Y. Veteran Volunteers.
3. Introductory Remarks, by Chairman of Board of Commissioners, Colonel Lewis R. Stegman.
4. Music, U. S. Military Band.
5. Unveiling of the Monument, by Miss Alice Seymour Doubleday, Grandniece of General Doubleday.
6. Oration, General Henry S. Huidekoper, 2d Brigade, Third Division, First Army Corps.
7. Music, Citizens Band of Gettysburg.
8. Address, by Hon. Francis M. Hugo, Secretary of State, New York.
9. Music, U. S. Military Band.
10. "Guns of the Old and the New," by Joseph I. C. Clarke.
11. Music, Citizens Band of Gettysburg.
12. Remarks by Colonel Meredith L. Jones, of General Doubleday's Staff.
13. Benediction, by Rev. Wm. T. Pray.

Invocation of the Reverend Wm. T. Pray

102nd N.Y. Vols.

ALMIGHTY GOD, we bow in Thy presence, in memory of the veterans who have served valiantly in a comradeship, sacred and permanent.

We halt today, O Lord, to express our affection for the protectors of our flag and who have distinguished themselves especially and signally on this battlefield.

We do not forget our commanders who led us to victory. We are here in remembrance of their heroism; we bring tokens of affection, and we are reminded that the chronicles of the past are suggested by those of the present. Indeed, when we consider our departed heroes we call to mind the Divine assurance, "They being dead, yet speaketh," and all over the land we read the traditional epitaph, "In Memory of." Surely the names we recall today suggest an honorable soldiery.

May God grant His blessing on the exercises of the hour while we speak of those who are not here — who have responded to the taps for "lights out;" and yet we grip their comradeship with "hoops of steel."

Thou, O Lord, hast made it possible to be here to praise Thee for the permanency of our republic. Indeed, we write our prayers and paeans of praise in celebration of victories achieved, as we rejoice with the valorous hosts we do not forget.

We thank Thee, O God, in this hour of praise for the veterans whom our country seeks to honor. Significant, indeed, is the fact that the host of a new army is falling in line to perpetuate the principles of our forefathers, and thus uphold the life of freedom instituted by Washington and Lincoln.

Be with us, O God, in this hour of sacred homage. Hear us while we pray for the kindred, in whose memory we gather, who gave themselves living and dying that the nation might live. Bless our land. Preserve us from selfish interests.

Bless our President in his high commission as he continues to administer with firm and loyal spirit.

Be with all who occupy places of honor and responsibility. Be with the people in all homes, and may loyalty to our country's flag be manifested throughout the land.

Grant that whatsoever is rendered here today, of speech, or word of song, or note of music, shall be born of a new consecration which shall be for the honor and glory of God. Amen.

Address by Colonel Lewis Stegman

102nd N.Y. Vols.

Chairman, New York Monuments Commission

Ladies and Gentlemen, Men of the Army of the Potomac, Men of all the Veteran Armies Present, and Men in Khaki:

IN behalf of the New York Monuments Commission, under whose auspices the celebrations that have brought you here today are being conducted for the State of New York, I desire to extend to each and every one of you a hearty welcome, and at the same time to thank you also for helping make these dedicatory events, in respect to attendance, interest and enthusiasm, fully worthy of the occasion for which we have met. There is in today's proceedings here a good deal for New Yorkers to feel proud of. Veterans of the First Corps, this brilliant spectacle and the ardor that pervades it must surely bring solace to your hearts. Men in khaki, I do not doubt that you are deeply impressed by the ceremonies you are participants; in today—ceremonies whose object is none other than the commemoration and perpetuation of battlefield valor and battlefield devotion. The relatives of the two renowned commanders, Major General Abner Doubleday and Major-General John Cleveland Robinson, whose statues we are now dedicating, do, I am certain, find much to be proud of and much to feel thankful for on this occasion, an occasion, doubtless, that they will be delighted to recall and rehearse hereafter.

General Doubleday is one of the Gettysburg commanders whose fame increases as the decades go by. On the Union side, he is preeminently the hero of Seminary Ridge, where we are at present gathered, and which was the scene of that momentous opening conflict of July 1, 1863. Colonel Andrew Cowan, of Louisville, Ky., who had charge of the First New York Independent Battery on this field, in an address delivered at the dedication of General Webb's statue, at the Angle, in October, 1915, said: "I may even state my opinion now that if the First Corps had not fought so well all day on the first, and then effected a masterly retreat to this ridge, there would have been no second day at Gettysburg." Volumes could be written

on these significant words, and in fact what has already been said and printed bearing on them would take a long time to peruse. One of the conclusions that invariably follows a study of their import is, that General Doubleday did great and good work commanding the First Army Corps on this field. Succeeding the ill-fated General Reynolds, who was stricken down just as the combat commenced, he emerged from the trials and troubles of the first day's fight a vanquished victor, if ever there was one. "The fewer the men, the greater the honor." All day long in the opening contest General Doubleday was vastly outnumbered. It was mainly owing to his genius and pluck and dogged determination, battling bravely for seven arduous hours against overwhelming odds and a constantly increasing enemy, that that invaluable vantage ground, Cemetery Hill, was held by the Union army when the evening reinforcements arrived. The possession of that hill and the ridge south of it, which followed as a consequence, helped General Meade materially while doing much more than defending his ground during the violent and widespread operations of the second day; and in the tremendous and final trial of arms the third day the advantage of holding Cemetery Ridge was undoubtedly an important factor in the Confederate repulse.

A general of the first magnitude, whose career terminated at St. Helena, said that "War is a business of positions." The commanders of the Third Union Corps and the Twelfth when they reached Gettysburg the evening of July 1, 1863, and joined the First Corps and the Eleventh — the earliest engaged in the battle — found positions waiting for them that could not be much improved if chosen by themselves days in advance. And so it was also with the other three corps, the Second, Fifth and Sixth, when arriving on the scene.

General Doubleday in one of his publications on the battle says: "Before the Eleventh Corps came up the enemy could have walked right over the small force opposed to them." The remarkable success of the Union infantry troops in repelling the initial attack rendered the Confederate vanguard cautious for some time after. This opening contest formed a distinct and very important period in the battle of the first day. While it lasted General Doubleday had supreme command on the field.

And it was not only in the morning but the rest of the day as well that General Doubleday justified the confidence placed in him by General Reynolds, of whom it has been said that he was the

embodiment of all that is noble in a soldier. The difficulties that he encountered leading the First Corps divisions on Seminary Ridge could not be exaggerated. Driven back finally, with the divisions of the Eleventh Corps — General Howard's — they occupied and held Cemetery Hill pending the arrival of reinforcements. Overwhelmed as the Union troops were they gave an excellent account of themselves. Both General Ewell and General A. P. Hill have testified that that battle was stubborn and sanguinary — so much so that they were unwilling in the evening to undertake further pursuit and endeavor to oust the Federals from the positions where they were entrenching themselves on Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill.

It is true that General Doubleday was deprived of his command the very evening of the day that he made himself famous. But not all the orders ever issued could come between him and the ultimate reward that he earned by his noble work at Gettysburg. The second day and the third day, leading a division of the First Corps, he also gave ample proof, on Cemetery Ridge, that in an emergency no one could be more reliable. The brunt of the opening conflict was borne by his corps; and his division did a large part of the fighting incident to the repulse of Pickett's charge the third day. That we are engaged in dedicating a statue to General Doubleday on Seminary Ridge, close to the monument of his very distinguished predecessor, General Reynolds, is another instance of the pride that New York takes in its Gettysburg generals.

After General Doubleday, no commander on the Union side acquitted himself better than General Robinson during the first day's battle. The Mummasburg Road that day was a passage way for throngs of Confederate reinforcements, rushing down in overwhelming numbers to participate in the fierce struggle there. General Robinson's brigades sustained the shock of forces that, finally, outnumbered them more than two to one. The casualties suffered by his division amounted to two-thirds of what it brought to the field. And the enemy, though finally triumphant, had no reason to brag. The tenacity with which the First Corps clung to its untenable positions is well exemplified by the part that General Robinson's men contributed to its heroic resistance. They were the last to yield their ground after the order was given to retreat to Cemetery Hill. The spot on which General Robinson's statue stands was scarcely second to any other part of the field the afternoon of July 1st when it comes

to reckoning conditions of difficulty and danger. Right well did he hold off for four fearful hours the troops that kept swarming north and west of the arena that he was bravely defending. By what he and his men endured and achieved during those crucial hours and the inestimable benefit that accrued to the Union arms as a result of the prolonged and determined stand they made, General Robinson, in a marked degree, earned the honors implied in this statue erected to his memory by his own State.

The two monuments we are dedicating today bring the total number of statues to the credit of the Empire State in the Gettysburg National Military Park to seven; and of regimental monuments our State has erected close on a hundred on this field. Then there is also the almost unrivaled State monument to crown them all.

The record of New York at Gettysburg will always remain one of the most brilliant chapters in the history of the battle; and it is meet that the valor and achievement and sacrifice of our soldiers should be fittingly commemorated and perpetuated in this the most important battlefield of the Civil War. From all States, over 40,000 men fell here. In the Union army of 85,600 troops to the number of 27,692 were from New York. The loss sustained by the Federal forces amounted to 23,049, of which 6,773 was borne by New York — more than thirty per cent. Quite one-third of the division and brigade commanders were New Yorkers, as were three out of the eight corps commanders.

In the battle of the first day the six divisions of infantry were led by New York commanders. In the First Corps, the corps that did the most and suffered the most the first day, there were nine New York infantry regiments and one battery. All of those ten organizations, I am happy to say, are represented by delegations at these dedications.

The Seventy-sixth New York, whose commander, Major Andrew Grover, fell in the battle, was "the first infantry on the field," and it had not been in action much more than half an hour when 169 of its men, out of a total of 375, went down. Altogether, its loss amounted to 232. The Seventy-sixth was part of the Second Brigade, General Cutler's, of General Wadsworth's Division. During the Civil War it took part in thirty-five battles and actions.

The Eightieth New York, or Twentieth Militia, called also the Ulster Guard, was commanded by General Theodore B. Gates. It

was strenuously engaged during the three days of the battle, and belonged to the First Brigade, Colonel Biddle's, of the Third Division, which in the beginning of the battle was General Doubleday's. General Doubleday paid the Eightieth a very high compliment in a letter from him read at the dedication of its monument in 1888. In the 375 men that it had marching to the battle there was a casualty list of 170. Altogether, the Eightieth served in twenty-four battles and actions.

The Eighty-third New York, or Ninth Militia, commanded by Lt.-Col. Joseph R. Moesch, and belonging to the Second Brigade, General Baxter's, of General Robinson's Division, suffered a loss of 68 out of 148. It was one of the regiments that helped make prisoners of a thousand in the brigades of O'Neal and Iverson, at the northern part of Seminary Ridge. Thirty battles and actions make up its Civil War record.

The Eighty-fourth New York, or Fourteenth Brooklyn Militia, was led by Colonel E. B. Fowler, and lost during the three days of the battle 217 out of 356. Like the Seventy-sixth, the Eighty-fourth was one of the very first regiments to go into action, a little to the south of the railroad cut, and close to where the General Doubleday monument stands. In addition to sterling service on Seminary Ridge the first day it acquitted itself manfully at Culp's Hill the other two days. From the beginning of the Civil War to its close the Eighty-fourth took part in twenty-eight battles and actions. The sad duty of removing the body of General Reynolds from this field was performed by men from the Eighty-fourth.

The Ninety fourth New York was another of the regiments in General Robinson's Division — General Paul's Brigade, the First. With officers and men totaling 445 it lost 245 here. It was commanded by Colonel A. R. Root, and when he was wounded by Major S. H. Moffatt. In the fierce fighting that took place around the ground occupied by General Robinson's monument the Ninety-fourth acted a gallant part. Its Civil War record shows that it was engaged in twenty-seven battles and actions.

The Ninety-fifth New York, of General Cutler's Brigade, General Wadsworth's Division, was commanded by Colonel George H. Biddle and after being wounded by Major Edward Pye. It brought 250 men to this field, of whom it lost nearly one-half, or 115. It formed into line the same time and side by side with the Eighty-fourth,

on this side of the railroad. The Ninety-fifth was one of the three regiments, the other two being the Eighty-fourth New York and Sixth Wisconsin, which made prisoners of hundreds from Davis's Mississippi Brigade. The second and third day it was posted at Culp's Hill. During the Civil War it took part in thirty-nine battles and actions.

The Ninety-seventh New York, or Conkling Rifles, commanded by Colonel Charles Wheelock, belonged to Baxter's Brigade of General Robinson's Division. It sustained casualties totaling 126 out of little less than 300. It took a strenuous part in the fighting against Iverson's Brigade. When at last the Ninety-seventh retreated it had used up its last round of ammunition. During the Civil War it served in thirty-six battles and actions.

The One hundred and fourth New York, or Wadsworth Guards, was commanded by Colonel Gilbert G. Prey, and was part of General Paul's Brigade, General Robinson's Division. It was among the First Corps regiments that suffered the largest percentage of loss —199 out of 330. In repelling the fierce attacks of O'Neal's and Iverson's brigades, after they were reinforced by Ramseur's, the One hundred and fourth rendered signal service, capturing a large number of prisoners. Actions and battles to the number of thirty-two constitute its entire Civil War record.

The One hundred and forty-seventh New York was commanded by Lt.-Col. F. C. Miller, and when wounded his place was taken by Major George Harney. With the Seventy sixth New York and Fifty-sixth Pennsylvania it deployed north of the railroad at the very commencement of the combat. Those three regiments were subjected to such a galling fire from the start that they were soon compelled to retreat temporarily. The order issued for them to retire was belated in reaching the One hundred and forty-seventh, and in consequence it suffered to the extent of 207 in that early skirmish alone. Its entire loss in the battle was 301 out of 380 present with the colors. The One hundred and forty-seventh fought in twenty-five battles and actions.

Battery L, First New York Light Artillery, was commanded on this field by Captain G. H. Reynolds. His predecessor in charge of the battery, until May, 1863, when he was transferred to the Army of the Cumberland, as chief of artillery of the Twelfth, and later Twentieth, Army Corps, was General John A. Reynolds, of Fairport,

who is grand marshal for the events we are celebrating today. Many of you will recall that it was General Reynolds who also acted as grand marshal at the General Wadsworth dedication three years ago. The men of Battery L fought quite close to us. Their commander, Captain Reynolds, was wounded in the eye, and his place was taken by Major George H. Breck, also with us here today I am glad to say. Comparatively speaking, Battery L did not suffer heavily—one killed, fifteen wounded and one missing. Though severely wounded, Captain Reynolds refused to leave the field and remained with his guns.

Pennsylvania had eleven regiments and one battery in the First Corps; and one of these regiments, the One hundred and fiftieth, I have occasion to mention specially now, for one of its commanders was General Henry S. Huidekoper, of Philadelphia, who has generously come here to deliver the oration for the General Doubleday exercises. On this field the One hundred and fiftieth had five commanders. General Huidekoper was the second of the officers leading it to be wounded, succeeding Colonel Langhorne Wister when he became disabled. This regiment was part of General Doubleday's own division, the Third, which was commanded by General Rowley after General Doubleday succeeded General Reynolds. The One hundred and fiftieth enjoys the distinction of having assigned his position on this battlefield to the well-remembered John Burns. General Huidekoper lost an arm leading a gallant bayonet charge made by the One hundred and fiftieth; and when wounded he did not call for an ambulance, but went on foot to the surgeon, nor did he ask for a tonic either before suffering the agony of having his arm amputated. The phases of the first day's battle, and for that matter those of the three days, are an open book to General Huidekoper, and there is no doubt that he will do full justice to the memory of his corps commander. This is far from being General Huidekoper's first assignment as a speaker at Gettysburg functions. That splendid historical work, "Pennsylvania at Gettysburg," contains his address for the General Meade dedication, eighteen years ago; and in 1910 when the Pennsylvania State memorial on this field was dedicated it was General Huidekoper who made the address tendering it to Governor Edwin S. Stuart, in behalf of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Commission, of which General Huidekoper was president, as well as chairman and treasurer.

General Huidekoper is the recipient of a medal of honor.

There is also another New York regiment that demands attention at this time, though it was not at Gettysburg, at least under its first name. This is the Eighty-seventh, one of the regiments that formed part of General Robinson's first command in the Army of the Potomac, and in which one of the orators of the day, Corporal James Tanner, of Washington, D. C., fought until the Second Manassas, where he lost both limbs. Corporal Tanner has kindly come all the way from the capital specially to speak at the statue to his old brigade commander. It is not alone because of his long practice as an eloquent speaker at veteran reunions that I say there is a treat in store for you while hearing Corporal Tanner; a less practiced speaker imbued with the spirit of admiration that he brings to his task could not fail to be impressive and interesting addressing you on such an occasion as this. As well as serving under General Robinson, Corporal Tanner was a lifelong friend of his.

Yet another veteran who was in General Robinson's command is also to be heard from today. He is Colonel Samuel M. Morgan, commandant of the Soldiers and Sailors Home, of Bath, an institution that can well be described as a boon and a blessing to many a Civil War veteran. Colonel Morgan was Assistant Adjutant General on this field under General Robinson, and practically served on his staff from the time he took charge of a brigade until incapacitated at Spotsylvania in May, 1864, for further field activity.

Also in our list of speakers for these exercises is Colonel Meredith L. Jones, a native of Pennsylvania, but a resident of New York, who was on General Doubleday's staff at Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. In General Doubleday's book on the last two battles he makes important mention of Colonel Jones, and so Colonel Jones is to reciprocate now by making worthy and eloquent mention of his old and respected commander.

I am also glad to announce that our program of exercises contains the name of a highly esteemed Confederate veteran, Colonel Hilary A. Herbert, who had a command in General A. P. Hill's Corps on this field, and who also was Secretary of the Navy in the administration of President Cleveland. Whatever Colonel Herbert is going to say on the Civil War and the North or the South, as a Northern veteran myself I desire to put on record once more my views on Southern soldiers

during the four years of the disagreement, and that is that they very, very often proved during that time, defending a cause which they implicitly believed in, that they possessed Spartan grit and determination seldom surpassed in history. Great generals led them — one of them, it has been said, the greatest in the Civil War; and if I am correct in my understanding of the laws then established by Southern statesmen they laid the basis of a new constitution for the section included in their regime.

If time was not an obstacle now, I would call on several other comrades to address you. We cannot, however, late as it is, forego the pleasure of listening to Colonel John H. Cochrane, of the Eighty-third N. Y., who has written a poem for the occasion; and Dr. Lewis S. Pilcher, of Brooklyn, will also make a few appropriate remarks, Dr. Pilcher is one of the past commanders of U. S. Grant Post, G. A. R., Department of New York. Two distinguished civilians have courteously consented to supplement veteran talent and veteran ardor at these dedications. Representing the Empire State, for the occasion, Francis M. Hugo, Secretary of State, will address you in due course. Mr. Hugo belongs to a generation a good many years behind the generation when the boys of '61 were in their prime. New York's Secretary of State may well be called a man "of Atlantean shoulders fit to bear the weight of mighty monarchies" — such a man as General Hancock was, and General Hancock astride his charger on Cemetery Ridge the afternoon of July 3, 1863, during the repulse of Pickett's charge, and also during the cannonading that preceded it, could not easily be duplicated.

As well as earning high distinction as a soldier, General Doubleday enjoyed the reputation of being a fine scholar and an accomplished writer. A scholar and a poet — I need not qualify these titles now — has promised to recite an original poem specially prepared by him for the dedicatory events we are conducting today. Knowing the author, Mr. J. I. C. Clarke, of New York, and being familiar with many of his masterpieces, I feel sure that these exercises will be greatly enhanced by his contribution to them; and I even venture to say that the literature of Gettysburg and its battle will be enriched by it.

General Horatio C. King, one of my colleagues on the Board of which I am chairman, and who, I regret to say, is prevented by

illness from being with us today — and if he were able to come it is certain that you would hear from him something spirited and appropriate for the occasion — recited a poem, entitled “A Retrospect”, at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg in July, 1913, when some 54,000 veterans—more than 8,200 of whom were from New York—held their historic reunion here. This poem began with the lines:

“The fleeting years, full fifty now,
Are numbered with the past.”

Well, the “fleeting years” referred to then by General King have grown to be fifty-four, so that, comrades, in not a very long time from now instead of fifty long years ago, as it used to be, it will be sixty long years ago, since we Gettysburg soldiers had our first “reunion” on this famed battle ground. How many of us here today will be able to revisit Gettysburg six years from now, should there be another anniversary, and a jubilee with it, small or large, celebrated here then, is, perhaps, too bold and too prophetic a question to propound thus far in advance. For myself, however, I will say that, God willing, and if I should be able to undertake the journey, in the event of there being one more general reunion at Gettysburg in 1923, I would travel here with as much glee and alacrity as I set out from New York yesterday. If that should come to pass, comrades, I hope to meet you all, or a great many of you, at Gettysburg that time again. We have grown old now, but we emerged unscathed, or else not too badly hurt, from the great Gettysburg struggle and struggles that followed it; we can well call ourselves a hardy lot, and for another decade or more it is safe to say that there will be many thousands of us fit and willing to travel long distances for the purpose of greeting each other at big reunions. As long as we survivors of the battle are in the land of the living, Gettysburg will not cease to fascinate us, to animate us, to inspire us and to attract us. This battlefield looms so large in the history of the nation that it has become a mecca for pilgrims, young and old, and from far and near. Not even Thermopylae or Marathon or Waterloo, or the scene of any other classic contest, ancient or modern, anywhere, will survive longer in story than Gettysburg. Abraham Lincoln’s message to mankind, delivered here on November 19, 1863, and proclaiming the doctrine of “Government of the people, by the people, and for the people”, is sure to be repeated for many ages to come.

And for what else, after all, but government of the people, by the people and for the people, are some of the nations in Europe, and this nation now with them, striving in a death-grapple today — a death-grapple that makes all former wars dwindle, in comparison, into so many skirmishes, having in view the millions engaged and the havoc wrought.

Until people the world over faithfully and conscientiously try to observe that great Christian precept, "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you," and follow it and practice it as closely as is, or should be, possible in this stage of universal civilization and brotherly love, it is to be feared that there will be such international misunderstandings, wrong-doing and brawls as will make big wars unavoidable. And do unjust or unnecessary wars pay in the end? A prominent Civil War general said that "War is hell." Then what must peace be in comparison? Why, it is heaven — heaven on earth any way. The millions of victims suffering from the indescribable and almost inconceivable horrors of the present fierce and far-flung struggle in Europe must be praying night and day for this heaven on earth — the peace that is to reign among them once more after the termination of the hostilities by which they are now scourged; and let us earnestly hope that the tide of battle — battles — will take such a turn "over there," with the aid of our own troops, on whose flag victory has always perched in the end, that their prayers will be speedily answered.

Oration by General Henry S. Huidekoper, of Pennsylvania

150th Pa. Vols., Second Brigade, Third Division, First Corps

Mr. Chairman, Ladies AND Gentlemen AND Comrades: THE duty that has brought us here today is one conforming to a meritorious and time-honored custom — the commemoration and perpetuation of achievement and valor on the field of battle. The hero whose memory is now being respected in that wise is a deserving candidate for statuary honors. By erecting this statue to Major-General Abner Doubleday the State of New York has put further evidence on this national park that it remembers with gratitude its sons who defended the integrity of the nation when it was threatened with disruption. The New York Monuments Commission, under whose auspices this fine monument was erected, is to be complimented once more for its success in presenting memorial work worthy of the great commonwealth for which it acts, worthy of this famed park, which is the pride of the whole country, and fully worthy of the commander whose noble work ranks him as one of Gettysburg's foremost generals. My friend Colonel Stegman, presiding at these exercises, as chairman of the New York Monuments Commission, is to be specially congratulated on the results that have crowned his efforts to have this monument and that to General Robinson erected, and the preparations and arrangements that he has caused to be made for having them appropriately dedicated are commendable in the highest degree.

It is indeed a pleasure and an honor to have the privilege of participating in this dedicatory event, and for those who, like myself, served under General Doubleday on this battlefield it is especially so. As well as being in his command at Gettysburg, I can say with pardonable pride on this occasion that I was always a favorite with General Doubleday. I admired him and revered him highly, and as I now look back more than fifty years I can say that he had personal charms which were fascinating. Our intimacy was kept up for a long number of years after the war, and I frequently called on him when he resided at Park Avenue in New York City. Then it was that I learned from him how keenly he ever felt the humiliation of the order which

deprived him of his command in the Army of the Potomac, after the Gettysburg campaign, in which none had done more to make it the great success that it was. His heart and soul were in his profession, and his reputation as a soldier was as dear to him as life itself.

Abner Doubleday was born at Ballston Spa, N. Y., on June 26, 1819. He came of a soldier stock. At the age of eighteen, his grandfather, after whom he was called Abner, was in action at Bunker Hill, and he was also with General Wayne when the assault was made on Stony Point. Having become incapacitated from marching by reason of service in the field and the hardships that he endured while confined in the prison ship "Jersey", he was transferred to the navy and became an officer on an American privateer. General Doubleday's father, Ulysses Doubleday, was a native of Lebanon, Conn. Coming to New York he settled in Ballston Spa, where he established the *Saratoga Courier*. Subsequently, he moved to Auburn, where, in 1819, he founded the *Cayuga Patriot*, the publication of which was continued for twenty years. During that period he was twice elected to Congress as a Jackson Democrat, representing his district from 1831 to 1833 and again from 1835 to 1837.

The subject of my discourse entered the military academy at West Point on September 1, 1838, and was graduated four years after. Lieut. Doubleday's first assignment was in the Third U. S. Artillery. He fought at Monterey and Buena Vista during the Mexican war. He was in Mexico again in 1854 and 1855, in the movements against the Apache Indians; and after being promoted Captain he took part in expeditions for quelling uprisings in Florida among the Seminole Indians, 1856 to 1858. Assigned to duty in Charleston Harbor in 1860, he took a prominent part, as second officer in the garrison, in the defense of Fort Moultrie and Fort Sumter, firing the first gun in answer to the assault on Fort Sumter, which practically began the Civil War. He was with Patterson before the first Bull Run, and was subsequently engaged on defensive work at Washington, until, in May, 1862, he took charge of a brigade under McDowell at Fredericksburg. His regiments practically received their baptism of fire in the Second Manassas campaign. Succeeding Hatch, who was incapacitated by a wound at South Mountain, General Doubleday commanded a division in Hooker's Corps at Antietam, where he signalized himself holding the extreme right of the Union line. His brigades were actively engaged in Burnside's operations at

Fredericksburg, but at Chancellorsville, fought under Hooker, with the rest of the First Corps, they were mostly held in reserve.

