

THE  
NINTH REGIMENT  
NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS  
(HAWKINS' ZOUAVES)



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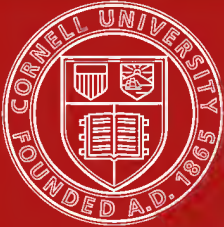
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The Ninth regiment, New York volunteers



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### ANTIETAM

"TO THE MEMORY OF THE GRAVE MEN OF THE NINTH NEW YORK INFANTRY  
(HAWKINS' ZOUAVES) WHO FOUGHT UPON THIS FIELD, AND ESPECIALLY  
TO THOSE WHO DIED HERE THAT THEIR COUNTRY MIGHT LIVE."







THE  
NINTH REGIMENT  
NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS  
(HAWKINS' ZOUAVES)

BEING  
HISTORY OF THE REGIMENT AND  
VETERAN ASSOCIATION  
FROM 1860 TO 1900

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BY

LIEUT. MATTHEW J. GRAHAM

COMPANY "A," NINTH REGIMENT, N. Y. VOLUNTEERS, AND  
U. S. VETERAN RESERVE CORPS

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NEW YORK  
MDCCCC

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BY  
MATTHEW J. GRAHAM

E. F. COBY & CO.  
PRINTERS, 21 PLATT STREET  
NEW YORK

I affectionately dedicate this work to my comrades who faithfully served and valiantly fought in the ranks of the Regiment during the War of the Rebellion.

M. J. GRAHAM.



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## INTRODUCTION.

IN the taking of Fort Sumter the rebels served their first notice upon the people of the loyal States of the coming of one of the most momentous events known to the history of any nation, and when two days later President Lincoln called for the levy of seventy-five thousand troops, it was like giving an order by the president of a great railway company to the maker of toy engines, for a like number of mogul locomotives. The call of the President found the Governors of States about as well prepared to fill his order as would have been the makers of the toys.

The patriotic uprising, however, was complete. Millions of heads, hearts and hands were willing to do and to serve, but the great "how to" had to be learned, and there were but few teachers to show the way.

There were thousands of well disposed, perfectly inexperienced patriots who honestly believed that the matter of making a good fighting machine out of a thousand perfectly raw recruits would be an easy one. Possibly the makers of the Ninth New York Volunteers were in

several important respects an exception to the general rule obtaining in relation to inexperience. In its field and staff there were three who had seen service in the United States Army, two as officers and one as a private; and in the line those captains and lieutenants who were educated in the "Old Company" were well up in the Manual of Arms, Bayonet Exercise, and School of the Company, and theoretically, knew something of the School of the Battalion. In addition to this stock of professional quantities and qualities on hand, there was youth, no end of patriotic enthusiasm, ardent desire to learn, sincere wish to serve well, and a striving for a high plane of excellence in the performance of soldierly duties. With this capital on hand, the "Ninth" launched itself upon the difficult undertaking of organizing a body of eight hundred very young men into a regiment of fighting soldiers.

April 15th, 1861, President Lincoln issued his first call for seventy-five thousand troops—it ought to have been a million, and possibly would have been for that number had not Secretary Seward earnestly advised that the war would be over in sixty days, the South did not intend to fight, was rising for a scare, etc., etc. All this in face of the historic fact that secession sentiment in many parts of the South had been



persistently propagated for more than a quarter of a century, and that for many years their political leaders had been waiting for a pretense to commence an open revolt against the Union. A wise statesman would have noted these facts and acted accordingly. But the really large minded patriotic statesman, equipped to deal with great national questions, was not in evidence. In his place there were no end of cunning politicians, some of them more or less patriotic, but the better of them were trained with a strong bias in favor of self.

Within three days from the printing of the President's call for troops, the enrollment book of the coming regiment showed over two thousand names of enlisted men. With the recording of names the work of selecting men of the kind wanted, young, strong, sound, of medium size, was carried forward, so that on the morning of the nineteenth of April, the number of men allowed by the State had been selected and were ready to be mustered into the service as a regiment of Volunteer Infantry.

From this time on there was everything to do and nothing to do it with. Quarters had to be secured, rations supplied, clothing, arms and equipments obtained, and nearly eight hundred perfectly raw recruits drilled and instructed in the whole round of difficult duties which go

towards the making of an efficient and reliable soldier. Fortunately there were willing hands and plenty of unselfish desire behind them for all the work there was to do. Imperceptibly, department lines were drawn. The coming young officers of the line keeping with the men, teaching marchings and facings, maintaining order and enforcing camp regulations. Later on the lieutenant-colonel, an accomplished tactician who had served in the National Guard of the State, gave efficient instruction in battalion drills.

In the meantime the much worried and puzzled young individual who was destined to command was working with all his might, trying to make some headway with the business part of the enterprise, which included everything involving the expenditure of money from the purchase of a gaiter buckle to the leasing of an island and the building of barracks. Progress, however, was rapid and satisfactory, for May 15th found the regiment comfortably housed in their new barracks at Riker's Island, clothed, equipped, armed, and well provided with all the soldier's necessities allowed by the regulations. Two weeks more of incessant drill and hard work in other directions brought the regiment to a most satisfactory degree of efficiency, so that when the time came to depart for the seat

of war all was in readiness for the move. The first and most difficult stage had been successfully passed, and already, the coming veterans, with the years of boys, were feeling the consequences of their position and appreciating the value of their earnest labor intelligently bestowed. The next stage was the landing at Newport News and the continuation, under the schooling of Colonel John Wolcott Phelps, of the First Vermont Volunteers, of the character-forming so successfully commenced in New York. The accident of reporting to such an officer as Colonel Phelps was an exceptional piece of good fortune in the history of the regiment. He was a graduate of West Point, had served twenty-three years in the artillery, and beyond all doubt was one of the most accomplished officers ever graduated from that school. As a classical scholar and a master of several modern languages, he was without rival in the regular army; he was also well up in pure mathematics and thoroughly well posted in all the various branches of his profession. In addition to his great acquirements he was a thoroughly honest, unselfish, conscientious gentleman, with common sense, and a perfect appreciation of justice, patriotic to the core, and of exceptional capacity for work.

This brief tribute, possibly a little out of place,

is due to an officer, whose teachings and example had very much to do with the making of a regiment of efficient soldiers, and is here set forth to make a degree of appreciation due to a noble man.

From the landing at Newport News to the end of August, hard work was the order of the day; but before that time instruction had become so effective and discipline so habitual, that the regiment was ready for effective work. In short, within three months from the date of the first muster into the service, it had become a completely serviceable organization for serious business in the field.

If other regiments were not able to accomplish a like result the fault was with the officers, many of whom were ignorant of the duties demanded, naturally inefficient, and with no disposition for hard work. With such material as we have already, good officers can make good regiments in three months, and in the event of pressing necessity in half that time.

The exceptional work—out of routine sort—at Newport News, was the purgation, or pushing out, of inefficient officers who had been elected, under State laws by their men, to the company commission grade. This labor was so successfully performed that within six weeks from the landing, three very worthless captains and twice

as many lieutenants had passed on to other fields of usefulness. Soon as their march towards the North commenced, the great advantage of their absence became apparent. More of this sort of work had to be done before the regiment was completely freed from its shoulder-strapped dead wood, but it was performed gradually, not so much again in any one short period of time. Soon after the system of weeding out had been thoroughly inaugurated, a plan regulating promotions was set in operation. It related to the line, non-commissioned staff and orderly sergeants. The senior first lieutenant succeeding to the first vacant captaincy, the senior second lieutenant to the first vacancy among the firsts, and the ranking orderly sergeant taking the place of the second lieutenant promoted. This order of promotion proved to be most efficacious and had very much to do with the making of the regiment.

But the labor of establishing it was not like living in a bed of roses fanned by gentle zephyrs. Practical politics pointed a fire in the rear in the way of granting commissions without consulting regimental commanders; not wanted outsiders were frequently commissioned to the regiment, and the inefficient in it were often, out of their turn, jumped over the heads of the more deserving who were entitled to their promotion. An

unlooked for incident, of a most disgraceful nature, which occurred in the Autumn of 1861, proved to be the beginning of the end of this unwarranted interference from the authorities at Albany.

Early one evening in the month of July, Colonel Phelps sent for the colonel of the Ninth to come to his tent at once, as he wanted to see him in relation to an important emergency. When there he was told there was danger of an *emeute* among the men of the First New York Volunteers. A certain captain named Barnard had returned from Old Point in a state of intoxication, and soon after his arrival in camp, without provocation, had wantonly shot and seriously wounded one of the favorite non-commissioned officers, and the Colonel of the Ninth was ordered to hold his regiment in readiness to put down any uprising that might occur. Although among the men and non-commissioned officers, threats were freely and openly made, better counsels prevailed and there was no disturbance. For some reason the criminal was not tried, his victim recovered, and his would-be murderer disappeared.

The incident was a day's talk, then forgotten and nothing more was heard of the chief actor, until upon a certain day in the October following, he appeared at Hatteras Inlet commissioned

as a Captain in the Ninth Regiment. His advent proved to be a great regimental surprise that called for prompt and decisive action, which was promptly taken. Neither the would-be Captain or his commission were acknowledged, and he was ordered to return immediately to Old Point Comfort, and the following letter was sent to General Wool:—

FORT CLARK, HATTERAS INLET, N. C., October 8, 1861.

GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL, Commanding Dept. of Va.,

Fortress Monroe, Va.

SIR:—I do not acknowledge the right of Governor Morgan to appoint and transfer officers, over my head, into my regiment, and I will resist the appointment and transfer of Captain Barnard, even though it cost me my commission.

If Captain B. should in the end succeed in obtaining a command in my regiment, I shall then, if not dismissed before, resign my commission.

With very great respect,

I remain your faithful servant,

RUSH C. HAWKINS,

Col. Comg. Ninth Regt. N. Y. Vols.

The gauntlet was thrown, the contest on, and sink or swim, was to be fought to the finish, apparently against enormous odds, by an obscure young volunteer colonel, single-handed, who had neither influence or hope of favor, but he was sure of being right at least morally, and had no fear. With the enforced leaving of Barnard, regimental peace was restored and the daily routine went forward about as usual. But peace which blesses was not to endure, for again, October 22nd, it was disturbed by the

appearance of the same evil spirit. This time it was accompanied by a special order from General Williams, commanding at Hatteras Inlet, assigning him to the command of a company in the Ninth Regiment. This time the regimental blood was superheated, and the order promptly disobeyed in the most emphatic manner. A prompt arrest of the hot-headed Colonel followed, charges preferred, and nine days later he was ordered to proceed to Fortress Monroe for trial by court martial.

Soon after his arrival at department headquarters, he sought and obtained an interview with one of the aides of General Wool, who after reading charges and hearing a full circumstantial account of the whole affair, from the shooting at Newport News to the arrest, frankly stated that the victim of orders was clearly in the right, and that he would see what could be done with the General. The quoting of an official letter is the better way of stating the measure of his success:—

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA.

FORT MONROE, VA., November 5, 1861.

COLONEL:—The Major General commanding the Department directs me to inform you, that the charges preferred against you by Brig. General Thomas Williams are dismissed, and you are hereby released from arrest.

I am Sir, most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

WM. D. WHIPPLE, Asst. Adjt. Genl.

COL. RUSH C. HAWKINS, Ninth Regt. N. Y. Vols.,

Fortress Monroe, Va.



Following the release there was a long interview with General Wool, who being an officer of long experience and provided with common sense, and knowing how to deal with those, who in defense of right sometimes take the short cut to justice, disregarding regulations and orders, said in effect, that a colonel was responsible for the good name and efficiency of his command, and it ought to be a part of his official duty to keep disreputable men from obtaining commissions in his regiment. There was no doubt about which side the moral supported, but orders had been disobeyed, the matter to be settled was an important one and he would order the offending officer to Washington, to present his side of the case to the President for his decision, and also to obtain from the Administration instructions in relation to present occupation of North Carolina coast, and future operations in its inland waters.

The stay in Washington lasted eight days; the matters for consideration involved two Cabinet meetings and several interviews with President Lincoln. The permanent occupation was decided upon and future operations outlined, but the President would not pass upon Gov. Morgan's power to make appointments of commissioned officers to regiments in the field without consent of colonels commanding. In

this particular instance he thought the Colonel was right, but he could not afford to get up a quarrel with the Governor upon whom he most relied to assist in putting down the Rebellion. "Tell General Wool I leave this matter in his hands for him to arrange with the Governor, so there will be no more trouble." It was never known what General Wool did, but there were never any more appointments without the consent of the colonel of the regiment. In the meantime, Barnard had been placed in command of a company, but the men of the whole regiment made his position so unpleasant that he feared bodily harm, resigned, and was never heard of afterwards. It was ascertained that this individual was of Baltimore, where he had kept a very low groggery—a resort for criminals—and that generally, he had a most unsavory reputation, coupled with a strong suspicion that he had been engaged in criminal practices.

This unpleasant incident has been set forth in extenso for the sole purpose of showing what an earnest officer, intent upon doing his whole duty to the Government, had often to contend with. During the whole contest the demoralizing political fire from the rear was quite as efficient as the other from the front in retarding progress towards the better military organiza-

tion. No doubt the majority of the Governors were patriotic and desired to do their best, but they were politicians who could not stand up against the pressure from without. Their working constituents had to be rewarded, and in the far too numerous regiments from all the States a commissioned officer's place could always be made for a devoted henchman. These were two of the prominent reasons, among the many, why it took years to make an army out of the best possible material, instead of months.

During the administration of the War Department, by that notoriously corrupt politician, Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, one of the faithful from a rural part of that State appeared in Washington pressing his claim for a foreign mission. There being no vacancy among them a fat consular appointment was asked for, these also were all filled, and the worker being disappointed and disconsolate appealed to Cameron for relief. That official sympathized with him, said he appreciated the valuable services performed in the mountain district, and as reward offered the best he had to bestow, and promptly tendered a brigadier general's commission, which was declined by the homeworking patriot because he preferred peace to war, but he had heard that the position of purchasing and contracting quartermaster at Harrisburg,

Philadelphia, and other places in Pennsylvania was pleasant and profitable and he would prefer one of those.

From the inception of the regimental idea, it had been determined to form it upon purely up to date military basis, and in order to accomplish the better results in that direction, absolute control by a single head was the one dominant essential, and it was the spirit behind and supporting that determination which caused the firm resistance against giving a place in the line to a thoroughly disreputable and unfit character, which if permitted would have been a stain upon the reputation of the whole organization.

There were also other important ideals to be developed: manliness, cleanliness, honesty, sobriety and clean-cut individuality. All of these qualities are essential to the make-up of a perfect soldier, no matter what uniform he may wear. Along these lines in many respects, long before the term of service had expired, success was so marked that there were at least fifty men in the ranks who could have commanded the regiment as efficiently as any officer in it. But over and above all these separate qualities there was developed an all prevailing and overruling *esprit de corps*, which both as to conduct and soldierly appearance kept the whole up to a very high level. The regimental spirit was

such that its members were always ready for any emergency, fun, frolic, gymnastics, theatricals or serious work in the field; with them disaster never brought despondency. Grief for those who had fallen was the ever present incentive for better work in the future; but there was never discouragement or want of confidence in capacity to perform whatever duty might be commanded. A Union general who witnessed the demeanor of the survivors a day after the terrible struggle and loss at Antietam, suggested that after the words "Toujours Pret" (the regimental motto), the words "Nil Desparandum" might appropriately be added.

The last day of the march from Antietam to Falmouth was a very muddy one, and by the time the army reached the grounds appointed for going into camp it presented an appearance plainly showing its intimate contact with the fields of Virginia mud. But notwithstanding unfavorable conditions for show purposes, General Sumner then commanding the right Grand Division, ordered an afternoon full dress parade of his whole command. The Ninth growled but went to work with a will, brushing, eradicating mud spots, chalking those on the white duck gaiters, blacking shoes, burnishing arms, etc., etc. The parade was over and the three corps of which it was com-

posed dismissed, excepting the Ninth New York, which was ordered to remain; no one concerned knew what was coming, but there was some trembling in boots, and particularly about the time that General Sumner with full staff rode to opposite the center of the regimental line, saluted the commanding officer and asked "Whose regiment is this?" Upon receiving the answer he took off his hat and in a loud tone of voice said: "This is the first regiment of soldiers I have seen in many years," and then after complimenting in most flattering terms the officers, who at his request had gathered around him, left the field. This was the honest outspoken expression of a brave old soldier who had adorned our army for more than a third of a century of notable service.

It is needless in this connection to write it, but it may as well be stated, that this unconditional compliment was an enormous feather, not white, in the caps of the "Boys"; it put them upon their best behavior, and its influence lasted to the end of the term.

In the month of May, 1863, while an army, of which the Ninth New York was a part, was defending the Union lines at Suffolk, Virginia, during the siege of the rebel forces under Longstreet, the Ninety-ninth New York Volunteers crossed the Nansemond River and, unsupported,

made an attack upon the intrenched left of the rebel line. The regiment was defeated and driven back with considerable loss, and compelled to recross the river, leaving their killed and wounded on the field. Seeing this, the men of the Ninth, who had watched the whole movement, involuntarily, and without orders, commenced to move in the direction of the scene of battle for the purpose of rescuing those who were left behind. This hazardous service, within less than point blank range of the enemy's small arms, was so well performed that it elicited from the Lieutenant Colonel of the Ninety-ninth the following acknowledgment:

HEADQUARTERS, 99th N. Y. V., Suffolk, Va., May 2, 1863.

COLONEL RUSH C. HAWKINS, Commanding 9th. Regt., N. Y. V.

Sir:—Allow me to tender to you my most heartfelt gratitude for the kind and gallant promptitude with which some noble fellows of your command volunteered to assist in removing the dead and wounded of the 99th N. Y. V. from the field, under sharp fire, yesterday afternoon.

Six dead and forty-three wounded were brought in, not leaving a single man on the field.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant.

R. NIXON, Lieut. Col. Comg. 99th N. Y. V.

This communication tells its own story, and, save only in one respect, calls for neither explanation or comment. The writer, who saw the whole of the unfortunate affair from start to finish, clearly remembers that the most of the rescuing was accomplished by the fearless volun-

teers for the perilous work, of the truly "Noble Ninth."

This incident, more completely than any other could, illustrates the dominant idea which governed in the formation and education of the regiment. From the first it was intended to elevate the man, not at the expense of the soldier, but so rightly to educate him that he would make the better soldier.

There were thousands of men "standing around" from other regiments who witnessed the disaster to their companions in arms, but only the men of the Ninth moved forward to the rescue of the fallen. The others were indifferent to their sufferings, or too anxious for the preservation of self. These were machine soldiers, who *might* have gone to the rescue if they had been ordered. The men who did go went because they could not help themselves. This movement was involuntary; they had to do what they did, because it was the right thing to do and needed doing. Thus they proved a high development in the right direction of the individual; while those of the other regiments, who only looked on, showed they were of the machine sort, and could not, or would not, move without orders. The stronger and more elevated the individuality of the individual, the more he respects himself and the stronger his



self-reliance; and that is the most notable quality in the make-up of the American soldier. He can, and will, whenever necessary, move to the front, and stay there without orders from his officers. The onrush of the American soldier of his own volition, without orders, was never better illustrated than at Missionary Ridge, when our monumental individualities from the West started out one fine morning for a reconnaissance in force, which ended in their driving Bragg and his army out of their well chosen and strongly entrenched position. The significant present they then made to the army commander was without precedent in our history.

This introduction has been written for a double purpose: to set forth, at least inferentially, that the machine-martinet way is not the better for making, in the shortest time, a good fighting organization out of our average American material; but the education upwards of the moral and intellectual that is in him is the only way to do it effectually, in order to get the best out of the man that he has to give. A high order of intelligence is quick to perceive the potential necessity for discipline and value of tactical knowledge, and soon acquires both without being forced. Of course there are exceptions to American regiment rules as well as to all

others. There are plenty of men in the world who need driving, but the average American regiment, composed of natives, would be regarded as especially unfortunate if it should have fifteen per cent. of that sort within its ranks.

### PERSONAL.

In all probability, this is the last time I shall be called upon to write about the regiment that bore my name and that I had the honor to command. Our intimate companionship commenced thirty-nine years ago to-day, and with those who survive has continued to this time.

The stirring memories connected with my association with the brave and true men of that body have ever been my most priceless possession, and I can never forget how much I owe to them, nor shall I ever fail, while life lasts, to appreciate their friendship and loyalty.

The tour of duty on this earth is coming to its close, the journey is nearing its end; the parting at the ways is in sight, and the only word to be fittingly said is now forcing its way from throbbing heart to trembling lip; the pronouncing of it I leave to others.

RUSH C. HAWKINS.

APRIL 19, 1900.

## CHAPTER I.

DERIVATION OF NAME ZOUAVES— ORGANIZATION  
OF THE NEW YORK ZOUAVES IN 1860, WITH  
COPY OF ORIGINAL PAMPHLET CONTAINING  
BY-LAWS, COMMITTEES, ETC.

THE history of the Ninth New York Volunteers would be incomplete without a brief account of the "Old Company," with the address and by-laws promulgated for its government. These clearly and vigorously embody the rule of action, strictly enforced, which gave birth to the fine soldierly spirit, which in one winter brought to the organization a degree of soldierly perfection, in drill and demeanor, seldom found in even the oldest military bodies. The organization was, to the core, democratic, and yet an unbending despotism, the despot being the laws and regulations, which were impartially and justly construed.

For the enforcement of orders there was no military code to fall back upon. The authority for all action rested solely upon the voluntary consent and loyal approval of the governed. But the whole structural part of the organization

rested upon, and was sustained by an all prevailing *esprit de corps*, born of an earnest desire for excelling in all the qualities which go to make up the perfect soldier.

When the Rebellion came it found this association of earnest boys (for they were all young) ready, patriotic and filled with an earnest desire to be of service to their country, and they carried with them, into the ranks of the regiment which they made, the spirit of the *parent* company; and the child, upon all occasions when called upon, proved itself a worthy offspring.

The name "Zouaves" was first taken from a tribe of Kabyles in Algeria, whose fighting qualities were for generations noted throughout North Africa. After the French occupied Algiers, in 1830, a body of these troops was incorporated into the French Army, with French officers, discipline and arms. In 1837 the corps was divided into three battalions, and became noted in the many conflicts preceding the final conquest of Algeria. Long before this the native element had been eliminated, and after 1840, the Zouaves were simply European troops uniformed as Arabs.

Because of their peculiarity of dress and the fame as fighters of these Frenchmen, Messrs. Hawkins, Barnett, Parisen, Hammill, Li Baire, Graham, Childs, and others of New York City,

conceived early in 1860, the idea of organizing a company which was to be the foundation of a future regiment, to be known as "The New York Zouaves." The idea met with instant approval. Committees were appointed, by-laws drafted, and on the 23d of July, 1860, the corps was organized.

An address, presented by Mr. Rush C. Hawkins, was adopted and printed, which is herewith reproduced, and which shows in what an original, energetic and business-like manner the corps was formed.

#### ADDRESS.

In forming an independent military organization there are a great number of things of special importance to be taken into consideration in order to effect anything approaching perfection. There must of necessity be many absolute and positive rules, which must be carried out to the letter.

In the first place, equality of social feeling should be inculcated to the most unlimited extent. All should be considered alike and treated alike; nothing like favoritism should be allowed to creep in; efficiency and good character should be the only recommendation to preferment, and no one, by reason of a superior social position, should be allowed to

usurp the place which merit should occupy. A feeling of brotherhood and kindness should be cultivated. This is necessary in order to assure harmony. All measures should be adopted with as much unanimity as possible, so that there may be no feeling of dissention. When any measure has been adopted every man should carry it out to the very letter. An interest and pride in excelling should ever be uppermost in the minds of all. Nothing like carelessness in demeanor, while on duty, should ever betray itself. The moment a man becomes careless he ceases to be of use to himself or to others. The idea has been circulated that this organization has been formed in imitation of our Chicago brethren. Such is not the case. We shall not imitate; we intend to create for ourselves and manage our affairs after our own style of thinking.

One most essential point of difference will be that we do not intend to make laws to govern the conduct of members while off duty. We do not believe that it is requisite to place a cordon of laws around men, in order to compel them to become decent and respectable citizens; but we shall endeavor by example to raise the standard of character so high that each one will feel that if he conducts himself otherwise than as a gentleman, he will be disgraced in his own

good opinion, and in the opinion of his comrades. We do not believe that any part of mankind was ever changed from blackguards to gentlemen by the force of strict laws. One who will not, of his own accord, conduct himself properly, cannot be improved by the force of legislation. We, therefore, believe it just that no attempt should be made to exercise any control over the members of this corps while off duty.

Still we would add that good conduct and character, together with obedience to the instincts of truth and the dictates of honor, will detract nothing from the man, nor make the soldier less efficient.

We would assert, as a rule, that those who would excel as soldiers must be patient and industrious, quick and willing to obey orders; they must pay strict attention to duty, and be cleanly in person and dress.

These qualities, coupled with a desire to learn and be instructed, will, in time, make soldiers fit to command and to be commanded.

We should also like to have each man made to feel that a uniform of glaring colors neither makes a man nor a soldier; but that the conduct, efficiency and bearing of the wearer must decide whether he is a soldier, who knows what he professes, or a fool, wearing uniform, not

knowing why, except that it panders to his vanity, which is satisfied in exciting the ridicule of the sensible, the wonder of small boys, and the admiration of fools.

### PREAMBLE.

The members of this corps, having associated together for the purpose of perfecting themselves in military science, and for the further purpose of forming a military organization similar to the French Zouaves, do agree to abide by the following by-laws, which shall constitute their rules of action.

### BY-LAWS.

#### ARTICLE I.

##### NAME.

The name of the Corps shall be "THE NEW YORK ZOUAVES."

#### ARTICLE II.

##### UNIFORMS, EQUIPMENTS, ETC.

The construction of the uniforms, equipments, and arms shall be similar to that of the French Zouaves.

#### ARTICLE III.

##### APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP, ETC.

Any male citizen or denizen of the United States, between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five years, possessing a good moral character and good health, who shall be proposed by any member, or shall send in an application in writing, giving two or more references as to character and health, shall be balloted for at the next regular monthly meeting after the proposition or application has been received; and if all the ballots, except five, are in the affirmative, he shall sign the roll and become a member of the corps.



## ARTICLE IV.

## DRILLS.

Each squad shall drill twice a week; each company twice a week; and the whole corps as a battalion once in each month, except during the months of July and August. And after the corps is organized into a regiment or battalion there shall be four field days in each year, when the whole corps shall parade for field duty.

## ARTICLE V.

## COMPANY OFFICERS, ETC.

Each company shall consist of one captain, three lieutenants, five sergeants, four corporals, four drummers, and eighty-four privates.

## ARTICLE VI.

## FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS.

The field officers shall consist of one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, and one major. The staff shall consist of one adjutant, one quartermaster, and a paymaster. A chaplain and a surgeon may also be attached to the staff of field officers, who shall be elected by a two-third vote of all the commissioned officers of the staff and line.

## ARTICLE VII.

## THE NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

The non-commissioned staff shall consist of a sergeant major, a quartermaster's sergeant, a drum-major, a color sergeant, and two general guides, all of whom shall be appointed by the Committee on Instruction and Lectures, from the rank and file, with the advice of the colonel.

## ARTICLE VIII.

## MUSTERING OF MEMBERS INTO COMPANY.

No member shall be mustered into a company until he has been inspected by at least three of the Committee on Instruction and Lectures, and by them pronounced capable of performing all the marchings, facings, manual of arms, and evolutions of the line.

## ARTICLE IX.

## FORMATION OF COMPANY AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

As soon as one hundred and one members shall have been enrolled and found competent to be formed into a company, they shall then at a regular monthly meeting proceed to elect the commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the company, each of whom shall be elected by a plurality vote, and in like manner shall each successive one hundred and one proceed, until ten companies are formed.

When three hundred and three shall have been enrolled and formed into companies, there shall then be an election of a colonel and staff officers, who shall be elected by a plurality vote of the whole corps.

#### ARTICLE X.

##### FORMATION OF BATTALION.

The formation of the battalion or regiment in order of battle or line shall be the same as that contained in Article First of Title First of "Hardie's Rifle and Light Infantry Tactics." Each company shall be mustered into battalion as soon as formed.

#### ARTICLE XI.

##### DRILL.—TACTICS ADOPTED.

The drill shall be that of the United States Light Infantry, following as near as possible the exercises and discipline of Hardie, and the bayonet exercise of McClellan, except when these authors come in conflict with the drill of the French Zouaves. Then the latter shall prevail.

#### ARTICLE XII.

##### FINES FOR ABSENCE FROM DRILLS AND PARADES.

The fine for being absent from drill, unless the absentee is excused, shall be fifty cents, and from battalion or company parade, three dollars. Being absent from three successive drills without being excused, shall be considered sufficient cause for expulsion, unless the absentee shall have first obtained leave of absence from the president.

#### ARTICLE XIII.

##### FINES FOR DEFICIENCY IN UNIFORMS, ETC.

On full dress company or battalion parades, no person shall be permitted in the ranks who is not properly armed, equipped and in full uniform under a penalty of fifty cents.

#### ARTICLE XIV.

##### CONDUCT OF MEMBERS IN GENERAL.

While on duty, either at drill or parade, each member shall conduct himself according to the rules of manly and soldierly propriety, always paying strict attention to duty and obeying orders to the best of his ability.

No member shall, when on or off duty, with any part of his uniform on, visit any public place, such as bar-rooms, hotels, theatres, libraries, etc., without first obtaining the permission of his commanding officer, under the penalty of five dollars for the first offence, the second offence will be a sufficient cause for expulsion.

On all parades or out-door drills, the corps being dismissed for a short time, no member shall go beyond eighty paces from where the arms were stacked without permission of his commandant, under the penalty of five dollars fine for the first offence, and upon repetition of the offence the member shall be expelled from the corps.

## ARTICLE XV.

## FUNERAL PARADES.

In case of the death of any member the whole corps shall attend his funeral, wearing the usual military badge of mourning, in full uniform or otherwise, according to the desire of the family of the deceased.

## ARTICLE XVI.

## CIVIC DEPARTMENT.

## OFFICERS.

The Civic Department shall consist of a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, each of whom shall be elected on the first Monday of each January for the ensuing year by a majority vote.

## MEETINGS.

The regular monthly meetings shall be held on the first Monday of each month. Special meetings shall be called by the president, or, in his absence, the vice-president, upon a written application made to him by five members. In case of a call of a special meeting printed or written notices shall be sent to each member of the corps.

At all meetings fifteen members shall constitute a quorum.

## ORDER OF BUSINESS.

On taking the chair, the president shall call the meeting to order when the business shall proceed in the following order:

1. Calling the roll.
2. Reading the minutes of the last meeting for adoption.
3. Collection of dues and fines.
4. Reports of standing committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Propositions and reading applications for new committees.
7. Electing new members.
8. Unfinished business.
9. New business.
10. Motion to adjourn.

## RULES OF DEBATE.

The rules of debate shall, as near as practicable, conform to those adopted by the United States House of Representatives.

ARTICLE XVII.

STANDING COMMITTEES AND THEIR DUTIES.

There shall be appointed by the president and elected by the corps, on the first Monday of each January, who shall serve for one year from the day of their appointment and election, the following committees, viz. .

FINANCE COMMITTEE.

A committee of three on finance, to be appointed by the president, whose duty it shall be to audit all accounts, and pass them over to the treasurer for payment. They shall see that the expenditure does not exceed the income, and report at each monthly meeting.

COURT-MARTIAL COMMITTEE.

A Court-Martial Committee of seven shall be elected, collectively, by a majority vote, whose duty shall be to hear the excuses of delinquents, with full power to remit fines and order expulsions.

This committee shall report the fines to the treasurer and the expelled members to the president while in the chair, who shall order the secretary to erase the names of the expelled members from the roll.

ARTICLE XVIII.

DUTIES OF THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

The secretary shall be present at each meeting, take down the proceedings in writing, keep the original roll signed by the members, attend to the printing and sending of notices. The treasurer shall collect the dues and fines, pay all the accounts audited by the Finance Committee, and report at each meeting.

ARTICLE XIX.

OFFENCES, CONSEQUENCES FOR NON-APPEARANCE BEFORE COURT MARTIAL,  
ETC.

Each instructor of a squad and each commissioned and non-commissioned officer of a company shall take note of all offences and report the offenders to the Court Martial Committee, who shall give such offenders reasonable notice to appear before them for trial; and if such offenders refuse to appear at the time specified, unless detained by absence from the city or by sickness, they shall be expelled; and in all cases where the penalty of expulsion has been incurred, the president shall order the secretary to erase the name of the expelled member from the roll. Sickness, absence from the city, or doing United States or State duty, shall be received as an excuse for non-attendance from drill, meeting, or parade.

## ARTICLE XX.

## ARREARS AND DUES.

Any member in arrears for fines or dues for two months shall be expelled. The dues shall be twelve dollars per year, payable monthly.

## ARTICLE XXI.

## SICKNESS OF MEMBERS, PECUNIARY AID, ETC.

In case of sickness of any member, a committee of two shall be appointed by the president to call upon him and ascertain if such member is in need of assistance, and, in case the committee shall report that he is in need of pecuniary aid, it shall be granted him out of the funds of the corps, to the extent of four dollars per week, exclusive of medical attendance.

## ARTICLE XXII.

## ASSESSMENTS, ALTERATIONS OF BY-LAWS.

Proposed assessments shall be per capita, and adopted by a majority vote. These by-laws shall not be altered or changed, except by a two-third vote of the whole corps; and not then unless thirty days' previous notice in writing shall have been given of the proposed alteration.

## ARTICLE XXIII.

Until the election of officers one instructor shall be appointed by a majority vote of the corps. A set of rules and regulations to govern the conduct of members while at drill, shall be hereafter adopted by the corps with offences described, and penalties for each offence attached thereto.

## CIVIL OFFICERS AND STANDING COMMITTEES.

Rush C. Hawkins, President (and treasurer, *pro tem*).

Jas. J. Delaney, Vice-President.

Henry Barclay, Secretary, *pro tem*.

## COMMITTEE ON MILITARY INSTRUCTION AND LECTURES.

Hawkins,

Boese,

Parisen,

Walsh,

Copcutt,

Macauley,

Higginson.

## COURT-MARTIAL COMMITTEE.

Delaney,

Barclay,

Graham,

Frank,

O. Parisen,

LeBaire,

Tooker.

## CHAPTER II.

ORGANIZATION OF CIVIL CLUB—DRILL MASTER SERG'T BENZONI—FIRST SHOT OF THE CIVIL WAR—FIRING ON FORT SUMTER—FIRST OFFER OF NEW YORK TROOPS—ORGANIZATION OF 9TH N. Y. VOLUNTEERS—FIELD OFFICERS—CASTLE GARDEN—RIKER'S ISLAND—SEVERE DRILLS—NEW UNIFORM—INSPECTION BY GEN'L JOHN A. DIX—OFF FOR FORTRESS MONROE—PRESENTATION OF FLAGS IN FIFTH AVENUE—ARRIVAL AT NEWPORT NEWS.

A SUFFICIENT number of men were soon enrolled and the organization of a civil club, the governing body *pro tem*, completed. No military officers were elected, all members for the present being privates. The officers appointed to drill the company to-day took their places in the ranks to-morrow, and observed the same attention to the orders of the newly appointed officers as had been accorded to them.

Through the courtesy of the commanding officer at Governor's Island, the services of a

most thorough and efficient drill sergeant of the regular army were procured. The sergeant acted as general instructor and drill-master. At each drill, he designated the acting captains, lieutenants, sergeants and corporals. This system permitted each member to acquire practice and receive instruction in all grades of an infantry company.

In addition to this system of instruction the scheme embraced, on the nights when the regular instructor was not present, the detailing of different members of the company to act as instructors at the regular out or indoor drill. This gave to the youngsters confidence and educated them in the necessary habit of command.

No member of the New York Zouaves can ever forget his old drill-master, Sergeant Louis Benzoni, and each can recall the picture of the erect old soldier marching back and forth in front of the line of green recruits, snapping out his orders and directions in his quaint military broken English, doing his facings and going through the manual of arms with such vim, finish, and correctness, that they were more inclined to regard him as a perfect piece of machinery, than mere human flesh and blood. Sergeant Benzoni constantly strove by his exaggerations to make his lessons in pos-

tures and movements impressive and valuable to his pupils, and each considering them the requisite of perfection to be attained, earnestly tried to imitate them.

He was a consummate manualist, exact and exacting, and as to the school of the company, could handle men as well as he could the musket. He was very much in earnest and would admit of no inattention.

The result of his work as shown in the drill and discipline of the regiment which these young men organized and officered at the commencement of the civil war, proved that Sergeant Benzoni, "builted better than he knew."

Headquarters were first established at the Mercer House, but later the organization moved to the corner of Fourth and Thompson Streets, where the Judson Memorial Church now stands, and on which historic spot the regiment known as the Ninth New York Volunteers (Hawkins Zouaves) was organized.

Washington Parade Ground was across the street from the quarters, and was used by the Zouaves as a drill-ground. Their novel and interesting manœuvres were eagerly watched by crowds of interested spectators. In this routine work—morning and evening drills being the daily practice—the company continued



until the firing on Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861, which is popularly called "the first shot of the war."

As a matter of history, it may be interesting to state that in January, 1861, the sole force of the United States Army in Barrancas Barracks, Pensacola Harbor, Florida, was company G, First Artillery, commanded by Captain John H. Winder, with Lieutenants Slemmer and Gilman. Winder was later brigadier-general in the Confederate service, and well known in connection with the military prisons of the South. It was rumored that troops from Alabama and Florida were nearly ready to seize the navy yard and forts, and on the morning of January 8th, Lieutenant Slemmer moved all the powder to the inner magazines of Fort Barrancas, caused all the batteries to be put in working order, and that night, for the first time, placed a sergeant's guard in the fort with the draw-bridge raised.

About midnight a party of twenty men came to the fort to take possession, expecting to find it unoccupied as usual. Being challenged, and not answering or halting when ordered, the guard fired upon them, when they turned and ran toward Warrington. The long roll beat, and the company double-quickened to the fort, but too late to capture the enemy. This was the first gun in the war on the Union side.

The next morning, January 9th, at 9.30 o'clock the steamer "Star of the West," with two hundred troops and supplies for Fort Sumter, was fired upon from a masked battery on Morris Island, Charleston Harbor, and forced to put about and go to sea.

At 4.30 o'clock A. M., April 12, 1861, Captain George S. James, commanding the battery at James Island (Fort Johnson) fired a shell from a ten inch mortar at Fort Sumter. It burst about one hundred feet above the fort, and was followed by a general bombardment from all the encircling batteries.

The entire North was in a white heat of rage and excitement on receipt of this startling news.

About noon on the 15th of April the bulletin boards of the daily newspapers announced the call of President Lincoln for seventy-five thousand volunteers to assist in putting down the rebellion. Soon after, members of the company—G. A. C. Barnett being the first—commenced calling upon Mr. Hawkins, the president of the organization, for the purpose of urging immediate action and tender of services. They notified other members, and that night there was a meeting of a majority of the members at the armory. It was brief, lively and patriotic. No speeches were made and none were neces-

sary. Inside the walls of that ramshackle old building every cubic inch of air was filled with earnest resolve and manly determination to do, and if necessary to die in the cause of their country. It was resolved to commence recruiting for a regiment at once, and the president, Hawkins, was authorized to proceed to Albany to make a tender of service, and to obtain permission to raise a regiment. He took the eleven o'clock train that night, and at a few minutes after seven o'clock, the morning of the sixteenth of April, was sitting on the steps of the capitol leading to the executive chamber waiting for the arrival of the Governor, who came to his office a few minutes after. The business in hand was attended to in the most direct manner and no words wasted. The Governor, under existing laws of the State, was not authorized to grant official authority, but gave verbal permission to go ahead. The interview closed by his saying: "Yours is the first tender of services I have had."

At the time this matter was not regarded as being of any importance, but since the close of the war many claims about "Firsts" have been submitted, and this has been taken from its slumber in the recesses of memory for the purpose of keeping company with the others.

When President Hawkins reached New

York upon his return, he found a recruiting office already opened in the company rooms, and the members of the company busily engaged in the work of enrolling recruits. Applicants presented themselves in such numbers that the success of the movement was assured from the very beginning. The work of organizing the regiment was proceeded with at once. More than enough men from the old company enlisted to provide officers for nine companies. The surplus was distributed among the companies as non-commissioned officers. The positions and rank of line-officers were decided by mutual agreement among the members of the old company. The field and staff positions, excepting that of colonel, were left open for the present, to be filled later.

Mr. Hawkins became colonel, not only by the voice of the company officers, but by virtue of the authority conferred upon him by the Governor. His experience and knowledge of military affairs was not strictly confined to such theories as might be acquired in the ranks of citizen organizations, as he had, while still a youth, during the Mexican War, served a term of enlistment in the United States Cavalry. The experience gained during that period of service was of great assistance to him in the present emergency.

Andrew S. Graham was chosen senior captain, followed in the order named by William G. Barnett, Eugene Li Baire, Otto Parisen, etc.

Recruits were enrolled so rapidly that the captains were enabled to select from the large number only those who in their judgment seemed best adapted, physically and mentally, for soldiers.

The companies having been organized, and non-commissioned officers appointed, six companies were, on April 23, 1861, sworn into the State service, and the remaining four on April 27th.

The tenth company, Captain Edward Jardine, was taken into the regiment as a complete organization. The captain had not been a member of the old company, but had some military experience, having served his time as a militiaman in the 7th Reg. N. G. S. N. Y.

The positions of field and staff officers were now to be filled. George F. Betts (a son of Judge Betts) was commissioned lieutenant-colonel. He was a well known New York lawyer, a U. S. Commissioner, and clerk of the U. S. Circuit Court for the Southern District of New York, and had been a field officer in the militia for many years. He was considered an excellent tactician in battalion movements.

The position of major was filled by Edgar A.

Kimball, a native of Vermont, who at that time occupied a position in the N. Y. Custom House. He was a veteran of the Mexican War, wherein he had greatly distinguished himself, having been brevetted for gallant and meritorious conduct at Contreras and Cherubusco.

Another Mexican veteran, James W. Evans, was commissioned adjutant.

The surgeon chosen was George H. Humphreys who, while yet a medical student, had served with the British Army during the Crimean War, and had further served with the French Army in the war with Austria.

The assistant surgeon, Dr. J. P. P. White, was also appointed at this time. He proved to be an excellent surgeon and a most thorough, painstaking, conscientious and humane gentleman.

These gentlemen were chosen from among a number of competitors for the various positions named, after careful deliberation and investigation by Colonel Hawkins, as to fitness, character, antecedents, etc. Their records during the war showed the wisdom of the choice.

On May 4, 1861, the entire regiment was sworn into the service of the United States by Captain Hayman of the regular army, and was officially designated as 9th New York Volunteer Infantry.

Up to this time much dissatisfaction and inconvenience had been experienced by the regiment from unsuitable quarters. The corner of Fourth and Thompson Streets, Center Market, Astor's Riding Ring, on Lafayette Place, and Castle Garden, were successively assigned it for that purpose, the latter being the only place that was at all suitable. Previous to having these quarters assigned there was no permanent location; the company rooms at Fourth and Thompson Streets were not large enough to accommodate the regiment and the men were compelled to return to their homes each night. Consequently there had been little if any opportunity for drill. For many years previous to 1861, Castle Garden had been used as a public theatre, where operas, concerts and entertainments of like character were given. It was here that Jenny Lind first sang in public before starting on her famous American tour, under the management of P. T. Barnum. Just previous to the breaking out of the war the building had been acquired by the State of New York and used as an emigrant depot, but no alterations had been made in the interior. The State assigned the building to the New York Zouaves as quarters, and on the following Sunday—for the first time since the days of the Revolution when it was a government fortification—religious services were

held in the place by the chaplain of the regiment, Rev. T. W. Conway, who later became Superintendent of Freedmen in the Department of the South. The various companies were assigned to different parts of the auditorium; and thus Castle Garden became the home and a wooden theatre bench became the bed of the new soldiers. While the regiment had not yet received its arms, a sufficient number of muskets were procured to arm the guard.

Here there was an opportunity to settle down to the work of properly forming the regiment. Details were regularly made for guard duty; the ceremony of guard mount was performed after a fashion; sentries, after being carefully instructed in their duties, were posted at various points, and while a great deal of liberty was allowed and passes freely given, the men began to feel some of the restraints of military life.

Even at this early period of service individual traits began to be noticeable among the boys. The painstaking could be easily distinguished from the careless, and the public-spirited from the selfish. A case in illustration is the following: Two members of Company D who believed in keeping their company quarters clean and in a condition always ready for inspection, and who at the same time de-



sired to set an example for the others in the company, regularly swept, cleaned and dusted the company benches and cushions in the "dress circle," shaking and folding the blankets of many of their comrades, who would as regularly "shake" themselves free from their blankets and stalk haughtily away to more interesting and less menial occupations. This continued for some days until the junior member of the quarters-cleaning firm remarked that he thought "it time for a change." "Never mind," quoth the senior member, "before long they will be shaking and cleaning for us." Prophetic words! Before long the senior member of the firm became First Sergeant Horner, and proceeded to shake and dust Company D in a way that opened its eyes. A few months later the junior member also got his stripes, and Corporal Searing found it his turn to insist on thorough police work by the former laggards.

The task of "setting up" and drilling was now begun in earnest. The companies were divided into squads and each, under the command of an officer, was carefully instructed in the preliminaries of military drill. The position of the soldier, the facings and marchings were gone over in the minutest detail, and in a very few days the improvement in the bearing and carriage of the men was especially noticeable.

Sentries were stationed at the gates and instructed to admit only members of the regiment, and so attentive were the men to their duties that, on their departure for Riker's Island, no one would have recognized them as the green recruits of three weeks ago.

On May 15 the regiment left Castle Garden for Riker's Island, where commodious barracks had recently been erected. Large crowds had assembled at the Battery, and amidst their deafening cheers the "Ninth" marched aboard the transport.

The 2d New York were in line at the water's edge, their drum corps beating a salute in response to that of the Ninth, while Captain Mott's battery of two 12-pounder howitzers gave a farewell salute of eleven rounds, and the greatest enthusiasm continued until the Zouaves disappeared from view up the East River.

Arriving at their destination about noon of the same day, the regiment disembarked and found the new quarters all that could be desired for their accommodation. They at once entered upon the long and tedious daily drills, both officers and men settling down seriously to the difficult task of creating a regiment which would be equal to the occasion when called upon in the day of trial. It is deliberately and positively asserted that this organi-

zation was at this time unique in its freedom from the serio-comic experiences of nearly all new regiments resulting from lack of knowledge of military matters among officers and men. The ludicrous effect of officers, totally ignorant of the first rudiments of military tactics, endeavoring to teach the manual to men as uninformed as themselves, was never seen at any time in the "Ninth." The officers thoroughly understood the theory and practice of the school of the soldier and of the company, and were also well posted in battalion movements. In teaching the men they started at the beginning and not in the middle. The first instructions were in the position of a soldier. They were directed how to stand correctly, and informed why a certain posture and position was necessary. The drill in positions, facings and marching were repeated twice each day without arms, and continued daily until the men had acquired perfect confidence and freedom from hesitation and indecision. Muskets were then distributed and the same care exercised in the instruction of the manual of arms. The men were advanced step by step. The reason why each movement should be performed strictly according to the manual was explained, and their minds were impressed with the fact that such movements could be performed with more rapidity, and the

arms handled with more efficiency by strictly observing the instructions given.

The result of this careful drilling by officers who understood what they were teaching was soon shown by the soldierly appearance the regiment presented on evening parade, and when it marched down Broadway on the 5th of June, under orders for Fortress Monroe, it is safe to state, and without fear of contradiction, that for accuracy in the manual, general knowledge of drill, and steadiness in marching, it surpassed any regiment of citizen soldiers that had ever marched down that famous thoroughfare.

When the task of raising and equipping the regiment had only just begun the Colonel feared that the State authorities would not be reliable in relation to the important essentials involved in the great emergency. So without authority or consultation he took the liberty and responsibility of making contracts for every item—save blankets, overcoats and arms—necessary to the launching of a regiment, and when all contracts were fulfilled, the regiment clothed and equipped, the cost per man was about \$21.50, instead of about double that amount paid by the State for “shoddy” uniforms alone, which commenced to fall to pieces as soon as the wearers reached the field. The uniforms supplied to the regiment by private contract

were made of the best material obtainable at the time, and lasted in fairly good condition through the whole of the first summer in the field. While here at Riker's Island the uniforms were issued to the regiment. They were of what is commonly called the Zouave pattern: close, easy-fitting, permitting full action of body and arms, artistic in form and picturesque, but of modest tone; of army blue, the trousers slightly full, plaited at the waist, with a magenta braid down the outer seam; jacket and vest with magenta trimmings, a sash of the same color of woolen material, wide enough to cover the stomach and bowels of the wearer; white leggings, and red fez with a blue tassel. It was totally different from the uniforms issued by the United States authorities, and no nattier one was worn by any body of troops in the service.

Previous to the departure of the regiment the news agents of New York City, with whom Major Kimball had formerly been associated in a business way, presented him with a handsome sword. Later a magnificent pair of epaulettes came from friends in the custom house, as a token of their esteem for his faithfulness, and for his patriotism to his country.

The entire regiment had been vaccinated by the surgeons, and its sanitary condition pronounced most satisfactory. Being fully armed

and equipped an inspection and review was ordered.