But if the First Corps was comparatively inactive at Chancellorsville, in the next campaign, Gettysburg, it was in the vanguard and bore the brunt of the momentous opening conflict there. This was General Doubleday's greatest, and as it unfortunately turned out, his last battle.

General Reynolds, who on June 13th at Falmouth was put in command of the left wing of the Union army, the First, Third and Eleventh Corps, with Buford's Division of Cavalry, reached Marsh Creek, five miles south of Gettysburg, on June 30th. He arrived on the battlefield with Wadsworth's Division of the First Corps just as Buford's men were being pushed back by the advancing Confederates the morning of July 1st. He met Buford coming down from the belfry of the Lutheran Seminary. Accosting Reynolds and saying "The devil is to pay, but we can hold on until the infantry gets up," they both rode out together on the Chambersburg Pike, to the point near the McPherson barn, from which they watched the cavalry (dismounted) trying to hold their ground against heavy odds.

After viewing the field and concluding that the ridge they were on was suitable for infantry action, Reynolds sent his aide, Lieut. S. M. Weld (now General Weld, of Boston), to General Meade, then at Taneytown, some fifteen miles away, to tell him that the Confederates were approaching in great force, and that there was danger of the heights near the town being seized before he could get enough troops to defend them; also, that the streets would be barricaded, if necessary, and the ground contested all possible to keep the enemy in check. Meade's comment on this message was, "just like Reynolds." These heights are what is known as Cemetery Hill, which did not escape the eye of the great soldier as he rode up from his night's bivouac.

At the same time Reynolds sent an order to General Howard to move the Eleventh Corps to the scene as rapidly as possible and take position on Cemetery Hill. Howard always denied that any mention was made of Cemetery Hill in this verbal order, and claimed that his placing of the division of Von Steinwehr there on its way to Gettysburg was his own thought, and was in no ways suggested to him. The matter is of importance only in that Howard received a

vote of "Thanks of Congress" for the foresight and action exercised by him that helped to give the battle of Gettysburg to the northern troops.

The message to Meade and the order to Howard having been sent, Reynolds rode back to his troops to hurry them forward. On the way he was told by an aide-de-camp that General Doubleday — then on the field in advance of his own division—was awaiting instructions. The answer was, "Tell General Doubleday I will hold on to this road" (the Chambersburg Road) "and he must hold on to that one" (meaning the Hagerstown Road). These were the last words that passed between them.

Cutler's Brigade, of Wadsworth's Division, was the first infantry force on the Federal side to reach Gettysburg, and they were put into position by Reynolds himself. The Seventy-sixth and One hundred and forty-seventh New York and the Fifty-sixth Pennsylvania were posted north of the railroad cut, relieving the cavalry; the Eighty-fourth and Ninety-fifth New York took up positions south of the railroad and between it and the McPherson Woods. About half past nine o'clock the Fifty-sixth Pennsylvania fired the first infantry volley aimed at the enemy.

As Archer's Brigade was seen advancing on the McPherson Woods, Reynolds placed himself at the head of the leading regiment, the Sixth Wisconsin, saying to them, "For God's sake drive these fellows out of the woods." Turning his face to see whether the other regiments were close at hand, he was struck in the head by a bullet and died instantly. This happened about a quarter past ten.

General Doubleday took his place, and proved himself worthy of the tremendous responsibility that devolved on him. No general then in the Army of the Potomac was better qualified than he to direct a corps. In considering his ripe experience and skill in military science, together with his temperament, I am led to put him in the same class with such commanders as General George H. Thomas. Like Thomas, he was imperturbable, had a clear head at critical moments, and possessed the faculty of quick perception as to just what ought to be done in an emergency. The knowledge that General Doubleday was the trusted lieutenant of the great Reynolds had its influence on the men of the First Corps when they heard he was their new leader. They felt at once that it was to be a fight to the end—no wavering on any part of the line.

After the cavalry withdrew, the three regiments north of the railroad cut were fiercely assailed by Davis's Brigade, and ere long the attack became so overpowering that Wadsworth ordered his men to fall back temporarily. These instructions were belated in reaching the One hundred and forty-seventh New York, and in consequence it suffered terribly. Then the Eighty-fourth and Ninety-fifth New York, with the Sixth Wisconsin, came to the rescue and drove Davis's men back beyond Willoughby Run, making a large number of them prisoners.

Returning to where we left the First Brigade, Meredith's, enter the McPherson Woods to grapple with the advancing Archer. It took sharp fighting to drive Archer's men back, but back they were compelled to go. Archer himself, with a large part of his command, being captured. From eleven to one there was a lull in the battle, which, up to the former hour had been decidedly in favor of the Federals, with trophies amounting to one general, two regimental flags and hundreds of prisoners. During this interval each side was getting troops up, and preparing for the long hard fight that was to come in the afternoon. General Doubleday's own division, the Third, had already completed its march, followed by General Robinson's, the Second Division.

During the lull General Doubleday rectified the lines of the First Corps, and put in position Stone's and Biddle's brigades, placing the One hundred and fifty-first Pennsylvania near the Seminary as a reserve. This same disposition was also at first made of Robinson's Second Brigade, which on its arrival there about noon was ordered to throw up breastworks. This wise precaution served in good stead afterwards when the troops were retreating. The Iron Brigade was brought back from Willoughby Run and placed in the woods in good position for defense, and Cutler's Brigade was advanced to a line where it could take more effective part in the impending struggle.

The One hundred and fiftieth Pennsylvania regiment — my own regiment — of Stone's "Bucktail" Brigade, composed of regiments from the Keystone State, was posted on the ground first occupied by the Eighty-fourth New York, while the One hundred and forty-ninth and One hundred and forty-third Pennsylvania stood on the Chambersburg Pike, towards the town. Biddle's Brigade was stationed south of the McPherson Woods.

About one o'clock the Confederate batteries of Pegram and

McIntosh, at Herr's Tavern, out on the Chambersburg Pike, began a fierce fusilade, with twenty guns, while Heth, with his division now reorganized, advanced to renew his attack which had so signally failed in the morning. Behind Heth's line was Pender's strong division, extended also in line of battle and ready to cover Heth's retreat, if necessary, or to follow up his success if victorious. In Heth's Division there were eleven North Carolina regiments and in Pender's nine; these were considered the best troops in physique and in courage that any Southern State had on the field. Twice did Heth attack General Doubleday's men on the McPherson Ridge, but he was met with such stubborn resistance that his forces drew back, and eighteen fresh regiments taking their place there was a third and a fourth assault.

At half past one a new element interposed. Guns on Oak Hill, a mile to the north of Stone's Brigade, were commencing to hurl their projectiles upon our men on the fighting line, and back of these guns were Ewell's troops — the divisions of Early and Rodes returning from the vicinity of Harrisburg and Columbia. This was the first knowledge General Doubleday had of the actual presence of Ewell's Corps on the field, although, earlier in the day, Buford warned him that Ewell's proximity should be reckoned with. Early's infantry threatening Cutler's Brigade, now well to the front, General Doubleday found it expedient to rearrange his lines.

Accordingly, steps were taken to bring Cutler back to the crest of Seminary Ridge and to send Baxter's Brigade, of General Robinson's Division, then in reserve, to a point three-eighths of a mile north of Cutler, where the Mummasburg Road crosses Seminary Ridge. A little after, Robinson's other brigade — Paul's — was ordered to reinforce Cutler and Baxter. General Robinson himself accompanied Paul.

General Robinson was a capable and experienced soldier, of great courage. Spending three years at West Point, he received his commission in 1839. In the Mexican War, where a great many Civil War commanders received their first practical training, General Robinson acquitted himself very creditably. Just after Fair Oaks he succeeded to the command of a brigade. This he led in the Seven Days' battles, at the Second Manassas and Fredericksburg, and he commanded a division at Chancellorsville.

General Howard came to the field before noon, but took little or no part at the time, as the successor of Reynolds, in directing the

left wing of the army. The first and third divisions of his corps, the Eleventh, began arriving about one o'clock. Schurz, to whom Howard had entrusted the immediate charge of his corps, was under orders to occupy Oak Hill, but that point being already in the hands of the Confederates, his men were obliged to take up positions on the open fields, a half mile to the right of Robinson. The ground occupied by the regiments of the Eleventh Corps was extremely hard to defend, but they made a determined resistance. The One hundred and fifty-seventh New York, of this corps, sustained a loss of 61 per cent., and the Forty-first, Sixty-eighth, Fifty-fourth, Forty-fifth, Fifty eighth and One hundred and nineteenth New York also suffered severely.

At half past three, Early came up with an overwhelming force and drove the Eleventh Corps back to the town, from whence it retreated to Cemetery Hill. This left Robinson's Division exposed to attack from the rear and it was compelled to withdraw from its position. This, for the time being, settled the fate of the First Corps. General Doubleday, realizing the danger that confronted his troops, asked Howard for reinforcements, or else permission to retire. Howard sent word that none of his regiments could be spared and that when General Doubleday found further resistance impossible he should take his divisions to Cemetery Hill. Howard gave no other order than this to General Doubleday during that day. Earlier in the day, Howard received what might be construed as an official order from General Doubleday, which was that Howard should keep Ewell from assailing the First Corps and that he himself would hold A. P. Hill's Corps at arm's length until the arrival of additional reinforcements.

As this occasion has to do with General Doubleday principally, we will dismiss Howard from our minds for the present, and revert to the fine work that General Doubleday did directing the movements of the First Corps.

Rodes seeing Baxter advancing was prompt to take the initiative. He hurled O'Neal's Brigade upon Baxter, but O'Neal was repulsed with heavy loss. Then Iverson's Brigade assailed Cutler, but Baxter's men from behind a stone wall sprang to their feet, and firing upon the enemy well-directed volleys five hundred of them fell, three more of the regiments, about a thousand men, having been made prisoners.

General Doubleday watching these contests, at once sent Paul's Brigade, accompanied by General Robinson in person, to the assistance of Cutler. While Iverson was making his attack Rodes sent Daniels's Brigade against Stone's regiments on the Chambersburg Pike. Daniels made several fruitless attempts, by a frontal attack, to dislodge Stone, and then tried to accomplish his object by making a detour to strike him on the flank. Each of these endeavors was frustrated by the One hundred and fiftieth Pennsylvania, which had left its position temporarily, facing Heth towards the west, and, in quick strikes, drove Daniels back to the west end of the railroad cut.

While this was going on, the enemy made a furious attack upon Biddle's Brigade, posted south of the Iron Brigade in the woods. General Doubleday sent the One hundred and fifty-first Pennsylvania to Biddle's aid, and so gallantly did that nine months' regiment throw itself into its first real fight that it sustained a loss of 71 per cent. of its officers and men.

The records also show that on July 1st, the One hundred and forty-seventh New York lost 70 per cent., the Seventy-sixth New York 62 per cent., and the One hundred and fifty-seventh New York 61 per cent., not to mention the great losses sustained by other New York regiments and regiments from Maine, Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Ohio. The fighting spirit of General Doubleday had surely animated the men whom he commanded.

The right of the First Corps line being overpowered for lack of support, General Doubleday gave orders to begin a retreat. After reaching the Seminary, where entrenchments were thrown up early in the day, a further stand was made for half an hour, with the aid of the batteries. Then the retreat was continued to Cemetery Hill.

Bearing in mind it was intimated in the report sent by Reynolds to Meade in the morning that the day's battle was likely to be against the Federals, the generalship displayed by General Doubleday throughout this tremendous duel was of the highest order. He acted his part with superb skill at every hour until his corps was safely lodged at Cemetery Hill. The splendid defense, also, that he made finally at the Seminary was one of the marked features of the day's contest.

When the First Corps joined the Eleventh at Cemetery Hill, Howard sent Wadsworth's Division to Culp's Hill, General Doubleday taking the other two divisions to the cemetery, where they rested that night.

Next day, again confined to the command of only one division, for Newton had been appointed to the command of the First Corps, General Doubleday was given position south of the Angle, where, on the third day, during the repulse of Pickett's charge, Stannard's Brigade of his division captured 2,000 of Longstreet's men and several pieces of artillery.

In the great three-day battle no capture of men in any considerable numbers was made except those taken by General Doubleday, who accounted for five thousand of the enemy in this manner.

The field returns of June 30th show that the First Corps numbered 9,403 officers and men, which, of course, included men in the rear with the supply trains, and it may be assumed that among officers and men it had about 8,500 in the battle of the first day. The casualties of the corps were 3,587 killed or wounded and 2,173 captured or missing. To its credit, as before stated, were prisoners of war to the number of 5,000, five regimental colors and one brigadier general. The First Corps lost no colors in the front, but the flag of the One hundred and fiftieth Pennsylvania was taken during the retreat. Jefferson Davis had this flag in his trunk when captured, and it is at present in Harrisburg, in the State flag room.

The First Corps lost only one piece of artillery, and this was taken during the scimmages of the retreat.

General Doubleday was in height and weight considerably above the average. He stood six feet at least. He was a handsome man — a brunette — and so striking in his appearance that, whether riding or walking, he would attract attention anywhere. He was always dignified; his manners were pleasing and he was ever courteous to those who came into contact with him. Notable among his characteristics was the interest that he took in the comfort and welfare of those in his command. His modesty prevented him from having about him an unnecessary number of aides, but he wanted those in his military family to be alert, neat and attentive to their duties.

I could relate many interesting personal recollections of General Doubleday, but have only room for a few of them here.

A brother officer in the artillery (who may have been Magruder), on account of an altercation, challenged General Doubleday to fight a duel. This was in his younger days. He

declined, saying he had no reason for killing any one. Then the challenger averred he would insult Doubleday at the first opportunity and force him to fight. Hearing this Doubleday said if that was to be he knew how to defend himself. They met each other many years after on a battlefield in Mexico, and honorable amends were then made when this unpleasant incident was recalled and mentioned.

General Doubleday was so placid — so free from any sudden impulse — that the members of his staff used to call him “Forty-eight Hours.” His habitual composure in a marked degree influenced the officers and men under him.

As Stone’s Brigade was reaching Gettysburg along the front of the grove west of the Seminary they passed General Doubleday and his staff. He was in the saddle, cool and motionless, absorbed in deep thought, and as each of the three regiments went by he called out to them, “Men, General Reynolds has been killed. Today you are to fight in Pennsylvania. Do your best.” These inspiring words still ring in my ears, and the figure of the general as he spoke them is as clear to me now recalling it as it was fifty-four years ago.

At one time in the spring of 1863, when our soldiers, employed on expeditions beyond Falmouth, were bringing in large numbers of colored men, while more of them were arriving without any escort, General Doubleday asked me if I would not organize a regiment from the best of these escaped slaves. This was in advance of public opinion on the subject, but it was a scheme to which he had given much thought. I did not take to the idea of promotion to a full colonelcy of the kind he suggested, and that was, as far as I know, the end of his trying to work out the plan he had in mind.

On one occasion I was engaged on a tour of duty in the picket line along the Rappahannock, and when making a report of it to General Doubleday he took me to task for allowing some of the men in my detail to milk a herd of cows that they happened to light upon. For defense, I told him it was a kind of “peace move,” or compromise, on my part that they did not carry off the cows themselves and drive them into the camp, that I had flattered myself on the way I acted as an impartial umpire in the matter, saving the cattle, if less their milk, for the farmer whose fields were invaded. Then the general smiled and said, “I am only telling you what was reported to me.”

An enlisted man captured Archer on July 1, 1863, and brought him to General Doubleday. Holding out his hand as a token of no

ill will to a West Pointer, he said, "Archer, I am glad to see you." This cordiality was met with the reply, "Doubleday, I am not a damn bit glad to see you."

A very delightful and encouraging feature of the dedications that we are conducting today is the participation in them by so many delegations representing the New York commands in the First Corps. And their successors, too, from several States, are with us, I am glad to say, in large and inspiring numbers. If my voice could reach each of the twelve thousand soldier boys in khaki now encamped on the plain near us, preparing for military service in war-stricken France and Belgium, I would tell them that upon returning home, after helping to crush autocracy in Europe, a grateful and appreciative country will have more than thanks in store for them. They cannot help pondering over the fact that they are witnesses today of valor and duty faithfully performed being honored with statues. And I would also remind them that among those who rendered soldier service to their country are the following, who rose in their turn to be Presidents of the United States: Washington, Monroe, Jackson, William Henry Harrison, Taylor, Pierce, Lincoln, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Benjamin Harrison, McKinley and Roosevelt. The same high honor would also have fallen to Scott, Fremont, McClellan and Hancock but for political conditions that debarred their election.

Address by Francis M. Hugo, Secretary of State

Colonel Stegman, men of the Grand Army of the Republic,
Ladies AND Gentlemen:

IT happens that for the State which I have the honor to represent on this occasion, this year of 1917 has rounded out some very interesting anniversaries. A hundred years ago, the year when General Robinson was born—General Doubleday being his junior by two years — it was a mooted question, which was the foremost commonwealth in this country, in point of population and wealth, New York or Virginia. The census returns compiled not long after gave the award to New York, and that it has ever since maintained its pride of place as the Empire State goes without saying. It is also an exact century since the first sod was dug for the construction of the Erie canal, and the most that was predicted of it then as an engineering and commercial project fell short long ago of what it actually accomplished. Another item in the history of that year, 1817, of which New Yorkers have additional reason to be proud was the enactment, during the administration of Governor Daniel D. Tompkins, of the law ordering the abolition of slavery in their State on and after Independence Day, 1827.

A little more than half a century since, New York and Virginia were again strenuously competing against each other, notably on this field where we are assembled today, for at Gettysburg New York had the most troops in the Union army and Virginia among the Southern forces. During the three days that that momentous struggle raged the men of the North and the men of the South— noblest representatives of our race — were in a death grip to determine whether this nation should be a Confederacy of separate states or an indissoluble union. The fate of our beloved country then hung in the balance. These rolling hills and plains gave back the echoes of the cannon's roar, the rattle of musketry and the clash of steel. The whole world was eagerly watching the result, and lo! the tide of Southern aggression, after reaching its highest

wave, began to roll back, when Longstreet's historic assault was repulsed at the Angle. Waterloo was not more fateful for autocracy in Europe on June 18, 1815, than Gettysburg was for the advocates of disunion in America on July 3, 1863.

We of the Empire State take just pride in commemorating the deeds and perpetuating the memories of its gallant sons who ventured their lives or lost their lives on this and other battlefields, that the nation should remain one and inseparable. We have made this pilgrimage to pay deserved tribute to two of New York's most illustrious Gettysburg heroes—Major-General Abner Doubleday and Major-General John C. Robinson. In them were to be found in a large measure the qualities of indomitable commanders.

Born at Ballston Spa, N. Y., educated at West Point, and receiving practical training in the school of warfare during the operations in Mexico, as well as in movements for quelling Indian uprisings, General Doubleday was well equipped by experience and study for the important part he was called on to act in Civil War conflicts. He took a prominent part in the defense of Fort Sumter, firing the first gun in reply to the assault made on it. He served with Patterson before the First Bull Run and marched with Pope from the Rappahannock to the Second Bull Run. His troops were actively engaged at South Mountain, and at Antietam he led a division in Hooker's Corps, posted at the right of the Federal lines. He was also at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville.

It was here at Gettysburg that General Doubleday got his first opportunity to command an entire corps. He is the acknowledged hero of the first day's conflict on this field, at any rate on the Union side. By his noble work in that initial contest the way was paved for the repulse of Pickett's charge, which decided the battle in favor of the Federal forces.

This consecration is symbolic of the manhood which New York gave, in well nigh countless numbers, to the Union from 1861 to 1865. We are proud of the splendid achievements and the heroic sacrifices to the credit of our State during the Civil War; and at celebrations such as we are holding today it is fully in order to rehearse and emphasize them. Proud also are we of the big quota the Empire State is contributing to the new army that is being raised, to the end that the cause of democracy may be upheld. New York, there is not the slightest doubt, will be always arrayed and in the forefront, to an effective and exemplary degree, against despotism

and plundering and in crushing the vicious doctrine that might makes right.

There is a manifest destiny of this great nation, founded upon important principles and buttressed by a just constitution and equitable laws. Amid the tempests which have threatened to encompass its ruin, we glory in the thought that men have been raised up sufficient to meet any emergency, however great. It is the genius, the courage, the will to do, and the self sacrifice, of such men as General Doubleday and General Robinson that have contributed more than anything else to make this nation the greatest democracy in the world.

Guns of the Old and the New

Gettysburg, 1863 – 1917

By Joseph I. C. Clarke

Gettysburg, ground where the deeds that are deathless are singing forever.
Valley and heights where the battle lines wavered, the fierce armies grappled;
Men of the Union in shock against men who would rend it asunder!
Wild was thy charging and stout thy defending, and heavy thy roster of dead.
Bellowed more guns on thy slopes, in thy hollows than war ever volleyed—
Gallant old field-guns that ate up their hundreds with grapeshot and canister.
Field of high fate where the huge iron battle-scales tipped to the Union,
Never to rise for the foe through the ruck of the dying rebellion.
Glory sits proud on thee. Valor, devotion, and uttermost sacrifice
Shout from thy story—valor unshrinking of friend and of foeman,
Asking a sign in the heavens to answer their passion and strain.
Answer was given as Lee stole away in the night and the shadows.
Splendid in blood of thy dead was the mighty decision emblazoned:
“I am Columbia, your mother; my Union unbroken; my liberty
Golden and rock-ribbed, to live for mankind till the limit of time.”
Now, with the healing of years rounding out on the centuries’ beadroll,
Tense and united the nation stands blessing and guarding our mother.
North and South, East and West, one in the throb of delight and endeavor,
Grim though the call of the hour be, and fateful the roll of the drum.
Not as aforesaid they glanced down on Gettysburg, glance we today.
Battle-smoke poisonous dims for our gazing the curve of thy parapets.
Tyrants have risen to darken the sky line with menace of blight.
Autocrats, soulless invaders and plunderers raping the nations,
Rage in miasma and stench with their glittering dupes by the million.
Armed and embattled the nations whose hearts beat for Freedom have risen.
We of the West in our millions have answered democracy’s call —
Legions of freemen to fight or to die for a world won to Freedom.
Led by our wisest and bravest, we muster and sail oversea.

There from the seas to the mountains are battle-fronts writhing and bristling.
 Roaring a hundred times louder than ever broke thunder of battle,
 Rolls out devouring and crashing, the drumfire of Verdun and Flanders.
 Monster of mouth are the cannon through day and night hurling their war bolts,
 Mightier howitzers belching in hundreds and crackling machine guns
 Screeching in chorus, mid bursting and shatt'ring of great shell and shrapnel—
 Hell's diapason tremendous let loose as in salvoes volcanic.
 Seamed is the earth with the gulleys of craters and dugouts and trenches,
 Gashing the greensward with red-edged and sandbag revetment.
 Shudders the ground with the shock of explosions, and tremble the sky-spaces
 Reverberating, where birdmen on lightning wing dart dropping death.
 Suddenly thousands in steel caps with bayonets shining are over the top,
 Cheering and slaying. Falling in win-rows, they reel but press forward,
 Over the No Man's Land, making it bloodily, once again, France!

Gettysburg! Low sinks thine echo, for all thine artillery rattle.
 Millions strike now for the hundreds of thousands of brave men before.
 Yet while the cause counts and man counts, thy peak of red glory unshaken
 Rises but higher and clearer among the blue realms of the stars.
 How could this nation have risen to take up the sword for a world,
 But for thy days of hot battle? Who would have courage to lead us?
 Meade, Reynolds, Hancock; Doubleday, Slocum; Sykes, Howard, Sedgwick and
 Sickles

Give us their lamps for our feet. Beyond them the grim strength of Grant,
 Vigor of Sherman and Sheridan's lightning are living to guide us.
 Genius of Lee, too, and spirits of Longstreet and Ewell and Hill
 Smile from their graves on our swarming battalions in counsel and cheer.
 Yea, in thy glimmering dusk shines a face sorrow-lighted, appealing.
 Voicing the psalm of thy heroes who died, yet who perished not,
 Here on the lap of their mother, that under God's willing the nation shall live.
 Lincoln's low liptones pealed out the great gospel that leads us today!

Stand we then here in the sun of September, recalling a day of July;
 Lee, turning baffled from fruitless invasion, was tramping back southward,
 Word of it sifting to westward where hovered the legions of Meade.
 Cavalry, foot and artillery hurrying came up through Maryland,
 Here to encounter them vanguard to vanguard. Thousands the stronger,
 Hill with his fighting men faced us. Cannon roared; Reynolds fell battling.
 Hard through the hours fell on Doubleday summons to ward off disaster.

Glorious his struggle and skillful his measures, but vainly they strove.
Doggedly back they were pressed, dying bravely and halting and hoping.
Night saw our armies on-swinging, and morning the Union arrayed.
Went thence the story of battle in gory besetting to victory;
Peach Orchard, Devil's Den, Wheat field and Round Top soaking in carnage.
Pickett in gallant charge failing and drifting back shivered and broken.
Day of the nation's birth, waved the old banner supreme o'er the field!

Glory, strong Doubleday! Ever may hours of impending calamity
Fall upon shoulders like thine, and before thy memorial I swear it,
Holding thee peer of them all who here thundered to fame and reward.
Robinson, thou who in manfulness checked the fierce onset, thy statue,
Bronze-breasted, finds 'mong the heroes none clearer of bronze than wert thou.

Gettysburg, shrine where the prayers of the battle-dead cry out unceasing,
Borne from thine altars of marble that rise in long lines where they bled,
Pray as the nation onmarching forth flashes its sword from the scabbard.
Glory enough if our serving win on to humanity's goal,
Guns of the old and the new roaring rhythmic their war-song together.

Address of Colonel Meredith L. Jones, of General Doubleday's Staff

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, and comrades:

THE invitation to speak at these ceremonies for dedicating the statue to my old commander is an honor that I appreciate very much. I served on General Doubleday's staff in the battle of Gettysburg, and previously, and it was my privilege to be included in his circle of friends for a long number of years. You will therefore be able to realize my feelings now as I am about to contribute my share of respect to his memory.

I have almost as clear a recollection of the troubles and trials centered around this spot on that morning and afternoon of July 1, 1863, as I had when the battle was ended. Recalling the great struggle staged here I maintain now, as I have always maintained — and the orator of the day, General Huidekoper, I have not the least doubt, will bear me out in this, for he was there, too — that General Doubleday's was the ruling spirit in opposing and delaying the Confederate advance on Gettysburg. It is only an eye witness and participant that is able to gauge accurately the difficulties and dangers encountered in that terrible ordeal. Eventually, of course, General Doubleday's troops were forced to give way, with the regiments of the Eleventh Corps cooperating with them on the right; how else could it be with such odds against them? but as it turned out in the end — the end of the third day — they were virtually vanquished victors; for by occupying and holding Cemetery Hill, where they had retreated, until further reinforcements arrived on the scene, they prevented the Confederates from securing the choice of positions for the ensuing conflicts.