On the first day of June Major-General John A. Dix, commanding the department, accompanied by Colonel Keyes of the regular service, reviewed the regiment after it had executed an intricate battalion drill.

It was drawn up in line of battle, and after dress parade, was inspected by the General, who, as he passed up and down the line, expressed his satisfaction in most flattering terms. He informed Colonel Hawkins that he was extremely gratified with the completeness of all details, and at the review after inspection expressed himself as delighted at the perfection in marching displayed by the men, and their proficiency in drill, knowing what a short time their brief stay in camp had allowed for instruction. The General was proud that such a fine body of young men had been assigned to his command, and said he hoped and believed that the regiment would one day distinguish itself.

On June 1st the Colonel issued an order which permitted friends of the regiment to visit "Camp Hawkins," as the camp on the island was designated, and on the following Sunday a large number of friends, relatives and others availed themselves of the privilege.

The camp presented a gala appearance; the

barracks and company streets being decorated with patriotic designs in evergreens, and gay festoons of red, white and blue, each company having its peculiar novelty.

Company A was presented with a national flag by Sgt. George W. Debevoise, while Companies C, D and G each received a set of colors from friends of the respective companies, the ceremonies taking place on the parade ground, and being much enjoyed by the host of interested spectators.

The month passed on Riker's Island was—if the continuous and severe drills are left out of consideration—one continuous picnic. Each company vied in its endeavor to excel its neighbor in the tasteful decorations of the company streets. There were always numerous visitors in the afternoons, and on stated occasions when general visiting was permitted, the camp was crowded with friends and relatives of both sexes, who loudly applauded the drilling on the parade ground. The Zouaves were conscious of the fact that they were the cynosure of all eyes, and were looked upon as real soldiers; they were in a military camp and presumed they were living the lives of genuine soldiers. Their mothers, sisters, and young women friends were sympathetic and inclined to coddle and pet these poor boys, who were undergoing such

hardships and privations from pure patriotism and for their country's good; and they, "the beggars," accepted all this as their due, and tried to make themselves believe that they were in some degrees heroes, whereas they were really having an enjoyable time. Comfortably housed, with an abundance of good food, without the trouble of preparing it, they were nearly as well off as a modern militia regiment in a State camp.

Orders finally came for the Ninth to proceed to Fortress Monroe, and at noon on Wednesday, June 5th, the regiment left Riker's Island, aboard a steamer, and sailed for New York. Landing at the foot of East 30th Street, after much delay in effecting their alignments—due to the crowd which had gathered to greet them—the regiment marched to the residence of Mr. A. W. Griswold, where it was halted, formed in line, and brought to attention. Rev. Gardiner Spring came forward with a beautiful stand of colors, and made the following remarks :

"Colonel Hawkins, Officers and Soldiers of the Ninth Regiment, New York Volunteers—I have been requested by Mrs. Griswold, now here, to present to you this splendid emblem of our nationality, and I desire to do this with a few introductory remarks. I, who for over fifty years, have been enlisted under the banner of the Prince of Peace, find myself exactly in such a novel position as yourselves, who have enlisted in the noble cause of defending your country against a band of outlaws, who defying all laws of righteousness, are striving to overthrow this, the happiest government on earth.

"Secession dates back as far as the days when the ten tribes of



Israel were lost, and even further, for the devil himself was a secessionist.

"I look upon this vile controversy as the most wicked ever gotten up by man. I give you my blessing. The blessings and prayers of the whole civilized world are with you. I pledge myself that the prayers and blessings of the Brick Church shall not be wanting.

"May the God of battles be with you, and in the hour of danger hover over you. Accompanying this flag is a letter from Mrs. Griswold, which I will now read for you, as follows:

"NO. 381 FIFTH AVENUE, June 5th, 1861.

Colonel Hawkins, Commandant of the Ninth Regiment, New York Volunteers.

COLONEL,—I have the honor to present to you for your gallant regiment of Zouaves these colors.

The Union of which this flag is the emblem was established by our fathers. Its cost was the price of blood. To their children they have confided the trust of guarding and upholding it. What obligation can be more sacredly binding upon them? For more than three-fourths of a century this ensign has commanded the respect of every people, on land and sea, and wherever civilization is known, even penetrating the dark corners of the earth, carrying light and freedom with it. While thirty millions of people under its folds were enjoying life, liberty and happiness, as no other people ever did, foul traitors have raised their fratricidal hands against it.

The Government has called upon its loyal citizens to come to its defense.

The alacrity and zeal with which you and others have responded to that call awaken in our hearts the liveliest emotions and gratitude,

It is beyond our province to follow this standard to the battle field; but we can and will follow with our prayers and blessings those who bear it, imploring Him who holds in his hands the destiny of nations to protect and preserve those who stand by their country's flag in its hour of peril; and that He will speedily restore reason and loyalty to that rash and misguided people who have assailed it. Accept for yourself, and your noble regiment of Zouaves, my kind wishes.

MARY ADELAIDE GRISWOLD."

In a voice tremulous with emotion, Colonel Hawkins in a few appropriate words thanked Mrs. Griswold for the flag, and solemnly promised that he and his regiment would protect it with their lives if necessary to save it from

humiliation or surrender, and that it should return with them unblemished.

The color-bearer then received the flag and it was exhibited to the Zouaves. It was of silk, handsomely mounted, and was a most beautiful as well as expensive token.

On the lance surmounting the staff was a square plate of silver, upon which was engraved,

PRESENTED BY  
MRS. ALMA W. GRISWOLD,  
TO THE  
NINTH REGIMENT NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS,  
JUNE 5TH, 1861.  
LEXINGTON, APRIL 19TH, 1776.  
BALTIMORE, APRIL 19TH, 1861.  
MEMORIA IN ÆTERNA.

The regiment then wheeled into column and marched to the residence of Mrs. William B. Moffat, where again swinging into line, another standard was presented.

The Rev. Dr. Wiley, of Christ Church, represented Mrs. Moffat, and in a touching address, delivered the flag into the custody of Colonel Hawkins, who, in accepting it, in well-chosen and patriotic language, again pledged himself and the Zouaves to defend the colors with their lives if necessary, and to bring them back untainted by dishonor.

The standard was six feet by eight, made of

double silk of solid red. Great taste was displayed in its design.

Upon the centre was this inscription:

NINTH REGIMENT, NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS.

*Toujours Pret.*

This motto has since become the watchword of the Zouaves, and true to its test they were found to be "Always Ready."

Once more the regiment wheeled into column and resumed the march down the avenue to Broadway. The sidewalks along the entire route were packed with citizens, who, from Union Square to the Battery, gave them an ovation which will never be forgotten, and caused each man to mentally resolve that he would never bring disgrace on the beautiful standards or on the city which gave him so proud a farewell.

Arriving at Pier 4, North River, the regiment experienced the greatest difficulty in forcing its way through the masses of people there gathered. Colonel Hawkins deemed it unsafe to proceed to sea in what he considered the crowded condition of the "Marion," the vessel supplied by the Quartermaster's Department for the transportation of the regiment, and after some hours of delay in unwinding red tape the "George Peabody" was provided as addi-

tional transportation. The two vessels sailed on the 6th, but it was not until the 8th of the month that they arrived at Fortress Monroe.

Colonel Hawkins upon reporting to the Commanding General there was ordered to proceed to Newport News, where the regiment arrived in due course, disembarked, and stacking arms, awaited the arrival of their tents and camp equipage before establishing a regular camp.

## CHAPTER III.

ADVANCE ON BIG BETHEL—THE FIRST BATTLE OF THE WAR—GENERAL CARR'S ACCOUNT OF BATTLE OF BIG BETHEL—ACCOUNT OF MAJOR WINTHROP'S DEATH BY A SOUTHERNER—FORCES ENGAGED AND LOSSES OF BOTH SIDES—ZOUAVES TO THE FRONT—COLONEL PHELPS AND HIS PECULIARITIES—RIGHT GENERAL GUIDE HERBERT AND HIS GRAVE ERROR—TWO ZOUAVES ATTEMPT TO GET A "PULL" WITH COLONEL PHELPS.

UPON the arrival of the camp equipage, tents were pitched in a wheat field, in which the grain was almost ready for the sickle. This was trampled down to make place for the tents, which the men, after considerable difficulty, being only amateurs in the business, succeeded in erecting, and established their camp after a fashion. On the day following, Sunday, June 9th, a beautiful summer day, tents were struck and camp was moved to a point west of the breastworks and on a line with them and near the brink of the high wooded bank overlooking the James river. The camp was here laid out

in approved regulation style. It was an ideal location. There was considerable shade from the trees bordering the steep bank of the river, abundance of good water near at hand, and the ground smooth and with slope enough to secure good drainage.

The next day was extremely hot and sultry. It was a memorable one in the annals of the war, for on that day occurred the first engagement in the Rebellion which deserved to be called a battle, and which proved disastrous to the Union side.

At a point nine miles from Fortress Monroe, on the road leading from Hampton to Yorktown, lay the little town of Bethel, probably taking its name from the church located there. It was known that the enemy had intrenched and was holding the road at this point; upon learning which Gen. B. F. Butler decided to attack him there. A creek crossed the road near the church. A bridge over this creek was commanded by a fortification of the enemy, held by Col. D. H. Hill, of North Carolina (later Lieutenant-General C. S. A.) and 500 men. A personal reconnoissance of the topography of the country had been made by Major Theodore Winthrop, of General Butler's staff, and the following memorandum for the attacking movement was drawn up.

\*“ A regiment or battalion to march from Newport News, and a regiment to march from Camp Hamilton (Duryea's). Each will be supported by sufficient reserves under arms in camp, and with advanced guards out on the road of march.

“ Duryea to push out two picket posts at 10 P.M.; one two and a half miles beyond Hampton, on the county road, but not so far as to alarm the enemy. This is important. Second picket half as far as the first. Both pickets to keep as much out of sight as possible. No one whatever to be allowed to pass out through the lines. Persons to be allowed to pass inward toward Hampton, unless it appears that they intend to go round about and dodge through to the front.

“ At 12—midnight—Colonel Duryea will march his regiment, with sufficient ammunition, on the county road toward Little Bethel. Scows will be provided to ferry them across Hampton Creek. March to be rapid, but not hurried. A howitzer with canister and shrapnel to go. A wagon with planks and material to repair the Newmarket bridge. Duryea to have the two hundred rifles; he will pick the men to whom to entrust them. Rocket to be thrown up from Newport News. Notify Commodore Prendergrast of this to prevent general alarm.

“ Newport News movement to be made somewhat later, as the distance is less.

“ If we find the enemy and surprise them, men will fire one volley, if desirable, not reload, and go ahead with the bayonet. As the attack is to be by night or dusk of morning, and in two detachments, our people should have some token—say a white rag or dirty white rag on the left arm.

“ Perhaps the detachments who are to do the job should be smaller than a regiment—three hundred or five hundred—as the right and left of the attack would be more easily handled. If we bag the Little Bethel men, push on to Big Bethel, or blow up, if brick. To protect our rear—in case we take the field-pieces, and the enemy should march his main body (if he has any) to recover them—it would be well to have a squad of competent artillerymen, regular or other, to handle the captured guns on the retirement of our main body; also spikes to spike them, if retaken. George Scott to have a shooting iron.

“ Perhaps Duryea's men would be awkward with a new arm in a night or early dawn attack, where there will be little marksman duty to perform.

“ Most of the work will be done with the bayonet, and they are already handy with the old ones.”

Butler goes on to say that he could not go with the command himself, and selected his

\*From Butler's Book, page 267.

next officer in rank, General Pierce, of Massachusetts. It was his desire to place Colonel Phelps in command, as the more competent officer, but unfortunately there were one or two colonels outranking Phelps, who were no more qualified than Pierce, and he did not like to do these officers an apparent injustice, and besides did not think the enterprise at all difficult with six of his men to one of the enemy. As this was the first engagement of the war it may be interesting to give a condensed account of the operations from an article published in the *Century Magazine*, from the pen of the late Gen. Joseph B. Carr:

“June 10, 1861, was the disastrous fight at Big Bethel. Sunday noon, June 9th, General Ebenezer W. Pierce was ordered to Butler’s headquarters and shown a plan of attack on both Little and Big Bethel. Minute directions were given for conducting the attack, and Pierce assigned to command. March began at midnight, June 9th. Pierce was to lead one column from Camp Hamilton to a point near Little Bethel, where the column from Newport News was to meet him, and together they were to surprise both Bethels. The troops were the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th, and 7th New York, detachments from the 4th Massachusetts and 1st Vermont, and a detachment from the United



States Regular Artillery (11 men) with two field-pieces, under command of Lieutenant Greble. We had, I think, not less than 3,500 men. The watchword, 'Boston,' was to be shouted when unrecognized troops should approach, but Colonel Bendix, of the 7th New York, did not receive information on this point. The troops were approaching the point of meeting, and some had gone to the rear of Little Bethel, when Townsend's (3rd New York) and Bendix's troops approached each other—a thick wood having intervened for part of the march. Townsend's men wore gray uniforms, and Bendix supposing them to be the enemy, opened fire with musketry and one piece of artillery. The watchword was shouted but Bendix, being ignorant of its meaning, continued firing. Townsend retreated a short distance and the error was then discovered. Duryea (5th New York) and Washburn (1st Vermont) were in advance, and hearing the firing supposed the enemy were in their rear, and at once fell back. The firing had aroused the enemy, and they prepared for defence so that surprise was out of the question. At this time Pierce sent for aid, and the 1st and 2nd New York, under Colonels Allen and Carr, hurried forward; the latter to await orders at Newmarket bridge.

“Advancing through Little Bethel, which was

evacuated, the troops under Pierce found the Confederates occupying a strong position near Big Bethel, with earthworks covering the bridge which crossed a stream running in front of their position. Col. John B. Magruder, was in command here with three or four hundred men and about five guns. Duryea moved up the road on the left of the woods and the fight opened by the discharge of a Parrott gun in the Confederate works.

“Greble and his two guns took position on the road with Bendix’s regiment and three companies of Massachusetts troops. Duryea went through the orchard and cornfield; Townsend on his right and rear. The Confederate fire was harmless at first, but when the range was found, our troops sought the shelter of the woods, after a vain attempt to drive the enemy from his works.

“A short time after they sought shelter, about 11 A. M., I arrived with my regiment—a ten-mile march through the fearful heat and dragging a gun by hand having delayed us since our start at 7 A.M.

“We were surprised and puzzled at the condition of the troops.

“For at least one mile from the scene of action the officers and men were scattered, singly and in groups, without form or organization, looking

far more like men enjoying a huge picnic than soldiers awaiting battle.

“I reported to Pierce, who consented to give me support for a charge on the Confederate works. Townsend promptly volunteered to support me with his regiment, and started to make the necessary preparations.

“Placing my command on the right and left of the road, I was making ready for the charge when a message came from General Pierce, stating that after consultation with his colonels (Butler says all of whom but Duryea voted to retire) he found that troops could not be formed to make the charge effective, and that during the consultation an order had been received from General Butler, ordering a retreat, and I was commanded to cover the retreat about to commence. The pursuit made by the Confederates was easily checked by the 2d New York, and the men reached camp without further mishaps. The only firing occurring after 12 o'clock on that day was from the gun brought up by my men, and in command of Lieutenant Greble.

“About one dozen shots had been fired when Greble was killed.

“The gun was abandoned on the field, and Greble's body was left beside it. I called for volunteers to rescue the gun, and Captain Wilson and his company, of my regiment, re-

sponded, and, in the face of the enemy, gallantly rescued the gun, bringing it in with Greble's body lying on it.

"Major Winthrop's death during the early part of this engagement was a notable event. Though unattached to any regiment, he had volunteered for the expedition, and was killed while far in advance of the troops and within one hundred yards of the enemy. Butler arrived at Hampton Creek to see the men coming in, but saw no part of the fight."

J. Belloore of Richmond wrote to the editors of the *Century Magazine*:

"Major Winthrop headed a force intending to turn our left flank. On our left was a slight earthwork. About 75 yards in front of this was a rail fence. Our attention was called by cheering to his advance. Looking up, we saw the Major and two privates on the fence; his sword was drawn, and he was calling on his troops to follow him. Our first volley killed these three; those following being protected by the peculiar formation of the ground were not injured, but upon the fall of their leader beat a precipitate retreat.

"I was among the first to reach these men. All were dead, having been instantly killed. Major Winthrop was shot in the breast, and the others in the head. About ten days after, a flag

of truce came up asking for Winthrop's body. Having assisted in burying him I was sent with the party to find the body which was given to his friends."

The Union forces engaged were: 1st New York Vols., Colonel William H. Allen; 2nd New York Vols., Colonel Joseph B. Carr; 3rd New York Vols., Colonel Frederick Townsend; 7th New York Vols., Colonel John E. Bendix; 4th Massachusetts Vols., five companies, Major H. O. Whitlemore; 1st Vermont Vols., five companies, Lieut.-Colonel Peter T. Washburn; Regular Artillery (4 guns), Lieut. John T. Greble. Confederate forces were: 1st North Carolina Vols., Colonel Daniel H. Hill; 3rd Virginia Vols., detachment, Lieut.-Colonel William D. Stuart; Virginia Cavalry Battalion, Major E. B. Montague; Virginia Howitzer Battalion, Major George W. Randolph.

Union loss, 18 killed, 53 wounded, 5 missing; total, 76.

Confederate loss, 1 killed, 7 wounded; total, 8.

General Pierce in his report gave the number of casualties from Bendix's fire: 2 mortally wounded, 3 dangerously, 4 officers, 12 privates slightly; total, 21. Magruder's report gives his force as 1,400 in all with 1,200 engaged.

When messengers were sent to Newport News for reinforcements, Colonel Phelps

issued the necessary orders, and Colonel Hawkins, with Companies A, B and G of the "Ninth," at once hastened to Little Bethel, followed later by other companies of the regiment.

These detachments arrived on the field within a short time of each other, and just as the engagement had ended in a disastrous manner to our forces.

In obedience to orders the Zouaves remained on the ground until all retreating bodies of troops had marched passed them, when Colonel Hawkins sent out small detachments, with orders to thoroughly search the neighborhood, drive in all stragglers, and assist worn out and broken down soldiers into our lines. This duty was energetically performed, and the "Ninth" acting as rear guard, covered the retreat of the tired and dispirited forces. After a march of twenty-four Virginia miles, over dry and parched roads, amidst clouds of dust so thick that a comrade's features could not be discerned ten feet distant, the regiment reached its old camp in not exactly the freshest or most presentable condition.

From this date onward the time was passed in drills, scouting duty, picket, guard and kindred duties; the boys finding some little opportunity for recreation, but beginning to realize that the life of a soldier was by no means a continuous picnic.

Colonel Phelps commanded the post of Newport News; he was Colonel of the First Vermont Vols., but soon was promoted Brigadier-General. He was a resigned regular army officer. In personal appearance he was tall and thin, and to the men of the regiment—who were all young—seemed quite aged. He was not over particular about his dress, was rather democratic in manner, but a strict disciplinarian. He feared no loss of dignity from being brought in close contact with his subordinates; was a thorough soldier, full of dry witticisms and blunt speeches, with considerable biting, yet humorous sarcasm.

It is stated that when Colonel Hawkins first reported to him the regiment's arrival, he inquired in his high pitched voice and queer Yankee drawl: "Well, Colonel, what do you intend to do with these schoolboys?" Phelps was not long in discovering that there was more in "these schoolboys" than he suspected; for their proficiency in drill and soldierly conduct pleased him, and he very soon spoke habitually of the regiment as his "Little Zouaves." There were, however, no favors granted or expected. He kept the regiment at work constantly. In addition to the regular drills, considerable reconnoitering was deemed necessary, and a large share of this duty fell to the lot of the "Ninth."

Once or twice each week some one of the companies was sent on a reconnaissance, which familiarized both officers and men with actual field duty and taught them self-reliance.

The General was soon christened "Daddy Phelps" by the enlisted men. He was quite odd in his manners, but everybody liked him and had entire confidence in his judgment and ability. His queer sayings were a source of continuous amusement in camp, but when he became better understood his stinging satire was dreaded by all. He frequently set aside all conventionalities and managed affairs in a way peculiarly his own.

On one occasion at a brigade drill, when the entire force of the post was in line—six or seven regiments—a somewhat intricate movement was about to be performed. The "Ninth" was on the left of the brigade and was the directing regiment, and the individual whose duty it was to initiate the movement was the right general-guide of that regiment, Sergeant Herbert, of Company B, who was rather short in stature and somewhat stout. After the General had carefully explained the mode of performing the evolution he gave the order and command "March." Herbert, whose wits had been wool-gathering, or who had been in a "brown-study" when the order was given,



failed to move, and as a consequence the regiment "stood fast" while all the other regiments moved off. For an instant the General seemed paralyzed with astonishment; the appearance of the tall old man on the little sorrel horse, with the storm of his intense indignation gathering on his face may be imagined; then leaning forward with an arm outstretched toward the offending sergeant, and each word ejaculated with such intensity as apparently to lift him clear from the saddle, he shouted: "Move! Move! For God's sake, you little bandy-legged man, Move!" Herbert moved.

There was no opportunity for a laugh then; it had to be deferred until after drill, when a chorus of five hundred voices howled in unison, "Move! Move! for God's sake, you little bandy-legged man, move!"

This incident ruined Herbert; though a good soldier, and later a lieutenant in the regiment, he never could live it down. After serving through the entire term he was mustered out with the regiment, then disappeared, and has not since been seen. He dared not face the ridicule of the "boys."

Another peculiar phase of Phelps' character was shown in the manner he treated an attempt to "get solid with the General."

While the regiment was at Newport News

the whole country in that vicinity had been deserted by the inhabitants. They evidently were fearful of the soldiers and had departed hurriedly, in most instances leaving all household property behind them. Everything in the shape of furniture, cooking utensils, etc., was left in the homes of the people entirely unprotected. In order to check vandalism the General had issued strict orders against foraging. Two of Company A's boys, who, like most of the others in the regiment were from New York City, evidently imagined that military orders were like city ordinances, only to be observed by those who had no "pull." They proceeded at once to get their "pull" by cooking to a turn a foraged turkey, and nicely arranging it on a foraged china platter, with which they marched up to headquarters to present it to the General. At the moment he was not present, but the platter and contents were received by the orderly, who was strictly enjoined to inform the General whence it came. When the General returned and his eye fell on the well-cooked turkey and the china platter, he exclaimed, "Well! Well! How nice! That is really thoughtful! Orderly, where did that come from?" Saluting, the orderly replied: "Two men of Company A, of the Zouaves, sent it to you with their compliments, Sir." "My,

My!" said the General, "how very kind and thoughtful. Orderly, go with the corporal of the guard, point out the men, and have them brought here." The men were very much elated when told the General desired to see them, and started with alacrity, doubtless thinking the interview would result in an invitation to dine with the "old man."

What actually occurred was about as follows :

Corporal—"General, these are the men the orderly said you wanted."

General (to men)—"Did you bring these things here?"

Men (in chorus, promptly)—"Yes, sir."

General—"That's the way you obey my orders against foraging, is it? Corporal, take them to the guard-house!"

The two crestfallen Zouaves and the grinning corporal marched away, and history does not record whether the General ate the turkey or not.

This lesson may not have stopped foraging in the Ninth Regiment but it effectually ended all attempts to make General Phelps an accessory.

## CHAPTER IV.

RECONNAISSANCE BY COMPANIES A AND F —  
SKIRMISH WITH THE ENEMY — TROUBLE  
ABOUT THE RELATIVE RANK OF OFFICERS  
—DECIDED BY DRAWING LOTS — GENERAL  
BUTLER SUPERSEDED BY GENERAL WOOL —  
SPECIAL ORDER FOR EXPEDITION TO HAT-  
TERAS INLET—THREE COMPANIES OF THE  
NINTH JOIN EXPEDITION — ARRIVAL OFF  
HATTERAS—BOMBARDMENT OF FORTS—  
SURRENDER — AMOUNT OF MATERIAL  
CAPTURED.

WHILE the regular drills, parades, and other ordinary routine duties of camp life continued, the task of reconnoitering the adjacent country by companies, or smaller detachments, was performed at regular intervals.

The immediate vicinity was occupied by the enemy, and it called for extreme alertness and watchfulness to guard against surprise and keep informed of his movements.

On June 29, 1861, Company A, Captain Graham, was sent out to reconnoiter, as was usual. While moving along the road some dis-

tance from camp the company suddenly came upon two Confederate soldiers, evidently on scouting duty. They were gathered in and taken before the Colonel. They were dressed in a uniform very similar to that worn by the 5th N. Y. (Duryea's), and they informed their captors that the name of their organization was the "Louisiana Tigers." The condition of their clothing was such that it was removed and burned as a matter of self defense.

But there were sometimes losses as well as captures. A certain regiment at the post had frequently reported losses from its companies while they were on reconnoitering duty. Colonel Phelps finally sent for the colonel of this regiment and questioned him as to the cause, remarking that while his regiment reported losses, the Ninth seldom went out without bringing in prisoners. The Colonel could not explain this, but the losses from this time were less numerous.

Another reconnoissance was made shortly after that of Company A, which brought the men to a stern realization of actual warfare and the duty of a soldier in the presence of the enemy. This was conducted by Captain Ham-mill and his Company, F.

Starting out on the evening of July 3d, they bivouacked for the night some distance from

camp, and by daybreak the next morning were on the road. After marching a short distance they suddenly came upon a force of the enemy — principally infantry, some cavalry, and at least one piece of artillery—which was apparently on an expedition similar to that in which they themselves were engaged. This force was still in camp with no pickets posted, and if there was a guard at all it was simply a camp guard. A lively skirmish at once developed. The rebels were thrown into confusion as soon as the attack was made, while the men of Company F were alert, paying close attention to commands and attending strictly to the business in hand. Some of the enemy evidently supposed the attack came from another party of their own men, as there were shouts of "Washington! Washington!" "Arlington! Arlington!" probably the parole and countersign, and cries of "Cease firing!" The cavalymen rushed for their horses, mounted, and in wild confusion rode through their camp and over their own infantry, who held their ground for a few moments only, then broke and fled. There were no casualties to report in Company F, but later it was learned from an item in a Richmond, Va., newspaper, which reached the Union camps, that the enemy lost in the affair a Colonel Dreux, of Louisiana, and one captain killed, and seven or eight privates wounded.

The Zouaves returned to camp without further adventure.

On another occasion (July 8th) Company A was sent to reconnoiter. The command left camp late one afternoon, was on the march all night in various directions, and just after sunrise on the following morning, encountered the enemy's pickets near Warwick Court House. These fell back after exchanging a few shots with the advancing Zouaves. The main body of the detachment, while looking for some demonstration in the direction of the retreating rebel picket, were about to fall back leisurely, feeling that the object of the expedition had been accomplished—locating the position of the enemy—when they suddenly became aware that a large cavalry detachment of the enemy was advancing rapidly in their direction. These troops were followed by what appeared to be at least a regiment of infantry, which was rather an unexpected stirring up of a hornet's nest. Nothing remained but to seek the cover of the woods about an eighth of a mile distant. Being outnumbered ten to one an engagement was considered foolhardy. The alternative was a precipitate retreat with the certainty of a good run at first, and the probability of an ultimate surrender. While double quicking for shelter a bright idea occurred to the captain, and he

ordered the bugler to sound, "Rally on the Reserve." At that time both armies used the bugle and drum calls of the old U. S. Army, and the rebels recognizing the call, halted, adjusted their infantry line, and dismounted their cavalry.

By this time the Zouaves had gained the woods, and after proceeding a short distance therein were halted, formed into rather a close skirmish line, took position behind trees and stumps, and prepared to offer such resistance as they could to the advancing enemy. Soon the snapping of twigs and dry branches under the feet of the advancing skirmishers was heard, but instead of directly approaching the position where the company was concealed and awaiting them, they moved diagonally toward the left of the line, advancing at an angle of about forty-five degrees to the company front, passing its left flank, and disappearing in the woods to its left and rear.

This discretionary ruse of the commanding officer in ordering his bugler to sound the call for rallying on the reserves, showed the quick wit and good sense for which he was noted. The foolhardiness of attempting defense against so overwhelming a body of the enemy was apparent to everyone. Had they been captured, either with or without resistance, they would have been certain of a more or less



protracted stay in Richmond; and while that city was the admitted objective point of every Union soldier in Virginia, no one cared to visit it as a prisoner.

After the enemy had disappeared from view, the company was re-formed, moved still farther into the woods, but in the direction of the rebel territory, where a halt was ordered, rations eaten, and the men, with the exception of the guard, permitted to have an hour or two of sleep; after which a bold push was made for the James River, where, in case of attack, the attention of the gunboats could be attracted and assistance secured with little delay. Much to the relief of the men of the company the enemy was not again seen, and after an exciting day and a long march the detachment returned to camp at Newport News with no casualties to report, but thoroughly tired.

While at Newport News an unpleasant incident occurred, which for a time threatened to disturb the harmonious relations among the line officers.

As before stated, the commissioned officers in the companies organized at the outbreak of the war were chosen from the old corps—the “New York Zouaves”—and their positions in line apportioned by mutual arrangement; and when Captain Jardine’s company joined the

regiment at Castle Garden, he became in fact the junior captain, though all the officers were mustered into the United States service on the same day. The question of seniority had been definitely agreed upon. However, at Newport News, Jardine determined to raise the question and have it officially settled. In some manner the belief had gained currency that the drawing of lots by the disputants was the proper mode of determining seniority where commissions bore the same date, and when none of the officers involved had seen former service.

General Phelps was waited upon by a committee of three captains, but declined to interfere officially; simply observing: "There should be no difficulty among gentlemen in deciding the question of rank." Jardine, however, insisted upon drawing lots, and the other captains agreed to the idea, believing it to be customary. As each captain, except Jardine, was satisfied with the rank he then held, it was agreed that he, Jardine, alone should draw the lot. He being junior captain was in any event certain of being benefitted by the change.

There were ten slips of paper placed in a hat, each slip bearing a number from 1 to 10. It was agreed that Jardine was to draw from the hat one of these slips, and the number appearing on it should entitle him to hold the corre-

sponding rank among the ten captains; the captain so displaced should take the rank previously held by Jardine — the junior rank. Jardine thrust in his hand and drew a slip which bore the figure one. This relegated Graham to the position of junior, his lieutenants occupying a similar rank, while Jardine's were correspondingly advanced.

Considerable ill-feeling was for a time felt and displayed; the condition being such that Graham could have insisted on drawing also, but he preferred to let the matter drop.

A strong belief in the unfairness of the drawing was afterward created in the minds of some of the officers by a remark of a lieutenant of the regiment, viz.: "Not one of those captains had sense enough to grab one of those slips out of the hat and see if there was any other number than 'one' marked upon it."

On August 17th Major-General John E. Wool superseded General Butler in command of the department; the latter being placed in command of all the troops in the department except the regulars.

General Butler had for some time been aware of the building of the Confederate forts Clark and Hatteras, designed by the Confederate Government to secure to themselves the control of Hatteras Inlet. Having learned through

some loyal North Carolinians, who for weeks had worked in the forts, of the progress made, Butler, knowing their great importance, determined their capture if possible. After informing General Wool of the situation at Hatteras, and explaining his plans for the capture of the forts, without calling upon General Scott for extra troops, the following order was drawn up and signed :

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA,

FORTRESS MONROE, VA., Aug. 25, 1861.

SPECIAL ORDER No. 13.

Major-General Butler will prepare eight hundred and sixty troops for an expedition to Hatteras Inlet, North Carolina, to go with Commodore Stringham, commanding home squadron, to capture several batteries in that neighborhood.

The troops will be as follows: Two hundred men from Camp Butler and six hundred from Camp Hamilton, with a suitable number of commissioned officers, and one Company, "B" of the Second Artillery from Fortress Monroe.

They will be provided with ten days' rations and water and one hundred and forty rounds of ammunition. General Butler will report as soon as he has his troops prepared, to Flag-Officer Stringham, and he will be ready to embark at one o'clock to-morrow. As soon as the object of the expedition is attained the detachment will return to Fortress Monroe.

Captain Tallmadge, chief quartermaster, will provide a detachment of eight hundred and sixty men, for the expedition to Hatteras Inlet, with a suitable quantity of water for ten days' consumption, and the chief commissary of subsistence, Captain Taylor, will provide it with rations for the same length of time. These officers will report the execution of these orders by ten o'clock to-morrow if possible.

By command of Major-General Wool.

C. C. CHURCHILL,

First Lieutenant, Third Artillery,  
Act. Asst. Adjt.-Gen.

These forts which the expedition was intended to capture were located at Hatteras

Inlet, on the "banks," about nine miles south of the Cape. The Inlet was the principal navigable entrance from the ocean to interior North Carolina waters, and through it and Ocracoke Inlet, all the commerce of Newbern, Plymouth, Washington, and many other ports on Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds and adjacent rivers, was obliged to pass. It was a point of the greatest importance to the Confederate Government to retain control of this waterway.

Companies C, G and H of the Ninth Regiment, under command of Colonel Hawkins, were assigned to the expedition. They embarked on the steamer "Adelaide" August 26, and joining the fleet, set sail, arriving off Hatteras on the forenoon of the 27th, where they "lay to" until the next day.

The landing of the men from the transports was attempted before daybreak on the morning of the 28th, but owing to the extremely heavy surf and rapid and dangerous currents, which nearly always prevail at this exposed point of the coast, but 345 men in all succeeded in reaching the shore. These belonged principally to Company G of the Ninth and to the 20th New York. Some half dozen men only of Companies C and H succeeded in landing with the others. Many of the boats were swamped or waterlogged, and the energies of Colonel Hawkins

and Lieutenant Crosby, of the Navy, were directed toward the dangerous and difficult undertaking of saving the lives of the occupants. The disembarkation proving to be impracticable, any further attempt to land the troops was now abandoned.

Company G, Captain Jardine, had succeeded in landing at a point about two miles up the coast from Fort Clark, where they were hidden from the view of the garrison by a range of sand hills. The company gained the beach through the heavy surf with great difficulty and danger, but happily without loss of life. The landing was covered by the guns of the "Monticello" and "Harriet Lane," which threw a constant stream of shell into the low shrubbery on the Pamlico shore, driving the enemy out and preventing him from attacking the small force which had landed.

In the meantime the fleet under orders of Commodore Stringham had been hotly engaging the forts. The Commodore adopted a system of attack peculiarly his own. Constantly moving his vessels in a circle he discharged his broadsides while abreast of the forts; then quickly swinging around he returned on the other side of the circle out of range of the fire from the forts. Each vessel imitated the action of the flagship, thus making it very diffi-

cult for the artillerists in the forts to train their heavy guns with accuracy on a ship in continuous motion.

The movement was afterward employed with great success by Dupont in his bombardment of Forts Walker and Beauregard.

Stringham never received the credit which was his due, and soon after the surrender of the forts, was, for some mysterious reason, relegated to the Charleston Navy Yard to supervise repairs to old hulks, and never again occupied a prominent place during the Rebellion.

Captain Jardine assumed command of the force which had landed, but was not sufficiently strong to justify an attack, and he disposed of it behind the sand hills in the most effective manner possible. The weather becoming threatening, the Commodore stood out to sea for safety, leaving the "Army of Occupation" in a most precarious and uncertain position when night closed in. Fortunately the enemy left them unmolested.

The weather having moderated in the morning, the fleet returned and at eight o'clock resumed the bombardment. As seen by the troops on the transports—none of whom had ever seen such an imposing sight—it was an interesting, novel and exciting scene. Company G, having been well closed in on the fort, was in more

danger from the fire of its friends than from that of the enemy.

During the forenoon the Confederates capitulated, and at a most fortunate juncture; for, while the articles of capitulation were under consideration the "Adelaide," loaded with troops, grounded for a while on the bar, while the "Harriet Lane" also grounded and remained fast, and as both vessels were within range of the guns of the fort it was a moment of great anxiety.

The surrender of these forts was the first great success of the war thus far and caused much rejoicing at the North. The captures were: 715 prisoners, 1,000 stand of arms, 30 pieces of cannon, one ten-inch columbiad, a brig loaded with cotton, a sloop loaded with provisions and stores, two lightships, a schooner in ballast, five stand of colors, and 150 bags of coffee, all without loss of life on the Union side.

General Butler in his official report says: "I desire to commend to your attention Captain Jardine, of the 9th New York, who was left in command of the detachment of his regiment, when an accident to the 'Harriet Lane' prevented Colonel Hawkins from landing." Jardine had with him sixty-eight men.

The forts were under the command of Flag-Officer Samuel Barron, C. S. N., formerly an



officer in the U. S. Navy: the garrison being composed largely of raw, undisciplined recruits who had never been in action, but who doubtless were inspirited by the universal opinion then indulged in by the South, that "one Southerner was the equivalent of five Yankees, or mudsills."

This ignorant confidence, and contempt for Northern people, caused them to fall into the common impression held by people generally who had never been in action, which is, that war consists in shooting at and killing "the other fellow;" therefore, when the "other fellow" began to shoot and to kill also, the whole transaction assumed an entirely different phase to them, and they lost any interest they might at first have had in the action and were ready to quit—which they did.

On Sept. 9th, 1861, General Wool, wrote General Scott: "I shall detail a company of regulars and send forward the balance (seven companies) of Hawkins' regiment, recalling Max Weber's German regiment, much complained of by the inhabitants for depredations and various outrages upon them."

## CHAPTER V.

COLONEL HAWKINS ASSUMES COMMAND OF POST—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN COLONEL HAWKINS AND GENERAL WOOL—EXPEDITION TO BEACON ISLAND—LIEUT.-COLONEL BETTS AND FIVE COMPANIES REJOIN REGIMENT—SURRENDER OF GUNBOAT "FANNIE"—ATTACK ON 20TH INDIANA—GENERAL WILLIAMS SUPERSEDES COLONEL HAWKINS—CONSTRUCTION OF NEW FORTS—ANTIPATHY OF MEN TO WILLIAMS—BOYS "SCOUTING" FOR FRESH PORK SERIOUSLY ALARM THE GENERAL—HAWKINS DISPLEASED, WRITES GENERAL WOOL—MAJOR KIMBALL AND TWO COMPANIES ARRIVE FROM NEWPORT NEWS—ARRIVAL OF BURNSIDE EXPEDITION—ALL READY FOR ROANOKE ISLAND—RATIONS FROM THE SEA—WINE LABELS PASSED AS CURRENCY—ROBBING POTATO HOUSES.

BY virtue of rank, Colonel Hawkins assumed command of the land forces at Hatteras on August 30th, making his headquarters at Fort Clark, while Colonel Max Weber, with part of the 20th New York, was stationed at Fort Hatteras.

Instead of following instructions from Washington to close Hatteras Inlet by sinking two

schooners loaded with sand which were with the fleet for that purpose, General Butler decided to disobey orders, and after the surrender at once sailed for Washington to report the result of the expedition and explain his reasons for not closing the Inlet as directed. His action was sustained. Had it been otherwise Burnside's expedition would never have been organized.

Early in September Colonel Hawkins wrote General Wool a voluminous letter, setting forth the condition of affairs in the new department and making numerous suggestions as to the future operations he deemed necessary, among others that Roanoke Island should be at once occupied, it being then held by the enemy, and urging General Wool to impress upon the Government "the importance and necessity of immediate action in this department," the wisdom of this being justified later by Burnside's departure for that strategic point.

Among the communications and documents transmitted to the authorities by the Colonel about this time were the following, which may be of interest:

FORT CLARK, HATTERAS INLET, Sept. 6, 1861.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL,

Commanding Department of Virginia, Fortress Monroe, Va.

GENERAL:—On the 30th day of August I landed from the fleet and took command of Fort Clark, where I still remain with the companies which I brought with me from Newport News. During the afternoon

of the 30th ult., a delegation on behalf of the citizens of this island waited on me and placed in my hands a paper, a copy of which is herewith inclosed, and marked "A," and is as follows:

TO THE COMMANDER OF THE FEDERAL FORCES AT HATTERAS INLET:

DEAR SIR:—We, the citizens of Cape Hatteras, do ask of your honor that you will allow us to return to our homes and property, and protect us in the same as neutral citizens, as we have never taken up arms against your government, nor has it been our wish to do so. We did not help by our votes to get North Carolina out of the Union. Believing that your clemency will not allow you to treat us as rebels, who have always been loyal citizens, we do earnestly request, for the sake of our women and children, that you will comply with our wishes, as we seek protection from your honor.

Yours very respectfully,

CITIZENS OF HATTERAS.

In answer to this communication I requested that as many citizens as could might meet me next day for the purpose of arranging terms by which they would be permitted to remain here. Agreeably to the request about thirty men came to see me. The terms were contained in an oath, a copy of which is here transmitted, and marked "B" as follows:

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, HYDE COUNTY.

We, the undersigned, do solemnly swear that we will bear true allegiance to the United States; that we will not take up arms against said Government, or hold any communication with its enemies, or aid or comfort its enemies in any way whatever; that we will give to the commander of Fort Clark any information we may obtain or receive of the approach of the enemy; and in case we are called upon, we will assist the commandant of said fort in his defense thereof against any and all of the enemies of the United States; and we will also, under any and all circumstances, support the Constitution of the United States.

Practically every male inhabitant of that portion of the "banks" which came within the jurisdiction of the United States officers subscribed to this oath and the relations between them and the soldiers were soon established on a friendly basis. Nothing occurred while the Ninth remained in the vicinity to excite a

suspicion that they were other than loyal Unionists.

Hatteras Banks, on which the regiment now found itself established, is a section of that series of long narrow islands which stretch like a barrier reef along the Atlantic coast from Cape May to the southern point of Florida. At Hatteras Inlet it is said to be distant from the main land of North Carolina, Pamlico Sound intervening, fully forty miles. This storm-beaten and desolate strip of sand, so far out to sea, would seem to be as uninviting and inhospitable a spot as human beings could well choose for abiding places. Yet within the territory controlled by the troops whose headquarters were at the Inlet, some scores of families had voluntarily, it must be presumed, located themselves and made their homes.

The island varied greatly in width. At some places it was several miles between sea and sound, while at other points less than a quarter of a mile separated them. Some portions were simply a wilderness of desolate sand dunes, some of which, however, nearly reached the dignity of hills in size, with here and there, in the lower places, a few stunted live oaks scattered about singly or in little bunches of thicket. In the wider parts of the "banks" where the land was not so much at sea as it were, there

were forests of considerable extent of good sized pines with occasionally trees of other varieties. Here and there where a little soil had formed from the fallen leaves of many seasons and from the decayed wood of the fallen trees, the natives had located and built their houses. The little enclosures of fertile soil nearby they called "The Plantation." The houses of the inhabitants were generally of good size, well built and comfortable, and compared favorably with the average southern farm house as found in more favored localities.

At several points within the limits of occupation there were level plains of sand which extended from the sea to the sound, varying in width from two or three hundred yards to a half mile or more, with neither tree, shrub nor hillock to break the general level, and elevated only a few feet above the reach of the tides. These were known to the inhabitants, and soon to the soldiers also, as "bald beaches." Their origin or cause was the source of considerable speculation among such of the boys as cared to waste their gray matter in attempts to solve such questions. The conclusion arrived at was that they had been caused by the passage of sand hills which, at a more or less remote period, had moved across the island, probably from the side toward the ocean, and had finally buried themselves in the waters of the sound.

In more than one locality in the vicinity of the camps this action, or phenomena, was still apparent. The sand cast up by the action of the sea dried in the sun and breeze and drifting before the prevailing wind, being sheltered from counter-currents by the thick foliage of the pines, formed drifts which constantly grew in breadth and height by the ceaseless moving of the dry surface sand up the windward slope of the growing hill. The eddy formed between the crest of the drift and the opposing wall of trees prevented any forward movement of the mass until the height gained by it was equal to that of the woods in front, when, there being no longer an eddy in the wind to retard the forward movement, the advance began. This was slow but irresistible. Everything in its track was overwhelmed. Houses, trees, cultivated land, all disappeared before the onward march of this silent enemy. After it had passed its tract was desolation, and this was the "bald beach."

On September 16th a detachment of the Union Coast Guard, under command of Lieutenants Rowe and Patten, with part of the crew of the "Pawnee," embarked on the steamer "Fanny," and sailed for Beacon Island, where they discovered a large battery mounting twenty-two guns, four of which had been removed the pre-

vious day to Newberne. The guns were destroyed, bomb-proofs demolished, woodwork of battery and large piles of lumber burned. A lightship towed from its moorings by the rebels was also destroyed by fire, and a quantity of ammunition secured, some eighty shells being carried away from the island.

On the 10th of September five companies of the regiment left Newport News with Lieutenant Colonel Betts, landing at Hatteras the next day, when he was directed by Colonel Hawkins to camp about two miles up the island on the shore of Pamlico Sound. The location was named Camp Wool.

These men brought a story of a naval fight in the James River, between the fleet, near the camp at Newport News, and a rebel gunboat which came out of Norfolk Harbor one day. This boat was armed with a gun of such a long range that she was able to keep outside of the range of the guns of the Union fleet and pepper them at her leisure. As a matter of fact the little rebel gunboat, with only one gun in action, held the fleet at her mercy. It was only a question of marksmanship how soon she would sink one or more of them.

While the soldiers were watching the firing, a boat arrived from one of the naval vessels. The officer in charge requested the first man he met,



Jerry Donovan, of Company A of the Ninth, to conduct him to General Phelps' headquarters. They found the General watching the one-sided fight from his quarters. The naval officer explained the situation. Their guns did not have range enough to reach the enemy and they were in danger of being sunk at their moorings. He requested the General to try the range of the big 6-inch "James" rifle, which was mounted in a little battery of its own on the bluff.

At the time of this attack there happened to be no regular artillerists in camp. As a matter of fact the James rifle had no crew. The gun was not considered a part of the armament of the place. It had been brought there and mounted by the inventor and maker at his own expense, in his desire to have it tested and adopted by the Government. It was one of the forerunners of the modern high-power guns, and a remarkably efficient one, as it had repeatedly thrown shells across the James to Pigs Point, a distance of four miles.

After the Hatteras expedition sailed General Phelps began to drill detachments of the Zouaves at this big rifle. They learned readily and were soon very proficient. Therefore, when the naval officer suggested that the big gun be used, the General replied, "I was just thinking about that myself." Donovan was di-

rected to call together enough men to man the gun. He soon returned with three of his comrades and they, with General Phelps as one of the crew, manned the big gun, and in a few moments had opened fire on the enemy. The General sighted and fired the gun himself, getting the range of the rebel gunboat after a few shots, which obliged her to beat a hasty retreat to the shelter of Craney Island. The boys of the "scratch" gun crew were very proud of the fact that they had been in action with a brigadier-general as a side partner.

This was another illustration of the forethought and thoroughness of General Phelps in everything pertaining to his duty.

Two companies still remained at Newport News (B and K) under command of Major Kimball, who was chafing with impatience at being kept from more active service in the field.

Intelligence was received at the Inlet in the latter part of September that the enemy were being largely reinforced at Roanoke Island, and were fortifying it extensively. Colonel Hawkins deemed it prudent to establish a camp at Chicomocomico, about thirty-six miles north of the Inlet, as a point of observation, and seven companies of the 20th Indiana, which had recently arrived at the post, were ordered there for that

purpose. Communication was maintained and supplies forwarded by means of a small steamer, the "Fanny," on which was mounted one or two boat howitzers. She was commanded by the Sergeant-Major of the Ninth, who had been a sailor, and was manned by a crew detailed from the regiment. On one of the trips while engaged in discharging cargo into small boats, about four miles off shore, in the shallow water opposite the camp at Chicomocomico, she was surprised and captured by three rebel vessels which suddenly appeared, and were disposed in such a manner as to cut off her retreat. No attempt was made to destroy the vessel or cargo and everything fell into the hands of the enemy. This included Sergeant-Major Peacock and nine enlisted men of the Ninth, twenty men of the 20th Indiana, and all the commissary and quartermaster's stores with which the vessel was loaded. All the new overcoats for the 20th were among the stores lost. No doubt they were appreciated by the rebels into whose hands they fell, more especially as the season was already well advanced toward the time when cold weather might be looked for. About daybreak on October 4th, only a few days after the above unfortunate occurrence, the camp at Chicomocomico was attacked by an overwhelming force of the

enemy, who appeared so suddenly in several vessels on the sound, as to almost effect a surprise, landing both opposite to and below the camp in an attempt to cut off the escape of the Indiana men. At the first alarm, and when Colonel Brown, who was in command of the 20th, realized his position, he dispatched a messenger to notify Colonel Hawkins of his plight and fell hastily back out of the trap set for him. When the messenger dispatched by Colonel Brown reached Colonel Hawkins, the latter at once hurried Captain Jardine toward Chicomocomico with instructions, and to render what assistance he could pending the arrival of reinforcements. Meanwhile Colonel Hawkins notified the commandant of the naval forces at the Inlet of the situation and of his intended action in connection therewith, and at once started with eight companies of his regiment to the assistance of Colonel Brown. This march was the most severe and trying one which the regiment had up to that time been called upon to make. The start was made about five o'clock in the evening and was a forced march in the full meaning of the term. The men pushed on hour after hour through the deep yielding sand at their utmost speed. The night was dark and the ground over which the regiment moved

was rough. In some places the loose sand was more than shoe deep, and as a consequence the shoes of the men filled with sand, which made marching extremely painful and difficult, and they had to be removed and emptied at frequent intervals. Some of the Zouaves tried to improve matters by removing their shoes and marching barefoot. They soon learned that this was impossible as it was found that in many places the ground was thickly strewn with small round sharp-pointed burrs which stuck in the flesh and made marching barefooted out of the question.