It is true that General Reynolds, than whom no commander in the Army of the Potomac enjoyed a higher reputation, did not fail to realize at the very beginning the great advantage of possessing Cemetery Hill and its environments; and it is recorded to his credit that while making disposition of his division first in action and sending orders to hurry the rest of the troops to the front he kept those

important places constantly in his mind's eye; but it is no less true that General Doubleday, with his own sagacity and foresight, grasped the situation equally well, and his action all day long can be adduced in proof of this fact.

Even a week before Meade secured his victory of the "highwater mark" General Doubleday pointed Gettysburg out on the map as a place offering rare strategical advantage. This he did to his staff, and my own recollection of it can be confirmed by a document at present in my possession. Well do I remember his saying when we finished our march to the field, "We must hold this line to the last man."

Early that morning he ordered me to ride to the McPherson Woods to observe the strength of the enemy and their doings on the Cashtown, or Chambersburg, Road. And what I told him on returning was not very encouraging I assure you. The Confederates were massed beyond Willoughby Run in numbers so much in excess of ours that the outlook appeared nothing short of appalling. It would seem as if we could not help being driven back, if not surrounded, before there was time to offer much resistance. It was not so, however, notwithstanding the disparity in numbers of the two opposing vanguards; at least not for some time yet to come. For the first two hours or so, during which time General Doubleday held the chief command in the field, the advantage was clearly in our favor, and Heth's two brigades, after hundreds of them being captured, beat a hasty retreat beyond the ridges at Willoughby Run.

Two divisions of A. P. Hill's Corps were reinforced by two divisions of Ewell's Corps for the big battle of the afternoon. The stubborn resistance offered them by the First Corps and the Eleventh for hours was abandoned at last and the Union forces retreated to Cemetery Hill. For every two men we had there were more than three against us. The retreat on the whole was made in good order. The losses suffered by the Union forces reached awful figures; but we had enough men left, I believe, and certainly sufficient determination, to give a further good account of ourselves had Ewell made up his mind to follow us farther and assail Cemetery Hill.

As we reached the cemetery we turned in through the portal, on the west side of the road, and General Doubleday lost not a moment in making preparations for a possible renewal of the fighting. I was at that time under instructions from him to direct the officers of

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the different regiments where he wished them to post their men. Schurz, who had immediate command of the Eleventh Corps, was, as I remember well, also busy that hour finding positions for his troops. It did not take General Doubleday long to end all confusion and put his units in the best of order. He had the situation, as far as his own command was concerned, well in hand when Hancock rode up to consult him in the evening.

The time that it is possible to allow me in the course of these exercises is not long enough to dwell on the contest of the first day; and anyway it forms a chapter in the story of the great battle with which you must all be more or less familiar; certainly, all my comrades present who were with the Army of the Potomac at Gettysburg are fully acquainted with it. One incident, however, I cannot forbear relating, for I was of the audience when it took place. In the scrimmage of the first morning a Confederate general was captured. General Doubleday and he were oldtime friends and as brother officers had met many a time and oft during piping times of peace; and now they had met as commanders of forces in strife with each other. "Why," exclaimed General Doubleday when he saw the prisoner being led towards him, "there is Archer," and a moment after he greeted him. "Why, how do you do. Archer, I am glad to see you." The response made to this salutation was, "Well, I don't know that I am so damned glad to see you."

As well as being eminent in his profession and remarkably well versed in all its branches. General Doubleday's culture covered a wide field of attainments.

It can also be well said of him that he was kindly, just and true. His manner was never assuming or harsh, and he was never unnecessarily severe towards those under him. He was a gentleman of exemplary habits. Words of profanity ever remained strangers to his lips. Tobacco or liquor he never indulged in; but he did not object to others using them, provided they did not abuse them by going beyond the bounds of moderation.

One night when I was on duty at Belle Plain, where we had headquarters, an officer, bareheaded, dashed toward me on a charger that seemed to me at first sight as uncontrollable as the horse that ran away with John Gilpin. Without dismounting, he demanded an interview right away with General Doubleday, who at that hour was fast asleep. It was easy to tell that our nocturnal visitor had been

imbibing freely. His impatience and his persistency to accomplish his object, as well as his speech, left no doubt in my mind as to that. After a while advisory words softly spoken had their desired effect, and he galloped away as fast, if not faster, than he came. When I saw General Doubleday the next morning I told him about this incident. "Well, Mr. Jones, this was probably Captain ———, from your description of him, and if that is the case I have only to say that an officer with his brilliant record may get drunk once in a while if he wants to."

In his writings General Doubleday is not only lucid, but remarkably so; and he was the same in speech. After issuing instructions to us seldom or never was it necessary for him to repeat himself. We always knew exactly what he wanted done and where he wanted us to go. He had a very retentive memory and this was often shown during campaigns. There was not a thing pertaining to the units of his command and his officers that he wanted to know but was at his fingers' ends. While on marches one of his aides generally rode with him, and he used to shorten the hours and the distance considerably by telling stories, of which he had an inexhaustible fund. Reciting extracts from his favorite poets was another frequent pastime with him.

It is most becoming that his own State should show its appreciation as it has shown today, of General Doubleday's great services to his country; and the survivors of his command present at these ceremonies best know how deserving his memory is of the honor implied in them.

I have just said that General Doubleday was wont to recite passages from the works of his favorite poets; and I will conclude my remarks at the dedication of the statue to my commander on the battlefield of Gettysburg, with four lines by one of my own favorite authors, Bayard Taylor:

"Sleep, soldier, still in honored rest —
Your truth and honor wearing,
The bravest are the tenderest —
The loving are the daring."



NEW YORK MONUMENTS COMMISSION, 1918.

Major-General Abner Doubleday

TO have been second in command defending Fort Sumter — firing the first shot in reply to the attack made on it — and to have been the mainstay of the heroic resistance made to the Confederate advance on Gettysburg, are two of the distinctions that have earned for Major General Abner Doubleday a prominent place among Civil War commanders.

“He was nerved to great deeds by the memory of his ancestors, who in former days had rendered service to the republic,” these words from a passage in a book by General Doubleday, alluding to General Webb’s part in repulsing Pickett’s charge at the Angle, in Gettysburg, aptly enough suggest a motive that may have been often present in his own mind during crucial hours in battlefields where his skill and valor were put to severe tests.

His grandfather, Captain Abner Doubleday, was a patriot soldier and fought at Bunker Hill and Stony Point. After being released from the prison ship “Jersey” he was transferred to the navy and became an officer on a privateer. He was a native of Lebanon, Conn.

It was there also that Ulyses Freeman Doubleday, the father of General Doubleday, was born, on December 15, 1792. Coming to New York, he settled in Ballston Spa, and established the *Saratoga Courier*. From there he moved to Auburn and started another newspaper, the *Cayuga Patriot*, which ran its course for twenty years. During that period he was elected to Congress twice, as a Jackson Democrat, representing his district from 1831 to 1835 and from 1835 to 1837. For fourteen years, until 1860, he followed the business of bookseller and stationer in New York City. He died in Belvidere, Illinois, March 10, 1866. His wife, Hester Donnelly Doubleday, was born in Newburgh, N. Y., on August 30, 1788. They were married in 1814. Mrs. Doubleday died in New York, on November 14, 1859.

Two other sons of Ulysses Freeman Doubleday, besides the subject of this sketch, were also in the Civil War, Ulysses Doubleday and Thomas D. Doubleday. Ulysses joined the volunteers in 1861. He

was made major in the Fourth N. Y. Heavy Artillery in January, 1862; lieutenant-colonel in the Third U. S. Colored Infantry in September, 1863, and colonel in the Forty-fifth U. S. Colored Infantry in October, 1864. He commanded a brigade at the battle of Five Forks, Va., and was brevetted brigadier-general of volunteers "for distinguished gallantry at Five Forks," in April, 1865. After the war he was a banker and broker in New York City, and in 1882 he moved to North Carolina, as offering a climate better adapted to his health. There, at Asheville, he was engaged in the lumbering and building business. He died at Tryon, N. C., on February 11, 1893. It was his granddaughter, Miss Alice Seymour Doubleday, the daughter of Dr. Stewart Doubleday, of Quogue, L. I., who unveiled General Doubleday's statue at Gettysburg.

Thomas D. Doubleday, General Doubleday's elder brother, was appointed colonel of the Fourth N. Y. Heavy Artillery in November, 1861; a few months after he received a commission in that rank, and left the service early in 1863 on account of being disabled. His son, Stephen Ward Doubleday, now living in Mamaroneck, N. Y., also served with him in this regiment as lieutenant. He was wounded at Spotsylvania in May, 1864, in consequence of which he resigned from the army the following October.

Doubleday is a name of Huguenot origin, and was originally spelled Dubaldy. Abner Doubleday, the member of the family who attained the highest military honors, was born at Ballston Spa on June 26, 1819. He attended school at Auburn, where his father was then residing, and attracted attention as a diligent and bright student, completing a course in civil engineering. After practicing his first profession for a brief period in Canada, as well as at home, he entered the military academy at West Point on September 1, 1838; and received a commission as brevet second lieutenant in the Third U. S. Artillery on July 1, 1842. Lieut. Doubleday was on duty in Fort Johnson, N. C., from 1842 to 1844; Fort McHenry, Md., in 1844; Fort Moultrie, S. C., 1844 and 1845. He was transferred to the First Artillery, at Fort Preble, Me., in 1845.

As an artillery officer he took part in the "Military Occupation" of Texas, 1845-1846. During the Mexican war he fought at Monterey, in September, 1846, and at Buena Vista (Riconda Pass) in February, 1847. On March 3, 1847, he was promoted to be second lieutenant.

In 1849 and 1850 he was stationed at Fort Columbus, N. Y., from whence he conducted recruits to Florida. He was assigned to duty at Fort Hamilton, N. Y., in 1850; and for two years after that served again in Fort McHenry, Md. In 1852, at the instance of the U. S. Senate, he served as a member of a commission appointed to investigate the matter of the Gardner mine claim in Mexico, and received the "Thanks of Congress" for his work on it.

Sent to Fort Duncan, Texas, in 1854, that year and the following year his regiment was engaged with the troops that quelled uprisings among the Apache Indians. He was advanced to the rank of captain on March 3, 1855, and that year and 1856 he was at Fortress Monroe, Va. Captain Doubleday participated in the actions against the Seminole Indians in Florida from 1856 to 1858.

THE CIVIL WAR

At the end of 1859 and the early part of 1860 Captain Doubleday was absent from duty for a considerable time enjoying a vacation. The summer of 1860 found him stationed at the headquarters of his regiment, the First U. S. Artillery, at Fort Moultrie, in Charleston Harbor.

"Charleston," he writes in one of his books, "at this period was far from being a pleasant place for a loyal man. Almost every public assemblage was tainted with treasonable sentiments, and toasts against the flag were always warmly applauded. As early as July there was much talk of secession, accompanied with constant drilling, and threats of taking the forts as soon as a separation should occur."

The garrison at Charleston Harbor at that time had only eighty men. The work there called for at least three hundred. Captain Doubleday was the second officer in charge. Colonel Gardner, a native of Boston, was superseded in the supreme command by Major Robert Anderson. As the Presidential contest of that year drew nigh, the disunion propaganda in the South was prosecuted with increased vigor and the threats to seize the forts became more violent. The agitation at Charleston had already reached such a stage that the soldiers of the garrison could not go to the arsenal for fear of being attacked. Not many weeks after President Lincoln was elected. South Carolina seceded, and a few days after its secession Major Anderson moved to Fort Sumter, as it offered better protection and was farther

from the mob than Fort Moultrie. Following is General Doubleday's description of Fort Sumter, from his volume entitled "Forts Moultrie and Sumter:"

"The first thing that attracted the eye of the stranger, upon approaching Charleston from the sea, was Fort Sumter. It was built on an artificial island made of large blocks of stone. The walls were of dark brick, and designed for three tiers of guns. The whole structure, as it rose abruptly out of the water, had a gloomy, prison-like appearance. It was situated on the edge of the channel, in the narrowest part of the harbor, between Fort Moultrie and Cummings Point, distant about a mile from the former place, and twelve hundred yards from the latter. The year before, it had been used by us as a temporary place of confinement and security for some negroes that had been brought over from Africa in a slaver captured by one of our naval vessels. The inevitable conflict was very near breaking out at that time; for there was an eager desire on the part of all the people around us to seize these negroes, and distribute them among the plantations; and if the government had not acted promptly in sending them back to Africa, I think an attempt would have been made to take them from us by force, on the ground that some of them had violated a State law by landing at Moultrieville."

The removal of the garrison to Fort Sumter was construed by Governor Pickens of South Carolina as a pretext for engaging in war. He was bold enough to claim for his State then the status of an independent nation, and was fully determined already to have and to hold all its forts. Forthwith, he seized the evacuated fortifications, with the arsenal, as well as the Charleston post office and custom house.

Attention far and wide was now anxiously and constantly focused on Fort Sumter. Even dramas representing the plight of the garrison there were being produced in New York and Boston. But while this brought them distinction from outside it did not bring them what they were most in need of, troops for reinforcement.

President Buchanan was very solicitous to complete his term of office without a collision occurring between the garrison and the newly organized forces around Charleston, though, on the other hand, he announced his determination to prevent the property of the government falling into the hands of the agitators. The responses made to Major Anderson's repeated application for additional troops were not encouraging: they have been characterized as little better than dillydallying. Major Anderson's position was becoming more and more untenable; in fact, it was anomalous as well, for while he was under instructions to cling to his island fortress at all hazards,

at the same time he was told not to molest his unfriendly neighbors, who were strenuously preparing to oust him by force. He saw them day after day hard at work constructing batteries in his vicinity, at Fort Moultrie, Cummings Point and Morris Island.

Washington at last woke up to the necessity of reinforcing and revictualing Fort Sumter. For this purpose, the "Star of the West," an unarmed steamer, was chartered; but on reaching its destination, on January 9th, it was fired on from Morris Island and compelled to steam back. This brought a remonstrance from Major Anderson. Governor Pickens informed him that he assumed full responsibility for the act complained of, and also said that inasmuch as South Carolina was completely independent the retention of any of its forts by outside authority constituted in itself "an act of positive hostility." Then he made a formal demand for the surrender of the fort.

President Buchanan was nonplussed by this turn of affairs to a degree that can easily be imagined. Floyd, the Secretary of War, resigned. An envoy representing Major Anderson and another to speak in behalf of Governor Pickens went to see the President. But protests and parleys resulted in nothing except further inaction and procrastination. The government was influenced above everything else by its anxiety to avoid any pretext for a general uprising.

Whether in their immediate vicinity or at the capital of the Confederacy in Montgomery, Ala., or else at Washington, there was hardly a day when something did not happen calculated to make the garrison despair of any relief reaching them. Meantime, they were busy preparing for the worst. As General Doubleday says:

"We were hard at work, mounting guns, preparing shells to be used as hand grenades, stopping up surplus embrasures and removing the debris which encumbered the passages from one part of the work to another. Amidst all this turmoil our little band of regulars kept up their spirits, and determined to fight it out to the last against any force that might be brought against them."

Relief, or else an ending of some kind to their suspense and trials, hovered in sight when President Lincoln relieved President Buchanan. Like his predecessor, President Lincoln was unwilling to resort to violence, seeing what would be the consequence. At this time there was no mistaking the earnestness of the recalcitrants at Charleston.

A letter from Major Anderson was read at the first meeting of the new cabinet. He explained that his supplies were fast dwindling, and that in order to keep Charleston Harbor safe for the government an army of 20,000 would be necessary. Captain Doubleday put the number at 10,000, with the help of the navy. After much deliberation and consultation the President came to the conclusion that the garrison must be provisioned. Accordingly, on April 8th he informed Governor Pickens that an attempt would be made to revictual the fort, and that if no resistance was offered nothing would be done to land arms or ammunition there without further notice. The Confederacy immediately resolved on resisting any attempt to send provisions to Fort Sumter.

Major Anderson, like his masters in Washington, felt very anxious all along to preserve peace. He had cherished the hope that the garrison would receive orders to withdraw quietly from their untenable position, but did not neglect for a moment putting the fort in the best condition for defense as far as this could be done. When at last the die was cast the officers and the men instead of being downcast felt jubilant.

"The news," writes General Doubleday, "acted like magic upon them. They had previously been drooping and dejected; but they now sprung to their work with the greatest alacrity, laughing, singing, whistling, and full of glee. They were overjoyed to learn that their long imprisonment in the fort would soon be at an end. They had felt themselves humiliated by the open supervision which South Carolina exercised over us, and our tame submission to it. It was very galling to them to see the revenue cutter, which had been stolen from the United States, anchored within a stone's cast of our walls, to watch our movements and overhaul everything coming to or going from the fort, including our mail-boat."

On the 11th of April, 1861, Beauregard (of Bull Run and Western fame), who had been on the scene since inauguration day, completing arrangements for bombarding the fort, sent a formal demand to Major Anderson for its surrender. This was courteously, but firmly refused. At dawn the next day the Confederate batteries opened fire. On the 13th the barracks were set on fire by the red hot shot coming from different directions. The conflagration caused the magazine to be closed, depriving the gunners of a sufficient supply of powder to continue the defense. Major Anderson was thus compelled to surrender. The honor of the flag was well maintained during the siege of thirty-four hours. Considering the smallness of its number the garrison made a spirited resistance. No one was killed at Fort Sumter

during the bombardment. Following is General Doubleday's description of conditions at the fort shortly before the surrender:

“By 11 a. m. the conflagration was terrible and disastrous. One-fifth of the fort was on fire, and the wind drove the smoke in dense masses into the angle where we had all taken refuge. It seemed impossible to escape suffocation. Some lay down close to the ground, with handkerchiefs over their mouths, and others posted themselves near the embrasures, where the smoke was somewhat lessened by the draught of air. Every one suffered severely. I crawled out of one of these openings, and sat on the outer edge; but Ripley made it lively for me there with his case-shot, which spattered all around. Had not a slight change of wind taken place, the result might have been fatal to most of us. Our firing having ceased, and the enemy being very jubilant, I thought it would be as well to show them that we were not all dead yet, and ordered the gunners to fire a few rounds more. I heard afterward that the enemy loudly cheered Anderson for his persistency under such adverse circumstances.

“The scene at this time was really terrific. The roaring and crackling of the flames, the dense masses of whirling smoke, the bursting of the enemy's shell, and our own which were exploding in the burning rooms, the crashing of the shot, and the sound of masonry falling in every direction, made the fort a pandemonium. When at last nothing was left of the building but the blackened walls and smoldering embers, it became painfully evident that an immense amount of damage had been done. There was a tower at each angle of the fort. One of these, containing great quantities of shells, upon which we had relied, was almost completely shattered by successive explosions. The massive wooden gates, studded with iron nails, were burned, and the wall built behind them was now a mere heap of debris, so that the main entrance was wide open for an assaulting party. The sallyports were in a similar condition, and the numerous windows on the gorge side, which had been planked up, had now become all open entrances.”

On Sunday, the 14th, after Major Anderson saluted his flag with fifty guns, the garrison was conveyed to the fleet in the harbor. Unbounded enthusiasm was awaiting them at New York, where they arrived on the 19th. The passenger steamers welcomed them with echoing whistles, and cheer after cheer went up from all the craft in the harbor. Several distinguished visitors boarded the steamer to give them a hearty greeting. For weeks after when a member of the garrison was recognized in the streets it became the signal for an ovation.

It was none other than Captain Doubleday who made first answer to the bombardment, and on this incident he writes:

“In aiming the first gun against the rebellion I had no feeling of self-reproach, for I fully believed that the contest was inevitable, and was not of our seeking. The United States was called upon not only to defend its sovereignty, but its right to exist as a nation. The only alternative was to submit to a powerful oligarchy who were determined to make freedom forever subordinate to slavery. To me it was a contest, politically speaking, as to whether virtue or vice should rule.”

Captain Doubleday in particular among the garrison was an object of marked attention by his neighbors ashore during the troubles at Charleston Harbor. He it was of all the officers who incurred their displeasure most. With the better element there he seems to have been on friendly enough terms. He was the only officer in the fort who favored the candidature of Abraham Lincoln. His anti slavery sentiments were well known at Charleston. Articles denouncing the authors of secession which had been erroneously attributed to him heightened the bitter feeling against him. Apparently, it was often well for Captain Doubleday in those days to be at a safe distance from Charleston whenever his name was mentioned there.

Major Anderson, though, they regarded as a mild type of Unionist. He was a pro-slavery man and had close Southern ties. His brother-in-law in fact took part in the assault on Fort Sumter. But nothing could persuade or prevent Major Anderson from fulfilling his duty conscientiously as guardian of the government fortifications. Says General Doubleday:

“Major Anderson was neither timid nor irresolute, and he was fully aware of his duties and responsibilities. Unfortunately, he desired not only to save the Union, but to save slavery with it. Without this, he considered the contest as hopeless. In this spirit he submitted to everything, and delayed all action in the expectation that Congress would make some new and more binding compromise which would restore peace to the country. He could not read the signs of the times, and see that the conscience of the nation and the progress of civilization had already doomed slavery to destruction. If he had taken this view of the situation, he would have made more strenuous efforts to hold on to the harbor of Charleston, and the one hundred and twenty millions of dollars, more or less, spent to regain it might still have formed part of the national treasury.

“The applause which, both in the North and the South, greeted his masterly movement of the 26th of December (transferring the garrison from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter) made him feel more like an arbiter between two contending nations than a simple soldier engaged in carrying out the instructions of his superiors. To show the spirit in which he acted, it is only necessary to quote from his letter to Governor Pickens while the rebellion

was still pending. 'My dear Governor, my heart was never in this war.' This sentiment was repeated by him in letters to other parties, and, strange to say, was actually sent in the form of an official communication to the adjutant-general of the army.

"The difficulties he experienced in his unavailing attempts to defer hostilities impaired his health and spirits, and ultimately brought on the disease which kept him almost entirely out of service during the remainder of the war, and in all probability hastened his death."

Of the other officers of the garrison, he says that they were all true to their trust throughout. Only one of them, Meade, joined the Confederacy afterwards.

The authority that the Governor of South Carolina assumed to himself and his confidence in the cause he had so warmly espoused, General Doubleday sums up in words of Louis XIV of France, "L'etat c'est moi."

Horace Greeley's early pronouncements on the right of the South to do as it pleased found an echo in Charleston embarrassing and discouraging to Major Anderson and his men. Fernando Wood, mayor of New York, especially astounded them when he expressed himself so much in favor of the propaganda then in vogue in the Palmetto State as to maintain that Manhattan Island would be also justified in proclaiming itself a separate entity, if a majority there desired to do so.

The arch zealot in the days of beseeching and besieging at Charleston, as he appeared to General Doubleday, was Edmund Ruffin, a native of Richmond. Of him he says that "his love of slavery amounted to fanaticism." His speeches were extra fiery; and just as it was Captain Doubleday who fired the first shot in response to the bombardment, it was Edmund Ruffin who aimed the first shot at the fort. When it looked to Edmund Ruffin in the course of the Civil War that the South could not succeed he ended the debate by committing suicide.

Describing the attitude of the promoters of the agitation, generally, towards the government. General Doubleday writes:

"Although the secession leaders were preparing to meet coercion, if it should come, I will do them the justice to say that they determined to commit no overt act against the Union so long as the State formed an integral part of it. They soon found, however, that the mob did not recognize these fine distinctions. It was easy to raise the storm, but, once under full headway, it was difficult to govern it. Independent companies and minutemen were everywhere forming, in opposition to their wishes; for these organizations, from their very nature, were quite unmanageable. The military commanders much preferred the State militia, because they could control it by law."

General Doubleday's wife remained at the forts for many months during the defense. While the garrison was at Fort Moultrie she often helped them on sentry duty. At a time when Fort Sumter was practically without any lights, through her exertions a gross of matches and a box of candles were smuggled there. When finding it best, eventually, to leave South Carolina she went to Washington. President Lincoln paid her visits to read the letters that she used to receive from Fort Sumter, so as to form a better opinion of the conditions of affairs there, more especially in regard to the garrison's resources. Devotion to his wife, who was Miss Mary Hewitt, daughter of Robert Morton Hewitt, a Baltimore lawyer, was one of General Doubleday's best traits.

On April 14, 1865, four years after Fort Sumter surrendered, the United States flag was hoisted there again, and General Doubleday was present at the ceremonies therefor.

After Fort Sumter, Captain Doubleday spent a short time at Fort Hamilton, N. Y. He was then promoted to be a major in the regular army. Without getting much leisure for "buckling on his armor" for the future frays, he was put in charge of a battalion of artillery and infantry in the Department of Pennsylvania, under Patterson, who was then assembling troops at Philadelphia and Harrisburg for an advance on Harper's Ferry and Baltimore. He took part in the maneuvers preceding the evacuation of Harper's Ferry by Joseph E. Johnston.

Major Doubleday was also with Patterson in the Shenandoah Valley when his troops failed to prevent Johnston from marching from Winchester and joining Beauregard at Bull Run, where, in consequence, the Union forces under McDowell were defeated on July 21, 1861. In the official correspondence of this period Major Doubleday's name is frequently mentioned. Bull Run cost Patterson his command and it was given to Banks. Major Doubleday served under him for a couple of months. On August 30th, by command of McClellan, he was put in charge of the defenses from Long Bridge to Fort Corcoran, near Washington. On February 24, 1862, three weeks after being commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers, he was assigned to duty as inspector of defensive works at the capital and to the immediate charge of those on the Maryland side.

McCLELLAN AND POPE IN VIRGINIA

On May 21, 1862, General Doubleday took charge of a brigade at Fredericksburg, under McDowell, consisting of the Fifty-sixth Pennsylvania, Seventy-sixth New York and the Second Battalion, New York Artillery, Battery B. (These two infantry regiments belonged to his corps at Gettysburg, and it was their temporary retreat in the initial contest there which misled Howard when reporting that the entire corps was giving way.)

General Doubleday's active service as a brigadier-general dates from a very critical juncture in the history of the Army of the Potomac. McClellan was then at the Chickahominy, after having expelled the Confederates from Yorktown, Williamsburg and West Point, and waiting to be reinforced by McDowell's Corps of about 40,000 men for an advance on Richmond. McDowell, most anxious to begin his march south, was to have left his base near the Rappahannock on May 26th, but the activities of Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley caused so much anxiety in Washington that the order for the troops at Fredericksburg to join McClellan was countermanded. Instead, one-half of them was detained there and the other half detailed to help Banks and Fremont against Stonewall Jackson, and to assist in cutting off his retreat south. Then on May 31st and the following day McClellan and Joseph E. Johnston fought a stubborn battle at Fair Oaks, with the result in favor of the Northern Army. Johnston being wounded, Robert E. Lee succeeded him and began his historic career as chief commander in the Army of Northern Virginia. One of his first important orders resulted in J. E. B. Stuart's Cavalry riding round the Federal army on both sides of the Chickahominy.

Except that he was worsted by Shields at Kernstown, on March 23d, Stonewall Jackson had remarkable success, and continued working fearful havoc in the Shenandoah Valley and farther afield. On May 31st he defeated Milroy and Schenck at McDowell; he surprised and captured a garrison of about a thousand men at Front Royal on May 24th; the following day he overcame Banks at Winchester and drove him across the Potomac. These successes he followed up with a victory over Fremont at Cross Keys on June 8th and the following day he got even with Shields by defeating him at Port Republic. Nor Banks, nor Fremont, with McDowell aiding them, could prevent Jackson, after weeks of destructive raiding, returning

to the main army. His principal object, and much besides, was accomplished — stopping McDowell from going to McClellan. Leaving his pursuers behind him, he made the start for Richmond on June 17th and rejoined Lee on the 26th, in time for the Seven Days' battles.

During these operations by Jackson, General Doubleday, posted at Falmouth, conducted some reconnoitering expeditions, and detachments from his brigade had a few encounters with the Confederate cavalry about the middle of June.

On the approach of Jackson, McClellan decided on transferring his base from the White House, near the Pamunkey River, to the James River. This movement brought on what is known as the Seven Days' battles. Beginning with Oak Grove, on June 25th, the fighting was continued next day at Mechanicsville, to McClellan's advantage. Lee, however, got the upper hand at Gaines Mill on the 27th. The 29th at Savage Station and White Oak Swamp McClellan was forced to fierce resistance, and at Fraser's Farm on the 30th there were other severe encounters. The last of the Seven Days' battles, and the most destructive, was fought on July 31st at Malvern Hill, near the James River, twelve miles below Richmond, and almost midway between it and Petersburg. Here Lee charged the Union army repeatedly and desperately, but could not dislodge it.

McClellan withdrew his army to Harrison's Landing and proposed making another attempt on Richmond, capturing Petersburg at first as a means towards this end. Halleck, who was given general control over all the land forces early in July, opposed McClellan in his new resolve. This veto saved Richmond for nearly two years more from the disturbance of a Union army fighting fiercely in its vicinity.

A new army, called the Army of Virginia, composed of three corps, led by McDowell, Banks and Sigel, was organized on June 26th, with Pope in supreme command. The result of McClellan's Peninsular enterprise compelled a revision of the work at first designed for Pope. Early in August he received further orders to cross the Rappahannock and threaten Gordonsville, from whence he hoped to be able to begin an aggressive movement on Richmond. Lee now was ready to launch another campaign. The advance wing of his army under Stonewall Jackson marched to Gordonsville and meeting Banks at Cedar Mountain, coming from Culpeper, he

attacked him there on August 9th. After a fierce battle, though having superior forces, Jackson retired to Gordonsville. Thereupon Pope resolved to concentrate his troops at Culpeper to give battle once more to Jackson, but his cavalry discovering that Lee's main army had already reached Gordonsville, he altered his plans and commenced a retreat to the Rappahannock. Meantime McClellan was under orders to hurry his troops from Harrison Landing. They began to move north on August 17th. Lee tried hard to engage Pope in a big battle before reinforcements could have time to reach him. He overcame Pope's endeavors to prevent him from crossing the Rappahannock.

This was on August 21st, and it was then, at Rappahannock Station, that General Doubleday's regiments received their baptism of fire. In Pope's army his command was the Second Brigade of the First Division, King's, Third Corps, McDowell's, consisting of the Fifty sixth Pennsylvania and Seventy-sixth and Ninety-fifth New York.

Halleck had calculated on the two Union armies being able to effect a junction at the Rappahannock, and it was decided that they should be led by Pope. There was considerable delay before the troops coming from Harrison's Landing reached their destination. After vainly trying for several days to turn Pope's flank, Lee ordered Jackson and Stuart to take a circuitous route across the Bull Run Mountains, at Thoroughfare Gap, post themselves in Pope's rear and destroy the railroad there. While Jackson, with 24,000 men, was engaged on this hazardous venture Pope abandoned the Rappahannock as his base and sought to entrap Jackson. He was reinforced by a large contingent from the Army of the Potomac on the 27th. Skirmishes and actions took place at Silver Springs, Bristoe Station, Manassas Station and Manassas Junction on the 26th, and on the 27th at Bull Run Ridge, Salem, Sulphur Springs and Janesville. Pope in his endeavor to interpose himself between Jackson and the rest of Lee's army discovered on nearing Manassas that Jackson had fled from there, after getting possession of immense quantities of supplies.

The first big conflict in these complicated and momentous operations took place on August 29th at Groveton. The line of battle extended from Bull Run to Gainesville, a distance of ten miles. Pope, to his great bewilderment afterward, did not know that Jackson

was able to unite his forces with Lee's main army. The Federal troops were handicapped by being entirely too far apart when going into action. Strenuous efforts were made by McDowell, Porter, Sigel, Reynolds, Hooker and Reno. Their lines formed a curve, while the Confederate line was almost straight and protected by the embankment of an unfinished railroad. By noon the whole of Lee's army confronted Pope's forces. Repeated attempts were made to dislodge Jackson from his position behind the embankment, all ending in failure and disaster. There was a semblance of Federal success in sight when McDowell charged Jackson's line, but the latter being strongly reinforced by a division that Porter was expected to take care of, this charge also ended in heavy loss. Evening found the Confederates triumphant along their entire line.

Pope early in the afternoon of the following day, the 30th, massed his troops, under McDowell, Porter and Heintzelman, for an attack on the Confederate left. The attack was made with determination, but it was repulsed by the enemy's artillery, with fearful loss. Lee then advanced his whole line and literally crushed the Federal forces.

Pope made good his retreat to Centreville, where he was joined by Franklin's Corps that had come from Alexandria. Jackson giving pursuit, attacked the Union troops at Chantilly on September 1st. At first repulsed, Jackson came back to the attack and dislodged the Union troops, under Hooker. Kearny and Stevens were killed in this engagement. Jackson's advance, however, was checked, and Pope's army continued its march to Washington, where it arrived on September 3d.

Pope, who began his disastrous campaign with the highest expectations, and with what is called braggadocio, complained that some of the generals, especially Porter, were lethargic and disloyal toward him.

In his report he said that General Doubleday rendered him enlightened and generous service. McDowell also said of his part in this campaign that it was creditable. General Doubleday's Brigade was hotly engaged at Gainesville late in the afternoon of August 28th, in support of Gibbon. His regiments that evening lost half their number. Nearly all his men were under fire for the first time, and he reported of them that they behaved with commendable courage. He was active in the front during the big battles of August 29th and 30th. At Gainesville, on the 28th, Hatch superseded King as division

commander, and on the 30th, when Hatch was wounded, the command devolved on General Doubleday. General Doubleday's report on the Second Manassas campaign, the first appearing over his name as a brigadier-general, is characterized by the same scholarly and lucid style that has made all his official reports models for that class of writing.

SOUTH MOUNTAIN AND ANTIETAM

Scarcely had Pope reached Washington, after Chantilly, than Lee projected plans for another daring campaign, with Pennsylvania as his objective, if initial success encouraged its invasion. Accordingly, Jackson's Corps crossed the Potomac on September 5th, reaching Frederick the following day. Lee himself crossed the Potomac soon after, and from Frederick, on September 8th, issued a proclamation calling on Maryland to join the Confederacy. He cherished the hope that this border State would prove a fruitful recruiting ground for his army. The Confederates lost no time in replenishing their commissariat in wholesale style. Early success greatly strengthened their confidence. A fortnight after the last of the battles of the Second Manassas was fought, at Chantilly, Harper's Ferry, with its garrison of 12,000 men, was taken by Stonewall Jackson. For more than four weeks now Lee and Jackson were counting a series of triumphs on both sides of the Potomac that might well make them think they were invincible. Practically, since McClellan stopped them at Malvern Hill, on July 1st, there was no effective opposition to their onslaughts.

After the Second Manassas, McClellan assumed command of the Army of the Potomac, the Army of Virginia being then incorporated with it. His reputation as an able organizer was fully sustained by his immediate success in turning chaos into order and raising the morale of the troops. They felt that in him they had a leader more reliable as to caliber and caution than Pope. Leaving Washington under the protection of Banks, McClellan set out in pursuit of Lee. Passing through Rockville on the 7th of September he reached Frederick on the 12th. Here he had the good luck to discover a copy of Lee's general order, dated September 9th. The design on Harper's Ferry was clearly revealed in this important document, but notwithstanding, reinforcements were not sent there in time to prevent Jackson from capturing it. The left wing of the Federal army overtook the

Confederates under D. H. Hill at South Mountain. Here, at Turner's Gap, Fox's Gap and Crampton's Gap, on the 14th, there were lively encounters, much in favor of the Union forces, which, however, was poor consolation for the loss of Harper's Ferry the following day.

Lee now contemplated recrossing the Potomac instead of marching north, but changed his mind again and concentrated his troops near Sharpsburg and the Antietam Creek for a big battle, Jackson fully concurring in this decision. Evidently, they expected to be attacked on the 16th, but the vanguard of McClellan's army did not come within striking distance until the evening of that day, when Hooker engaged them in a skirmish that lasted until darkness set in.

With the first blush of dawn on the 17th, Hooker, holding the right of the Union line, renewed his attack. Jackson opposed him. Soon on both sides all divisions were falling into line or holding themselves in readiness for orders. Porter was placed on the left of the Union line in reserve, and Burnside was posted at the Burnside Bridge. Mansfield, Sumner and Franklin were within supporting distance of Hooker's First Corps. Longstreet's Corps formed the right wing of the Confederate army. D. H. Hill's and Hood's divisions were in the center.

One of the most bitterly contested spots at Antietam was the Cornfield, an enclosure of some thirty acres. The persistent, obstinate and concentrated efforts to get possession of it are almost without parallel. Before night, it was literally soaked in carnage. Ricketts, Meade and Doubleday first drove Jackson out of it; Mansfield coming up to reinforce the Federal line was fatally wounded; Hooker rallying his own and Mansfield's divisions was put hors de combat by a painful wound in the foot. Sumner now personally brought Sedgwick's Division of his own corps with him, but he was thrice wounded and compelled to retire. Franklin then arrived with fresh troops and retaking the Cornfield it remained in Federal possession.

When Hooker's Corps was compelled to fall back its place was taken, by the Twelfth Corps, led by Mansfield, who fell mortally wounded as his troops were deploying for action. They fought Hood's and D. H. Hill's men, and both sides suffered heavily. The Confederates gave way and retreated to the Dunker Church. Greene's Division of the Twelfth Corps pushed through the Cornfield

and established itself beyond the Dunker Church, in the west woods.

Burnside made a successful attack on Burnside Bridge, and held the heights between it and Sharpsburg for some hours until the portion of the Confederate army that he fought was reinforced late in the day by the troops which took Harper's Ferry, when he was halted, but retained his general line, and Burnside Bridge remained in his possession.

Jackson in the course of the afternoon was ordered by Lee to turn the Union right and attack it in flank and rear; but after making a reconnaissance for this purpose he concluded that it was too strongly defended to hope for any success.

Hooker said of the tussles in the Cornfield:

"Every stalk of corn in the northern and greater part of the field was cut as closely as could have been done with a knife, and the slain lay in rows as they had stood in their ranks a few moments before."

Lee marched his troops back across the Potomac on the 18th.

Returns of the actual forces engaged on both sides vary widely. One authority states that the battle was fought by the Confederates with 45,000 men the early part of the day and an aggregate of 70,000 later. McClellan states his strength as 87,164, including the cavalry, which was not of much account on such ground. Couch's Division, of 5,000, was absent in the direction of Harper's Ferry. A large number of other Federal organizations were also held in reserve, so that the disparity between the forces that did the fighting was not very great.

The Union loss, as reported by McClellan, was 12,469. Lee reported a loss of 10,000, while his division commanders accounted for casualties numbering 13,533.

Proportionately, the Confederates suffered the most.

Though the battle was indecisive, both armies established new records there. It was the severest one-day struggle ever known in this country.

Among the Northern states, New York had the most troops, with an aggregate of eighty-seven organizations, or 28 per cent. of the commands present. Its losses were 3,762, or 30.3 per cent. of the entire Federal casualties. Of the twenty regiments from eight states suffering most at Antietam seven were from this State, or 35 per

cent. Of the 191 officers of the Union army killed outright or dying subsequently of wounds 62 were from New York, or over 32 per cent. of the total. Adding New York's losses at South Mountain to those at Antietam, this State's entire losses in the Maryland campaign amounted to 4,185. New York was also represented at Harper's Ferry by one regiment of cavalry, two batteries of artillery and six infantry regiments.

Due to Hatch being wounded, General Doubleday took command of the First Division of Hooker's Corps, the First, at South Mountain, where, at Turner's Gap, his men routed Longstreet's forces. He arrived with Hooker at Antietam the evening before the big battle, taking part in the opening contest. His division, comprising the four brigades of Patrick, Gibbon, Phelps and Hoffman, held the extreme right of the Union line. In those memorable encounters with Stonewall Jackson a destructive musketry fire cut down 800 of his men. He was in the thick of the fierce struggle centered at the Cornfield. The fire from the Confederate batteries beginning at dawn was answered by his division.

Three weeks after Gainesville, where his brigade was first actively engaged, as commander of a division sustaining a large part of the brunt of the fighting against the left of the Confederate lines at Antietam, General Doubleday proved conclusively that he had already measured to the requirements of any responsibility on a big field.

FREDERICKSBURG

Three days after Lee returned to Virginia from his Maryland campaign, President Lincoln issued his preliminary proclamation of emancipation. On the whole, it got an indifferent reception at first. Notwithstanding the extent to which the Antietam result relieved the situation, there was considerable disquietude at Washington yet. A further setback to Confederate aggression and a decisive victory in another big battle was anxiously desired. It was shown by Stuart's cavalry raid in Pennsylvania and Maryland early in October, when he rode round the Union army, successfully eluding the forces employed to intercept him, that Lee had not yet taken his eyes off the north. In answer to the impatience evinced for another campaign, McClellan pleaded that his army wanted to be reorganized and equipped anew.

The Federal forces began crossing the Potomac at Harper's Ferry on October 26th. By November 7th they were concentrated at Warrenton, getting ready for an advance on Culpeper, whither Lee had removed from Berryville and Winchester. The dissatisfaction felt for some time at Washington with McClellan on account of his alleged "over-cautiousness" at last resulted in his being superseded. This happened on November 7th. He had the satisfaction of knowing that his successor, Burnside, took command of the army with considerable reluctance, and that the rank and file were deeply affected when he took his departure from them. Political expediency, it is stated widely, was not without its influence when McClellan was deprived of his command. Whatever may have been his merits or demerits, it has been often said and written that he was the best-liked leader the Army of the Potomac ever had.

Richmond via Fredericksburg was the ambitious aim that Burnside at once formulated and announced. McClellan's plans were thus reversed. Halleck did not approve of Burnside's plans. President Lincoln gave them his consent. A week after the new commander took charge of it, the army was marching along the north side of the Rappahannock towards Fredericksburg. But Lee reached that objective before the Union troops could get there. Then concentrating at Falmouth strenuous preparations were begun by Burnside for the impending battle.

Lee leaving Culpeper and taking a parallel line to the Northern army, along the south side of the Rappahannock, arrived at Fredericksburg on November 21st. Jackson coming from the Shenandoah Valley joined him on the 30th. The Confederates set to work at once strengthening their defenses.

Burnside's preparations for attack were completed by December 10th. The following day the engineers were busy laying the pontoon bridges that had been brought from Acquia Creek. The Confederate sharpshooters made the task of crossing the river difficult and perilous.

The battle began before noon on December 13th. Sumner's Grand Division held the right. Franklin's the ground in front of the lower bridges, and Hooker was posted on the north side of the river. Franklin, facing Jackson at the weakest end of the Confederate lines, ordered Reynolds' Corps forward to seize one of the heights held by the Confederates. Meade's Division penetrated Jackson's line, but being reinforced the Confederates rallied and Meade and

Gibbon were forced back, without being able to regain their ground. Sumner six times in succession made desperate efforts to capture Marye's Heights, defended by Longstreet, and though he was supported in the end by Hooker it remained impregnable. In one of these desperate endeavors to capture the heights 2,000 of Hancock's men (including 156 commissioned officers), out of a total of 5,000, went down.

At the end of the day's fighting the Federal casualties were 12,653, those of the Confederates only 5,377. This was one of the most decisive and the least costly of all the Confederate victories. Lee did not realize at first the full extent of his success and expected that the battle would be renewed the following day. It would, too, had Burnside not been persuaded by his officers to withdraw from the field. The Federals though defeated in this battle displayed extraordinary steadiness and gallantry throughout. The persistent storming of Marye's Heights was hardly ever surpassed for heroism and sacrifice.

General Doubleday, who was advanced to the rank of major general two weeks before Fredericksburg, took a prominent part in that conflict. He commanded the First Division of the First Corps, under Reynolds. His brigades, preceded by those of Meade and Gibbon, crossed the river the day before the battle and formed the left flank of the army. As the battle progressed they were subjected to heavy and continuous firing. General Doubleday in his report says:

"However deplorable the results of this battle may be considered, I have the satisfaction of knowing that my division drove the enemy before it for three miles, and held all the ground it had gained. For the good conduct of the men I feel myself much indebted to Colonels Gavin, Phelps, Cutler and Rogers, commanding the brigades, who set an example of coolness and heroism that never wavered under any emergency."

Late in January, 1863, acting on his own responsibility, and without notifying Washington, Burnside sought to retrieve his reputation by making an attempt to turn Lee's left flank at the upper fords of the Rappahannock. This movement, on account of the inclemency of the weather and the state of the roads, is known as the "mud march." It has been called a farcical failure. A few days after, Burnside was relieved of his command and Hooker appointed in his place.

The estimated number of the Federal forces at Fredericksburg is given as 116,000; that of the Confederates 78,000.

CHANCELLORSVILLE

When on January 26, 1863, Hooker took charge of the Union troops, then encamped near Falmouth, they were not in the best of spirits. The grueling that they had been subjected to six weeks before while under orders to do the impossible, capture Marye's Heights, and the fiasco of the "mud march," from which they had just returned, left their palpable effects on them. Hence it was that desertions were rife; for reasons not known, more Union soldiers were absent from their organizations, it was said, than Lee had in his entire army. But Hooker, to his great credit, with commendable energy, and administrative ability of the first order, ere long succeeded in restoring the morale of the army to a high standard. In two months all the troops were together again, their numbers greatly increased. Their apparent efficiency made Hooker himself say that he had the finest army on the planet. Nor was he sparing in promise of what he intended accomplishing with it. With infantry over a hundred thousand strong, ten thousand in the artillery and cavalry forces not less than thirteen thousand, his confidence was justifiable. The Confederates at the same time had hardly half that total. They were posted at Fredericksburg, both armies being well within sight of each other. Chancellorsville, where they were next to fight, is about twelve miles west of Fredericksburg.

The Union commander's maneuvers and plans for carrying out his operations have been accorded high praise. The cavalry, under Stoneman, two weeks before the battle, was ordered to cross the Rappahannock at the upper fords and destroy Lee's communications with Richmond. The river being swollen, Stoneman was much delayed in fording it. The movement on Chancellorsville began on April 27th and the main army was drawn up there on the Confederate flank on May 1st. Two of the Union corps, the First and Sixth, were left at Falmouth and Fredericksburg. That same day the Confederates led by Jackson marched in the direction of Chancellorsville. Strong as his position was and big as his army was, Hooker now decided on fighting a defensive battle. Lee and Jackson determined on attacking

the Federal forces in detail. While deliberating on the question as to which was the most vulnerable of the positions occupied by Hooker's men, Stuart arrived and satisfied them that this was the right, guarded by Howard's Eleventh Corps. Accordingly, early on May 2d, Jackson taking half the army with him, started on a long march through the Wilderness. His purpose was as well concealed as it was daring. The Federal generals thought he was retreating in the direction of Gordonsville. After a wide detour of fifteen miles, that took over half a day to travel, Jackson at five in the evening fell on the Eleventh Corps, whom he had surprised. After trying hard to resist the onslaught made on them, Howard's men, unprepared and vastly outnumbered, gave way. As soon as Jackson began his attack, Lee made a series of demonstrations against other parts of the Federal line, thus diverting attention from the havoc that was being wrought on the right of it. Jackson was fully intent on following up his advantage, and continued his vigorous advance towards Chancellorsville until darkness set in. Even then and well on to midnight the fighting was continued.

The Confederates in the first encounter at Chancellorsville had gained a great victory. They had, however, sustained a big loss also, for Stonewall Jackson had fought his last fight. Riding back at dusk from the front of his line, where he had gone to make a reconnaissance, a company from one of his own regiments, the Eighteenth North Carolina, mistaking his party for Federal cavalry, fired on them and three of the bullets struck Jackson, from the effects of which he expired ten days later. This memorable incident recalls Schiller's words on the fall of Gustavus Adolphus, "But oh how dear a victory! how sad a triumph!" Lee aided by Jackson was almost invincible. After Chancellorsville the flowing tide was no longer with the Confederates.

The attack begun by Jackson was renewed by Lee early the following day; and, according to his own report, by 10 a. m. he was "in full possession of the field." An hour previous, as the battle was raging, Hooker while leaning against a pillar was stunned by the impact of a ball that struck the Chancellor House. There were more than enough reserves to check the Confederate onset, but none of the commanders present when Hooker was temporarily unnerved and disabled cared to assume the responsibility of ordering them to the rescue, and hence Lee was triumphant again the second day.

Sedgwick who had done good work near Fredericksburg by

capturing important heights there was driven from his position on the 4th.

The operations of the Union cavalry, strong as it was, were ineffective during the Chancellorsville campaign. Stoneman, who led it, had principally in mind all along cutting off Lee's retreat and wasted his time and his forces scouring the country as far south as Richmond.

Both armies were back in their old places by May 7th.

The Federals lost 17,000 and the Confederates 13,000.

At Chancellorsville, General Doubleday's command was the Third Division of the First Corps. It was held mostly in reserve. When the Eleventh Corps was driven from its position the First Corps had completed a long march to the United States Ford, from whence on account of the communications of the army being endangered it was ordered forward to take up a position on the right flank at Ely's Ford. The Third Division, General Doubleday's, was commanded by Meade before he was put in charge, in January, of the Fifth Corps.

GETTYSBURG

Gettysburg was General Doubleday's last campaign and also the one in which he earned the highest distinction. On account of the position held by him at Fort Sumter, he was of necessity prominent in the Civil War at its very inception; and though no longer leading troops on a field after Gettysburg he had the satisfaction of knowing that just as his active battlefield career ended the tide of Southern aggression began to roll back.

Before this great battle was fought reverses and disappointments kept falling heavily for two years on the Federal forces in the East. In the Shenandoah Valley, the Peninsula, Manassas, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville, in their turn, Fremont, Banks, McClellan, Pope, Burnside and Hooker were baffled or beaten by Lee and Jackson, as well as McDowell by Johnston and Beauregard in the beginning. Antietam was a drawn or indecisive battle.

On the other hand in the West at most times the trend of the fighting was against the Confederates. Battles fought in Missouri left that State practically under Union control at the end of 1861. In January, 1862, Thomas gained a victory at Mill Spring, in Kentucky. Fort Donelson, in Tennessee, defended by Buckner, fell to Grant in February, as did Fort Henry a few days before. Pittsburg Landing

was defended with signal success by Grant in April. It was in this big battle that Albert Sidney Johnston, the pride and the hope of the South, was killed. Island No. 10 and New Madrid yielded to Pope about the same time. Curtis held his ground against the Confederates at Pea Ridge, in Arkansas, in March. New Orleans surrendered to Farragut in April. In September, Grant, assisted by Rosecrans, defeated Price at Iuka, in Mississippi, and Rosecrans was successful against Price and Van Dorn at Corinth in October. That month also a sharp and indecisive battle was fought at Perryville, in Kentucky; and at Stone River, in Tennessee, Bragg was beaten by Rosecrans, the end of December, 1862, and the beginning of January, 1863. Vicksburg surrendered to Grant on July 4, 1863, and a few days after Port Hudson surrendered to Banks.

There were many setbacks, of course, to Federal progress during this time in the West, such as at Lexington, Columbus and Belmont, in Missouri, Chickasaw Bayou and Holly Springs, in Mississippi, Richmond, Lexington and Frankfort, in Kentucky, and Munfordville, in Tennessee, but these notwithstanding the odds were heavily against the Confederates in the Western conflicts.

The almost invariable success of Confederate arms in the East might well have caused anxiety when, not many weeks after Chancellorsville, Lee determined again on trying to invade Pennsylvania. This movement caused the Governor of Pennsylvania to call for an emergency militia of 60,000 men and Philadelphia also took prompt measures to defend itself. The march for the intended invasion began on June 3, 1863, from Fredericksburg. A week after, a lively cavalry encounter took place at Brandy Station. Advancing down the Shenandoah Valley, the Confederates took Winchester, with 4,000 prisoners, on June 13th. That date Hooker's army left its headquarters at Falmouth and marched along the east of the Blue Ridge mountains. As the Federals proceeded in their pursuit further skirmishes took place between the cavalry forces.

The vanguard of Lee's army, under Ewell, crossed the Potomac on June 22d, and his other two corps, Hill's and Longstreet's, two days after. By the 27th, Chambersburg, York and Carlisle were taken. Harrisburg was only saved by the burning of the bridge that spanned the Susquehanna at Wrightsville and Columbia.

Hooker, with the left wing of his army, the First, Third and Eleventh Corps, reached Frederick on June 26th. Meade succeeded

him on the 28th. The high pitch of efficiency, and what should have been effectiveness, to which Hooker had brought the Union army remained with it still, in spite of the disaster at Chancellorsville. His action thus far, to the extent that he was permitted to act, in coping with the new threatened invasion, displayed, it is freely conceded, commendable foresight and sound judgment.

Meade at once withdrew the garrison of twelve thousand men from Harper's Ferry. It was the refusal from Washington to have this done at first that made Hooker resign his command.

It probably did not surprise Lee very much to learn that he had a new antagonist to deal with, as he was used to such tidings now for a whole year. When this happened, June 28th, apparently he had already made up his mind to conduct a defensive campaign, with Cashtown as the rallying point for his three corps. Meade forthwith decided on Pipe Creek as base for his operations. The Confederate cavalry, under Stuart, made wide raiding detours away from the routes and locations of the main army. In Stuart's absence, Lee was unable to keep himself sufficiently advised of the movements of the Federal troops. Stuart had a sharp encounter with the Union cavalry under Kilpatrick at Hanover and Littleton on the 30th, and then he rode to York, only to find that Ewell was no longer there. Stuart did not reach Gettysburg until the afternoon of July 2d.