Some time during the night the regiment arrived at a point within supporting distance of the 20th, when they heard the welcome commands "halt" and "rest," and where they bivouacked for the night. In the morning they started on the return march in company with the 20th Indiana, and reached their camp some hours after dark the same night, in a worse condition, from fatigue and exhaustion, than they had been in at any time up to that period of their service.

General Mansfield arrived at the Inlet about this time and assumed command. He remained only a few days, however, as he soon departed leaving Colonel Hawkins again in command.

On October 8th Gen. Thomas Williams was ordered to Hatteras Inlet to fill the place left vacant by General Mansfield, and to assume command of all the Union troops in North Carolina, and was especially directed when establishing posts not to separate the forces at too great a distance from each other.

General Williams was a regular army officer from the artillery branch of the service, and proved himself an able, and later, a gallant soldier, as well as a painstaking and conscientious commander. Still there appeared to be much of the inconsiderate martinet in his character. He managed affairs on Hatteras in a vigorous manner by issuing a series of orders which completely changed previous conditions. He moved the different detachments of the "Ninth" hither and thither according to his whims apparently, establishing and breaking up camps, seemingly keeping everything and everybody in a constant turmoil.

He caused a battery to be erected on the beach facing the ocean, which to the unprofessional eyes of officers and men seemed to be of no advantage. One night during a heavy storm a portion of the Atlantic Ocean came up and took it away and it was never rebuilt.

Another fort on a larger and more pretentious scale was started on the "bald beach"

nearest to the camp, and which extended from ocean to sound, as has been described above. This work was designed by regular engineers, and every enlisted man in the command worked upon it daily, except when on guard duty. The fatigue details were at times so large as to include nearly the entire force not on guard, and for many consecutive days at a time there were no drills. The men named this work "Williams' Folly."

Day after day the engineer officers planned, the men brought sand in wheelbarrows, and carried sod, but their best efforts could not elevate the fort above the level of the beach. As the work progressed the drifting sand was carried forward like snow on a wintry blast, swirling and lodging in and around it, constantly raising the surface of the ground and keeping pace with the work as it grew in height. Had it been built as high as the Tower of Babel the sand would probably have risen to the same height, and it would have always remained a sloping hill, its base constantly enlarging and its grade becoming more gradual.

General Williams was one who in no way spared himself, either in hard work or unpleasant duties; he was always on active duty. Day or night he was a familiar figure. That

his treatment of the "Ninth" was severe cannot be denied. From the first he and the regiment were antagonistic. The men entertained a feeling of resentment against an officer, who, although of superior rank, had superseded their colonel in an important command. They did not try to conceal their feelings, but were wise enough to avoid committing any overt act, and in a military sense were not insubordinate. Still they were sullen and unsoldierly in their manner toward the General and he, being human, retaliated by proposing to "take it out of them." This, combined with the hard manual labor the men were forced to perform in the work which the General doubtless considered necessary for the safety of the post, but which a majority of the men looked upon as rank tyranny, caused relations which diplomats would call "strained."

Some of the more reckless of the men constructed pitfalls in the sand in the immediate vicinity of the new fort for the purpose of entrapping the General. They succeeded at last, and when one morning he tumbled into one of them, they exhibited great glee, although somewhat suppressed, and considered themselves well paid for the extra labor expended in digging it.

Another matter which added to the discom-



fort of the troops while General Williams was in command was the simulating a defense against surprise each morning two hours before daylight.

His theory, which was doubtless correct, was that if the enemy attempted a surprise he would be likely to make the attempt just before day-break, consequently to properly guard against it the troops should be in the defenses or in line of battle previous to that hour. Inasmuch as the camps were at one end of an island which was situated forty miles from the main land, and in some parts not over one-fourth of a mile wide, with detachments of troops encamped along the narrow island many miles from the main camp, and with outlying pickets as well, the chances of such an attempt being made were deemed too remote to justify turning the men out of their more or less warm blankets between three and four o'clock on cold winter mornings to perform an hour or two of hard drill in simulating a defense. All this produced a feeling of dislike on one side and distrust on the other. The following will serve to illustrate.

There were stationed at one of the outlying camps three companies of the "Ninth," among them Company K. From the time of taking the field no issue of fresh meat had been made

to the regiment, and none had reached the men with the exception of what little had been procured in ways it is unnecessary to explain, but which would have been frowned upon by the good people at home. Consequently the men were, as they expressed it, "meat hungry." A certain member of one of Company K's squads became possessed of the knowledge that one of Caleb Stowe's hogs had escaped from its pen and was wandering far from home midst the brush and swamps, and was liable to come to harm. An expedition was organized for its capture. Tom Stapleton, "Blackie" Farley, "Buffer" Johnson, and several others started from camp to capture the prize.

It was necessary to move secretly and quietly, for if anyone outside the squad to which these energetic and resourceful young soldiers belonged had learned that "fresh pork" was wandering loose in the woods the entire command would soon have known it also, and then all chance of its capture would have been destroyed. To shoot the porker was out of the question, for at that time to discharge a cartridge, except at the enemy, would have brought swift and condign punishment upon the rash offender. The game must be secured either by fleetness of foot or by strategy. They first attempted to run it down, without reckoning on the speed

and endurance of a "razor-back" hog. However, by judicious relays of pursuers they so succeeded in tiring it that it sought cover in a little thicket by the side of a sandy road, which made a sharp turn here at the edge of the woods. The men were creeping stealthily forward to surround their prey, and were well closed in on its hiding place, when General Williams, who was on his way to the camp for his accustomed visit, rode rapidly, and on account of the soft sand in the road, noiselessly out of the woods. The men were so eager and intent on the business before them that not one of them was aware of his presence. The rush of the horse startled the hog, which at once broke cover. One man, referring to the animal, shouted: "There goes the ——! Give it to him!" To the General, it was plainly an ambush with an attempt at assassination, and driving the spurs into his horse, and lying low on the animal's neck, he was off like a bird, and galloping direct to camp ordered the "long roll" to be at once beaten. The foragers comprehended the situation in the twinkling of an eye. Lack of acute perception and prompt decision could not be charged among their shortcomings. Dashing across the swamp by a short cut they secured their arms and were in their places in line when the companies were formed.

The roll was called and all the men were found to be present or accounted for. The General was puzzled, and it is needless to add that the culprits were never discovered. Had they been, in all probability they would have been severely dealt with, probably have been shot, as the evidence would have been strongly against them. The story was too rich to be kept a secret and finally leaked out, but not until after the regiment had been assigned to another command.

General Williams was killed at the battle of Baton Rouge, La., while gallantly leading an Iowa regiment in a charge on the enemy. His untimely death was regretted by both the officers and men of Hawkins' Zouaves, as notwithstanding his faults he proved himself a gallant soldier.

As they became more experienced in army life they learned that eccentricity was not an uncommon characteristic of elderly army officers, and that the General's harshness and severity was due very largely to their own unpleasant habit of not only thinking but of sometimes expressing their thoughts in words, while he was simply carrying out his own idea of what was proper to be done and performing his duty as he thought it should be performed.

Soon after the appointment of General Williams to the command at Hatteras Inlet, General Mansfield sent a report to General Wool, of which the following is an extract:

"The command of Col. W. L. Brown being but seven companies—say 500 strong—and the enemy supposed to be at least 2,000 strong, Col. Brown immediately, by orders received from Colonel Hawkins at that moment, took up his line of march on the east beach for Hatteras lighthouse, where he was met by Colonel Hawkins with his command, and finally the whole command fell back to this station—Hatteras Inlet—with a loss on the part of Colonel Brown of three sergeants, two corporals, and twenty-four men stragglers.

"He sent back a party to burn and destroy his camp, which was supposed to be partially done, and they fell into the hands of the enemy."

On the 7th of October, Companies B and K, which had remained at Newport News under command of Major Kimball, arrived at Hatteras. All the companies were thus once more assembled at the same post or station, but they were not reunited by any means. The whole regiment was not encamped together at any one time during their occupation of Hatteras. During all the time Colonel Hawkins was in command of the post his headquarters continued to be at Fort Hatteras, with at times one, two or perhaps three companies of the regiment encamped in the immediate vicinity, under command of one of the senior captains, while the remainder of the battalion present was located at Camp Wool, about two miles above the fort, with Lieutenant-Colonel Betts in command.

The Lieutenant-Colonel was an officer of very superior talents and attainments, an excellent tactician and possessed of marked executive ability. He also enjoyed the respect and confidence of every one in the regiment. He was the happy possessor of a faculty which few officers, either regular or volunteer, could claim—of being able to make a battalion drill interesting to those engaged in it. His clear and concise explanations of the way to perform intricate evolutions were listened to with interest, if not with pleasure. Another thing which is remembered distinctly by the survivors of the regiment, is the regularity and smoothness with which everything pertaining to the daily routine of camp life progressed when under his command. It is remembered that there was an almost total absence of jar or friction in camp when he was the commanding officer.

There were officers in the regiment toward whom more affection may have been felt by the men but none of them were more highly esteemed by them than Lieutenant-Colonel Betts.

When Major Kimball arrived from Newport News,' with the two remaining companies, another camp was established still farther up the island, to the command of which he was assigned.

After General Williams arrived at the post

camps were changed and commands readjusted so frequently that it would be monotonous to chronicle them in detail.

When Colonel Hawkins was placed in arrest and sent to Fortress Monroe accompanied by charges of insubordination—the result of his refusal to assign Captain Bernard to a company when ordered to do so by General Williams, an account of which will be found in another chapter—the command of the regiment devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Betts. His headquarters were always at or near Camp Wool, but the greater portion of the regiment was nearly always distributed among the other outlying camps, Winfield, Trent and others, and Major Kimball was always in command of the largest battalion, as befitted his rank.

When Colonel Hawkins rejoined the regiment, which was in December 22, after an absence of about two months, he brought with him two hundred rifles with which to arm the flank companies—the regiment was originally armed with smooth bore muskets—and three light field howitzers. These were given to Capt. James R. Whiting's Company K, which was erected into a battery, three more guns being added later, which made up the full complement for a field battery.

The men of Company K at once began the

drill and practice of light battery tactics, soon mastering all the intricacies and becoming quite proficient in handling the guns. The company afterward rendered excellent and efficient service both in field and garrison, especially during the siege of Suffolk, Va., and were frequently commended by the different generals in whose command they served.

During the months of November, December, and January, the various companies of the regiment were constantly changing camp, and finally settled down in their original positions, where they remained until the final departure from Hatteras.

On the 13th of January, 1862, the steamer "S. R. Spaulding" arrived at Hatteras, followed by many vessels of the Burnside expedition.

This expedition was organized for the capture of Roanoke Island and other locations on the North Carolina Sounds and adjacent rivers, and was accompanied by a fleet of improvised gunboats, under the command of Commodore Goldsborough. The fleet of transports seemed a strange one to send through Hatteras Inlet. It was a gathering of nearly everything that would float. There were full-rigged ships, ocean steamers, New York bay tugboats, Brooklyn and Staten Island ferryboats; the sight of which caused the New York boys a



pang of homesickness, as thoughts swiftly flew to scenes at home. None knew of the presence of the choking lump of emotion in the throat of his comrade as they gazed at these familiar boats, but each was secretly conscious of his own longing for home and loved ones.

There were also canal boats from Buffalo, and one stern-wheel steamer from away down in Maine, and it may be safe to say that the age of some of the craft would date nearly back to the days of Noah's ark.

It was said that Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds were navigable for vessels drawing nine feet, but on the "Swash" or inner bar at the Inlet, there was only six feet of water. While navigators and engineers were engaged in the elucidation of the problem of how to sail a vessel drawing twenty feet across a bar over which there were but six feet of water, the fleet remained at anchor in the open ocean. An easterly storm arose while it was thus exposed, and while some vessels stood out to sea for safety, most of the fleet trusted to riding it out at anchor. The storm proved to be very severe and several vessels went ashore and were lost.

As many vessels as could anchor in the Inlet did so and found a comparatively secure harbor, but outside the scene was frightful. Many

vessels dragged anchor, some dashed into the breakers, others foundered where they lay. Two ocean steamers were in the south breakers at the same time, pounding to pieces, in plain view of the people on shore and those on the vessels at anchor in the Inlet, but the weather was so tempestuous, and the seas so high, that at first little if any aid could be given the unfortunates, and many lives were lost. At last volunteer crews manned several lifeboats and did heroic and efficient service, rescuing many of the shipwrecked people. When the weather had moderated sufficiently to do so with safety, the entire force was disembarked and went into camp to await the solving of the aforesaid problem.

The drinking water on the island being very bad, considerable sickness occurred after the troops landed. There had been some cases of typhoid fever among the soldiers of the "Ninth," and a few deaths, but among the new men the deaths occurred by the score. In addition to typhoid, measles broke out in some of the new regiments, and was attended with great fatality. Funerals were of so frequent occurrence that it was said by a jocular spirit that the mocking-birds had learned to whistle the "Dead March."

Notwithstanding the extremely bad water, and the generally insanitary condition of the

ground in the vicinity of the camps of the Ninth, the sick list never became large, and the total deaths from disease during the two years' term of service numbered only twenty.

At this juncture the Zouaves began to realize their good fortune in being blessed with such medical officers as Doctors Humphreys and White, who constantly and intelligently attended strictly to the performance of duty. The sick were attended to as faithfully as they would have been at home. The men had the utmost confidence in the skill and ability of the surgeons, and in their faithful attention to duty at all times; and that trust was never misplaced.

Nearly a month passed in lightening gun-boats and transports, and dragging them over the bar into the deeper water of the Sound, and this time was occupied by the newly arrived troops in improving their drill and discipline.

The greater part of both officers and men of the new regiments had never handled a musket or performed a military evolution. To some of them a drill was simply marching hither and thither by the flank, like schoolboys upon the village common.

One morning a company was drilling near the camp of the "Ninth" and a swamp hole was directly in their path, when the captain

gave the command, "Boys, haw (go to the left) that mud puddle!" They understood and "hawed" it.

The officers of the new regiments fully realized their deficiency in the knowledge of drill and military matters in general. They sought to remedy this defect and soon obtained the needed help. Men of the "Ninth" volunteered to instruct such officers and non-commissioned officers as wished to avail themselves of the opportunity and whose regimental camps were near enough to that of the Ninth to make it practicable. Many of the Zouaves devoted considerable time and attention, when off duty between drills, in giving theoretical and practical instructions to the new men in the manual of arms, and school of the soldier, and company.

A considerable proportion of the officers' tents became schools of instruction, and doubtless much benefit was derived from this method of teaching. It may be as well to remark in this connection that without an exception all of these new regiments returned from the war with most excellent records, many of the officers distinguishing themselves in battle, some of them obtaining high rank and occupying responsible positions before the Rebellion ended.

After weeks of hard and unremitting labor

the fleet was at last anchored safely in the Sound, stores were reloaded, batteries replaced, and all was ready for the forward movement to Roanoke Island.

There was one circumstance which occurred while the detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Betts was stationed at Chicomocomico which may be worth mentioning.

While camped there rations ran very low and at last came the cry of "no grub," which proved to be the fact, as not a morsel of food was left in the commissary department, and starvation threatened, when in some way now forgotten, the "Monticello," lying off the beach, was communicated with, and the situation explained to the commanding officer, Lieut. Daniel L. Braine, who relieved the necessity of the soldiers by throwing overboard barrels of ship's-bread (a large, hard, round cracker) which slowly floated ashore and was seized with avidity by the hungry and expectant Zouaves; the slight addition of salt water in no way interfering with its palatableness.

There were a large number of inhabitants scattered along the beach of the island, each family locating on a spot wherever a patch of fertile soil occurred—fertile when compared with the drifting sand which composed the greater part of the island. These patches were,

in a way, cultivated; corn, sweet potatoes, and a few other vegetables being raised. The entire "plantation," as it was designated, being about the size of an ordinary kitchen garden on a northern farm.

The men of the island were fishermen and pilots; the former their regular vocation, the latter, when opportunity offered, to catch a vessel bound in through the Inlet.

At various elevated places along the beach tall spars and masts of wrecked vessels had been planted perpendicularly in the sand with small pieces of wreckage nailed crosswise upon them to form a primitive ladder. The top of this ladder was used as a lookout station, from which eager eyes scanned the horizon for inward bound craft, the one first sighting such a vessel having the best chance of first reaching her in his boat, thus securing the privilege of piloting her through the shoals and over the bar into the deeper waters of the Sound.

When Hatteras was captured and occupied this industry was destroyed, as all vessels arriving after that date were captured by the Federal gunboats.

The natives soon learned that the boys possessed money and could be induced to part with it in exchange for any commodity which struck their fancy, more particularly in the line

of eatables, which might prove a grateful change from "sow-belly" and "salt horse." There were no roads on the island except such as had been made by the troops from camp to camp, all transportation being by water. Each family possessed several boats for sailing or rowing, some fitted for sound, others for ocean work. Trade was at first somewhat sluggish. A soldier would hail a passing fisherman going home with his "catch" and inquire if the fish were for sale, and the man would gladly land and probably dispose of the entire lot.

On passing camp the next time he would naturally stop and offer his fish. In the meantime his neighbors heard of the new market near home, and they came also with sweet potatoes, eggs, chickens, etc., and the women, not to be outdone in the trading line, brought specimens of home cooking, "fearfully and wonderfully made," the master piece, being the sweet potato pie, which looked like a sheet of thick, wet brown paper spread on a sole-leather crust.

Surgeon Humphreys, however, soon placed a veto on the sale of this wonderful composition, and the sentries received orders to prohibit its sale in any of the camps. There was soon an animated market scene, each morning, at the little landings of the different camps.

So long as his money held out the soldier paid fairly and honestly for goods purchased, and doubtless whether he had cash or not it was his intention to pay at some future time, but as a certain place is said to be paved with good intentions, it is certain that many a stone was added to the said pavement during the stay at Hatteras. The poorly executed "shinplaster" rebel money which was tendered the soldiers in change—and of course refused—gave some of the men an idea. The pioneer in this enterprise tried his luck by offering a label from a sherry wine bottle in exchange for two fine roe-shad, and was a trifle staggered when the fisherman asked him what it was. He quickly recovered his equanimity, however, and coolly replied, "a dollar," and received, without the quiver of an eyelid, seventy-five cents in change. For sometime after this trade was exceedingly brisk, any kind of label from bottle or box passing current.

Of course good things cannot last forever. Before long the natives realized the worthlessness of the stuff, and there is little doubt that many of them had their confidence in the integrity of the Zouaves sadly shocked thereby.

It is a difficult matter to attempt to defend such transactions, still it can be truthfully stated that passing wine and condensed milk



labels, as the currency of the realm, on poor and illiterate people by the boys of the regiment, was in a majority of cases done in a thoughtless spirit of mischief, rather than with the deliberate intent of defrauding the receiver. But with some the motto was "necessity knows no law." When the paymaster failed to put in an appearance, and the money of the regiment had been exhausted, a ways' and means committee was appointed to devise methods for adding variety to the bill of fare, but this was strictly *sub rosa*.

The potato and other root crops of the natives were stored in what were called potato-houses, which were shallow holes in the ground, over which a log structure was built, in turn covered by earth, with the object of preserving an even temperature. An entrance to this depot could readily be made by anyone so disposed, although it was well known by all the Zouaves that swift and severe punishment would follow the detection of anyone found plundering the inhabitants. Foraging was the polite term given it in camp. Still, among such a number of men there were plenty willing to assume any risk for a change of diet. This was usually accomplished in the daytime while "out on pass;" for going outside the lines at night was a delicate and somewhat dangerous undertaking, and not generally

attempted unless arrangements had previously been made with one of the guard who was expected to cover a post more or less remote from the guard-house on a certain "relief" during the coming night.

In the daytime the coveted articles were procured by one of a party of men inducing the occupant of some house selected for the attempt to accompany him to a point from which the potato-house was out of view, and there haggle over the price of a chicken or some other merchandise long enough to permit his partner to slide off with potatoes sufficient for the present requirement of the mess, when the pretended purchaser would suddenly break off negotiations, and probably on the pretense that the seller was attempting to impose extraordinary prices on poor soldiers.

Sometimes these despoilers came to grief, their uniform being so distinctive that their depredations were soon discovered, when they were traced to camp and a complaint lodged with Major Kimball, or whoever happened to be in command.

Whether it was Major Kimball's condition of mind on different occasions, or his endeavor to pass sentence on the culprits suitable to the crime, certain it was, justice often saw great variations in his judgments and his punishments

were quite irregular. One morning a complainant was seen to be in close consultation with the Major. The man was recognized by several of the Zouaves, and in consequence there was considerable uneasiness among them.

Dress parade was about to be held and the complainant took position beside the commanding officer. After the adjutant reported "parade formed," Major Kimball addressed the men about as follows:

"Men, this man makes complaint that his potato-house was broken into and robbed last night, and says he saw the men who did it, and that they wore the uniform of this regiment. I told him I did not believe any of my men would be guilty of such a trick, and to satisfy him would ask you in his presence, and he could hear for himself. Now I ask, did any one in this battalion rob the potato-house?" Long before the Major had finished his speech the men had taken the cue and were ready with the expected answer, which was a unanimous. "No!" roared in unison by every man in the line. The Major dismissed the native with a wave of his hand, saying: "There! I told you they didn't do it."

These complaints, however, were not always dismissed in this complaisant manner. Sometimes when a native appeared in camp with a story of loss of property in which the men

figured as the culprits, he would be directed to remain in camp until the battalion or regiment, if camped in a body, "fell in" for drill or parade, when the ranks would be opened and the accuser conducted up and down both ranks from flank to flank on a tour of inspection, with instructions to point out the guilty persons if possible. In several instances when men were so identified, in addition to the punishment inflicted, a fine was imposed which was far in excess of the value of the missing property.

On one of these occasions when a countryman was passing along the line carefully scrutinizing every countenance in the ranks, trusting to recognize the hapless individuals who had despoiled him of his property, he passed in front of Company K. Tom Farley, who feared that he might possibly bear a resemblance to the guilty party sought for, assumed a frightful squint, suddenly developing one of the worst cases of strabismus ever known in the service, and as the man examined him closely, Farley, throwing as much savageness in his voice as possible, growled ferociously, "Who in the h—l are you looking at?"

The voice and squint were not recognized as having been with the party of evildoers, and the native hastily passed on, leaving the boys inwardly convulsed at the success of the stratagem.

## CHAPTER VI.

UNDERWAY FOR ROANOKE ISLAND — ARRIVAL —  
ENGAGEMENT WITH THE FORTS—LANDING  
OF THE TROOPS — BIVOUAC IN THE MUD  
FOR THE NIGHT — STEALING BED FROM BE-  
NEATH THE COLONEL — ARMY MOVES ON  
THE ENEMY—MAJOR KIMBALL'S FEAR THAT  
THE MEN MIGHT WEAKEN — ARRIVAL IN  
FRONT OF BATTERY — ORDER TO CHARGE  
THE WORKS—COLONEL DEMONTEIL KILLED  
— FIRST BAYONET CHARGE OF THE WAR  
— WHAT CURIE SAW — REFLECTIONS —  
EXTRACTS FROM REPORTS OF GENERALS IN  
COMMAND — CAPTURE OF CAPTAIN WISE —  
MORE RAIN — DESCRIPTION OF PRISONERS.

ABOUT 8 o'clock A.M., February 5th, all the troops which were to form the expedition being on board the transports, the entire fleet got underway for Roanoke Island. At 6 P.M. it anchored until the next day, each brigade anchoring near its own flagship, so that in the event of receiving hurried orders each vessel could be communicated with readily. At eight o'clock the following morning anchors were weighed and the voyage resumed, but at noon

a heavy fog settled down, which caused another halt and another day's delay.

An early start was made on the 7th, and soon Roanoke Island came into view. The Union gunboats formed in single column, steamed ahead and opened fire on the various points where the enemy had exposed their positions by engaging the advancing warships. It was thus discovered that the rebel defenses consisted of three batteries near the shore. One of these it was afterward learned, consisted of eleven, one of nine, and the last of four guns. Across the channel in Croatan Sound a row of piles had been driven as an obstruction to the gunboats, and beyond them four armed rebel vessels were stationed. The commander of the gunboats employed tactics similar to those introduced by Stringham at the bombardment of Hatteras. He arranged his vessels in such a way, each following its leader in single file, that after once passing the forts they formed an ellipsis, engaging the enemy from the inner edge, continuing until out of range along the off shore side, and again resuming their fire when within range of the first or southerly battery, where the ships again sent in their broadsides. This movement continued almost continuously for the entire day.

The transports were held at a safe dis-

tance, their decks, rigging and crosstrees being crowded with troops eagerly watching the action. The majority of the spectators witnessed a bombardment for the first time. Almost every detail of the action was in unobstructed view. Every time a flag on the Confederate works was shot away the troops, supposing it betokened surrender, would send forth such deafening cheers as to nearly drown the roar of the cannon. The several flags on the different forts were carried away a number of times during the day, but were always replaced within a short time.