On the 30th of June, the day before the battle began, the disposition of the two armies was as follows: The Federal First Corps, Reynolds', was at Marsh Run, the Eleventh, Howard's, at Emmitsburg, the Third, Sickles', at Taneytown, the Second, Hancock's, at Uniontown, the Twelfth, Slocum's, at Littlestown, the Fifth, Sykes', at Union Mills, and the Sixth, Sedgwick's, at Manchester, thirty miles away.

Ewell's Corps, of Lee's army, was at Heidlersburg, with the exception of Johnson's Division, which was at Greenwood; two divisions of Longstreet's Corps were at Fayetteville, and another, Pickett's, at Chambersburg. Hill's Corps had reached Cashtown and Mummasburg, all but Anderson's Division, which was at the mountain pass on the Chambersburg road.

Following is General Doubleday's account of the battle, reproduced from "Gettysburg Made Plain," by permission of James Drummond Ball, of Boston, Mass.:

This was granted by Halleck, but instead of using this force to act against Lee's rear, Meade posted seven thousand of them at Frederick, Md., and sent the rest to Washington.

Under the impression that Lee's army was spread out along the Susquehanna from Carlisle to York, Meade threw out his own forces fan-shaped to march in that direction.

Stuart was intercepted at Hanover by Kilpatrick's Division of Cavalry, but managed to disengage himself from the contest and continue his journey to join Ewell at York. The latter was, however, on his way to Gettysburg, and Stuart passed almost within sight of him. Finding that Ewell had left York, Stuart proceeded to Carlisle, hoping to find the main body there. He was again disappointed, and as he learned that a battle was going on at Gettysburg, he rode night and day to join Lee there. When he finally reached the field in the afternoon of the 2d, his horses were in bad condition from overwork, and his men were utterly exhausted.

On June 30th Buford's Cavalry, and the First Corps, under Doubleday, were in a perilous position at Marsh Creek, six miles south of Gettysburg and about twice that distance southeast of Cashtown, where Hill was posted. General Reynolds commanded the left wing of the Union army, composed of the First, Eleventh and Third corps.

BATTLE OF THE FIRST DAY

The Union corps on June 30th occupied positions wide apart from each other and they were still marching and getting farther away that day; while Lee was then concentrating his forces. The advance of Hill's Corps on the morning of July 1st struck Buford's Division of Union cavalry a short distance to the west of Gettysburg, and in spite of a stout resistance forced it slowly back towards the town.

The First Corps at this time was five miles south of Gettysburg. General Reynolds went to the support of Buford with the nearest division of the First Corps — Wadsworth's — and directed that the others follow. While forming his line of battle he was killed. General Howard succeeded to the command of the field but did not issue any orders to the First Corps until the afternoon. In the meantime General Doubleday continued the contest, captured a great part of the forces that had assailed him, and cleared his immediate front of all enemies.

Before the Eleventh Corps came up the enemy could have walked right over the small force opposed to them, but owing to the absence of Stuart's Cavalry they had not been kept informed as to the movements Meade was making, and fearing that the whole Union army was concentrated in their front they were overcautious.

There was now a lull in the battle for about an hour. The remainder of the First Corps came up and was followed soon after by the Eleventh Corps under General Schurz. About the same time the Confederate corps of General Ewell arrived and made a junction with that of Hill. General Howard assumed command of the Union forces.

Repeated attacks were now made against the First Corps by Ewell from the north and Hill from the west; but the Confederate charges were successfully repulsed. In one of these assaults the Confederate brigade of Iverson were nearly

all killed, wounded or captured. Ewell's attack also struck the Eleventh Corps on the right and front with great force. The continued arrival of fresh Confederate forces — for the whole country to the north and west was covered with troops, and Longstreet's Corps was in sight — rendered further resistance unavailing.

Two small corps and Buford's cavalry could not contend with the whole Confederate army.

The First Corps divisions were in a perilous condition at the close of the action. They were almost cut off from Cemetery Hill, which had been chosen by General Howard as the rallying point for the two corps, and had been partly occupied in advance. It was about half a mile south of Gettysburg.

General Meade when he heard of Reynolds' death was fourteen miles from Gettysburg at Taneytown, preparing to form line of battle along Pipe Creek. He at once sent General Hancock forward with orders to assume command of the field.

Hancock, perceiving that Cemetery Ridge was an admirable position for a defensive battle, determined to hold it if possible. This was not an easy thing to do, for the enemy were in overwhelming force, and the feeble remnants of the First and Eleventh Corps were not in a condition to make a prolonged resistance. Hancock, too, was embarrassed by the fact that General Howard did not recognize his authority, but General Howard approved his dispositions. General Doubleday carried out Hancock's plans in regard to the First Corps, and the Ridge was held, by strategy. Leaving the First and Eleventh Corps in the centre Hancock directed Doubleday to send a force to Culp's Hill on the right, while he instructed Buford to parade up and down on the extreme left with his cavalry.

The enemy were thus led to suppose that the Union line was a long one and had been heavily reinforced. As the losses on both sides had been tremendous, probably not exceeded for the same number of troops during the war, the enemy hesitated to advance, particularly as some movements of Kilpatrick's Cavalry seemed to threaten their rear. They therefore deferred action until Meade concentrated the next day.

On General Hancock's recommendations General Meade ordered his entire army to Gettysburg.

By dusk part of the Third Corps had arrived, and soon after the Twelfth Corps and the Second Corps were close at hand.

BATTLE OF THE SECOND DAY

In the choice of positions secured for the continuance of the fighting the advantage was largely in favor of the Union troops, who were sheltered by a curved ridge. If it was desired to reinforce any part, it could be done by short lines — chords of the arc — and its movements behind the ridge would be hidden from the view of its enemies.

As the Confederate army acted on the offensive it had to descend into a plain where all of its important operations were in full view of the Union signal stations on the heights, where were officers with powerful glasses. To reinforce any part of the Confederate line required a long march around, on the circumference of the circle, which consumed much valuable time.

On the other hand the nature of the ground made the fire from the Union

batteries diffusive, while the Confederate batteries were able to concentrate a heavy fire upon almost any point in front of them.

Most of the troops, though worn out with hard marching, arrived by midday of July 2d. The Sixth Corps had thirty-four miles to march, and came later in the afternoon.

The Confederates on the right of their line took the aggressive the second day by attacking the Third Corps, commanded by Sickles, who had moved his men three-quarters of a mile forward from the low ground they at first occupied, for better defense as he thought. Meade did not like the disposition Sickles had made of his divisions, but before there was time to rectify their positions they were fiercely assailed by Longstreet's Corps, and although Sickles was reinforced by two divisions of Sykes' Corps, the Fifth, and by Caldwell's Division of the Second Corps, all were forced back behind the main line, after very heavy fighting and severe losses on both sides. Longstreet followed up the pursuit, but the firm front of the Sixth Corps, which had now formed in line, and a brilliant charge by the Pennsylvania Reserves discouraged him from making any further attempts.

General Warren, who was on General Meade's staff, was sent on his own suggestion to Little Round Top to see how the battle was going. He saw the enemy advancing to seize the peak he was on, and knew if they did so they would flank General Meade's position and render it untenable by their artillery fire. He rode down at full speed and succeeded in bringing back reinforcements in time to save the position, which was really the key of the battlefield. The struggle there, however, was very severe and cost the lives of several distinguished leaders.

The attack as ordered by General Lee was to begin with Longstreet on the right and be made en echelon. That is, as soon as Longstreet was fairly engaged. Hill's Corps was to take up the fight and go in, and as soon as Hill was fairly engaged, Ewell's Corps on the right was to attack. The object was to keep the whole Union line in a turmoil at once, and prevent reinforcements going from any corps not engaged to another that was fighting; but Hill did not act until Longstreet's fight was over, and Ewell did not act until Hill had been repulsed. This was not carrying out Lee's program.

When Longstreet's battle with Sickles, Sykes, and Caldwell was dying away, Hill's Corps, preceded by R. H. Anderson's Division, assailed the Second Corps in front of Webb's Brigade, and the two Confederate brigades in advance — those of Wright and Wilcox — succeeded in penetrating the Union line and in gaining temporary possession of some guns. It is possible that if the remainder of Hill's Corps had come up promptly to their support they might have made a permanent lodgment, and thus cut the Union army in two; but no one came forward to help them, they were soon driven back by part of the First Corps under Doubleday, and by other reinforcements sent by General Hancock, who on this as on other occasions was always present wherever there was danger, or a weak spot in the line to be defended.

General Meade was so startled by the fact that his centre had been pierced, that he took away nearly all the troops and batteries that held the extreme right — Slocum's Corps — and led them in person against the enemy.

As the thunder of the guns repelling Hill's attack died away, two brigades of

Early's Division of Ewell's Corps made a desperate assault against the Eleventh Corps under Howard on Cemetery Hill and captured several batteries but were driven back, with the help of Carroll's Brigade of the Second Corps, which Hancock had sent to aid Howard to repel the attack.

Finally, the last echelon, General Edward Johnson's Division of Ewell's Corps, assailed the extreme right of the Union line at and south of Culp's Hill.

General Meade, as has been already stated, had taken away the Twelfth Corps troops and batteries from that part of the line with the exception of one small brigade under General Greene. Greene, backed by what remained of Wadsworth's Division of the First Corps, firmly held the line previously assigned to Geary's Division, but could not prevent the enemy from occupying the vacant entrenchments south of the hill which had been recently used by Ruger's Division of the Twelfth Corps.

The enemy had so far failed in every attack against Meade's main line, with the exception of that portion south of Culp's Hill. Elated by the fact that he had made a lodgment there, Ewell determined to hold on at all hazards and sent heavy reinforcements during that night to aid Johnson to make an attack in the morning.

Johnson's position was one of serious import to the Union army, for it was near the reserve artillery, and not far from Meade's headquarters, but it was 9 p. m. when he took possession of the entrenchments; the night was dark, he did not know exactly where he was and he preferred to wait until morning before making an advance.

Upon the return of Slocum's Corps to their former position at Culp's Hill, they were amazed to find Johnson in possession. They also waited till daylight before making an attempt to dispossess him.

So ended the battle of the second day.

THE BATTLE OF THE THIRD DAY

At day-dawn General Warren, acting for General Meade, established a cordon of troops and batteries which drove Johnson out of his position on the right. The enemy fell back a short distance but still menaced the force on Culp's Hill.

Lee having failed in his attacks both on Meade's left and right had to decide at once whether he would give up the contest and retreat, or make another attempt to force the Union line.

As he had been reinforced by Stuart's Cavalry and as a fresh division under Pickett was available, he determined to try to pierce the left centre of the Union Army and disperse the force opposed to him.

To this end he directed Longstreet to form a strong column of attack to be composed of Pickett's Division and Pettigrew's Division and two brigades of Pender's Division, under Trimble, of Hill's Corps. To create confusion and prevent General Meade from sending reinforcements to the menaced point, Stuart was ordered to ride around the right of the Union army and make an attack in rear. And still more to facilitate the attack 135 guns were to concentrate their fire against the Union centre and disperse the forces assembled there.

About 1 p. m. the terrific cannonade began and lasted for two hours, by which time the Confederate ammunition was nearly exhausted. This fire disabled several of the Union batteries that were opposed to it and killed or wounded many of the cannoneers.

Eleven caissons were blown up, and as the dense column of smoke from each rose high in air the enemy's yells of exultation resounded for miles along their line.

Stuart's cavalry attack proved abortive for it was met and frustrated by two brigades of Gregg's Cavalry aided by Custer's Brigade after a severe battle, which was hotly contested on both sides. Stuart's further progress was checked and he was forced to retreat.

Kilpatrick with two brigades of cavalry charged the right of the enemy's line west of Round Top, to prevent Longstreet from weakening his right to aid Pickett. Pickett formed his great column of attack and came forward as soon as the fire from the Union batteries slackened.

General Hunt, General Meade's chief of artillery, had withdrawn the batteries which had suffered the most, and sent fresh guns to take their place. The latter soon swept the ground over which Pickett moved, with fatal effect.

Hancock rode along the line and made prompt dispositions to meet the coming storm. Gibbon's Division, of the Second Corps, received and repelled the shock, while part of Doubleday's command, principally Stannard's Vermont Brigade, struck the right flank of the main body and doubled it up in confusion so as greatly to impede its progress.

General Hancock was wounded by the side of Stannard.

Wilcox's and Perry's brigades which should have guarded Pickett's right flank became separated from it and attacked the First Corps commanded since the night of the first day by General Newton. Stannard turned about and took this second column in flank, drove it back and again captured a large number of prisoners.

Still Pickett's main column pressed on in spite of all obstacles and the harvest of death it was reaping, and its advance under Armistead took temporary possession of one of the guns on the Ridge, but there its course was stayed.

In the hand-to-hand fight that ensued within our lines General Armistead was shot down, Pickett's left wing, which was much more exposed than the right, melted away, and as Union reinforcements were coming forward and Pickett's supports did not advance, he was soon compelled reluctantly to give the order to retreat, which indeed had already commenced.

The whole plain was soon covered with fugitives, but as no pursuit was ordered General Lee in person succeeded in rallying them and reforming the line of battle.

THE RETREAT

The next day, July 4th, General Lee drew back his flanks and at evening began his retreat by two routes — the main body on the direct road to Williamsport through the mountains, the other via Chambersburg, the latter including the immense train of the wounded.

Gregg's Division (except Huey's Brigade) was sent in pursuit by way of Chambersburg, but the enemy had too much the start to render the chase effective

Kilpatrick, however, got in front of the main body on the direct route, and, after a midnight battle at Monterey, fought, during a terrific thunderstorm, succeeded in making sad havoc of Ewell's trains.

Buford's Division of cavalry, aided by that of Kilpatrick, came near capturing Williamsport, defended by Imboden, with all the Confederate trains, and the fresh ammunition so much needed by Lee, which had been galloping from Winchester almost without an escort, to meet him.

The opportune arrival of Stuart's Cavalry backed by infantry forced Buford and Kilpatrick to fall back.

Lee concentrated his army in the vicinity of Williamsport, but as French had destroyed his pontoon bridge, and as the Potomac had risen, he was unable to cross. He therefore fortified his position.

Meade did not follow Lee directly but went around by way of Frederick. After considerable delay the Union army again confronted that of Lee and were about — under orders from President Lincoln — to make an attack, when Lee slipped away on the night of July 14th to the Virginia side of the Potomac.

This ended the campaign of Gettysburg.

The Union loss was 3,072 killed, 14,497 wounded and 5,434 missing, a total of 23,003.

The Confederate loss was 2,592 killed, 12,709 wounded and 5,150 missing, total 20,451.

General Doubleday acted a great and distinguished part at Gettysburg, and he has been long since accorded a high place among its foremost commanders. When on June 13th, at Falmouth, Reynolds was placed in charge of the left wing of the Union army, General Doubleday relieved him of the immediate command of his own corps, the First. General Doubleday reached the field in advance of his division, the Third, and in time to help put part of Wadsworth's Division into action at the McPherson Woods. The opening contest had not been in progress above an hour when, on account of Reynolds falling mortally wounded, the chief command on the field temporarily devolved on him. His own words describing the situation at that juncture are: "The whole burden of the battle was thus suddenly thrust upon me." The fighting that developed in that struggle — the prelude to the three-day battle — was characterized by the utmost severity. For the two hours or so that it lasted General Doubleday's resources were sorely tried. Only two brigades were then at his disposal. Forces numerically superior opposed him. But he managed with superb skill and dogged determination to over come them. The Confederate vanguard was driven back in signal fashion, and hundreds, including a brigadier-general, were made

prisoners. The first triumph scored at Gettysburg was thus the work of General Doubleday and his men.

On the renewal of the fighting the afternoon of the first day, the First Corps and the Eleventh, Howard's, numbering between them about 18,000 men, had to give battle to forces estimated at not less than 30,000. Of valor and endurance the Union forces gave ample proof, but they were finally forced to yield their ground and fall back to Cemetery Hill. The brunt of the fighting in this unequal and violent conflict was borne by the First Corps, and their casualties were the heaviest. Coming to the field in the morning with 8,200 men when the sun went down not half their number was available for further action in the Gettysburg campaign. A mountain of difficulty and a furnace of danger confronted them all day long. A. P. Hill, by whose corps they were attacked, as well as by part of Ewell's, said he had never seen the Federals fight as well as the First Corps did that day.

The opening conflict at Gettysburg, by reason of its abrupt commencement, the disparity in numbers of the forces engaged in it and the doubt and delay that obsessed the victors at the close, robbing them of full fruition of the great advantage they had gained, together with the question of generalship and judgment of those in high command there, constitute a phase in the story of the entire battle around which the keenest interest has always centered. The maneuvers on either side that preceded hostilities; what should have been done then and what should not have been done; the dramatic unexpectedness of that first minor collision between Buford's cavalry and two of A. P. Hill's brigades which precipitated the great battle and compelled Lee and Meade forthwith to abandon the places they had previously set their minds on for a concentration of their troops; the intensity of this early struggle and its outcome, resulting in Confederate success, but with the choice of positions for continuing the fighting won by the Federals,—these as facts in themselves or topics for speculation (a frequent diversion) lend much of its charm to Gettysburg's story.

The first day's battle also brought a mixture of praise and blame to its commanders over which there has been much controversy. A. P. Hill and Heth have been taken severely to task for provoking, on their own responsibility, the early morning skirmish west of Willoughby Run, thus forcing Lee to alter his plans for defensive

operations at Cashtown. The decision and action of Buford in interposing his small band of cavalry between the advancing Confederates and Seminary Ridge were also, apparently, whether right or wrong, contrary to the wishes of Meade, who had Pipe Creek primarily in mind for effecting a concentration of his troops. Reynolds shortly after bringing infantry reinforcements to the relief of Buford's hard-pressed cavalry fell from his horse mortally wounded, beyond the reach of praise or blame for his part in meeting the emergency that confronted him as soon as he came to the battlefield. Ewell has been censured for his failure to follow up, while practicable, the advantage he had gained, by pursuing the Federal forces farther and driving them from Cemetery Hill. Howard's handling of his own corps, the Eleventh, and his not ordering, as the commanding general then on the field, all the troops to withdraw from their untenable positions much earlier in the evening than he did, seeing that they were hopelessly outnumbered, have also been the subject of considerable animadversion.

So far, however, Ewell, except that he did not make the venture of capturing the valuable heights in his vicinity, proved himself a worthy successor to Stonewall Jackson; and A. P. Hill, who co-operated with him, had made full amends in the evening for the disappointments and reverses that worried him in the morning, when a detachment of his corps, on reconnaissance bent, was worsted by Wadsworth's Division of the First Corps. Howard, too, though otherwise taxed with serious error the first day, was given full credit for his foresight and action that helped save Cemetery Hill for the Union army.

The first day's trial at arms at Gettysburg was an anxious ordeal for the four corps commanders engaged in it; and among them all the one leader who emerged from it with the highest honors to his credit, for splendid achievement, sterling ability and intrepid gallantry, was General Doubleday. The law was once facetiously, if not seriously, defined as the last guess of the supreme court, and battlefield conclusions are also often far from being satisfactory on the score of unanimity; but in the case of General Doubleday at Gettysburg, veterans of the battle and many of the ablest historians who have written at length on it have been so much in agreement in emphasizing his noble work on Seminary Ridge that the verdict in his favor is well nigh irreversible. Contending against overwhelming

odds for seven arduous hours, all the time contesting every inch of his ground with desperate determination, until almost surrounded towards the end, he accomplished marvels — everything but the impossible. Encomiums in plenty came to him for this brilliant exploit. Says Samuel P. Bates, a Pennsylvania historian:

“It must be evident that the maneuvering of Doubleday was admirable and that it stamps him as a corps commander of consummate excellence. Where in the whole history of the late war is this skill and excellence of the commander or this stubborn bravery of the troops matched?”

And Col. Wm. F. Fox, in “New York at Gettysburg”:

“The last stand made by Doubleday and his men was marked by the same soldierly action that had characterized the First Corps throughout this remarkable battle of the first day. But Pender’s men were American soldiers, too, and Doubleday, beaten in the unequal contest, reluctantly gave orders for his corps to fall back through the town to Cemetery Hill.”

Francis Marshall in his book on the battle also says:

“From 9 a. m. until 4 p. m. the Federal First Corps was left under the command of Major-General Doubleday without one superior order. With this attenuated and flanked line of battle covering one and one-quarter miles of hills and valleys of open woods, with a considerable stream threading. General Doubleday fought and maintained his position intact for seven hours, this entire time fighting off a superior, and constantly increasing enemy, with his own force rapidly dwindling. The rate may be judged from the fact that the First Corps brought on the field in the morning 8,200 men, and at 4 p. m. nearly four thousand of them lay dead and wounded on the field, most of the remainder prisoners in the keeping of the Confederates, with an unusually small proportion of missing. The battle made by the Federal First Corps on July 1st was as notable a feat of arms as its commander’s action was of generalship. Doubleday was steady, alert and resourceful to a marked degree under most difficult and unnecessary conditions, forced upon him by the faulty handling and placing of the Eleventh Corps. These facts, in no manner chargeable to Doubleday, but to Schurz and Howard, forced Doubleday ceaselessly to shift the positions and formations of his fighting units — a feat of generalship!”

To almost the point of redundancy, it has been repeated that the indirect outcome of Confederate success the first day redounded ultimately to the benefit of the Union commanders. General Doubleday’s own words on this question are often cited in support of it:

“The preliminary battle, however, had the most important bearing on the result of the next two days, as it enabled the whole army to come up and reinforce the admirable position to which we had retreated.”

As well as the First Corps and the Eleventh being much inferior in numbers to the forces arrayed against them, they were not able to act in effective concert in resisting the onslaught made on them. Also, it is well established that excessive and useless perseverance and sacrifice were demanded of them, especially the First Corps. The Comte de Paris and Schurz, to whom Howard had entrusted the immediate command of the Eleventh Corps in the opening conflict, are two of the authorities that conform to this view. And in allusion to it General Doubleday has said:

“Nor could I have retreated without the full knowledge and approbation of General Howard, who was my superior officer, and who had now arrived on the field. Had I done so, it would have uncovered the left flank of his corps. If circumstances required it, it was his place, not mine, to issue the order. General Howard, from his commanding position on Cemetery Hill, could overlook all the enemy’s movements as well as our own, and I therefore relied upon his superior facilities for observation to give me timely warning of any unusual danger.”

The smoke of the battle had scarcely vanished from the horizon of Gettysburg the evening of the first day when a cloud of misunderstandings began to hover around Cemetery Hill which put several generals in high command at odds with each other, and full light has not yet been shed on some of the obscurities that followed in the wake of those misunderstandings. Ewell, evidently, had not done what Lee wished (when subsequently pining over the lost opportunity) he had ordered, instead of recommended, him to do, the capture while, as is thought, they could be taken, of the heights in his immediate front, where the First Corps and the Eleventh were entrenching themselves after being driven from their first positions. Howard was at odds with Hancock on the question of supreme command on the field, to which Meade had just appointed the latter pending his own arrival from Taneytown. Misunderstandings at that juncture or shortly before also put Howard at odds with General Doubleday, and as a consequence with Meade as well, with the result that General Doubleday was adjudged unequal to the responsibilities of handling an entire corps; Newton was appointed in his place, and for the other two days General Doubleday was relegated to the position of division commander.

Wadsworth, exercising his best judgment, at a critical moment the morning of the initial contest, ordered three of his regiments to withdraw temporarily toward the Lutheran Seminary, to prevent

their being surrounded and captured, and one of them, the One hundred and forty-seventh New York, narrowly escaped that fate — what was left of it. Howard, misapprehending on the spur of the moment — he had only just come to the field then — this retreat of the two regiments, the Fifty-sixth Pennsylvania and Seventy-sixth New York, came to the conclusion that the First Corps was giving way thus early in the day. This he reported to Hancock, and in all its inaccuracy it was conveyed without delay to Meade, who forth with deprived General Doubleday of the command of his corps. The evening of the second day when the Union center was temporarily dented by the brigades of Wright and Wilcox, of A. P. Hill's Corps, General Doubleday conjointly with Webb drove them back from Cemetery Hill, retaking four of the guns that had been lost and capturing two of the enemy's guns. In the repulse of Pickett's charge, the third day, General Doubleday took a notable and effective part. The following is taken from his book, "Chancellorsville and Gettysburg":

"Before the first line of rebels reached a second fence and stone wall, behind which our main body was posted, it was obliged to pass a demi-brigade under Colonel Theodore B. Gates, of the Twentieth New York Militia, and a Vermont brigade under General Stannard, both belonging to my command. When Pickett's right became exposed in consequence of the divergence of Wilcox's command Stannard seized the opportunity to make a flank attack, and while his left regiment, the Fourteenth, poured in a heavy oblique fire, he changed front with his two regiments, the Thirteenth and Sixteenth, which brought them perpendicular to the rebel line of march. In cases of this kind, when struck directly on the flank, troops are more or less unable to defend themselves, and Kemper's Brigade crowded in toward the centre in order to avoid Stannard's energetic and deadly attack. They were closely followed up by Gates' command, who continued to fire into them at close range. This caused many to surrender, others to retreat outright, and others simply to crowd together. Simultaneously with Stannard's attack, the Eighth Ohio, which was on picket, overlapping the rebel left, closed in on that flank with great effect. Nevertheless, the next brigade — that of Armistead — united to Garnett's Brigade, pressed on, and in spite of death-dealing bolts on all sides, Pickett determined to break Gibbon's line and capture his guns. * * *

"While this severe contest was going on in front of Webb, Wilcox deployed his command and opened a feeble fire against Caldwell's Division on my left. Stannard repeated the maneuver which had been so successful against Kemper's Brigade by detaching the Fourteenth and Sixteenth Vermont to take Wilcox in flank. Wilcox thus attacked on his right, while a long row of batteries tore the front of his line to pieces with canister, could gain no foothold. He found himself exposed to a tremendous cross fire, and was obliged to retreat, but a great portion of his command were brought in as prisoners by Stannard and battle-flags were gathered in sheaves."

Towards the close of Pickett's charge General Doubleday was struck by a shell, but not seriously wounded.

As well as being deprived of the command of the First Corps on the evening of the opening conflict and reduced to the rank of division commander during the other two days, by a special order dated July 5th, General Doubleday was relieved from duty with the Army of the Potomac and instructed to report to the Adjutant General of the Army at Washington.

"Truth crushed to earth shall rise again." After the real facts bearing on the achievement and sacrifice of the First Corps on Seminary Ridge were revealed at headquarters and Howard's erroneous version of the affair that misled Meade was exploited and exploded, Meade sought to make full amends for the injury he had done General Doubleday at Gettysburg. Interviewing him some time after at Washington, just before Grant's overland campaign was launched at the Wilderness, Meade not only expressed his sense of the humiliation to which he had unintentionally subjected General Doubleday, but as well urged him then and there to accept another important command in the Army of the Potomac. Encouraged thereby, General Doubleday made application to go to the front once more. He would have been with Grant and Meade in the overland campaign begun in May, 1864, had not the War Department refused his application to go back to the Army of the Potomac, on the ground that his services could not then be spared from Washington.

It is a singular coincidence that the Fifty-sixth Pennsylvania and Seventy-sixth New York, on whose temporary retreat the first day at Gettysburg Howard made an erroneous report, composed the infantry part of the first brigade which General Doubleday commanded when, in May, 1862, he joined McDowell at Fredericksburg.

After Gettysburg, General Doubleday was engaged on defensive work at Washington, serving also on military commissions until the end of the war. On July 12, 1864, he was detailed to organize and command the loyal leagues of Washington City; and during Early's raiding close to the capital at that time he was assigned to command the defenses south of Anacosta Creek.

General Doubleday was mustered out of the volunteer service on August 24, 1865, just after having been brevetted brigadier general and major-general, U. S. A., "for gallant and meritorious services during the war."

It is worthy of note that he served in the same regiment with Stonewall Jackson and A. P. Hill before the war. His command fought the former's forces at Antietam and the latter's at Gettysburg.

General Doubleday was in command of the United States forces at Galveston, Texas, in 1866, where he remained on duty in connection with the Freedman's Bureau until August, 1867. He was in New York in 1865, serving on the retiring board of the United States army; and from 1869 to 1871 he was at San Francisco on recruiting duty. While at San Francisco, he originated and obtained a charter for the first street railway operated by the cable system in the United States. He was in charge of the Twenty-fourth Infantry Regiment at Fort McKavett, Texas, from April, 1871, to August, 1872, when with his regiment he was transferred to Fort Brown, Texas, remaining there until June, 1873. He retired from the army on December 11, 1873.

General Doubleday died on January 26, 1893, at his home, Sumter Cottage, in Mendham, N. J., from whence his remains were first carried to the City Hall in New York, and from thence to Arlington Cemetery, near Washington. Lafayette Post, G. A. R., No. 140, of New York, of which he was a member, took charge of the remains en route to Arlington.

General Doubleday was a member of the Union League Club for nearly twenty years before his demise. General Doubleday, as well as being uncommonly well versed in military science, was a man of large attainments in the general field of knowledge. He can well be styled an accomplished writer and scholar. He was extensively acquainted with French and Spanish literature and deeply interested in the study of Sanskrit. In addition to articles on military subjects, he contributed a good deal to the magazines on scientific and economic matters. His official reports during the war are models of composition. His two books entitled "Forts Moultrie and Sumter" and "Chancellorsville and Gettysburg" are among the best known standard works dealing with the Civil War. They have, too, a style that for clearness, force and precision is hardly excelled by any American historical work. His disagreements with Meade and Howard at Gettysburg and his opinion of their commanding qualities are reflected with a tinge of bitterness in "Chancellorsville and Gettysburg."

In fact General Doubleday was never able to dismiss from his

mind the chagrin and disappointment that he suffered when deprived of his command at Gettysburg, and it cannot be wondered at that he should feel somewhat vindictive at times towards the two commanders by whom this humiliation was inflicted on him. That he contributed as much as General Meade himself or any other commander in the Gettysburg campaign towards the final result achieved there is now one of the undisputed facts in the story of that great battle.

Exception has been taken not infrequently to some of the comments and conclusions contained in General Doubleday's book on Gettysburg where he refers to General Meade. A well-known publication criticizing General Doubleday somewhat severely on this score drew from him the following refutation that appeared as a letter addressed to the *New York Times* in April, 1883:

"A short time since a quotation was given in *The New York Times* from the appendix to Swinton's 'History of the Army of the Potomac', to the effect that there is not 'a scintilla of evidence' to sustain my statement that General Meade contemplated a retreat at Gettysburg. As this is calculated to discredit the account of the battle given in my work on Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, I hope you will allow me a few words by way of reply. I would have answered it in the second edition of my book but, unfortunately, that was already in print before I saw the article which reflects so seriously on my fairness and generosity.

"Mr. Swinton takes the ground that it is an attack on General Meade's reputation to assert that he ever thought of falling back. I am aware that it may seem ungracious to speak thus of General Meade's intentions. As he did remain to fight it out, he is entitled to the credit of doing so. I therefore would not have mentioned the subject at all if it had not been for a circumstance that has escaped Mr. Swinton's notice. The desire to retreat was supplemented by acts which form part of the history of the battle. He sent for General Pleasanton on the 2d of July—his chief of cavalry — and directed him, late in the afternoon, to collect what cavalry and artillery he could, proceed with it to the rear, and take up a position to cover the retreat of the army. As a faithful historian, if I refer to General Pleasanton's movement at all, I must state the origin of it.

"Mr. Swinton forgets that the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War reported that there was evidence that General Meade designed to retreat.

"On the evening of the second, after sending Pleasanton off, General Meade called a council of war and put the question to the corps commanders whether they were in favor of remaining on the ridge or retreating. Our losses had been heavy and the enemy were then attacking our right, which was denuded of troops. Nevertheless the council voted to remain and endeavor to hold the ridge. General Meade dissented from the conclusion and expressed his strong dissatisfaction. Mr. Swinton and others deny this. They seem to assume that such action on his part must needs denote timidity or bad generalship. It does not necessarily

indicate anything of the kind. As the right of the enemy overlapped our line for a considerable distance, it is stated that Longstreet was in favor of turning that flank. This would not only force the Union army from the ridge, but would enable Lee to intervene between Meade and Washington. Meade feared that this would be done. He was doubtless apprehensive that Lee would steal a march on him in the night and thus endanger the safety of the capital. I do not suppose that Mr. Swinton in his zeal to defend General Meade will assume that Pleasanton's movement is a myth. The statement is sworn to before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, but as it is in a different volume from the mass of the testimony, it has probably escaped Mr. Swinton's notice. The following letter addressed to me by General Pleasanton, written from Washington under date of February 8, 1888, reiterated this statement:

"Your note of the 6th instant is received. In answer to your question, I have to state that General Meade on the 2d of July, 1863, at Gettysburg, about five o'clock in the afternoon, gave me the order to get what cavalry and artillery I could as soon as possible, and take up a position in rear to cover the retreat of the army from Gettysburg. I was thus occupied until ten o'clock at night, when I was recalled by an order from General Meade. This absence accounted for my not being at the council of war held at Meade's headquarters early in the evening.'

"By way of rebuttal, Mr. Swinton parades the following declaration of General Meade. A very slight examination will show that it refers to a different period of the battle, to the morning of the second, and not to the evening. General Meade says:

"I utterly deny, under the full solemnity and sanctity of my oath, and in the firm conviction that the day will come when the secrets of all men shall be made known — I utterly deny having intended or thought for one instant to withdraw that army, unless the military contingencies which the future should develop during the course of the day might render it a matter of necessity that the army should be withdrawn.'

"I will now give the reason for this emphatic declaration on the part of General Meade. On the morning of the second he directed his chief of staff, General Butterfield, to study and mark out the lines of retreat. It was subsequently asserted that this was a positive order for the army—which had just formed on the ridge—to withdraw before the enemy assailed it. General Meade denies that it was any thing of the kind; it was merely a necessary precaution to avoid confusion in case he lost the position and was driven back.

"I did not make the statement that he intended to retreat at that time, nor did I refer to his desire to do so in the evening of the second in either a carping or accusing spirit. I am astonished that it should be criticized so harshly. Mr. Swinton states that the only foundation which I have for asserting it is the evidence of General Butterfield before the Committee on the Conduct of the War. He then assumes that General Butterfield had a grievance; that he had been displaced as chief of staff to General Meade, and had made up this story to injure the latter. General Butterfield is fully capable of taking care of his own reputation. As, however, he is absent in South America, I will state for the information of non-military readers that the office of chief of staff is not a permanent one. Whoever fills it must necessarily hold the most intimate and confidential relations to the

commander of the army. Hence, a personal friend is always selected for the position. General Butterfield, who had been chosen for this position by General Hooker, never for a moment supposed that he would be retained in the same capacity by General Meade, and, therefore, offered his resignation at once. It was not accepted until the battle was over. It is as absurd to suppose that he cherished animosity on this account as it would be to imagine that an ex-secretary of state would be bitterly hostile to a new administration because he was not continued in office.

“Mr. Swinton says that Butterfield’s evidence is not confirmed by any member of the council of war. The fact is, they were not questioned as to the specific language quoted by General Butterfield, and no subordinate will volunteer information which may seem to reflect on his superiors. Facts of this kind are usually drawn out in cross-examination.

“General Slocum, who commanded the right wing of the army at Gettysburg, ought to be pretty good authority as to what occurred at the council. The following letter by him to me under date of February 19, 1883, sustains General Butterfield’s statement in its essential particulars:

“Your favor of the 14th instant received. I have not read what Swinton says in his new edition of “The Army of the Potomac”, and having thus far avoided being drawn into any of the controversies about the events of the war, I feel averse to writing anything on the subject.

“That a council of war was called by General Meade on the evening of July 2d is well known. The names of all present are well known. The question submitted was: “Is it advisable for the army to remain in its present position or to fall back?” The opinion of each corps commander was asked, commencing with the junior in rank. A majority were of the opinion that we should remain in the position then held by us. When each officer had expressed his views. General Meade said: “Well, gentlemen, the question is settled. We will remain here, but I will say that I consider this no place to fight a battle.” I do not believe any officer who was present at this important meeting has forgotten General Meade’s words.’

“This statement of General Meade’s views does not by no means rest solely upon the testimony quoted above. There is additional evidence to the same effect which I might give, but that several witnesses are averse to coming to the front and being pelted with partisan mud. I have no hesitation, however, to affirm that General Birney, as he rode home from the council that night with his staff officer. Major J. B. Fassitt, commented upon Meade’s statement that Gettysburg was no place to fight in. He subsequently made the same remark to General Sickles when the latter was convalescing from his wound. Both Major Fassitt and General Sickles reside in New York.

“Mr. Swinton assumes that I am unable to write an impartial story owing to the hostile relations which he supposes to have existed between General Meade and myself, founded on my criticism of the latter in my testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War. I freely admit that I was unnecessarily harsh in my language at that time. The fact is that before the battle of Gettysburg I was applied to by an officer of high rank, a confidential friend of General Meade, to give him a list of such officers of my division as had made strong demonstrations when General McClellan was removed from command. The

object of the inquiry was to promote these men over the heads of others equally deserving. I looked upon this as a plot to change the army of the Union into a partisan force, which was to become the personal appanage of an individual. Believing General Meade to be a party to this arrangement, I thought he intended to carry out this policy, and testified accordingly. I afterwards ascertained that I was mistaken in this respect; that he had no intention of reorganizing the army in the interest of General McClellan. Indeed, he could not have done so without displacing himself. When I understood the circumstances I did not blame him for his action towards me at Gettysburg. Nor is it true that he was not willing that I should serve under him again. Indeed, I applied to go down to the army to resume command of a division, and I never would have done so if I had not been certain that I would be welcome. General Meade frequently made friendly inquiries concerning me of a relative who was there. I also received a message which came through Lieut. Lambdin, formerly of my staff, to the effect that I would be well received by him in case I returned to the army. The War Department refused my application to go, on the ground that my services could not be spared from Washington at that time.

“ Mr. Swinton’s rose-colored narrative of the war might properly be called the ‘History of the Army of Northern Virginia.’ ”

Order of Exercises

at

General Robinson Monument

Robinson Avenue, Gettysburg

September 25, 1917, 4:00 P.M.

1. Music, U. S. Military Band.
2. Prayer, by Rev. Wm. T. Pray, 102nd N. Y. Veteran Volunteers.
3. Introductory Remarks by Chairman of Board of Commissioners, Colonel Lewis R. Stegman.
4. Music, Citizens Band of Gettysburg.
5. Unveiling of the Monument, by Mrs. Robert A. Hall, Daughter of General Robinson.
6. Oration, Corporal James Tanner, 87th N. Y. Vols., Robinson's Brigade, Kearny's Division, Third Army Corps.
7. Music, U. S. Military Band.
8. Address, Colonel Hilary A. Herbert, 8th Alabama, A. P. Hill's Corps, C. S. A.
9. Music, Citizens Band of Gettysburg.
10. Address, Colonel Samuel M. Morgan, Assistant Adjutant General of General Robinson's Division, Army of the Potomac.
11. Music, U. S. Military Band.
12. Poem, by Colonel John H. Cochrane, 83rd N. Y. Vols.
13. Remarks by Dr. Lewis S. Pilcher, Past Commander U. S. Grant Post, G. A. R., Department of New York.
14. Benediction, by Rev. Wm. T. Pray.

Address by Corporal James Tanner

87th N.Y. Vols.

I PLACE you men in khaki in the front, because you are there — you are the front of the nation today; our hearts are with you; our prayers are with you; our hope is in you; and when you go over the top “over there” our cheers will be with you; and when you return home triumphant our thanks will be tendered you, with vociferous cheers.

I hold it a great honor, sir, to be invited by the New York Monuments Commission, of which you are chairman, to deliver an address at the exercises for dedicating the statue erected on the field of Gettysburg to the memory of my old commander, Major-General John C. Robinson.

It was during the Peninsular campaign, ending with Malvern Hill on July 1, 1862, that the regiment in which I served was introduced to General Robinson. I was then a mere soldier stripling and probably about as verdant a country lad as could be found in the Army of the Potomac. The first railroad train that I ever boarded was the one that took me from my home when, as a boy of little more than seventeen, I started in search of a uniform and a gun to put on my shoulder. In due course, I got the desired training and had the good fortune to belong to a regiment, the Eighty-seventh New York, that was part of the First Brigade of the Third Division, Third Corps. The division commander was none other than the renowned and valorous General Kearny. Up to Fair Oaks, fought the end of May, 1862, our brigade was led by an officer from the State of Maine, General Jameson. He was a splendid soldier, and in that battle was injured so seriously, on account of his horse falling on him, that he was obliged to return home; to recuperate, as we all earnestly hoped, but alas it was not so, for death ere long put an end to his sufferings.

Those were stirring days near Richmond, and I might say not far from Washington also. A few days before our new commander received his appointment, the early part of June, a very important

event in the history of the Civil War took place. General Lee succeeding General Joseph E. Johnston as commander of the Army of Northern Virginia. General Robinson succeeded General Jameson. I was with him in many a strenuous encounter until, at the Second Manassas, on August 30, 1862, I was mustered out of service, never to go back again, by Stonewall Jackson's artillery.

The last time I saw General Robinson was when my comrades were carrying me to the rear that day. Years afterwards it was my good fortune to meet him again, and this was the beginning of a renewed acquaintanceship and a friendship that lasted until he died. After Spotsylvania, in May, 1864, when General Robinson lost a leg, he was retired from active duty on the field and placed in command of the district of Northern New York, with headquarters at Albany. When in the capital one day I ventured to call on him, and, introducing myself as one of the members of the old brigade, told him about the incident that compelled me to leave it. He recalled it immediately, and the first thing he said was, "My God, the last time I saw you was when they carried you by me in a blanket."

After General Robinson was retired from the army his friends in Broome County brought him forward as a candidate for lieutenant governor, on the ticket headed by General John A. Dix, in 1872. That time I had left my own county of Schoharie and was a resident of Brooklyn. I had, I am glad to say, an opportunity to be of some help to my brigade commander in that election. Though no longer in my native county I was in close touch with prominent politicians there, as well as with the Brooklyn leaders. Revisiting Schoharie, I pleaded as best I could the cause of my choice for lieutenant governor, and succeeded in securing Schoharie's delegates to the State convention. Through them and the co-operation of Albany, both forming one Congressional district, we managed to win the Albany delegation. This was quite an important result, as Albany took the lead in the roll call. In Brooklyn subsequently I was subjected to some close questioning as to what I knew about the general. They wanted to know how much he knew about politics. I told them frankly that I did not think he was much more of an adept at the political game than an eighteen-year-old boy, and said further: "But I can vouch for the fact that he is conscientiously devoted to the principles of our party; he holds it his duty to support it energetically; and I can say that all

through his career he has never swerved from the straight path of duty, whether in military or civil life." I also told them that General Robinson was not long over us on the battlefields when we gave him the complimentary sobriquet of "Old Reliable"; that he was ever trustworthy and capable leading a brigade or a division; that I felt sure he would be no less so as a contestant in a political fight, and that if elected he could be depended on to give a good account of his stewardship. Well, he was elected, and when his term of office expired friends and opponents testified to his integrity.

In 1877 General Robinson stood as candidate for another office, that of commander-in-chief of the Grand Army: and veterans still with us who were familiar with the affairs of that organization then will not charge me with any egotism or exaggeration when I say that I did much towards having that honor conferred on him.

To have been helpful or instrumental in conferring any honor on General Robinson was always an honor in itself; it is a pleasure and an honor to have the privilege of participating in the ceremonies for dedicating his statue here today. To have served under him and his division commander, General Kearny, in the Peninsular and Second Manassas campaigns, is a distinction that I always feel proud of when recalling it. The day after Stonewall Jackson mustered me out of service General Kearny was mortally wounded. A few years ago his own State, New Jersey, woke up to the fact that her greatest soldier had not yet been accorded a grave by the country for which he gave up his life. His remains rested for fifty years in the vault of a kinsman in Trinity churchyard, New York City, from whence New Jersey had them transferred to Arlington Cemetery. The ceremonies incident to the re-interment were attended by the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, members of his cabinet, members of the Congress and the Senate, and a large concourse of people from far and near. I had the honor on that occasion of pronouncing a eulogy over the remains of General Kearny at Arlington Cemetery, and felt that I was engaged on one of the most important duties of my whole life.

And today I find myself here helping to dedicate the statue to General Robinson. He was my brigade commander from the 10th of June until the 30th of August, 1862, one of the most strenuous and momentous periods in the long struggle between the two great armies contending against each other in the East. So you will realize,

my friends, what emotion must be mine addressing you on this occasion.

Everywhere and at every time General Robinson won the respect and the admiration of all who came into contact with him, whether in military or civil life. As a commander, he continued without interruption, until dangerously wounded, to play an important part in the Civil War. After retiring from the army he was recognized in Binghamton and Broome county as their most important citizen, and hosts of friends all over the State believed in him implicitly. In veteran circles, he was always regarded as one of the idols of the Grand Army of the Republic.

General Robinson was born at Binghamton, New York, on April 10, 1817; so that the span of an exact century covers the time since he first saw the light and the erection of a statue to his memory on a battlefield. His parents, natives of Connecticut, settled in Binghamton in 1810. Dr. Tracy Robinson, his father, was prominently identified with Binghamton's growth and prosperity for forty years. General Robinson's military career of thirty years carried him from cadet to major-general. The battlefields in which he served ranged from Palo Alto, in Mexico, to Grant's great struggle in the Wilderness and Spotsylvania, where his leg was shattered. He was frequently commended by his superior officers for gallant conduct and commanding ability.

On this field, the morning of that historic day of July 1, 1863, he heard the beckoning call of Doubleday's guns thundering on Seminary Ridge while at Marsh Creek, six miles away. He rushed his division to Doubleday's assistance and so consummately did he handle his troops that for four hours he held vastly superior forces at bay. Two horses were shot under him during that ordeal.

For the purpose of this day, I epitomize General Robinson's military career by saying that from every field on which he trod he plucked the flowers that yield to valor's touch.

We stand here on a field where, a little more than fifty-four years ago, one of the greatest scenes in the history of the nation was staged. The victory achieved at Gettysburg did not completely insure the perpetuity of the integrity of the United States, but it went a long way towards it. The gratitude of our people towards those who fought so gallantly here, an immense number of them "giving the last full measure of devotion," is finding constant expression. The

splendid array of monuments, markers, memorials and tablets all around us, and farther than our eyes can reach, furnish evidence indisputable that the great work done here and the sacrifices sustained here will always be remembered. Put all the monuments erected in all the battlefields of Europe in one place and after counting them you would not have a total half as big as the number of monuments in the Gettysburg National Military Park.

Memorials and statues count for but little if they do not convey to succeeding generations lessons valuable in public and private life. Go over this battlefield where you will, and wherever you see a memorial you will find that the true import is to commemorate character in the individual or individuals honored. This is true of the votive stone and bronze erected here to the memory of the Gray no less than to the memory of the Blue.

The numerous monuments with which this far-famed field is adorned furnish a large measure of inspiration. They are reminders of what was achieved and endured during that tremendous period of strife in the early sixties. It strikes me forcibly as I gaze on the boys in khaki now before me, happily participating in these ceremonies — the boys who are getting ready for the frays to come — that they can contemplate dedications such as these with great advantage to themselves. Spectacles such as these cannot help but give them considerable inspiration and enthusiasm, which are never found wanting in the brave soldier. We exhort our young friends in khaki to be resolved and prepared to do their utmost, as their fathers and forefathers did, for maintaining and perpetuating the principles of democracy and the freedom of mankind the world over. We call, and call confidently, on the American youth of today to do their full duty to the nation and its leaders, as we, who were the youth of the early sixties, feel that we did ours when our turn came and when we were able to serve. The government of the day demands of them the same devotion and sacrifice that we in our youthful days gave the then government. To the appeal of President Wilson they should respond with the same alacrity and loyalty that we did when President Lincoln asked the nation to help him.

It is worthy of note, too, that we have today some of the adverse conditions that were a handicap to the government of President Lincoln. At that time we were cursed by the indifference, and even opposition, of a class of individuals who were of us but not with us.

They had but little love for the nation's cause, and many of them who favored the cause ostensibly had not the pluck to wear a uniform and defend the flag. We styled them Copperheads, and this name is still used by writers of American history. I have heard people of the younger generation express surprise that they were not called Rattlesnakes ; but, my friends, you must not forget that a rattlesnake is a somewhat gallant and fair-minded reptile. He never strikes until he has sounded a preliminary warning. We have now their lineal descendants to contend with. They are variously designated as pacifists, anarchists, socialists, I. W. W.'s — the I won't work workers — individuals who as a class strike in the dark and who do not hesitate at murder to accomplish their foul designs. I sincerely trust if it turns out to be at all necessary to do it that President Wilson will not hesitate to pursue the same course deemed advisable by Abraham Lincoln, that is, suspend the writ of habeas corpus and declare martial law in districts found to be infested. Then I would have him seize these despicable creatures, hale them before a military court, give them a fair trial, and, if convicted, give them forthwith their deserts.

The one thing I deem of supreme importance is to arouse the American people to a consciousness of the fact that the world war now raging in the European fronts is as much our war as if it were being fought within our own shores. It is the cause of mankind the world over. I have no doubt of the ultimate result. The cost will be mighty in blood and treasure, but the happy result will be to crush and end autocracy in Europe, and in that devoutly-to-be wished-for consummation America will act its part.

I have enough faith to believe that among our hosts of soldiers to cross the water there will develop many an aspirant to the honors and distinction won by John Cleveland Robinson — many a man who will be stimulated by the single idea of absolute loyalty to the cause for which he is to fight, and fully determined to do his best and strike his hardest, with no thought whatever of personal consequences to himself.

Address by Colonel Hilary A. Herbert
8th Alabama, A.P. Hill's Corps

WHEN I last met you, veterans in blue, on this battlefield, we were enemies. That was four and fifty years ago. Today I am here calling you "comrades," helping you to honor two of the great soldiers against whom I was then in arms. Colonel Stegman, whom I sincerely thank, as I do Comrades Stedman and Tanner, for the privilege of being here today, has introduced me as a former head of the navy of the government I was trying here in 1863 to dismember. How strange to you—how impossible to me—all this would have seemed in July, 1863! Here are twenty-two square miles of as neat and well-kept a park as the sun ever shone on. Here are driveways, leading to the various positions occupied during the great battle by the Union army and by the Confederate army. Here are tablets, as neat and costly for one army as for the other, marking the position, and telling as fairly as may be, the exploits of every brigade, squadron and battery in both armies. These markers have been put up by the government whose solidarity was at stake here in 1863. And here are monuments erected by States, proud of their sons, and by other organizations, proud of their leaders. Here on this side, where his headquarters was, is the statue of General Meade, the commander-in-chief of the great Army of the Potomac. Over there where his position was, is the statue of Lee. Of that I can speak, for I was one of the followers and worshippers of Lee, and I believe with Theodore Roosevelt who said that, without any disparagement of those world-famous soldiers, Grant and Marlborough, Lee was the greatest general the English speaking race has produced. There, on Seminary Ridge, sits Lee on Traveler, man and horse just as they were when, after Pickett's repulse, General Lee rode slowly along our line, with a single orderly following him, calm and as imperturbable as is that bronze statue today. Colonel Roosevelt is not singular among Northerners in his admiration of the great Confederate leader.

Years ago General Lee was put up by Northerners among the great Americans whose names were entitled to be enrolled in the "Hall of Fame," and it was that brave Union soldier and courageous historian, Charles Francis Adams, who said that the government of the United States ought to erect a monument to Robert E. Lee for this: that to his decision, his influence, his advice and his example was due the amazing fact that after the surrender of Johnston's army, quickly following Appomattox, the many thousands of Confederates who were then in arms, instead of continuing the fight as guerrillas, at the behest of their commanders quietly disbanded, took the oath of allegiance to the United States and kept it from that day to this. The unanimity with which the Confederate armies, at the command of their leaders — Lee and Johnston — turned from war to the arts of peace, has no precedent in history. The spectacle amazed the world, but it was distinctly American. To abide by the decision of the tribunal to which we have submitted our cause is the law of our civilization. The American stands by decisions made, whether at the ballot box, by a court of justice or on the field of battle.

So absolute was the submission of the Confederates to the results of the war, so faithfully did they follow the advice of their great leader to become good citizens, that Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, carried away by enthusiasm, introduced a resolution in the United States Senate to burn all battle flags to enable our country to come together and forget forever the war and all its horrors. That was all very fine for sentiment, but the American people, and particularly those of us who fought each other, knew better than Senator Sumner how to secure a lasting peace and a perfect union. That way we took soon after the war closed, and we have traveled it ever since.

It was absolutely impossible for either the South or the North to forget the sacrifices that had been made by its soldiers and its citizens for its ideals. The one way to bring the two sections together was, for each to recognize fully the sacrifices made by the other, do justice to the motives that had prompted these sacrifices, and to withhold no just meed of praise from the citizens and the soldiers who had upheld the ideals of its adversary section. In this great movement, the soldiers of the two sections, they who had tested each other's mettle on the field of battle, were in position to lead. They have led, and our Union is now more perfect than it was even in the era of good

feeling when Monroe was President. But the credit for this does not all belong to our soldiers.