The schooner yacht "Henrietta," formerly the property of James Gorden Bennett, and which he had presented to the Government at the outbreak of hostilities, was a commissioned United States war vessel serving with the fleet. She was in the fiercest of the fight during the entire day. She was armed with a 100-pounder Parrott gun, mounted amidships, and rendered as efficient service as any vessel in the fleet.

The blazing buildings within the forts, and the flying earth and wreckage from exploding shells marking the accurate aim of the gunners on the ships, could be plainly seen from the transports with the naked eye. Late in the afternoon preparations were completed to land

the troops, and about 5 o'clock, P.M., they began the movement. They were transferred to small boats, and long strings of these, one behind the other, like great strings of beads, were towed by small steamers to within a short distance of Ashby's Landing, where, after a comparatively short row, a lodgment was effected with very little trouble. For some reason or other very slight opposition was met with here. The troops took position about one mile inland, forcing in the enemy's pickets and establishing their own in their stead, and then went into bivouac for the night. At about eight o'clock in the evening the Ninth got the order to follow the others ashore, and dropping into the boats they were soon towed to the landing by the small steamers.

Few civilians realize how the tramp of the many feet of an army will grind the damp earth over which they pass into a mass the consistency of mortar. The Ninth being among the last regiments to reach the shore, found the ground over which the other troops had passed much cut up and actually knee deep with mud. The short distance they marched from landing to bivouac was literally waded. The troops were then quite closely massed in a cornfield. Rain began falling just after dark and continued heavily all night. The campground was soon covered with pools of muddy water. Lying



down in the water and attempting to sleep was out of the question, and as the men had not yet learned to sleep in a standing position, there was no sleep. Fires were built and the boys gathered around them shivering and melancholy.

The single house at the landing had been taken possession of and was occupied as quarters by the generals and their staffs, with as many other officers of rank as chose to leave their regiments or could be accommodated in it. One of the latter afterward wrote home of this experience as follows :

“The generals had gone up garret (there were no rooms up there and had lain down on the floor to sleep. After an hour or so the crowd of officers in the room below began to make arrangements to pass the night as comfortably as possible. There were, of course, no chairs or other accommodations for sitting or reclining, and the hard floor was the portion of those who sought shelter from the rain. I found an old friend in the room who had possession of a bench about two feet long, which he invited me to share with him, so we sat astride of it facing each other, his head resting on my right shoulder, his shoulder supporting mine in the same way, and in this position we fell asleep.”

The house at Ashby's Landing gave cold comfort to its occupants on that bleak February night ; yet to the officers and men who clustered about the camp fires without shelter of any kind, the sleeping accommodations of those two officers on the bench were comparatively luxurious. The night was filled with misery even from a soldier's standpoint. Toward morning fuel became scarce, and as all fences in the

immediate vicinity had been appropriated and consumed, the boys took turns in hunting for and bringing in anything they could lay their hands on with which to replenish the fires. Many a provident soldier who had the previous evening secured a few rails and arranged them to form a bed which would keep his body above the water-soaked ground, was cruelly robbed of them, sometimes by sneak thieves, but oftener by the use of moral suasion backed by a powerful right arm.

Some of the men had provided Colonel Hawkins with a resting place of this kind. It consisted of three split rails laid side by side. One end, which may be called the head, was elevated by resting it on a pile of earth dug from a ditch bordering the field. Colonel Hawkins lay on these rails asleep, covered head and all with his red blanket.

Where his thoughts on the pinions of fancy shall roam  
And in slumber revisit his love and his home.

Sleep! How often, ah! how often have ye brought sweet and happy dreams on the eve of battle! How often calmed the anxieties for the fortunes of to-morrow.

As morning approached and the unfortunates, who had stood about the fires all night, saw the dying embers deepen from red to black, they began to prowl about in a more desperate search

for fuel. Many wistful glances were cast at the rails upon which the red covered figure of the Colonel reposed. Until now the information "It is the Colonel," would send the raiders off in another direction, but at last two bold spirits more reckless than their comrades, approached the sleeper, walked stealthily around him, enacted a short pantomime, and then—whisk! splash!—the Colonel lay in the water while two soldiers and a rail disappeared in the darkness. In an instant the Colonel was in a sitting position, had thrown the blanket from his head, and quickly realizing what had occurred, remarked: "That was pretty well done!" Then quietly arranging his two remaining rails, again sought slumber. This closed the incident, and the two robbers congratulated themselves on their dexterity as they toasted their shins beside their replenished fire.

A false alarm was raised just before day-break. Every man of the Ninth sprang to his musket with an alacrity born of long drills and the habit of the thorough soldier. When the uncertainty was over, there was relaxation until dawn, when the troops were formed in line and moved to the front.

General Parke's brigade, to which the Ninth was attached, was held in reserve on the left of the line, and the Ninth was the last regiment to

leave its bivouac, as also the last to be brought into action. There was but one road on this part of the island, and this ran from Ashby's Landing in a northeasterly direction to a point more than half way across to the other shore, where it turned abruptly to the northwest and led across a swamp about an eighth of a mile wide. A structure known as a "corduroy road" bridged the swamp and at its farther edge on the solid ground, about an eighth of a mile from the turn of the road, was a Confederate fort or earthwork at the foot of which was a moat. The water in the moat was on a level with that in the swamp. The earthwork extended completely across the road and some distance on either side, its flanks being protected by the swamp. It had but one face, being simply an earthwork, not a fort, and mounted three guns. The trees had been carefully felled in the front of the work from the ditch to the bend in the road, their trunks toward the fort, their sharpened branches toward an advancing foe. This abatis was the full width of the earthwork at the ditch but became gradually wider toward the turn in the road, and through its center ran the corduroy causeway. On each side of the abatis was a veritable jungle of trees, thickets, and twisted vines and other undergrowth, while the swamp

itself was a mass of mud and slime, sometimes knee deep, sometimes waist deep, with here and there a hump of tangled grass or the roots of a thicket projecting, the whole bottom covered with several inches of water.

Official reports show that General Foster commenced the attack about 8 o'clock, A. M., with six Dahlgren boat howitzers. These were supported by the 21st Massachusetts, Colonel Upton, which in turn was supported by the 23rd Massachusetts. When the remainder of the brigade reached the field the 23rd and 27th Massachusetts with the 10th Connecticut were ordered into the swamp on the right to strike the enemy's left flank. On General Reno's arrival he sent word to Foster that his brigade would penetrate the dense woods on the left and endeavor to turn the right flank of the enemy. This was a most difficult task, owing to the natural obstacles to be overcome, in addition to the resistance offered by the enemy. The action had been progressing some time before Parke's brigade was ordered from its bivouac. Before reaching the bend the road was narrow and bordered by dense thickets and swamps. It was badly cut up and trampled by the march of the preceding troops, and that, and the heavy rain of the preceding night had made it little better than a wide ditch of mud

and water. Still it was the only means of passage through the thickets, and the soldiers laboriously slipped and struggled on, always hoping for a better road beyond.

Only men who have never been in action before can thoroughly realize the carnage and horrors of a battlefield. While the 9th Regiment had been in the field about eight months, and during that time had seen some active service, still many of the men never saw a wounded man, and they were very naturally horror-stricken when they now saw scores of their comrades carried off the field, many of them in the agonies of death. It is far different with the veteran of many battles, to whom such scenes have become familiar. In the heat and roar of the sanguinary conflict he retains all his coolness, looking upon the terrible scenes around him as a matter of course. He is like the "Old Continental," who, when preparing to charge the enemy, would hum the tune:

"Why soldiers, why, should we be melancholy, boys?  
Whose business is to die—let us be jolly, boys!"

But the veterans are apt to forget their own first battle and to become impatient at the evidence of fear which so naturally appears among inexperienced troops, many of the most nervous of whom, however, become in a short time the very best and bravest of soldiers.

This was well exemplified in the experience of the men in this regiment. While they were moving along the narrow road toward the point where the battle was being fought—which was the only inlet to the scene of action, as it was the only outlet for the wounded—momentarily expecting to be engaged in the conflict, they met great numbers of wounded men, some being carried on stretchers, some assisting each other as best they could, while others moved along unaided.

This melancholy column which seemed to have no end, contained men with wounds of every character and degree of severity. As the maimed and injured were so very close at hand the nature of their wounds were plainly visible to all. Some poor fellows lay still and death-like on the stretcher. Some with naked breasts showed how hurried had been the surgeon's search to establish the location of a bullet-wound or to staunch a hemorrhage. On many were hastily noted the little round blue hole, with its darker center, the cause of which every soldier, as well as surgeon, knew so well.

This was certainly a ghastly spectacle and of anything but an inspiring character to be witnessed by the men. It was a sight intensely trying, and a graphic object lesson, showing vividly what they themselves might expect to im-

mediately encounter. Added to this was the ratling volleys of musketry, occasionally rising into a steady roar, punctuated by the crashing explosions of the big guns of the enemy and the spiteful barking of the boat howitzers opposed to them. Now and again the deep-chested cheer of the northern soldiers or the shrill rebel yell would be heard as one or the other of the combatants gained a real or imaginary advantage. No wonder some were unnerved and turned pale at the saddening sights and the nerve-shaking sounds, and it is only fair and honorable to acknowledge that many a face was blanched, and many a good and true man in the ranks would have been glad indeed to have honorably avoided the coming battle.

Major Kimball, whose position in line brought him in more direct contact with the men than any of the other officers, was quick to perceive the effect produced on these boys whom he had hoped to see go into the engagement with a sort of triumphant hurrah. He did his best to counteract the effect which the sights just detailed produced. He tried to raise the spirits of the men by pretending to belittle the spectacle, saying it was merely a necessary incident of the battle; that it did not amount to anything any way; that there were not many



wounded as compared with what he had expected to see, judging from the amount of firing and noise at the front; told them how his old regiment had fought in the Mexican War, and related acts of gallantry and heroism performed by its members, which he exhorted them to emulate, and reminded them that they were about being called upon to uphold the honor of their country and their regiment, and to remember that they were American soldiers and to behave accordingly.

This lesson had, without doubt, a good effect on the boys that heard it. The gallant conduct of the regiment that day as a whole, showed that the depressing effect of the sights and sounds, on the fringe of the battle, had only a temporary effect. Their conduct in the fight earned for them the unstinted commendation of their commanding officers, while the soldiers of the other regiments expressed their appreciation of the conduct of the Zouaves by receiving them with cheers whenever one appeared among them, showering words of commendation and congratulation upon them without stint.

When the regiment arrived at the bend in the road where the clearing in front of the rebel battery began, there were no bodies of troops visible other than of their own brigade on the road, and what seemed like a regiment some

distance towards their right, lying down, although between, and among the trees on the left, men could be seen both singly and in squads, and heavy musketry firing could be heard in the woods on both left and right of the road. There was now nothing to obstruct the view between the Ninth and the rebel fort which was in plain sight.

The six Dahlgrens were "in battery" at the bend in the road, but were not at the time in action. They had apparently been silenced. The bodies of several dead sailors lay around them, but no living sailor was in sight save one, an officer, who, with folded arms, was leaning on a howitzer, gazing at the fort.

General Foster with several aids stood in open ground, apparently directing the movement of the troops, being concealed from the enemy's view by a small thicket.

As Reno's advance had left the road clear, Parke's brigade was ordered by Foster to move directly forward in support of the 23d and 27th Massachusetts, which were then engaged in turning the enemy's left.

The 4th Rhode Island was in advance, on the right of the brigade. To reach the Massachusetts troops it was necessary to leave the road at the turn, which was in the open ground, cross the rest of the cleared strip of swamp in

front of the fort, and move into the thick woods beyond. The leading company of the Ninth and part of the second one had left the road and were working their way through the vines and thickets of the swamp when some one halted the regiment. The center and part of the right wing was in the open ground in front of the fort, and could distinctly see the movement of the men at the guns.

When the halt was made word was passed forward for Colonel Hawkins, who was at the head of the regiment, to come back, but before he had time to do so, Kimball ran to where Foster stood to take any order he had to give. Whatever conversation occurred was quickly over, and Kimball, jerking off his overcoat, threw it from him, and drawing his sword, flourished it around his head and shouted with the full force of his lungs: "Now, boys, follow your old Major—Charge!" When this order was given there was a grand simultaneous rush toward the enemy, and the men who had the best ground to travel on were farthest to the front. There was no possibility of preserving company formation in this mad plunge and struggle, through swamps and abatis, over stumps and logs.

To enable the reader to clearly understand the situation of affairs on the battleground at the moment the Ninth New York was halted,

and the word passed to the front for Colonel Hawkins, as above stated, reference is made to the official map of the battle, issued by authority of the War Department, in which the location of each of the regiments engaged is given, with distances from point to point, nature of the ground, and all other data necessary to give a clear conception of the plan of battle and the disposition of the Union forces.

The map shows the road over which the troops advanced as running in a general north-east direction to the edge of the swamp, where it made a sharp turn — nearly a right angle — towards the northwest and continuing in that direction to the ditch in front of the battery, a distance of about one thousand feet from the bend of the road. The battery had a front of about one hundred and fifty feet, was crescent shaped and mounted three guns. The troops in position on the right of the road, operating against the enemy's left, were in the order named from right to left: the 23d Massachusetts, the 27th Massachusetts, the 51st Pennsylvania, the 10th Connecticut, and in the rear of that regiment the 25th Massachusetts, which had exhausted its ammunition and had been relieved by the 10th Connecticut. Some distance in front of the 10th Connecticut, very near the bend in the road, was the battery of boat howitzers.

On the left of the causeway, operating against the enemy's right, and in the order named from *left* to right were Companies A, G, D and I of the 51st New York, then the 21st Massachusetts, and behind it the remaining companies of the 51st New York, while on the right of the 21st Massachusetts was the 9th New Jersey. The general form of the line approached that of the letter V, with the point formed by the 25th Massachusetts and 10th Connecticut somewhat flattened. The road entered the V and turned toward the battery between the 10th Connecticut and 9th New Jersey. There were detachments of rebel infantry on each flank of the battery. The arms of the V were each about twelve hundred feet long and they extended so far toward the front that the head of each reached a point nearly, if not fully, on a line with the battery and distant from its flanks about three hundred and three hundred and fifty feet respectively.

The Ninth had marched into the lower end of the V, which brought the 25th Massachusetts and 10th Connecticut on their right hand, and the enemy's battery on their left. The regiment had continued straight ahead when the bend in the road was reached, and consequently the head of the column, or right of the regiment, had left it at that point and plunged

into the swamp, following its leading regiment, the 4th Rhode Island, in obedience to the orders to get on the left flank of the battery. The company on the right and a few files at the head of the one following it, was the only portion of the command that had abandoned the road when the halt was ordered and word passed to the front that Colonel Hawkins was wanted by some one in authority; presumably General Foster.

The left wing of the regiment had not yet emerged from the woods into the open space in front of the work where the timber had been felled, and which was only little more in width than the face of the battery itself, say, two hundred feet, therefore, only a few of the companies were then visible to the rebels or exposed to their fire.

All the other regiments, as above named, except the 25th Massachusetts, which had been withdrawn, and part of the 10th Connecticut, which was on dry ground, were struggling as best they could through the mire and amidst the dense vegetation of a North Carolina swamp, with the water, mud and ooze in no place less than knee deep, and in many places fully waist deep, with the view, beyond the distance of a few feet, shut off entirely, and all progress rendered almost impossible by nearly

impenetrable thickets of laurel, briars and clinging vines and the many other luxuriant growths of an almost semi-tropical jungle. It must be borne in mind that in the limited space into which the attacking force was crowded—several thousand men being obliged to operate and manœuver in an area in which two, or, at the most, three regiments would have been amply sufficient to cover properly—the different commands must of necessity have overlapped each other greatly. The regiments, with the exception of the Ninth New York, were all entirely new ones. They had only a short time before arrived from Annapolis, where they had been gathered together to form the Burnside Expedition; had never before seen any active service, in fact most of them had but a very limited knowledge of drill, and they were now, if we except the short sojourn on Hatteras, getting their first experience on the soil of the Southern Confederacy. These men were crowded into the swamp, regiment after regiment, until the various organizations were merged in a crowd or mob. From the nature of the surroundings, being unable to see what was going on about them, being deprived of the example and of the controlling influence of their officers, by reason of being generally hidden from their view by the thick foliage of the

swamp, the men were obliged to act individually, and as is to be expected under such circumstances, it was only the best men among them, those strongly imbued with the spirit of duty and patriotism — and there were many such — who succeeded in struggling forward to a position from which they could occasionally get a glimpse of the enemy through the intervening trees and underbrush, and actually join in the battle.

When the Ninth received the order to charge, the companies which were in the open ground immediately changed direction by the left flank and rushed directly toward the battery, through the abatis and along the corduroy road, the other companies pouring in behind them. The right flank company, which was already among the tangled thickets of the swamp, retracing the few steps necessary to regain the road, and joining in the movement. In an instant the whole width of the cleared space in front of the battery was filled with a mass of rushing Zouaves, and the air resounded with their shouts. The enemy at once opened fire with his artillery, which had been silent for a few minutes, and seemed to redouble that of his musketry. From the manner in which the regiment doubled on itself—if the use of the term may be permitted—when the first rush



was made, the right center becoming the front, and the men toward the right of that front having the advantage of the firm footing of the road and being able to maintain their advanced position throughout, the colors of the regiment had no opportunity to, and did not succeed in getting to the front at any time during the charge, and, therefore, were not with those men who first gained the parapet of the fort.

When the Zouaves had covered about one-half the distance to the works the enemy succeeded in checking their advance for a moment. There was a temporary halt, Kimball had disappeared for an instant, stumbled into a bog-hole it was said, and some of the men began firing. The enemy's musketry fire was sharp and effective. The artillery fire was wild and high however, and the only effect it produced was to shower down leaves and branches from the trees on the heads of the men beneath. A few men fell here—not many, but as they fell and lay they looked to the others like a great many. Lieut.-Colonel DeMonteil was killed here. He was Lieutenant-Colonel of the D'Epaneuil Zouaves, and had marched into the engagement with Colonel Hawkins at the head of the Ninth, as a volunteer carrying a carbine. At the moment of the check in the advance he had leaped on the trunk of a fallen tree and

striding back and forth, shouted: "Do not discharge ze cartridge, my children! Forward wiz ze bayonet! Forward wiz ze bayonet! Charge, *mes enfants!*" and other exhortations of a like character, when he suddenly plunged forward into the water beneath him, killed as quickly as though struck by lightning.

His reckless courage was most marked and attracted the attention and excited the admiration of all who saw him. No man ever died more bravely.

The reports in relation to his identity and antecedents, which at the time and subsequently, gained currency among the soldiers of the Ninth, and which, although not confirmed from any responsible source, there is no reason to doubt, were to the effect that he was a major in the Marine Service of France and had procured leave of absence, or permission from his government, to come to the United States for the purpose of entering the military service and taking part in the war. His body was sent north by Colonel Hawkins, consigned to the care of some of his—Colonel H's—friends in New York, who honored it with a soldier's burial in Greenwood Cemetery, and raised a fitting monument over the grave.

Among the men who were hit here about the time Lieut.-Colonel DeMonteil was killed, were

Snow and Donovan, of Company A, the latter very seriously; Lieut. Geo. W. Debevoise of the same company, who was disabled for duty for several months; Scannel, of Company K, mortally, and others whose names cannot now be recalled. Captain Jardine, of Company G, and Captain Graham of Company A, were both in the front rank, and each seized muskets from the men crouched near them and fired into the middle embrasure of the fort, where the enemy could be seen at work at their guns. Each of the officers named fired two or three shots.

As said before, the check was only momentary. Some one shouted: "What's the matter here? Forward!" and the cry of "Forward the Ninth! Forward, Company ——!" was raised by the officers at the front. The men responded instantly and dashed forward, that is some of them did, those on the road. The others struggled and wallowed in the same direction. Struggled through the abatis and wallowed through the deep swamp mud. Soon after this second rush had fairly begun the fire from the fort began to slacken, and by the time the advance had reached the moat it had ceased altogether. The men swarmed over the parapet and through the embrasures and the battle of Roanoke Island was won.

From the instant the order to charge was

given, in fact, from the time the regiment first arrived on the ground, until the men began to pour over the works, not more than five minutes had elapsed.

A small flag of the enemy's, apparently a presentation flag, as it had a deep bullion fringe and was handsomely mounted, was flying inside the works and some of those who first sprang into the fort made a rush to secure it. Private Caster, of Company C, was the successful one and after a struggle tore it from the staff and concealed it inside his blouse. The staff was broken in the *melee* and the metal plate, bearing a presentation inscription, was secured by another of the boys, who cannot now be identified. Caster retained possession of this flag until his death, when it became the property of John Hassall, Caster's friend and intimate associate before and after the war, and his tent-mate and bunkie during the service. He still has the flag in his possession.

The advance of the regiment had barely reached the inside of the works, in fact the main body of the regiment was still pouring in over the parapet, when scattered bodies of troops emerged from the swamp and woods on the right, followed directly by their main body, and entered the works from that direction. Almost at the same instant the soldiers who had been

operating on the right appeared around the left of the work, and in a moment what might be called a river of men swarmed in from both directions.

These troops which had been working their way forward against either flank of the enemy were well advanced to positions very near the fort when General Foster ordered the Ninth to charge, and they had seized the proper moment to make the final rush; therefore, they arrived in the battery almost at the same moment and nearly simultaneous with the Ninth, although they came around the flanks of the works—not over the ditch and parapet. As a matter of fact the troops which came toward the right of the battery had their colors at their front when they emerged from the swamp, and planted them on the parapet before the color-bearers of the Ninth, who, from the nature of the ground, and the way in which the regiment doubled on itself when the charge began—which prevented them from getting near the front during its continuance—could pass their's up over the ditch to their comrades on the parapet. The men of the Ninth, who considered themselves veterans as compared with the other regiments, were not slow in according to each of them full credit for their resolute conduct during the battle. They had been exposed for

hours to a galling and destructive fire from an entrenched and unseen foe, and their losses more eloquently than words, tell of their bravery and firmness throughout the trying ordeal.

This meager account of the charge of the 9th New York at the battle of Roanoke Island is due solely to the fact that it is restricted to incidents which occurred under the immediate observation of the writer and as his opportunities for observation were limited the narrative must necessarily be so also. No doubt many stirring incidents and acts of gallantry occurred, which he would have proudly recorded had he witnessed them, but his field of observation was very limited just then.

The men of the Ninth who were first in the enemy's works, who had secured and maintained a leading position in the charge and had arrived on the parapet in advance of their comrades, enjoyed the privilege of viewing an awe-inspiring spectacle, namely, the charging regiment of a thousand men sweeping toward them like an irresistible torrent, their eyes aflame with passion and faces distorted by the tigerish instinct and the desire to kill, aroused by the sight of their slain and wounded comrades.

Soldiers often discuss among themselves

the whys and wherefores of victory or defeat, and the reasons why troops behind earthworks protected by a shoulder-high parapet and a wide and deep ditch, will permit themselves to be dislodged by others from the outside, who must, in order to do so, overcome the obstacles in front of the works, wade the ditch and climb the steep face of the parapet in the face of the fire, and opposed by the bayonets of the defenders. To these men of the Ninth who, on this occasion, gained the parapet in advance of the mass of the regiment, and had one backward glance at the rushing, shouting torrent of savage humanity below them, it was no longer a mystery. The appearance of this seemingly irresistible wave of maddened men rushing toward them seems to strike terror into the defenders, and hope of successful resistance is abandoned and they fly—*Sauve qui peut*—without waiting for the real struggle to begin.

This scattered few of the Ninth who first mounted the parapet (not separated from the regiment at all, simply the first) were from several companies. They arrived in time to see the last of the rebel defenders disappearing among the trees towards their rear. During the minute that elapsed before the reforming of the regiment began, they had time to notice that this place, which for several hours had

been the center of a maelstrom of bullets and shells and struggling men, was just then singularly quiet and peaceful like. A few dead men lay near the guns, one lying on his back beside the big Dahlgren with the lanyard still in his hand.

As the regiment moved out of the place a few moments afterward, a number of others were seen just outside the work all decently arranged in rows.

Charles Curie, of Company C, who was one of the group which first reached the parapet, relates that as he lingered for an instant to catch a general view of the situation, before joining with the others of his company—who were rapidly arriving—in reforming it, his attention was attracted by a body of soldiers emerging from the swamp on the right of the battery and a little in rear of it. They appeared to be from two different organizations, each had a flag, one a white State ensign, and the other a United States regimental color. There appeared to be about a company of each. They were close together and Curie's attention was specially arrested by the way in which they advanced out of the thickets. Instead of rushing forward, as might be expected, each one appeared to be wholly engrossed in a strained effort to maintain a correct alignment, their



officers being active in their efforts to preserve an imposing front. When they saw the fort and the situation, each of the color bearers, with several others, ran directly toward the parapet, evidently breaking away from the control of their officers, and each planted his flag on the work at about the same moment. At the same instant another and larger group separated from both bodies and rushed to the flagstaff of the fort, which was at least fifty paces in rear of the guns, and hauled down the rebel flag which the enemy in their sudden flight had left flying, and struggled fiercely among themselves for possession of it. All these occurrences took place in an instant. They flashed into view and became sensible to the eye like an instantaneous photograph. While chagrin at the loss of this opportunity was still in a nebulous shape in his mind, and a determination was forming to take a hand in the fight for the rebel flag, Corporal Latham A. Fish, of his company, directed him to "fall in," and Curie took his place in the ranks and in a few moments, with the rest of the regiment, was moving up the road in pursuit of the enemy.