Congress blazed the way long ago when it provided for the publication of all the official records of our great war, both Federal and Confederate, that all the world might know fully of the deeds of the American soldier, and Congress was pursuing that same policy when it afterward provided for these memorial battlefields. Here, even the wayfaring man who never stops to read history, will read as he passes and talk to his children of the valor of his countrymen.

Grover Cleveland was helping to bring his countrymen together when, in both his first and his second administration, he threw the doors wide open and called on Confederate and Federal soldiers, alike and without distinction, to serve their government in judicial and executive offices, at home and abroad. And it was Grover Cleveland who first brought together as one man in the House and Senate every member. Northerner and Southerner, Democrat and Republican. That was in 1896, in answer to his Venezuela message. Every man then stood up for the Monroe Doctrine, democracy in America, just as Woodrow Wilson has called upon them in 1917 to stand up in this world war for democracy against autocracy.

William McKinley, the soldier-president, was bringing the South and North together when he appointed Oates and Fitzhugh Lee and Wheeler, who had been Confederate officers, to be Federal officers in the Spanish-American war. And again, when, in a speech in Atlanta, after the close of that war, he said the time had come when the United States government should take care of the graves of the Confederate dead. That speech brought into existence the beautiful monument erected by the Daughters of the Confederacy to the Confederates who are now sleeping side by side with the Union dead in the national cemetery at Arlington.

When the corner-stone of the monument was being laid in 1912 I was master of ceremonies. Seeing Comrade Tanner sitting among the spectators, I called him to my side to put his spadeful of mortar on the corner-stone, asked him then and there to speak briefly after the orator of the occasion, and in a five-minute extempore speech he carried away from us all, as his habit is, the laurels of the day. Roosevelt in all his writings, and when he was President, and Taft when he was President, used all their great powers to help forward the growth of kindly feeling between the two sections. So also for

many years now have broad-minded historians and writers for the press. But behind all this mighty onward movement and making it possible has been the soldier who fought the battles, not the horse holder or the slacker, but the real soldier — Federal and Confederate.

I have no time here to enumerate the numerous reunions of the Blue and the Gray. I mention now only the great fiftieth anniversary of the battle on these grounds, and one other that is absolutely unique in history. In 1906, the survivors of the Twenty-third New Jersey put up on the field where the brave fight of Salem Church, part of the battle of Chancellorsville, took place in 1863, a monument on one side of which was a just tribute to their own gallant dead, and on the other a brass plate with this inscription:

“To the brave Alabama boys who were our opponents on this field and whose memory we honor, this tablet is dedicated.”

The mortuary literature of the world furnished no parallel to this magnanimous tribute. I commanded a regiment of the Alabama boys thus commemorated and some of the results of this monument were visits between General Grubb, the head of that association, and myself, a contribution by that association to the Confederate monument at Arlington, and my election as an honorary member of the Twenty-third New Jersey Survivors Association. Comrade Tanner here with us, was, so far as I know, the first veteran of the war to be elected honorary member of an association composed of his former enemies. That occurred many years ago in Richmond, Virginia, and was the result of services he had rendered to Confederates. I should have called him “Corporal.” That was the title he held when, at the Second Manassas, he was mustered out of active service by Stonewall Jackson. He has made the title since held by him as famous by his eloquent speeches for comradeship between the Blue and the Gray as Napoleon made the title “Little Corporal” on the battle fields of Europe.

Mr. Chairman, I find that I am talking, and further on will be impelled to talk more about myself and it seems that, if not an apology, at least an explanation is necessary. So far, I have been speaking chiefly of what Union soldiers and Union Presidents have done. I am, I believe, the only Confederate here, and am now to contend that the Confederates have also done their duty fully in bringing about present happy conditions. It has been my good

fortune to have many opportunities to help forward in this cause. If I had not availed myself of them, I should have misrepresented the constituents who gave me these opportunities and for whom I am speaking now. They stood by me and kept me in Congress for sixteen consecutive years, because they approved my course and especially my determination (and I adhered to it) to indulge in no debates that would keep alive the passions of the war. Twelve of the best years of my life, I devoted to the building up of the navy, eight consecutive years in the naval committee of the House of Representatives, which originated naval appropriation bills, and four succeeding years as Secretary of the Navy, superintending the construction of ships, when authorized. When I became chairman of that committee, in 1885, the new navy consisted of three little ships. When I turned over that navy to my successor in 1897, it was the navy that in two battles crushed the naval power of Spain. Every naval vessel that fought the battle of Manila, under Admiral Dewey, except one, I had a hand in, either as helping in the naval committee to authorize, or else supervising its construction as Secretary, and in some cases, in both authorizing and constructing; and so of every single ship that fought at Santiago, with the single exception of the little converted yacht Gloucester. Not a dollar for the building, equipping, or provisioning of that navy was going South, yet my constituents at home approved my course and my southern colleagues in the House followed me all the while we were demonstrating to the people of the North that the country had no stauncher friends than the ex-Confederates.

After all, Mr. Chairman, it is not strange that when the war was over all the good soldiers. North and South, those who had learned on the battlefield to respect each other and admire each other, earnestly desired that we should all become one people again. Slavery, about which we had quarreled, was eliminated, and the question of secession, about which we honestly differed, had been settled, and there was nothing left to divide us. You were some what inaccurate, Mr. Chairman, when you said in introducing me that we Confederates had framed a constitution for ourselves. We took One already framed, the old constitution of the fathers, and changed it only enough to make it read as we understood Madison and Jefferson had expounded it. You were fighting for that same constitution as you thought Washington and Jackson understood it. We were all fighting for

democracy. No American has ever shouldered a gun for the right of kings to rule since the last army of George III surrendered at Yorktown.

Our family dispute settled, peace and prosperity came to us. Fifty years of luxurious living have, unfortunately, bred among us pestilential broods of cowardly pacifists and envious anarchists, but in this hour of peril, thank God, we can rely upon the stalwart Americanism that has come down to us from the Blue and the Gray and is standing solidly behind Woodrow Wilson.

The climax in this story of the brotherhood of the Blue and the Gray today was the annual reunion of the Confederate veterans held in the Capital of their country on the 5th, 6th and 7th of June last, the hearty and generous welcome extended to them by those who represented the nation and the genuine rebel yell of delight with which that welcome was greeted. I have no time to expand upon it. Congress will print all the speeches that were made and a description of the reception, that the nation may see for itself. That reunion was the conception of Colonel Andrew Cowan, commander in 1863 of the famous battery now commemorated over there on Cemetery Hill. Among the welcoming speakers was Corporal Tanner. The President and somebody representing everybody else spoke, but Corporal Tanner had to speak again at night.

Thousands of Confederates had been provided for, but thousands more than had been expected came. The exigencies of the war prevented to some extent the government aid that was expected, but in spite of a rainstorm and other difficulties the Washington reunion was the most successful and enthusiastic of all those ever held by the Confederates.

I was grand marshal at that reunion, aiding in the arrangements, and, of course, very anxious about what might be the results of the parade. The veterans were old and the weather was likely to be hot. Physicians were in attendance, ambulances were on hand, and every provision was made for sicknesses and deaths that might occur, but there was not a single death. On the contrary, there were marriages — three of them it is said — one of the veterans bringing his intended with him. There is nothing that attracts the girls like the gay old soldier boy.

Address of Colonel Samuel M. Morgan **Assistant Adjutant General in General Robinson's Division**

Mr. chairman, ladies and gentlemen, and comrades:

I appreciate indeed very much this opportunity to say a few words at the dedication of the statue to General Robinson. I was on his staff from the time that he took charge of a brigade, at Newport News in May, 1862, until he was wounded at Spotsylvania two years after. In the battle fought on this field I was assistant adjutant-general of his division. The difficulties and perils that General Robinson's regiments encountered on this ground on July 1, 1863, are therefore well known to me. For four hours on that day his two brigades had to bear the brunt of the attack made by five Confederate brigades. We are now in a part of the field where some of the most intense fighting of the opening contest took place.

On the whole, the first day's conflict at Gettysburg was seldom surpassed for intensity and casualty during the Civil War. The First Corps was the first to go into action on this field and the heaviest part of the resistance made to the Confederate advance fell on its three divisions, one of which was commanded by General Robinson. I verily believe that if it had not been for the gallant defense made by our corps that day on Seminary Ridge, from the Hagerstown Road right up to the place where the monument we are now dedicating stands, the battle of Gettysburg would have been claimed as a Confederate victory.

With less than 8,500 men, the First Corps, I have authority for saying, was, the afternoon of that day, attacked by forces four times as numerous. In 1867, it was my privilege to accompany General Robinson and others with him when they were trying to locate the positions of the First Corps regiments on Seminary Ridge. It happened that a Confederate participant — a staff officer — was here the same day. We had very interesting talks with him on the battle. He asked General Robinson how many men were holding the Federal positions on Seminary Ridge the first day. When told not more than 8,500, he turned round with an air of

surprise, and said: "I do not wish to contradict you, but how could that be, for you held from thirty to forty thousand men at bay for several hours." He also made the remark then that Lee attributed his failure at Gettysburg to the losses suffered by A. P. Hill's Corps in the first day's fight.

General Robinson's Division was made up of Paul's and Baxter's brigades. They were in the thick of the fierce encounter of the evening of the first day, from start to finish. Well do I remember seeing part of Ewell's Corps coming down the Mummasburg Road — a little to the north of where we are at present assembled — and attacking our right flank. That was about three o'clock. Our division was last on the retreat to Cemetery Hill. Finally, and after battling away to the bitter end, the enemy rushing on us in swarms from the Mummasburg Road, we fell back under this hill. Just then Captain Stewart, commanding Battery B, Fourth U. S. Artillery, rode up to us saying that the troops on the left had all gone and asking what he was to do, as his battery was still holding its ground. General Robinson instructed him to withdraw his men as soon as possible and at the same time sent him assistance. When we saw Stewart's men hurrying away to the rear the Second Division continued its retreat, with the enemy in hot pursuit.

Up to the time of receiving orders to fall back, we lost but few prisoners, but our list in killed and wounded was a terribly long one. And so was that of the brigades we fought. In the retreat to Cemetery Hill the brigade of Coulter — first led by Paul, who was wounded— took position on the left and rear of Baxter's. Then Baxter's men were withdrawn and as the last of his regiments had passed to the rear of Coulter's the enemy again came to the attack, but they were held in check by a well-directed fire. The last formation in our division was made by the Ninety-fourth New York at the railroad cut. As we were approaching the town Confederate troops were massed on our right and left. When we came within sight of the streets we saw that large numbers of the Eleventh Corps were thronged there and so were obliged to march through a lane that led to Cemetery Hill. We remained a little to the left of Ziegler's grove that night. The next morning early we were relieved by Hays's Division of the Second Corps. About midnight a roll call was ordered, and it was found that the casualties in our division numbered 1,667, of which 124 were commissioned officers.

The First Corps by its stubborn resistance to A. P. Hill's Corps and part of Ewell's the first day paved the way for Federal success the second day and the third day at Gettysburg.

General Robinson was a grand man and a brave and able commander. I take great pleasure in stating now before his statue, as one of the veterans present here who served under him, that he invariably exercised the greatest care in looking after the comfort of his men. In battle he was always up with his troops. Two horses fell under him the first day at Gettysburg. I loved General Robinson as a man and I admired him as a soldier.

Comrades, we should feel very proud and very thankful that after fifty odd years we are enjoying today this magnificent reunion of First Corps survivors. We have come here to pay tribute to two of the finest generals of the Civil War. I thank God for you and myself for being spared to avail ourselves of this opportunity to meet each other and greet each other once more on the famed field of Gettysburg.

Major General John Cleveland Robinson

JOHN CLEVELAND ROBINSON was born in Binghamton, N. Y., on April 10, 1817. He came of a good New England colonial stock. He was a lineal descendant, in the seventh generation, of the Reverend John Robinson, the pastor of that body of Puritan exiles which, after having first found refuge in Leyden, Holland, landed on the shores of Massachusetts in 1620, and founded the colony of the Pilgrim Fathers.

His parents, Dr. Tracy and Sarah (Cleveland) Robinson, natives of Connecticut, settled in Binghamton, N. Y., in 1810. From the time of making it his adopted home until his demise, forty years after, Dr. Robinson was prominently and continuously identified with Binghamton's growth and development. As well as practicing his profession, he opened a drug store there. He was made associate judge and justice of the peace; and the honor of being the first judge appointed from Broome county was also his. Dr. Robinson was one of the founders and one of the first members of Christ Church in Binghamton; and for a dozen years after Andrew Jackson became President he was postmaster there.

The fact that it was exactly a hundred years from the date of General Robinson's birth to the erection of a statue to his memory on the battlefield of Gettysburg, invites a little retrospection at the beginning of this sketch. It was in the year 1817 that James Monroe was inaugurated President. Daniel D. Tompkins resigned the Governorship of New York to become Vice-president in his administration. One of his last acts as Governor was the signing of the bill whereby slavery was to be abolished in New York after Independence Day, 1827. Immediately on succeeding him, Governor DeWitt Clinton signed the act authorizing the construction of the Erie Canal, work on which was begun on July 4, 1817. In that year also it was a mooted question as to which was the premier State, New York or Virginia. The census returns issued shortly after showed that New York had won the title of Empire State, by becoming first in population and wealth.

Binghamton, picturesquely situated at the confluence of the

Susquehanna and Chenango rivers, and now one of the most important cities in the State, being the county seat of Broome county, with extensive manufacturing interests, handsome public buildings, and parks, and a busy railroad center, was but a small place a century ago. Known as Chenango Point when founded, in 1787, it got its present name in 1800, and was not incorporated as a village until 1834.

The school that John C. Robinson first attended had the distinction of being conducted by a teacher who was also an author. One of the text books used in his classes was his own work — "John Olney's School Geography and Atlas." His studies were continued at home in a more advanced school, from whence he went to Oxford Academy, at that time one of the principal educational establishments in the State.

In 1835, when eighteen years old, John C. Robinson entered the military academy at West Point. Three years after he left West Point, intent on studying law, but a military career ere long re-allured him and he relinquished jurisprudence for it.

Among the cadets at West Point while he was there, and who held important commands during the Civil War, were Halleck, Hooker, Sedgwick, Ricketts and Stevens; and Ewell, Early and Edward Johnson, of the South.

Receiving a commission as second lieutenant in the United States Infantry on October 27, 1839, he served in Madison Barracks, Sacketts Harbor, from November of that year to April, 1840. He was at Fort Howard, Wis., from May, 1840, to August, 1841; Fort Crawford, Wis., to September, 1841; at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., to October, 1841; Fort Brady, Mich., to June, 1842; on leave to August, 1842; at Fort Brady, Mich., to July, 1843; at Fort Mackinac, Mich., to May, 1845, and at Fort Brady, Mich., to June, 1845; on leave to September, 1845.

During the troubles preceding hostilities in Mexico, he was ordered to the Rio Grande, and joined "The Army of Occupation," under General Taylor, at Corpus Christi, Texas, in September, 1845. In Mexico, he took part in the engagements at Palo Alto, Reseca de la Palma, Monterey and Vera Cruz. He was honorably mentioned for distinguished service in the battle of Monterey. On June 18, 1846, he was promoted first lieutenant.

He was engaged in recruiting service to April, 1848; and with

his regiment in Mexico to July, 1848; in Mississippi to October, 1848. At Fort Smith, Ark., to January, 1849, and at Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, to July, 1850. He was at Clear Fork of the Brazos, Texas, to September, 1853, and in the field in Texas to November, 1853. On leave to May 6, 1854, and at Ringgold Barracks in Texas to September, 1854. Scouting in 1855. On leave to April that year. With his regiment at Ringgold Barracks, Texas, to February, 1856, and on leave to August that year. In Florida to June, 1857. En route and at Fort Bridger, Utah, to April, 1858, and at Camp Scott to September, 1859.

In 1850, when he was promoted captain, his regiment, the Fifth, went to the headquarters of the Brazos river, in Texas, and built Fort Belknap and Fort Phantom Hill. Three years later it marched across the country to Laredo, on the Rio Grande, serving there from headquarters at Ringgold Barracks against hostile Indians until 1856. Subsequently, he commanded an expedition to the Everglades, Florida, during which he made a trip of three hundred miles against rebellious Indians. About this period also he led three companies in an expedition through the Big Cypress Swamp.

In the summer of 1857 Captain Robinson's regiment was ordered to Utah, with the Johnston expedition. This march took him through Fremont's route and through the South Pass. That winter being severe, he remained in Fort Bridger, Wyo., with three companies, having the army supplies in his charge, while the rest of the regiment, under General Johnston, encamped in the vicinity at a place called Black Fork.

Captain Robinson, who had now come east, was on leave until February 12, 1861, when he was ordered to Fort McHenry, Md., to take charge of the garrison. This was two months prior to the bombardment of Fort Sumter. The impending struggle found him with twenty years of military training, which included considerable active service, in Mexico and at various places putting down Indian insurrections.

THE CIVIL WAR

The Sixth Massachusetts Regiment on its way to Washington was attacked in the streets of Baltimore on April 19, 1861. Three of the soldiers were killed and the troops firing on their assailants killed eleven of them. The rioters then contemplated seizing Fort McHenry.

Notwithstanding that it had but a garrison of sixty, Captain Robinson felt able from the beginning to defend himself. In an advice to the Adjutant-General at Washington, dated April 20th, he said; "I shall probably be attacked tonight; I believe I can hold the post." This coolness and confidence were fully justified. Many years after, in a published letter by him on the subject, he told of that threatened attack and the means taken to cope with it:

"I felt confident the next movement would be an attempt to get possession of Fort McHenry, and although it was scarcely in a defensible condition, I immediately prepared for an attack, determined to hold it as long as possible. I also sent as many men as I could spare, with two pieces of artillery, to take possession of Fort Carroll. The same evening I received a call from Police Commissioner John W. Davis, who brought a letter from Mr. Chas. Howard, president of the Board, stating that I would be annoyed that night by disorderly and unauthorized persons and proposing to send the 'city military' to help protect the fort. It did not require a second reading of this letter to see through it, and I said to the bearer, 'Mr. Davis, I am aware that I am to be attacked tonight. I received notice of it before dark. In the meantime, I have not been idle. If you will walk out on the parapet with me you can see that I am ready. You will find men standing at the guns, and every gun loaded. I intend to hold this fort against the whole city of Baltimore. I shall not allow your city military to come here, for I am acquainted with some of the officers of the Maryland Guards, and know what their principles are.' 'Why, Captain,' said he, 'we are anxious to avoid a collision.'

"'Very well, sir; if you wish to avoid a collision place your city forces any where between Federal Hill and that Roman Catholic chapel about half a mile off, but if a man steps this side of there I shall fire on him.'

"He laughingly asked, 'Would you fire into the city of Baltimore?'

"I replied, 'I should be sorry to do so, sir, but if it becomes necessary in order to hold this fort, I shall not hesitate about it one moment.'

"He then became angry, and shaking his fist, said, 'I assure you. Captain Robinson, if there is a woman or child killed in that city, there won't be one of you left alive here, sir.'

"'Well, sir,' said I, 'of that I will take the chances. Now, I assure you, Mr. Davis, if your Baltimore mob comes down here tonight, you will not have another mob in Baltimore for ten years to come, sir.' He then left, apparently satisfied that I meant what I said.

"During the night the steamer Spaulding came into the harbor and anchored under the guns of the fort. She had been carrying troops from New York to Fortress Monroe, and did not dare to run up to the city, where a perfect reign of terror existed, and where no man dared to open his mouth in favor of the Union. I took advantage of the arrival of this vessel, and caused a report to be circulated that she had brought me a reinforcement of eight hundred men. I closed the gates of the fort, established a picket guard on the causeway leading to Baltimore, and

cut off all communication with the town. I collected and put up all the tents I could find, set my men at work, mounting and dismounting guns, and made as great a display of force as possible.

“Ten days after, the citizens learned for the first time that no reinforcements had been received. I had, however, by that time attained my object. A reaction had taken place — the reign of terror was over; Union men began to show themselves, and Baltimore became a quiet and orderly city. When this trouble commenced I had not more than a week’s rations on hand, but by a successful ruse, succeeded in getting into the fort a three months’ supply of provisions. Many interesting incidents occurred during this time which I cannot relate in this sketch. For more than a week I slept only during day time. Had the rebel elements been able to get possession of Fort McHenry, Washington must have fallen; Maryland would have passed an ordinance of secession and would have been the seat of war instead of Virginia.”

On May 5, 1861, two days after President Lincoln’s second call for volunteers, Captain Robinson was sent West on mustering duty — in Ohio and Michigan. In the latter State he was on familiar ground, having been there on duty when a lieutenant. He had considerable success on this recruiting mission, and was made colonel of the First Michigan Volunteers in September. Henceforth, further promotion and increased responsibility came to him in quick succession. He was raised to the rank of major in the regular army in February, 1862, and was appointed two months after a brigadier general of volunteers, just a year following his tour de force at Fort McHenry. When advanced to be a general he was at Portsmouth, in the Department of Virginia.

THE SEVEN DAYS’ BATTLES AND SECOND MANASSAS

General Robinson was transferred to the Army of the Potomac on June 10, 1862, and at once took command of the First Brigade, Third Division (Kearny’s) of the Third Corps (Heintzelman’s), succeeding Jameson who was dangerously hurt at Fair Oaks. At that time, the Peninsular campaign was in full swing. McClellan was feeling the disappointment of not being reinforced by McDowell’s Corps, which was to have marched south from Fredericksburg on May 26th. Fear at Washington that Stonewall Jackson would be more than a match for Banks and Fremont in the Shenandoah Valley resulted in half of McDowell’s Corps being detained at Fredericksburg, the other half being detailed to help stop Jackson’s raiding and cut off his retreat to Richmond; Lee was now commanding the Southern troops in the

East, having succeeded Joseph E. Johnston, who was wounded at Fair Oaks. The Confederates were being reinforced and concentrated at Richmond, awaiting Jackson. A detachment of the Union army had been within sight of the spires of the Southern capital. The Confederate cavalry commander, J. E. B. Stuart, made a successful raid around McClellan's army, capturing numbers of prisoners, destroying much property, and returning in safety to his chief, with much valuable information.

Jackson nearing Richmond, as if on regular schedule time, in the absence of support from McDowell, McClellan made up his mind to change his base from White House near the Pamunkey river to Harrison's Landing on the James. Lee now took the offensive and fighting was resumed on June 25th at Oak Grove — the first of the Seven Days' battles. All along their line of retreat the Federals were pursued vigorously and destructive encounters took place for a whole week, ending with Malvern Hill, on July 1st. Advantage of good defensive ground enabled McClellan to compel Lee to cry halt to his pursuit at Malvern Hill, and a week after Lee marched his troops back to Richmond, McClellan in the meantime making his headquarters at Harrison's Landing.

In the fierce conflicts of the Seven Days battles General Robinson acquitted himself manfully. His brigade fought at Oak Grove, Glendale, Frazier's Farm and Malvern Hill. General Kearny wrote in his report of the engagement at Frazier's Farm, June 30th:

"I have reserved General Robinson for the last. To him this day is due above all others in this division the honors of this battle. The attack was on his wing. Everywhere present by personal supervision and noble example he secured to us the honor of victory. Our loss has been severe, and when it is remembered that this occurs to mere skeletons of regiments there is but one observation to be made— that previous military history presents no such parallel."

After Malvern Hill, the Army of the Potomac remained encamped at Harrison's Landing for six weeks, and then it was ordered north to participate in the new campaign, launched under Pope. Meantime, Lee was leaving Richmond to join the vanguard of his army, under Stonewall Jackson, who, on August 9th, encountered Banks at Cedar Mountain, the forces engaged being 20,000 Confederates against 9,000 under Banks.

Lee and Jackson were now to match their skill and daring against a new commander, for Pope was given McClellan's place as

commander of all of the forces in Virginia. Forthwith, there was strenuous concentration of the units of both contending armies, with intermittent fighting as they were drawn in the direction of Manassas. Pope was instructed to make a stand at the Rappahannock, where it was thought at Washington he could be strengthened soon enough by the troops that had left Harrison's Landing. The Confederate leader was in a hurry to precipitate a big battle before all the Union troops could effect a concentration and he pressed Pope hard at the Rappahannock. Failing in this then, Lee ordered Jackson and Stuart to place themselves in Pope's rear. In this hazardous movement Jackson reached Manassas and seized large quantities of supplies there. Then leaving Manassas, just as Pope was nearing it, he succeeded in coming within supporting distance of the rest of Lee's army. In the fighting that ensued, the Second Manassas campaign, the Union troops were worsted. Pope, who began his operations with what has been styled braggadocio, resigned on reaching Washington, and McClellan was restored to his command. Lee throughout this campaign had not more than 55,000 men, of whom 10,000 fell, and Pope's forces finally numbered from 70,000 to 75,000, of whom 7,000 were taken prisoners, the killed and wounded amounting to over 13,000. The Confederates also captured thirty guns and 20,000 rifles.

In this campaign, at Bristoe Station, Groveton and Bull Run, General Robinson's regiments were hotly engaged. Pope, who had not many good words for some of the commanders that came to him from Harrison's Landing, Porter especially, who was dismissed from the service not long after, said of General Robinson that "he commanded his troops with zeal and gallantry." In another report on these battles — an unsigned document — by one of the victims of the engagement at Chantilly, on September 1st, General Kearny, General Robinson is also favorably mentioned:

"It makes me proud to dwell on the renewed efforts of my generals of brigade, Birney and Robinson." And again, "I must refer to General Hooker to render justice to the part taken by my first brigade under General Robinson, and Randolph's Battery, in the affair of the 27th at Bristoe Station."

In an encounter at Bull Run General Robinson was struck by a shell, though not injured.

General Robinson did not participate in the battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862. This was the only important field in which he

was not with the Army of the Potomac during the time that he held commands in it. On that occasion his brigade was with Banks guarding the defenses at Washington. But he was in Maryland a month later, in pursuit of Stuart when he raided Chambersburg on October 10th, afterward making a circuit round the Federal army and escaping unmolested to Virginia.

FREDERICKSBURG

At Fredericksburg, where a disaster similar to that which befell Pope at the Second Manassas was repeated under Burnside, the middle of December, 1862, General Robinson was in the thick of the fighting, his horse having been shot under him. In his report of this battle he says:

“Entering the field at double quick, I formed line of battle in rear of Livingston’s and Randolph’s batteries, toward which the enemy was still moving, and which were in danger of being captured. As soon as I had two regiments in line, I pushed forward to meet him. These regiments, the 114th Pa. Vols. (Collis’ Zouaves) and the 63d Pa. Vols., advanced beautifully, delivering a galling fire into the face of the enemy, and, cheering at double-quick, drove him in confusion, back to his works. The other regiments were now drawn up, and I formed my brigade in line on the crest of the hill fronting the enemy’s entrenchments, and, sending a party of skirmishers as far as the ditch in front of my line, captured in it one colonel, one captain, and sixty non-commissioned officers and privates of a Georgia regiment. This capture was made by Captain Eliot, of the 114th Pa. Vols. Other prisoners were taken and among them Captain Lawson, assistant adjutant-general to Major-General Ewell.”

In this battle General Robinson’s Brigade was part of the reinforcements that Burnside sent to Sumner while he was bravely, if vainly, trying to oust the Confederates from their impregnable positions at Marye’s Heights. When his men went into action the battle was raging in all its fury.

Says Birney, the division commander, in his report:

“I have to mark out for the high commendation of the general in chief, Generals Berry and Robinson and Ward. To the reputation they have established on other fields they have added great lustre.”

And the corps commander, Stoneman: “A portion of Ward’s Brigade, under its general, was sent by General Birney to the support of General Meade, and they in their turn were driven back, but immediately re-formed in rear of Robinson’s Brigade, which had arrived and was just then deploying in line of battle in front of the batteries of Livingston and Randolph. The enemy was now advancing in strong force, but the brigades of Berry and Robinson, together with

the three regiments of Ward's Brigade, on the extreme right, by a well-directed fire, first checked the advancing foe, and then drove him back into the wood beyond the railroad, taking a considerable number of prisoners."

Fredericksburg was the last battle in which General Robinson's command was confined to one brigade. By order of Burnside, he was put in charge of the Second Division of the First Corps, Reynolds' This took effect on December 29, 1862.

CHANCELLORSVILLE

Notwithstanding the high casualty list and the utter failure that it was Burnside's painful duty to record when writing his report of Fredericksburg, it did not take long for the Army of the Potomac to be in splendid fighting trim again, both as to strength and morale; and none of its commanders so far entertained higher hopes of success than Hooker, who succeeded Burnside, when, early in April, 1863, he had formulated his plans for new operations.

Hooker was one of the officers that Burnside wanted to be dismissed for disloyalty towards him at Fredericksburg. There was a strong sentiment at Washington against his promotion to the chief command. Reynolds, it is believed, was consulted as to his willingness to lead the army, but declined because he asked more freedom of action, if appointed, than the War Department wished to give him. Meade was also mentioned as a likely successor to Burnside. Hooker was finally selected.

He began his campaign with commendable cleverness and kept Lee guessing for a considerable time as to his real intentions. Chancellorsville, twelve miles from Falmouth, on the opposite side of the Rappahannock, was his ultimate objective, and by May 1st his main army was concentrated there.

Perhaps if, as was the case with his successors, Hooker did not have to contend with the indomitable and almost invariably victorious Stonewall Jackson, he would have a different and better story to relate of his soldiership at Chancellorsville. In one of his greatest, as it was his last, maneuvers, Jackson swooped down unawares on the right of the Union army the evening of May 2nd, after having made a roundabout march of fifteen miles, and drove the corps posted there, Howard's, before him in confusion. The infantry and artillery interposed themselves between Jackson's men and Hooker's

headquarters and checked their advance. In returning from a reconnaissance that he made toward dusk Jackson was wounded by his own men, and died ten days after.

The battle was renewed on May 3rd, with the odds still in favor of Hooker if his superior forces were adroitly handled. From the very beginning Hooker in this campaign seems to have been obsessed by indecision and hesitation. He started from Falmouth intent on taking the offensive, and no sooner had he reached Chancellorsville than he made up his mind to act on the defensive. Lee in this conflict of the 3rd of May took the aggressive vigorously and just as it was raging Hooker was stunned by the concussion of a ball from one of the Confederate batteries that struck a pillar of the Chancellor House against which he was leaning.

While incapacitated from this shock, none of his subordinates ventured to give directions on his own responsibility, with the result that the Confederates were able to claim another decisive victory. While the fighting was going on at Chancellorsville a portion of the Union army under Sedgwick achieved considerable success at Salem Church and Fredericksburg, but being attacked on the 4th Sedgwick was compelled to recross the Rappahannock. Lee then decided to attack Hooker again, but by this time the latter was discouraged, and disinclined for further action, and he marched his troops back to their old positions at Falmouth. Here they were entrenched on the 7th. The Confederate forces also withdrew to their former ground at Fredericksburg.

General Robinson's Division, on account of the First Corps being principally held in reserve and the positions it occupied remaining comparatively immune from attack, was not actively engaged at Chancellorsville. His pickets seized about a hundred prisoners. The casualties of the First Corps in this engagement were only 292, of which 75 were sustained by General Robinson's Division, the Second. Wadsworth commanded the First Division and Doubleday the Third.

GETTYSBURG

But if the First Corps was inactive at Chancellorsville and suffered little there, in the movement on Gettysburg, the next battle, it was in the vanguard, and bore the brunt of the opening conflict.

As a hero of Seminary Ridge, where the First Corps cooperating

with the Eleventh on its right, gave battle the first day at Gettysburg to vastly superior forces, General Robinson is worthy of high honor. Marching his men to the sound of cannon from Marsh Creek, six miles away, his two brigades came on the scene just as the initial contest between Wadsworth's Division and the two brigades of Heth's Division was ended. In the memorable struggle of the afternoon of that day General Robinson's Division, posted far out in the firing line in the northern part of the field, held the right of the corps line. He defended a position that was particularly prominent in the zone of danger. There his two brigades contending against parts of five Confederate brigades, for four hours, encountered opposition and sustained casualties that were hardly surpassed during the three days that the battle raged. No more, considering the handicap of numbers that beset him, could any other division claim better achievement than his. Early characterized the onslaught of the first day and the resistance made to it as "an obstinate and bloody conflict." This was well exemplified by General Robinson's Division. As one of his feats of generalship, five hundred fell in one of the brigades opposed to him and a thousand were made prisoners: this, in open-field fighting. One of his brigades, the Second, was led by five successive commanders, four of them having become incapacitated by wounds. General Robinson himself had two horses shot under him. When finally ordered to retreat his men were all but outflanked right and left and in imminent danger of being surrounded. His last act before withdrawing to Cemetery Hill was thoroughly characteristic. Observing that Stewart's Battery, of the Fourth U. S. Artillery, hard pressed and liable to be captured, he formed his men in line and sent them to its rescue.

Following is General Robinson's official report of this battle:

"On the morning of Wednesday, the 1st, the division marched from Emmitsburg, bringing up the rear of the column, and when about three miles from Gettysburg, hearing firing in front, it was pushed rapidly forward, and, arriving on the field, was placed, by order of the major-general commanding First Corps, in reserve, near the seminary. Almost immediately after taking this position, I received notice that the enemy was advancing a heavy column of infantry on the right of our line, when I sent the Second Brigade, under Brigadier-General Baxter, to meet it. Orders being received at this time to hold the seminary, the First Brigade, under Brigadier-General Paul, was set to work to entrench the ridge on which it is situated. I then rode to the right of the line, to superintend the operations there. On my arrival, I found my Second Brigade so placed as to cover our right flank, but with too great an interval between it and

the line of the First Division. I at once directed General Baxter to change front forward on his left battalion, and to close this interval, toward which the enemy was making his way. By the time this change was effected, the whole front of the brigade became hotly engaged, but succeeded in repulsing the attack. The enemy, however, soon after brought up fresh forces in increased masses, when, finding the position so seriously threatened, I sent for and brought up the First Brigade, and placed part of it in the position first occupied by Baxter's Brigade, and the remaining battalions as a support to his second position. The enemy now made repeated attacks on the division, in all of which he was handsomely repulsed, with the loss of three flags and about a thousand prisoners.

"In one of these attacks I was deprived of the services of the veteran commander of the First Brigade, Brigadier-General Paul, who fell, severely wounded, while gallantly directing and encouraging his command.

"The division held this position on the right — receiving and repelling the fierce attacks of a greatly superior force, not only in front, but on the flank, and, when the enemy's ranks were broken, charging upon him and capturing his colors and men — from about noon until nearly five P. M., when I received orders to withdraw. These orders not being received until all other troops (except Stewart's Battery) had commenced moving to the rear, the division held its ground until out-flanked right and left, and retired fighting.

"From the nature of the enemy's attacks, frequent changes were rendered necessary, and they were made promptly under a galling fire. No soldiers ever fought better, or inflicted severer blows upon the enemy. When out of ammunition, their boxes were replenished from those of their killed and wounded comrades.

"The instances of distinguished gallantry are too numerous to be embodied in this report, and I leave it to the brigade and regimental commanders to do justice to those under their immediate command. Where all did so well, it is difficult to discriminate. As, however, they came under my personal observation, I cheerfully indorse the remarks of General Baxter in commendation of Colonel Coulter, Eleventh Pennsylvania; Colonel Wheelock, Ninety-seventh New York; Colonel Lyle, Ninetieth Pennsylvania; Colonel Bates and Lieutenant-Colonel Alien, Twelfth Massachusetts; Lieutenant-Colonel Moesch, Eighty-third New York, and Major Foust, Eighty-eighth Pennsylvania.

"After the fall of General Paul, the command of the First Brigade devolved successively upon Colonel Leonard, Thirteenth Massachusetts, Colonel Root, Ninety-fourth New York, and Colonel Coulter, Eleventh Pennsylvania, all of whom were wounded while exercising the command.

"After withdrawing from this contest, I took up a position on a ridge to the left of the cemetery, facing the Emmitsburg road, and remained there until after-noon of the next day, when I was relieved by a division of the Second Corps, and ordered to the support of the Eleventh Corps. In the evening I was ordered to the left of our line, but was soon after directed to return.

"On Friday morning, 3d instant, the division was massed, and held ready to push forward to the support of the Twelfth Corps, then engaged with the enemy on our right.

"About noon, I was informed by the major-general commanding the army that he anticipated an attack on the cemetery by the enemy's forces massed in the town, and was directed to so place my command that if our line gave way I could attack the enemy on his flank. I proceeded to make this change of position at the moment the enemy commenced the terrific artillery fire of that day. Never before were troops so exposed to such a fire of shot and shell, and yet the movement was made in perfect order and with little loss.

"Later in the day, the enemy having made his attack on our left instead of the center, I was ordered to the right of the Second Corps, which position I held until Sunday, when the line was withdrawn.

"My thanks are due to Brigadier-Generals Baxter and Paul for the able and zealous manner in which they handled their brigades. The officers of my staff were actively engaged during the whole of the three days' engagements. Lieutenant Samuel M. Morgan, acting assistant adjutant-general; Lieutenant Frederick M. Hallock, aide-de-camp, and Lieutenants Bratton and Mead, acting aides, were at all times distinguished for their gallantry and good conduct. Captain John G. Hovey, acting assistant inspector-general, was wounded and taken from the field early in the fight. Lieutenant Smith, ordnance officer, was diligent in the performance of his duty, and collected and turned in 2,231 muskets and a large number of equipments.

"It affords me pleasure to call special attention to the gallant conduct of one of my orderlies, Sergeant Ebenezer S. Johnson, First Maine Cavalry, whose chevrons should be exchanged for the epaulette. When we make officers of such men, the soldier receives his true reward and the service great benefit.

"This division went into battle with less than 2,500 officers and men, and sustained a loss of 1,667, of which 124 were commissioned officers."

Like General Doubleday, General Robinson had occasion to complain against belated action in giving himself and his division proper credit for what they accomplished and endured in the Gettysburg campaign. Under date of November 18, 1863, he addressed the following letter to General Meade:

HEADQUARTERS, SECOND DIVISION, FIRST ARMY CORPS

November 15, 1863.

Major-General George G. Meade,
Commanding Army of the Potomac:

General: I feel it is my duty to inform you of the intense mortification and disappointment felt by my division in reading your report of the battle of Gettysburg.

For nearly four hours on July 1st we were hotly engaged against overwhelming numbers, repulsed repeated attacks of the enemy, captured three flags and a very large number of prisoners, and were the last to leave the field.

The division formed the right of the line of battle of the First Corps, and during the whole time had to fight the enemy in front and protect our right flank

(the division of the 11th Corps being at no time less than half a mile in rear). We went into action with less than 2,500 men and lost considerably more than half our number. We have been proud of our efforts on that day, and hoped that they would be recognized. It is but natural we should feel disappointed that we are not once referred to in the report of the commanding general. Trusting that you will investigate this matter and give us due credit, I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

JNO. C. ROBINSON.

Official recognition, in full measure, if delayed, was given to the three divisions of the First Corps for what they dared and did at Gettysburg, and they and their commanders are rightfully classed among the most courageous and effective agencies in Meade's successful operations against Lee in that battle.

FROM GETTYSBURG TO SPOTSYLVANIA

Lee had a more anxious task on hand effecting a retreat from Gettysburg and crossing the Potomac than when withdrawing to the other side of that river from Antietam, some nine months before. The effort to overtake him and intercept him, however, was not pushed as vigorously as might be expected. Ten days after turning southward his forces were on Virginia soil again. The Federal army after crossing the Potomac in its pursuit occupied the northern passes of the Blue Ridge, threatening the Confederate communications with Richmond, while at the same time guarding Washington from attack. Lee continued his march to Culpeper and remained there for a while. Then he moved to a position behind the Rapidan and Meade entrenched his army at Culpeper. Early in October an attack by the Confederates caused Meade to recross the Rappahannock. A few days after Lee's troops were at Warrenton. The Confederates endeavored to get in rear of one of the Federal Corps, but were repulsed with heavy loss. This made Lee abandon the pursuit and he marched back to the south bank of the Rappahannock, where, at the Rappahannock Station, on November 7th, a portion of his army was assailed and driven off by a Federal Division. Followed by Meade, Lee went to Culpeper Court House and then crossed the Rapidan. The end of November, on account of wide clamoring for another strenuous engagement, Meade began a movement with that end in view. A

corps from each of the contending armies fought a heavy duel on the 27th. The following day the two armies were confronting each other on the opposite side of Mine Run. Meade planned a grand attack for the 30th on the Confederate entrenchments, but it did not materialize. Lee now seeing that Meade's army was in a difficult country and a considerable distance from its base, at an unfavorable season, decided to take the offensive. The attack was to be made on December 2nd, but during the night of the first Meade withdrew his whole army to the north bank of the Rapidan and the campaign was thus ended. Both armies then went into winter quarters, the Confederates to the south bank of the Rapidan, with headquarters at Orange Court House, while Meade's army encamped near Culpeper.

During these various movements and skirmishes in Virginia the last five month of 1863 Meade compared very favorably with Lee in skill and judgment.

General Robinson's Division was engaged in the affair at Liberty on November 21st, in the Mine Run maneuvers and in the actions following them.

When, in March, 1864, Grant was made lieutenant-general and the Army of the Potomac reorganized, the First Corps became part of the Fifth, under Warren. General Meade retained the immediate command of the Army of the Potomac. Having conferred with Sherman to lay out plans for the march to Atlanta from Chattanooga, Grant returned to Virginia, and at the Wilderness began the overland campaign to Richmond. He encountered Lee's forces on May 5th. Here for three days a vigorous attack was made on the Confederates, but they could not be driven from their entrenchments. Grant's first trial at arms with Lee resulted in heavy casualties. Quite a number of Gettysburg commanders were wounded during those three days, and three of them, Wadsworth, Jones and Jenkins, were killed. Grant continued his drive on the 7th, intent on capturing Spotsylvania; but the Confederates arrived there in advance. Earthworks that Lee had thrown up were taken, and five separate charges were made to regain them, but without success. In prisoners alone, the Confederate suffered a loss of five thousand at Spotsylvania. Lee withdrew his army to other ground in the vicinity and fortified it. It was at Spotsylvania, on May 8th, that Sedgwick, commanding the Sixth Corps, was killed. Notwithstanding the setbacks and the heavy losses

suffered, Grant declared in a dispatch sent to Washington on May 11th, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

Advancing further south, the armies encountered each other again on the 1st of June, at Cold Harbor, where in a terrible three-day engagement the Union forces came perilously near suffering a defeat. Up to this time the Union army had lost 60,000 men and the Confederates 35,000. Reinforced by the Army of the James from Fortress Monroe, Grant determined to advance against Petersburg, which McClellan would have tried to take two years before if permitted. The first assault on it failing, a regular siege was begun, which lasted all fall and winter. Meantime, hoping to draw Grant's attention from Petersburg, Lee sent a large detachment of his army under Early to threaten Washington. A series of raids occurred, and then Grant sent Sheridan after Early. He defeated Early at Winchester on September 19th. While away from his headquarters, at Cedar Creek, his forces were taken by surprise on October 19th. Returning in time, he rallied them and routed the Confederates. On April 2, 1865, the works at Petersburg were carried. The following day Richmond was occupied by the Federals. The Confederate army fled to Farmville, on the Appomattox, pursued by Grant. Here Grant proposed that Lee should surrender and avoid further bloodshed. On the 9th of April the two leaders met and agreed on terms of surrender.

In the meantime, Sherman was completing his march northward from Savannah, the Confederates vainly trying to stop him. Columbia yielded on his approach and Charlotte was abandoned the same time. Sherman pressed on to Charlotte, N. C., and took possession of it on March 11th. On April 13th he entered Raleigh. Here Johnston being notified of Lee's surrender also agreed to end hostilities, which closed the Civil War.

Spotsylvania was General Robinson's last battle. His division led the Fifth Corps in its strenuous march to that place the night of May 7th. In his report of the battle he says:

"At 9 P. M. on the 7th the army commenced the flank movement to the left, the Fifth Corps leading, with my division in advance. Our march was impeded by darkness, bad roads, small streams, and fallen timber; yet, knowing the importance of reaching Spotsylvania Court House before the enemy, the troops were urged forward as rapidly as possible. At daylight on the morning of the 8th I overtook the advance guard of the cavalry, which was engaged with the enemy.

I immediately deployed two brigades, holding the third in reserve, pushed by the cavalry (commanded by Brigadier General Merritt), and drove the light troops and artillery of the enemy from one position to another, through woods and across open fields about three miles. Coming to another field I could plainly see the enemy's line in the edge of timber beyond. I here halted and reformed the division, and again advanced to the attack. The division was soon checked, and it became evident that here was the enemy's main line, but his strength was undeveloped. Knowing that my brave men would follow, wherever I led the way, I placed myself at their head and led them forward to the attack. At this moment a part of Griffin's Division advanced out of the woods on my right. Cheering my men on, we had arrived within fifty yards of the works when I received a musket-ball on the left knee, resulting in amputation of my leg. This unfortunate wound caused the result I feared, for as I was borne off the field I saw that our troops were repulsed and the attack had failed. Our loss this day was heavy."

Of this action Warren, the corps commander, reported as follows:

"In the flank movement to the left, begun at dark of the 7th of May, the Fifth Corps again had the lead, with General Robinson's Division again in the advance. Delayed as we were by darkness and bad roads, crowded with troops, until it was probable the enemy had anticipated us in reaching the desired point, yet urged by the importance of time to our success. General Robinson marched rapidly on, driving the light troops of the enemy before him, till charging directly the desired position, himself animating the advance by leading in person, he fell dangerously wounded and his command was repulsed by the opposing infantry, arrayed in strong force."

Meade in his report of this battle, mentioning General Robinson, said:

"Warren immediately attacked with Robinson's Division — that gallant officer being severely wounded early in the action — pushing the enemy back and taking position in front of him at the Block House."

From Alsop's Farm General Robinson was carried in an ambulance to Acquia Creek, from whence, with four hundred others who were wounded, he was taken to Washington. There he was met by his brother, Henry L. Robinson, in whose house he remained during convalescence. His leg was amputated by Surgeon-General Barnes, U. S. A. Immediately following the operation he became so weak that much anxiety was felt for his recovery. President Lincoln called on him often and those kindly visits afforded him much consolation during his suffering. It was not very long, however, until he was able to go to Binghamton.

He returned to duty on September 24, 1864, having been appointed to the command of the district of Northern New York. After the war he was transferred to the district of Northern and Western New York. In 1866 he was commander of the State of North Carolina, and the same year he was commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands. He was commander of the South in 1867, and in 1868 commander and judge advocate in the Department of the Lakes. He was in command of Fort Wayne, Michigan, a regiment being under his charge there, in 1869, the last of his many assignments, extending over a period of three decades. On May 6, 1869, General Robinson retired from the United States Army, with the rank of major-general.

When free to go back to civil life, he made his home in Binghamton, where he was born, and where his parents had settled sixty years before. Here as a citizen it can be well said of him that he followed the example of his father. For a great many years before his demise he was accorded the honor of being Binghamton's most distinguished resident.

It was not long after settling down in Binghamton that General Robinson was "ordered" to bestir himself for another strenuous campaign — this time a political one — no less an ordeal than trying to beat Chauncey M. Depew in an election for the important post of lieutenant-governor, and he won the battle too. This was in 1872, when General Dix was returned as governor. General Robinson served his term of two years in office with credit, and his integrity was recognized by all who came into contact with him. He was renominated in 1874 and opposed by William Dorsheimer, in the ticket headed by Samuel J. Tilden, whose party received a majority of the votes.

After completing his two years of office in Albany General Robinson was nearing three score years, and assuredly worthy then of enjoying some rest and leisure. During the remainder of his life he thought it wise for him

"To husband out life's taper at the close, And keep the flame from wasting by repose."

In his declining years—outside of his family—his greatest interest was centered in veterans and their associations and reunions. Binghamton and its vicinity were well represented in the Civil War, so he had frequent opportunities to meet his comrades, and it was

they among all his youth's compeers that cheered him most. He was deeply interested in the Society of the Army of the Potomac, of which he was president in 1879. In 1877 he was chosen commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic. Gazing once from a platform on a large reunion of veterans, he exclaimed, as his face beamed with delight, "What a grand assembly of the dear old boys." General Robinson was a man of striking appearance. As he advanced in years his beard turned as white as snow. Towards the end his sight became dim and finally he was totally blind. Many surviving members of the Loyal Legion have still a vivid recollection of a pathetic scene at one of their banquets held in New York City, when General Robinson, standing with sightless eyes, bid his old-companions-in-arms a last farewell, and with hearts softened by emotion the six hundred veterans present cheered him loudly. He died a few months later, on February 18, 1897, at his home in Binghamton, having reached the age of seventy-nine years. The funeral services were held in Christ Church, of which his father was one of the founders. Several veteran organizations were represented. The ceremonies were conducted with military honors. Full justice was paid to his exemplary career and sterling qualities at a special meeting held not many days after he was laid to rest. The esteem in which he was held was ardently and eloquently set forth at that gathering of his friends, comrades and admirers. The following tribute, among others, was paid to his memory by Senator Edmund O'Connor, of Binghamton:

"General Robinson was our most eminent and esteemed citizen. He acted a conspicuous and glorious part in an important epoch; in fact, the most important since the struggle of combined Christendom with the Turk to determine whether Europe should belong to the followers of Christ or Mahomet. The contest in which he participated with so much credit to himself and honor to his native city and State was not only to determine whether the nation should live and freedom instead of slavery be the heritage of its people, but whether the experiment of a 'government of the people, by the people and for the people, should perish from the earth.'

"It is indeed fitting that we should assemble in public meeting when one of these grand personalities passes away and recount his great achievements and personal merits, not so much to extol the dead as to impress the living with the example of his life and to inspire them to emulate his virtues.

"General Robinson was indeed every inch a thorough soldier; he was modest, kind hearted, patriotic, loyal, obedient and brave. Like Lord Cardigan at Balaklava, had his superior officer ordered him to assault the battlements of the

infernal regions, he would have led the charge with the same heroic and sublime courage he displayed in leading his forces on the bloody field of Spotsylvania. In the soldier, obedience and courage are twin sisters. Neither is of much value without the other.

“General Robinson knew how to obey as well as to command. He possessed in an eminent degree, in addition to courage and a disciplined mind, the other qualities so characteristic of all great soldiers, viz., modesty, a generous heart and a firm belief in the Christian religion. It was next to impossible to induce him to talk of his own important services during the war. It was only after the most persistent examination that you could extract anything like an admission from him that he personally had anything to do with suppressing the rebellion.

“A man without strong convictions will be a coward in war, a failure in peace and a hypocrite everywhere. General Robinson was the reverse of all these.

“As a citizen. General Robinson was ideal. With a proper amount of civic pride he was earnest and interested in the prosperity of his native city. He took an active interest in all public improvements, and although not possessed of great means he cheerfully voted for any tax which was designed to improve the beauty and further the prosperity of Binghamton. He never had any of the spirit of commercial greed, the vice so characteristic of our age and which is surely sapping our patriotism and love of country. Long years of patriotic service had secured him a modest competence, with which he was contented. He never indulged in vulgar or unseemly display. He was a simple, unassuming Christian gentleman. He loved God and his fellow men. He was loyal to his country, to his party, to his church, to his family and to his neighbors. His life was an example and an inspiration to those who knew him. He filled to the brim the measure of every duty. He died as he lived, in peace with God and mankind. He left as a legacy to his children and their descendants an untarnished name and a splendid record as a soldier, a statesman and a Christian gentleman. This is a heritage in which they have a right to take just pride, because neither rust can corrode, moths consume nor the ill winds of fortune scatter it — a legacy that should and will be more precious to them than the wealth of all the Caesars.”

General Robinson was one of a family of ten, six of whom grew to maturity. His sister Ambrosia was the wife of Major Augustus Morgan. His four brothers, Sidney P. Robinson, Erasmus D. Robinson, Henry L. Robinson and Charles L. Robinson, attained good positions in business or professional life. Henry L. Robinson was brevetted brigadier-general during the Civil War and served in the quartermaster's department.

General Robinson's wife was Sarah Pease Robinson, daughter of Judge Lorain T. Pease, a native of Hartford, Conn., and sister of Governor Elisha M. Pease of Texas. They were married at Green Bay, Wis., on May 12, 1842. Mrs. Robinson was born on September 10, 1822, and educated at the Hartford Female Seminary. She died on March 28, 1892.

Seven children were born of this marriage. Of these, Lieut. John Marshall Robinson, was in the United States Navy, having received his appointment from General Grant in 1869. He was retired with the rank of commodore in 1908, and died on November 27, 1910, at Washington, D. C. It is there that his widow, Mrs. J. Marshall Robinson, and daughter, Miss Katherine Robinson, now reside. Cleveland Robinson, another son of General Robinson, died at his home in Binghamton on June 20, 1916. His daughter, Julia M. Robinson (Mrs. Clinton Collier) and widow, Mrs. Cleveland Robinson, reside in Binghamton. Caroline Pease Robinson, who unveiled her father's statue at Gettysburg, is the wife of Robert Atherton Hall, of Whitehall, N. Y. They have four children, Elizabeth Hammond Hall, Marion Marshall Hall, Eleanor Morgan Hall and J. C. R. Hall, who is now serving as a lieutenant in the United States Army.

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