There was very little delay in resuming the advance after the place had been taken. All of the enemy had disappeared except such as

were too badly wounded to get away unassisted. The various companies were immediately reformed by their respective first-sergeants and without an instant's delay pushed forward in pursuit of the rapidly retreating enemy. In the plan of the defenses of the island, this battery (Fort Defiance) was the key, and when captured it permitted the other forts to be attacked from the rear, when, with the fleet in front, and the infantry well posted in the rear, further resistance was useless and nothing remained for the garrisons but to surrender.

The "Ninth" was sent to the right of the road by General Reno, and succeeded in capturing a number of prisoners who were endeavoring to escape through Shallow Bag Bay, among them being Capt. O. Jennings Wise, a son of Governor Wise, of Virginia. He was very severely wounded and died from the effects next day.

Early in the evening of his capture, after his wounds had been dressed by Assistant Surgeon White, he was taken to the house of a Mr. Jarvis, which was being used for a hospital and near which the regiment was in bivouac, and while being carried past the men who had pressed forward to look at him, he extended his hand, in a gesture, toward them and said:

"You are the only men who fought to-day." Afterward, just before his death, while in conversation with Major Kimball, he stated that in his opinion the battery could have defied all the troops on the island for days, had the fighting against it been continued in the same manner in which it was carried on during the morning, or until the arrival of the "Red Caps," as he designated them. He said that at the beginning of the charge he thought the regiment had been utterly annihilated by the grape and canister when the men threw themselves on the ground, when the artillery first opened on them, but when they again sprang to their feet and rushed forward with yells, their men fled more frightened than hurt. "We were actually scared from our position," he said.

The other troops pushed on rapidly up the road and captured the main camp of the enemy with a large number of men, then dividing into detachments they moved on the other three forts which were still engaging the gunboats, and demanded their surrender, which was acceded to.

Long before nightfall all firing had ceased. The forts on the Roanoke Sound side of the island had surrendered; the various bodies of the enemy's troops had thrown down their arms and been placed under guard, and the victorious troops went into bivouac.

There was a saying among soldiers during the war which was to the effect "That nothing is easier than to show how to win a battle that has just been lost." This was as true of the battle of Roanoke Island as of any of the others fought during the Rebellion. When it was learned that the prisoners taken numbered several thousand, it seemed unexplainable why the enemy had not brought them all into action and utilized them at and near the interior battery to defend that place. Had they done so it would seem they could easily have prevented the Union troops from crossing the swamp at all, which it was afterward discovered extended clear across the island from one shore to the other, and was an excellent place at which to establish a line of defense. As it was, they appeared to have had only a few hundred men actually engaged at that place, while the bulk of their forces remained idly in their camps and rendered no assistance whatever to the comparatively few who were engaged. The fight lasted several hours, giving ample time for them not only to reinforce the point attacked, but to make disposition of their troops at their leisure.

Such portions of the official reports of the generals in command, as related directly to the 9th New York, are given, as follows :

General Foster, the ranking officer present and in actual command, says:

"After the engagement had lasted some time, the 9th New York coming on the field, I directed General Parke to order it to charge. The order was given, and the regiment charged at a run with yells, cheered by the other troops, right up the road at the battery. Major Kimball of this regiment, exhibited marked gallantry, leading the charge by several rods."

General Parke, who commanded the brigade of which the Ninth was a part, in his report says:

"It being now ascertained that the natural obstacles on this line (the original line of attack), were of so serious a character, and that the delay in the progress of the troops through the swamps was so great, it was decided to change the course of the 9th New York, and the order was sent to the Colonel to turn to the left and charge the battery directly up the road, and the regiment with a hearty yell and cheer, struck into the road, and made for the battery on the run.

"The order was given to charge the enemy with fixed bayonets. This was done in gallant style, Major Kimball taking the lead. The Major was very conspicuous during the movement, and I take great pleasure in commending him to your favorable notice."

Careful research among the "Official Records" has failed to find mention of a bayonet charge at an earlier date than the above, and we will leave the discovery of such to others.

General Burnside, in his report to the War Department, says:

\* \* \* "After Reno had cleared the road Parke's brigade arrived and was ordered by Foster to support the 23d and 27th Massachusetts, who were turning the enemy's left flank. The 4th Rhode Island led the movement, and just as the 9th New York entered the wood, following it, Foster and Parke found that Reno's appearance on the enemy's left had staggered him, and they decided to order the 9th New York to charge the battery in front, which was instantly done, and at once the road was filled with a sea of red caps, the air resounding with their cheers. \* \* \* The merit of first entering the fort is claimed by the 21st Massachusetts and the 51st New York."

Captain Thomas H. Parker, of the 51st Pennsylvania, in his history of that regiment, says :

“ While nearly on the flank of the works (referring to position of 51st Pennsylvania), and making efforts to get across to the fort, a distance of about 150 yards, the 9th New York charged in solid column up the road into the fort, capturing the three guns, etc.”

Frank Vizitelly, the well known war correspondent and artist for the *London Illustrated News*, was just in the rear of the Ninth when the charge was made. He made a drawing of it, which was published in his paper and was reproduced afterward and published by a New York illustrated paper. After the excitement of the fight was over he sought an introduction to Colonel Hawkins, whom he complimented very highly on the conduct of the regiment, saying the charge was the best thing he had ever seen done by a green regiment and congratulated him upon being its commander.

Mr. Vizitelly had seen service in various lands, and under many conditions, and his commendations were of the highest value, coming as they did from one who was perfectly impartial in his feelings toward any or all of the regiments engaged, and whose opinion and judgment were valuable by reason of his experience.

The following is a copy of Colonel Hawkins' report to his immediate superior :

ROANOKE ISLAND, N. C., Feb. 9, 1862.

BRIG.-GENERAL JOHN G. PARKE.

GENERAL:—Agreeably to your orders the Ninth New York Volunteers disembarked from the transports and landed upon the Island on the evening of the 7th inst. The next morning the regiment, with others of your brigade, were ordered out to reinforce the brigades of Generals Reno and Foster, which had been engaged about two and one-half hours. Upon reaching the battle-ground I was ordered to outflank the enemy on their left, where they were in position behind an entrenchment mounting three guns. After leading the Ninth New York into a marsh immediately in front of the enemy's works, under a heavy fire from them of grape and musketry, the order was given to charge the rebels with fixed bayonets. This was done in gallant style, Major Kimball taking the lead. The enemy's works were soon carried and hastily abandoned by them. All officers and men of the regiment behaved with great gallantry and bravery; it is impossible to say who is most deserving, or who merits the most applause. In my opinion all deserve credit and praise alike.

After this we were ordered to pursue the rebels, which we did, and succeeded in taking some forty prisoners; among them were several officers and men of the Richmond Blues, who had composed a part of the Wise Legion, with Captain O. Jennings Wise at their head, who was badly wounded and was trying to make his escape to Nag's Head.

I regret that I have to report the death of M. De Monteil, Lieut.-Colonel of the D'Epaneuil Zouaves, who went into the fight with the Ninth New York as a volunteer. He was killed instantly while nobly urging my men on to the charge. He dies greatly lamented by all the officers and men of the regiment who came in contact with him. His bravery was as great as his patriotism was sincere, and I cannot but feel that had he lived he would have proved a most valuable officer.

The Ninth New York had two officers and thirteen privates wounded.

Very respectfully yours, etc.;

RUSH C. HAWKINS,

Colonel Ninth New York Volunteers.

That night the "Ninth" occupied a cornfield near a house which during the day had been turned into a hospital for the rebels, and which was now crowded with the wounded of both sides, and the shrieks and groans were pitiful in the extreme. Again it rained hard the entire

night, but the men were too exhausted to mind the elements, and slept soundly through it all. They had been on foot continuously from the previous afternoon when ordered to "fall in" for disembarkation and from that time until arms were stacked in the cornfield on the night of the 8th, not one man in twenty of the entire regiment had sat down for a moment. All had been soaked to the skin by the rain of the previous night, as well as by the mud and water in swamp and ditch during the assault, and had reached the conclusion that there was just a trifle too much water "in their'n." Both officers and men were young and in rugged health, while out-of-door life and plenty of exercise with abundance of plain food (hardtack, coffee and salt-horse), enabled all, with the exception of the unfortunates on guard duty, to rise the following morning refreshed and ready and willing for any duty they might be called upon to perform. For several days following they were busily occupied in securing captured arms, guarding and otherwise caring for prisoners and performing other duties of a similar character.

The prisoners were several thousands in number, and a most motley crew they were. The conditions under which they were viewed were the worst possible. The rain had fallen



in torrents almost continuously for more than forty-eight hours, and their clothing was soaked and heavy with it. They were, so to speak, rounded up like a herd of cattle in a convenient field, absolutely without shelter and surrounded by a line of guards. Above all, they were beaten men, defeated on their own ground, prisoners in their own camps, melancholy and discouraged, and it was difficult to repress a feeling of pity for the poor unfortunates. They seemed to be Virginians, Georgians and North Carolinians principally. Most of them were clothed in a plain, serviceable, soldier-like uniform, and armed in military style. These were principally Georgians. A number of the Virginians sported militia uniforms of the style and fashion of the period of the Mexican War. There were also independent companies armed with whatever kind of firearm the individual owned when he entered the service, single or double-barrel shot gun, rifle or musket. Numbers of them were supplied with a weapon which appeared to be a combination of knife and sword. These were plainly of home manufacture, having been forged on an anvil; some were fitted with wooden hilts, the blade being from fifteen to twenty-four inches long, and somewhat similar in shape to a sword bayonet. A cord several feet long was attached to the

hilt, which was for the purpose of enabling the wearer to recover the weapon after it had been hurled at the enemy. When the manner of using this sword was explained to him by a prisoner, one of Company A's men expressed his opinion of the efficiency of the weapon by remarking: "While you was foolin' round me with that thing I would be pickin' your teeth with this bayonet."

Several of these companies were, or rather had been, happy owners of really handsome silk flags, the name of the companies being skillfully embroidered upon them. One bore the appellation "Tar River Rangers," another, of which even some of the "tar heels" and "turpentine scrapers" seemed ashamed, was emblazoned "Yankee Fool Killers."

## CHAPTER VII.

EXPEDITIONS TO NAG'S HEAD AND WINTON, N. C.  
— NINTH REGIMENT GARRISONS ROANOKE  
ISLAND — RESIGNATION OF LIEUTENANT-  
COLONEL BETTS—EXPEDITION UNDER MA-  
JOR JARDINE—EXPEDITION TO SOUTH MILLS  
— TERRIFIC MARCH — BATTLE OF SOUTH  
MILLS OR CAMDEN — HEAVY LOSS OF THE  
NINTH — DEATH OF ADJUTANT GADSDEN —  
RETURN TO ROANOKE — RETROSPECTION —  
GENERAL RENO'S REPORT OF BATTLE —  
COLONEL HAWKINS' REPORT.

THE battle of Roanoke Island was fought on the 8th of February, 1862. The following day was a busy one for the regiment, being spent in gathering the scattered prisoners and securing them, as well as in furnishing details to guard and escort them, and to take charge of captured camps and stores in and about the forts and batteries. The regiment did not act as a whole, but in detachments, at the various points where their services were required. That night the command reassembled and bivouacked in the woods.

When morning came they were marched to the shore of Croaton Sound and again boarded the transports in which they had come from Hatteras. They were glad, indeed, to return to their old quarters and "seek the seclusion that the cabin grants." Hardly had the various companies arrived on their respective vessels, however, than an order was received for a detail of two companies for a reconnoissance to Nag's Head. This was a summer watering place much patronized by well-to-do Virginians before the war, situated on the narrow neck of mainland between Roanoke Sound and the ocean. It was nearly opposite Roanoke Island and distant therefrom five or six miles. But the fleet lay on the westerly side of the island, which it was necessary to circumnavigate in order to reach the desired point, and this added very much to the distance to be sailed to reach Nag's Head. Companies B and H were designated for the detail. They were ordered to "fall in" for this duty just as they had begun to cook their rations for the first "square meal" they had had since they left the transports, three days before. Hungry stomachs and wistful eyes turned reluctantly from the savory odors of sputtering pork and steaming coffee, as each man followed his duty, and as their more fortunate comrades smacked their lips

over their meal, the boys of B and H, under the immediate command of Colonel Hawkins, hurried aboard the steamer "Picket." The officers of the "Picket," however, generously provided the boys with coffee and crackers, which revived their flagging spirits, and as a sense of comfort gradually stole over them the nervous tension relaxed and they broke forth in song and jest and gleeful antics, much to the edification and amusement of the sailors. Notwithstanding the fact that the vessel was very much overcrowded, and that rain and snow fell alternately throughout the night, a very comfortable time was passed.

After they had accomplished the object of the reconnoissance the troops returned on the steamer to the transports.

The following is Colonel Hawkins' report of the reconnoissance:

STEAMER "VIRGINIA," Feb. 11, 1862.

GEN. J. G. PARKE:

GENERAL:—In accordance with orders received from you on the 10th inst., I proceeded with two companies of the Ninth New York Volunteers on board the steamer "Picket" to Nag's Head, and this morning landed at the wharf opposite to where the hotel formerly stood. I learned that General Wise left there about an hour and a half before sundown last Saturday, taking with him about three hundred and fifty men belonging to the "Wise Legion."

Wise, in order to carry out the plans of the vandals and ruffians (the tribe to which he belongs), burned the hotel and several of the residences, destroying a large amount of property, but little use to any one.

Very respectfully yours,

RUSH C. HAWKINS,  
Colonel Ninth New York Volunteers.

Meanwhile the prisoners captured on Roanoke Island had been sent North, and a survey of new fields for conquest made. A rumor reached the commander of the forces that certain loyal North Carolinians at Winton, on the Chowan River, were seeking a junction with the Union forces. This rumor caused the General to send the larger portion of the fleet of gunboats, together with the 9th New York, to Winton to succor them. The fleet for this expedition mounted thirty-three guns and was commanded by Commodore Rowan.

At noon on the 18th the little fleet started, but when about half the distance had been covered anchored for the night. On the following day when but a short distance from Winton, and while proceeding up the river in single file Commodore Rowan on the "Delaware" being ahead, closely followed by the "Perry," commanded by Lieutenant-Commander Flusser, with Company A, of the Ninth, on board, the other companies being distributed among the fleet, it was suddenly fired upon with both artillery and musketry from the shore. The call "to quarters" was beaten, every man slipped into his place, and in less than sixty seconds such a shower of 9-inch Dahlgren and 100-pound Parrot shells began to fall around and among the enemy on shore, that their fire

ceased at once and they scattered and temporarily disappeared. They nevertheless managed to keep up an ineffective musketry fire from sheltered places. As it was late in the day and falling dusk it was not thought judicious to attempt a landing then, so the fleet dropped down the river to a point where it was wide enough to afford a place for easy defense. Flusser with the "Perry" covered this movement. When the Confederates saw that the fleet was retiring they evidently supposed it had been beaten off, as they appeared in considerable force on both banks of the river, their mounted men riding along abreast of the "Perry," keeping up an intermittent musketry fire. Occasionally there came a shot from a field gun, but there was no damage done, and they found the return fire from 9-inch cannon quite interesting.

While the vessels were at anchor the men learned for the first time that there had been another object in view for the expedition in addition to the rescue of the alleged loyalists. This was the destruction of the bridges over the Nottoway and Blackwater Rivers, of the Roanoke and Seaboard R.R. For this purpose small packages of oakum and kindling wood were distributed among the men.

On the following morning the fleet again pro-

ceeded up the river to Winton, carefully shelling the adjacent woods and the town. The regiment was landed, and while part of it occupied the town, strong detachments were thrown forward on all the roads leading into the country, in search of the enemy. Plenty of evidence was visible that the place had been recently occupied by a strong force, and that it was a depot of supplies for the Confederate army. On account of the quantities of military stores found, which it was then impossible to take away, and for other reasons, which are set forth in Colonel Hawkins' report, it was decided to burn the town. This was done, the troops remaining until the fire was well under way and the total destruction of the place was assured, when they retired to the gunboats.

This affair, which gave warning to the enemy and prevented anything in the nature of a surprise taking place, made the pursuance of the bridge-burning project impracticable, and it was abandoned. The story concerning loyalists who were reported to be so anxious to join the Union forces proved to be a myth. None but enemies were found at Winton. The fleet returned to Roanoke Island and the troops joined the others in preparing for an advance on Newberne, which was decided to be the next point of attack.



Colonel Hawkins' official report of this affair is as follows :

STEAMER "VIRGINIA," ROANOKE ISLAND, N. C., Feb. 21, 1862.

BRIG.-GENERAL J. G. PARKE:

GENERAL:—In accordance with your orders of the 16th inst., I called upon Commodore Rowan, and made arrangements to embark my regiment on board some of the gunboats of his division for the purpose of proceeding up the Blackwater and Nottoway rivers, and destroying the bridges over them of the Roanoke and Seaboard Railroad.

At 12 o'clock M. of the 18th inst., the regiment was embarked and the expedition got under way, and that night anchored off the mouth of the Roanoke river, where it remained until 10 A. M., of the following day, and then commenced its advance up the Chowan river. Nothing of importance occurred till about 3.30 P. M., the flag steamer "Delaware" being about one mile ahead of any of the other boats. I was on the cross-trees of the mainmast, where I had been on the lookout for about two hours, and the steamer was within three hundred and fifty yards of the wharf at Winton, when I discovered that the high bank we were rapidly approaching was covered with Confederate soldiers. I immediately gave the alarm, but not in time to change the course of the boat until she had got within one hundred yards of the shore, when we received the fire of seven hundred infantry or more, which continued until we had passed up the river out of range, when we turned about and began shelling the town, the enemy returning the fire with four pieces of field artillery from the shore. In the meantime the gunboat "Perry" having come within range, opened upon the rebels from below. Soon after the enemy was dislodged and retired, when the "Delaware" returned down the river, receiving four shots when she passed the wharf. The whole fleet came to anchor about seven miles below Winton. A consultation was held and it was then agreed to advance again next morning and burn the town if found occupied by the enemy.

About 11.30 A. M., of the 20th inst., our gunboats arrived at and took their positions, some above, some opposite and others below the town, when the guns commenced firing, giving the place an effective shelling, and in about twenty minutes my regiment landed, accompanied by three guns under the command of Lieutenant Flusser, of the Commodore Perry. The guns were placed in position so as to command the approaches to the town, and the regiment was drawn up in line awaiting the attack of the enemy. In the meantime parties of observation and scouts were sent out in all directions. It was soon ascertained that the rebels had retreated as soon as our forces came in sight that morning, leaving everything behind excepting arms and

accoutrements. Six companies of my regiment took possession of the main approach to the town, and I commenced making a personal inspection of all the buildings. I found that nearly the whole had been taken possession of and occupied by the Confederate troops as quarters and store-houses. I then ordered that every building containing stores for the enemy or used by them as quarters, should be fired, and placed guards in the others to see that they were not disturbed or destroyed.

The property consumed belonging to the Confederate forces, consisted of bacon, cornmeal, sugar, powder, mess-pans, camp kettles, haversacks, canteens, etc., the whole worth not less than \$10,000.

This, I believe, is the first instance during the war where on our side fire had accompanied the sword. It is to be regretted that such severe measures have to be resorted to; they can only be justified on the grounds

*First.* Retaliation for trying to decoy us into a trap at the time of firing into the "Delaware." Evidence of this is that a negress, the property of one of the Confederate officers, was sent down to the wharf by her master to beckon us into the landing, when we were all to be slaughtered, or in the words of the negress: "Dey said that dey want gwine to let anybody lib at all, but was gwine to kill ebery one ob 'em." We were to have received no quarter.

*Second.* The buildings fired had been used by the rebel forces as store-houses and quarters.

From information obtained at Winton, we came to the conclusion that it would be impossible to accomplish the original object and aim of the expedition, so it had to be abandoned.

The forces at Winton, as near as I could ascertain, consisted of six companies of the First Battalion, North Carolina Volunteers, under command of Lieut. Col. William T. Williams, one battery of light artillery, one company of the Southampton Cavalry, and one or two companies of North Carolina Militia; the whole under the charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Williams.

I am happy to inform you that none of our forces were injured. The enemy sustained some considerable loss from the fire of our gunboats on the 19th, but I am not able to state how many were either killed or wounded.

The troops under my command and the officers and sailors of the gunboats behaved exceedingly well, and performed all of the various duties with promptness and alacrity.

I feel greatly indebted to Commodore S. C. Rowan and the lieutenants in command of the gunboats, for their attention to the wants and comforts of my regiment, and also for their hearty co-operation in trying to carry out the object of the expedition.

I am most faithfully, your obedient servant,

RUSH C. HAWKINS,  
Colonel Ninth New York Volunteers.

Within a few days after the return of the regiment from this expedition the preparations for the move on Newberne were completed and the expedition was ready to proceed. On the morning before it sailed from Roanoke Island, General Burnside sent for Colonel Hawkins, and upon his reporting at headquarters, said to him: "We leave tomorrow for an attack on Newberne, and this being an important point I desire to leave it in safe hands, and shall place you in command with a sufficient force to defend it in case of an attack. I give you this important command as a mark of my appreciation of the fine conduct of your regiment." A new brigade of three regiments designated in Orders as the "Fourth" was formed and Colonel Hawkins placed at its head and in command at Roanoke Island. His district comprised all the waters and territory northwest, north and northeast of the southern end of Croaton Sound.

On the 5th of March the brigade disembarked from the transports and the regiments composing it were distributed in various camps on the island, the Ninth being assigned to one formerly occupied by the rebels, and where there were commodious and well arranged barracks which they had erected for their own winter quarters. These barracks were arranged in a column of

companies and separated from each other by wide company streets, the two companies occupying the quarters facing the same street using it in common. The buildings were double, each facing on two company streets, with a partition running lengthwise through each dividing it into rooms for two companies, which were again divided into squad-rooms. These were provided with bunks and fireplaces. They were the best arranged and most comfortable quarters the regiment has thus far occupied. The transfer from a camp of mud and rain to these weather-proof and convenient quarters caused each man to feel a sense of exhilaration such as come to those who acquire wealth suddenly. The boys certainly felt that they were living in luxury. In addition to the barracks there were other buildings in the camp sufficient to accommodate the various regimental departments, including officers' quarters and a hospital. The camp was christened Camp Reno. Company D was assigned to garrison duty at the largest of the captured forts which had formed the Confederate stronghold. It was named Fort Reno. It had a dock and other landing facilities and soon became the principal "port of entry" of the island. It was also the principal market for such produce as the natives had to sell. The demand for poultry, eggs, pies, cookies and

such articles was quite brisk and the natives were glad to supply them. It also became the place of refuge for runaway slaves, and many a pitiful tale of cruelty and terror was here related. This company having been kept numerically full by the recruits received, and having remained remarkably free from sickness, it frequently marched to dress parade an hundred strong. It called itself the "Left wing of the regiment." The non-coms. of the company claimed the credit for this condition and at times were inclined to be vain glorious in consequence. This, of course, could not be tolerated by the other non-coms. of the regiment, and they, therefore, determined to "cut the combs" of the Company D fellows, which they proceeded to do, with more or less success and satisfaction.

Soon after the capture of Roanoke Island Lieutenant-Colonel Betts tendered his resignation and returned to New York, February 14, 1862. He was a thorough soldier and his loss was deeply regretted by the regiment. He was an excellent drill-officer, perfect master of regimental and brigade tactics, and it was in a large measure due to his persistent efforts that the Zouaves attained their noted proficiency in drill.

The Newberne expedition sailed on March

7th, when Colonel Hawkins assumed command of the Fourth Brigade and Post, the command of the regiment devolving on Captain Jardine, who a few days later was promoted to be Major and was presented with a fine set of equipments by his late Company G.

Major Kimball was on leave of absence but returned on the 24th wearing a lieutenant-colonel's uniform, he having received his commission to that grade while at home. He was welcomed back with three-times-three rousing cheers, for the boys recognized him as an old comrade, tried and true.

The regiment now settled down to the old routine of drill and parade, guard mount, and fatigue duty, which comprises the military life while in garrison.

To the great delight of the old sergeant of regulars at Newport News who trained him, Corporal Searing, of Company D, had acquired great skill in artillery drill, and he now bent his energies to transmit that skill to the others of his company now stationed at Fort Reno. As a result they soon became quite expert under his instructions.

The monotony of camp and garrison life on the island was frequently broken by incursions into the enemy's country, which were either organized by Colonel Hawkins or ordered by superior authority.

On April 7th Companies H and I, under command of Major Jardine, with six companies of the 6th New Hampshire Volunteers, the whole under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Griffin of the 6th New Hampshire, boarded the gunboats and steamed across Albermarle Sound up the Pasquotank river to Elizabeth City, where, landing, they surprised two companies of North Carolina militia, who stampeded without offering any resistance, casting away their weapons and flying in great disorder to the woods. They were rapidly pursued and seventy-three men belonging to the First Brigade, North Carolina Militia, were captured, brought to Camp Reno and guarded by the Ninth.

One of the Zouaves thus refers to them in his diary :

"They were, indeed, a motley set; some had straw hats, others of felt and of nearly every color. Many had gray coats, some black, others brown, and one none at all. The other articles of dress conformed to the same variety. A little tow-head corporal (the highest rank among them), about fourteen years old, was the only one who could write his name.

"I was Sergeant of the Guard over them, and allowed them to come out to the line that they might see a dress parade worth looking at. They were very much pleased, and said they 'really believed it was of no use fighting against men like those.' "

They all took the oath of allegiance, and were permitted to return to their homes.

It was evident that the enemy were expecting some sort of demonstration toward the rear of Norfolk, by the Union troops as they had

erected batteries along the line of the canal leading to that place, and had stationed a force at South Mills, some twelve miles distant from Camden.

It was soon shown that the enemy was right in preparing for an attack in that direction, for about the 16th of April Colonel Hawkins was ordered to proceed with his brigade to Elizabeth City and from there advance against the rebels at South Mills, thereby making a demonstration against Norfolk.

Orders were issued for each regiment to be in readiness to move with fifty rounds of cartridges, three days' rations, axes and shovels, and on April 18th the brigade, consisting of the 9th and 89th New York, and 6th New Hampshire regiments, started on transports for Elizabeth City.

The following is an extract from General Order No. 12 :

“The duty which this force is called upon to endure being dangerous and difficult, and it having a very long and arduous march to perform, none but men capable of undergoing the greatest fatigue will be allowed to accompany it. Commanding officers are especially enjoined to see that this part of the order is strictly enforced.”

At the time these orders were received and



the expedition started, Colonel Hawkins had no knowledge that any troops in addition to his own were to take part in it, and he was therefore surprised to meet General Reno with two regiments — 21st Massachusetts and 51st Pennsylvania — near the mouth of the river. Reno at once assumed command, and ordered Colonel Hawkins to land his brigade at a place called Shantilly, and immediately proceed with all dispatch to a bridge which crossed the Pasquotank river, some two miles from South Mills, and to surprise the enemy who was presumed to be stationed there. Reno was to follow as soon as the troops on the other steamers, which were delayed by grounding, could be landed.

Considerable delay was caused by the troops being compelled to use small boats in making a landing. From these the men were obliged to jump when near the shore, and wade through mud and water to reach the bank. It was after 3 o'clock A.M. before the column finally moved.

Here commenced a march which for length and duration was of the most extraordinary nature, and to this day no one seems able to explain why such a roundabout route was chosen. Two plain, direct and level roads led from Elizabeth City to South Mills, the one running east of the Pasquotank river being

twelve miles, and the one west of the river fifteen miles in length, over a level and inhabited country. It remains one of the inexplicable mysteries why one or the other of these was not taken and followed until South Mills was reached. The advance guard soon after starting encountered the rebel pickets and fired on them, but they being mounted rapidly disappeared to give notice of the approaching column. At daybreak, which ushered in an intensely hot day, a short stop was made for rest and to allow the men to eat their rations. Resuming the march the column moved forward with rapidity, the desire being to reach the objective point and defeat the enemy before he should be reinforced from Norfolk.

As they advanced, the sun rose over the trees like a great red ball of flame, or like an angry spirit mercilessly threatening a scorching day. The marching troops pulverized the dry ground into fine dust so that it covered every man as a garment. As the sun's rays came down more direct the atmosphere became intensely hot and perspiration oozed from every pore. The clouds of dust entered eyes, mouths and nostrils, filling the air passages, obscuring the vision, and parching the throats of the men until they found it difficult to breathe and all went struggling and gasping along, weighted down

with their muskets, ammunition and haversacks, wondering at what men could endure and live. A halt was made about nine o'clock, but too brief to permit the making of fires for cooking purposes and the men were obliged to eat hurriedly of hard-tack and salt-horse, the latter adding to the craving for water. Again resuming the line of march under constantly increasing difficulties of travel, it gradually dawned upon the men that the main road had been abandoned, as the way now led along byways, through fields and plantations. Meanwhile the oppressive heat grew more oppressive, and the tired soldiers grew weaker. Water was very scarce and a consuming thirst added to the pangs already endured. Many sank to the ground overcome by heat or exhaustion, and were left to recover as best they could. The stern command of "Close up! close up, men!" ever ringing in the ears of the jaded soldiers compelled them to still advance.

Word was passed along the line that this day was the 19th of April, the anniversary of the organization of the regiment and also of the battle of Lexington, and this for a time served to spur the drooping spirits of the wearied troops, by recalling to their memory the patriotic spirit of '76, and for a while they forgot their

sufferings in the hope that this day might again prove a memorable one in the annals of the nation. About noon when every one was nearly exhausted by the rapid march and the intense heat, a column of troops was seen approaching along a road running at right angles to the one over which the brigade was marching. It proved to be the 21st Massachusetts and 51st Pennsylvania accompanied by General Reno. These troops did not start from the place of landing until after 7 A.M., but, having followed the direct road they had marched less than half the distance covered by the Fourth brigade. They were greatly surprised that Hawkins' men had not yet found the enemy.

These men were in fairly good condition, while those in Hawkins' column were nearly all ready to drop from fatigue, and from the usual accompaniment of blistered and bloody feet, aggravating chafes and other causes incident to a long forced march by troops so long in camp and on transports, that they were, comparatively, "soft." A march like this once experienced, can never be forgotten by the soldier. After a short rest it was resumed with Reno's brigade and two guns of Company K's battery in advance.

At about one o'clock the enemy was found posted in a strong position on both sides of the

road. They opened fire as soon as the head of the Union column came within range.

The batteries, consisting of K's guns and those of the New York Marine Artillery, unlimbered in the road, and a spirited duel ensued, gun answering gun.

The 21st Massachusetts and 51st Pennsylvania were sent to the right by General Reno to turn the enemy's left, and when Hawkins' brigade arrived it was ordered forward, with instructions for two regiments to follow, to support the 21st and 51st, while the third, the 6th New Hampshire, supported the batteries. The artillery on both sides meanwhile kept up a steady and rapid fire. The Ninth moved forward and after proceeding a short distance turned from the main road and moved to the right through the edge of the woods where it halted, and awaited orders, keeping under cover of the woods out of sight of the enemy's artillery-men.

Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball who commanded the regiment rode out into the open ground in front, in plain view of the enemy, and after a short inspection of the ground and of the situation returned and reported:

"Nothing but solid shot, boys, we don't care for that." But the boys evidently did not agree with the Colonel just then as there

was some lively dodging when a shot or shell came unpleasantly close to their heads and they felt that there were far more pleasant places to be found than the present one.

At this point Colonel Hawkins personally assumed command of the Zouaves and led them forward in an assault on the enemy's position. We quote from an article of his on this battle, afterward published in the *Century Magazine*:

"The action had continued for about an hour (chiefly artillery), when I concluded to make an observation in an open cornfield, directly in front of the rebel center. I proceeded to a fence within a hundred yards of the edge of the clearing, heard no firing of infantry, concluded the rebels had been silently outflanked on their left by the 21st Massachusetts and 51st Pennsylvania, and thought my regiment might get across the cornfield and capture the battery which still continued the action. I returned and described what I proposed to do, and asked the men if they thought they were equal to the undertaking. Although nearly exhausted by their long march they signified their willingness to try. Arriving at the fence the regiment was formed in line of battle and commenced to move over the field. When within fifty yards of the edge of the clearing the right companies received the concentrated fire of the whole of the enemy's infantry and artillery, and in less than two minutes lost nine killed and fifty-eight wounded."

This movement of the "Ninth" was made independent of the other troops and was entirely unsupported. The situation just before it was made was as follows:

All the troops in the command except Battery K and Colonel Howard's Marine Artillery were sheltered from the view of the enemy by the woods. The position of the rebels was on the farther side of a level clearing. The land

being perfectly flat and presenting the appearance of having been reclaimed from the swamp. It was in the "Dismal Swamp" country. The several fields were separated by deep ditches, apparently for drainage purposes, with rail fences on top of the dykes. The enemy's infantry occupied one of the ditches at the edge of the woods on the farther side of the field, which made an excellent rifle-pit, affording good protection to their men. The farm buildings had been burned, leaving the perfectly level plantation without the slightest protection to, or any spot which could be used as a coign of vantage by, advancing troops, while the ditches were partly filled with burning rails, the smoke from which deceived as to distance. The charging Zouaves naturally expected to find the riflemen where the clouds of smoke were rising. The regiment advanced deliberately into this field, marching by the flank, moved "forward into line," and received the order to charge with the bayonet. The enemy did not open their musketry fire until the Zouaves had advanced some distance. When they did open fire a literal rain of grape, shrapnel and bullets swept the exhausted men before it. They fell like grain before the sickle. The entire loss of the regiment occurred here in an incredibly short time. Colonel

Hawkins and Major Jardine were wounded, while Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball had his horse shot from under him, and in his fall was temporarily disabled—he was the only mounted officer present.

At least two of the senior captains were *hors de combat*, the adjutant killed, and no one for the moment knew who was in command. Even under these desperate conditions the regiment did not give way. The men recoiled for an instant, but responding at once to the commands of the surviving officers, again attempted to advance. The deadly fire of the enemy was steadily maintained without cessation, the artillerists continued to fire low, grapeshot skimming along the surface of the ground like swallows, and plainly visible to the eye. There was no opportunity to inflict any damage on the enemy as they were completely masked by the smoke from the ditches and from their own guns. They exhibited good strategy in utilizing the ditches, for in those where the rails had been consumed the ground was still too hot to be used by the men of the Ninth for shelter, and their exposed position in the open ground was preferable to roasting, even in "the last ditch."

Human nature could not long withstand this fire of iron and lead. To advance was impos-



sible, while to turn their backs to the foe was not in the province of the Zouaves. Some one gave the order "right oblique," and the regiment moved to the shelter of the woods on the right.

A regiment which could not be fully identified but believed to be the 89th New York, double-quickened out of the wood to the right and rear of the "Ninth," and gaining a position where they could fire past the left-flank of the regiment, halted, came to a front and began firing by wing as steadily and apparently as methodically as though on drill, the volleys following each other with as much regularity as if at practice on the parade-ground. This created a diversion in favor of the "Ninth," which gained the shelter of the woods without much further loss, where it was instantly reformed by Kimball (who had recovered from his accident) when they again advanced and occupied the enemy's line with no more casualties.

Reno had promptly thrown forward his other regiments in order to support and make a diversion in favor of the "Ninth," all instantly advancing and opening fire. This was too much for the "Johnnies" who had "shot their bolt," and they retreated in disorder leaving everything in the nature of camp equipage

behind them, though managing to save their artillery. The Union troops were too exhausted to pursue the enemy and the Zouaves occupied their abandoned brush shelters.

Adjutant Charles A. Gadsden, who met his death in this battle had recently been commissioned in the regiment, and reported for duty about two weeks previous to this engagement, and in that short period had gained the good opinion of officers and men. He died gallantly at the head of the regiment in the honorable performance of his duties as a soldier.

He had been a member of the 7th New York State Militia, had thoroughly studied his duties as adjutant, and was doubtless gratified to be assigned to a regiment where his knowledge would prove of benefit and be duly appreciated. Lieutenant Gadsden reported to Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball for duty, and was present at dress-parade on the first evening of his arrival in camp. After seeing the parade he concluded that for the present, at least, it would be better to learn than to teach, so he asked for and received permission to postpone the assumption of his duties for one week. He was killed exactly one week after assuming his position as adjutant of the regiment.

After consultation among the superior officers on the night of the battle it was decided that a

retreat was the proper move. This decision was reached by reviewing the facts that some of the regiments had exhausted their ammunition; that the navy could not effect a junction with General Reno at the bridge; that the troops were far from their base of supplies while the enemy was in his own country and could be quickly reinforced; that the men were too much exhausted to risk a battle against a superior force such as the enemy might be able to assemble; that the wounded could better be moved at once than at a later time, and especially as General Reno had been ordered not to risk a disaster. Therefore, it was deemed prudent to retire, and between nine and ten o'clock at night, the men having been quietly awakened by the first sergeants, the troops began their journey back to the transports. Some of the wounded, who were unable to ride in army wagons, were left behind in charge of Surgeon Warren, of the 21st Massachusetts. Chaplain Conway, of the Ninth, also remained behind to assist the surgeon in his duties. His careful attention and almost womanly kindness and sympathy were greatly appreciated by the wounded soldiers.

Soon after the battle and when the enemy had retreated rain began falling. It gradually increased as the evening advanced until at

ten o'clock it was pouring in torrents. It continued all night and as the men plodded on, the roads, which in the morning they had found thickly covered with choking dust, were now deep in slippery mud. The soldiers slipped, stumbled and plunged along in the darkness, silent as to speech and melancholy as to spirits. When a halt was ordered for a few moments' rest no consideration was given to water or mud, but each man was glad to sink down where he stood in the road, utterly indifferent to the kind of resting place he found there. Soon after daylight dull eyes were brightened by the sight of Shantilly, near which the transports were left, and the tired troops hustled aboard, the Fourth Brigade having engaged the enemy and marched over forty miles in heat, dust, mud, darkness, and rain, all in about twenty-six hours.

No time was lost in getting into bunks and no case of insomnia is recorded, yet many a rain-soaked soldier, ere his eyes closed in slumber, thought of the fortunate sailor who always has his house, bunk, blankets, and grub with him, where moth and rust do not corrupt, and where mud and rain do not break in and permeate.

The transports did not reach Roanoke Island until five o'clock that afternoon. There was,

therefore, some time forrest and for the drying of clothing. The uniforms of the men were in a lamentable condition from the clay gathered on the long march, and could not be cleaned until it dried.

With rest came opportunity for retrospection—not always pleasant after battle, when one's intimates are among those lying stark on the battlefield or among those nursing their wounds in hospital or under the knife of the surgeon. In this instance many of the wounded had been left on the field, where, if they survived, they were sure to fall into the hands of the enemy, whose reputation for kind treatment was not good.

In Company F was a number of Germans who either tented together or in adjoining tents or quarters. They formed quite a little colony, and it pleased the other boys to allude to the locality where the Germans were as "Dutch Alley." One of the members of Company F was observed sitting on a gun-carriage, his elbows on his knees and his chin in his hands, ruminating, probably, on the incidents of the fight. After moodily sitting in this position for some moments he suddenly straightened up, having apparently finished his cogitations, heaved the usual sigh and remarked, almost cheerfully: "Well, Dutch Alley got cleaned

out, didn't it?" And Dutch Alley had been cleaned out, for nearly every one of the Germans had been either killed or wounded in this battle.

It was curious to note the peculiarity of many of the wounds received by the men in this battle, as also the eccentric courses of some of the missiles. One of the Zouaves retained and brought back with him his musket which had been struck twice during the engagement. One of the missiles struck and bent the bayonet at a right angle to the barrel, and immediately after the stock was struck and bent at the same angle but in the opposite direction. Its appearance was then best represented by the letter Z.

Private Hartenfelts, of Company F, had both his thumbs shot away at the second joint. A bullet entered the mouth of Private Kelly, Company F, which probably struck his teeth and was deflected thereby, and passed upward through the nasal bones lodging between his eyes. The bullet was extracted, the wound healed, and he returned to duty, serving with his company until the muster out of the regiment. Eventually, however, although several years after the close of the war, the wound caused his death.

A bullet struck one of the men full on his

waist-belt plate, but although it was a heavy blow and quite a shock no ill effects followed.

A briar-wood pipe carried in the trousers' pocket of Private Sloper, Company C, was struck by a ball which was probably pretty well spent of its force. Upon investigation, Sloper found that he was not injured, but he found the bullet lodged in the bowl of the pipe.

Many other instances are authentically, and it is believed truthfully, told of peculiar wounds and almost miraculous escapes.

On the return trip to Roanoke Island Surgeon Humphrey was very busy performing operations, dressing wounds, relieving the pain of contusions, nursing the sick, giving here a soothing potion, there a reassuring word of encouragement. He seemed to be everywhere at every moment, which if it was not so of his physical presence, it was actually so of his influence. His ministrations were, indeed, ceaseless, nor would he rest until all were made comfortable in their old quarters on terra firma.

The official record states that the total Union loss of the battle of South Mills was one hundred and twenty-seven, including thirteen killed. Of these the Zouaves lost one officer and seven enlisted men killed, seven officers and fifty-four enlisted men wounded, and six enlisted men missing; making a total of sev-

enty-five. This was nearly sixty per cent. of the entire loss, and it was sustained in the short period of about two minutes.

For a time after their return to Roanoke the men were subdued and quiet. There was less mischief and more philosophy. But young and bouyant spirits could not mourn long, so a few days saw the past buried and the Ninth was itself again with the old exuberant spirit.

The following official reports from several sources may prove of interest to the many friends of the Zouaves.

Extracts from General Reno's report, April 22, 1862:

"I proceeded from Newberne with the 21st Massachusetts and 51st Pennsylvania to Roanoke, and was there joined by the 9th and 89th New York and 6th New Hampshire.

"We proceeded directly to Elizabeth City and began disembarking on the 19th inst., at midnight, at a point about three miles below on the east side of the river. By 3 A. M., Colonel Hawkins' brigade was landed and ready to move. I ordered Hawkins to proceed at once to South Mills for the purpose of making a demonstration on Norfolk. I remained to bring up the 21st Massachusetts and 51st Pennsylvania, they having been delayed by their vessels getting aground at the mouth of the river. They came up at daylight and were landed by 7 A. M. I proceeded directly toward South Mills, and about twelve miles out met Hawkins' brigade, who, it seems, lost his way either by the treachery or incompetency of his guide, he having marched some ten miles out of his way.

"As his men were very much jaded by their long march, I ordered them to follow the second brigade. Proceeding about four miles farther, to within one and one-half miles of South Mills, the rebels opened upon us with artillery before my advance guard discovered them. I immediately reconnoitered their position and found that they were posted in an advantageous position, in a line perpendicular to the road, their infantry in ditches, and their artillery commanding all the direct approaches, their rear protected by a dense forest.



"I ordered the 51st Pennsylvania to file to the right and pass over to the edge of the woods, to turn their left, the 21st Massachusetts to pursue the same course, and, when Hawkins came up with his brigade, I sent him with the 9th and 89th New York to their support. The 6th New Hampshire were formed in line to the left of the road to support our four pieces of artillery.

"Owing to the excessive fatigue of the men they could not reach their position for some time. Meantime the enemy kept up a brisk artillery fire which was gallantly responded to by Colonel Howard, of the Coast Guard, who during the entire engagement displayed most conspicuous gallantry, and rendered very efficient service both during the action and upon the return, he bringing up the rear.

"Soon as the 51st Pennsylvania and the 21st Massachusetts had succeeded in turning their left they opened a brisk musketry fire, and about the same time the 9th New York, also coming into range and being too eager to engage, unfortunately charged upon the enemy's artillery. It was a most gallant charge, but they were exposed to a most deadly fire of canister, grape and musketry, and were forced to retire, but rallied immediately on the 89th New York. I then ordered both regiments to form a junction with the 21st Massachusetts. Meantime the 51st Pennsylvania and 21st Massachusetts kept up an incessant fire upon the rebels, who now had withdrawn their artillery and had commenced to retire in good order. The 6th New Hampshire had steadily advanced in line to the left of the road, and when within about two hundred yards poured in a most deadly volley which completely demoralized the enemy and finished the battle. Our men were so completely fagged out by the intense heat and their long march that we could not pursue them. The men rested under arms in line of battle until about 10 o'clock P.M., when I ordered a return to our boats, having accomplished the principal object of the expedition—conveying the idea that the entire Burnside expedition was marching upon Norfolk. \* \* \* \* The return march was made in perfect order, and few, if any stragglers were left behind.

"Considering that during the advance the weather was intensely hot, and that a portion of the command had to march forty-five miles, the other thirty-five miles, and fight a battle in the meantime, and that all was accomplished in less than twenty-four hours, I think that the commanding general has every reason to be satisfied with his command. \* \* \* \* The enemy had from six to ten pieces of artillery, and from 1,800 to 2,000 men."

Colonel Hawkins' report was made to Burnside direct, dated April 21, 1862, and was as follows:

## ROANOKE ISLAND, N. C.

"SIR:—In accordance with orders from department headquarters, I, on the 18th, at about 11 A.M., embarked on board of the transports about 2,000 men of my brigade from the following regiments: 9th New York, 727; 89th New York, 625; and 6th New Hampshire, 600. In this force was included two boat guns belonging to Company K, 9th New York. About 11 o'clock the same evening my brigade began landing at a place opposite Kobb's Point, about four miles below Elizabeth City, on the Pasquotank River.

"By 2.30 on the morning of the 19th, the landing of my brigade had been completed, including two field pieces from the steamer 'Virginia;' this through the water where it was more than knee deep, which the men were compelled to wade.

"At 3 A.M. the whole brigade was on the march, and continued for the next twelve hours on its weary way through a long circuitous route of thirty-two miles, beneath the terrible heat of the sun, amid the constantly rising dust.

"At about 3 P.M. I succeeded in arriving in sight of the enemy's position with about one-half of the men who had commenced the march, when we were immediately ordered into action, the 6th New Hampshire going to the left of the enemy's position, the 9th and 89th New York going to the right through the woods to outflank the enemy on each side. Up to this time the part of a battery from the 9th New York worked by Lieutenant Herbert, assisted by five men (the rest having been worn out by fatigue), received and sustained the whole fire of the enemy's battery.

"After marching about two miles through a swamp, covered with thick undergrowth, I arrived within about three-eighths of a mile of the enemy's position, where they were concealed in the woods. After a short tour of observation, I came to the conclusion that it would be impossible to outflank them on the right, the undergrowth and swamp being almost impenetrable.

"A charge through an open field directly in front of the enemy's position was thought to be the only way in which they could be dislodged.

"I then returned to where I had left the 9th New York and found them lying on the ground completely exhausted. I stated to the regiment what I proposed to do, and asked the men if they felt equal to the task. Their answer was: 'We will try, Colonel, and follow wherever you may lead us.'

"Immediately the command 'Forward' was given, the 9th New York taking the lead, followed by the 89th New York. We had proceeded to within about 200 yards of the enemy's concealed position when the 9th New York received the full and direct fire from the

enemy's infantry and batteries. This completely staggered the men, who before were completely exhausted, and the order was given for the regiment to turn to the right where it would be partly sheltered from the fire.

"This order was executed but slowly. Soon after the 89th began to move forward supported by the 9th New York, when the enemy retreated.

"When this commenced the 6th New Hampshire poured a volley into the right wing of the 3rd Georgia Volunteers, which completely cut them to pieces. The troops then bivouacked upon the field until 10 P.M., when they were ordered to fall in and return to their transports. It is seldom, if ever, that men have been called upon to perform so much in so short a time as those who composed the fourth brigade under my command. Marching fifty miles and fighting a battle all in twenty-four hours, you will admit is no small undertaking, and this was done without murmur or complaint. In the charge of the 9th New York that regiment lost, nine killed and fifty-six wounded. Among the former was Lieut. Charles A. Gadsden, adjutant, who fell at the head of his regiment. He was a kind, considerate man, and most excellent soldier, and dies greatly lamented by all of his companions. Colonel Howard, of the steamer 'Virginia,' who was in command of the artillery, has not yet made his report, consequently I am unable to give any particulars concerning his part in the engagement, but believe that he behaved with great coolness and bravery as well as all the officers and men under him. Soon after the troops had returned to Roanoke Island, the Rev. T. W. Conway, chaplain of the 9th New York, returned, bringing with him about fifty stragglers and some of the wounded left behind on the field of battle. He remained to bury the dead and to assist the wounded. On the morning of the 20th he started out to find the rebel pickets, and after going some distance he was informed that the rebel pickets had left the night before—reinforcements which they had received only a few moments before included—for Suffolk, thinking that our forces were by a flank movement getting in their rear to cut them off; returned to the hospital by way of the battle-field, where he counted thirty of the enemy's dead.

"After the dead were buried and the wounded, who could not be brought away, cared for, all the stragglers who could be found armed themselves and started for the place of debarkation and arrived here in safety the next morning.

"Although the results of this expedition may seem disastrous on account of the loss of life, still the reconnaissance cannot fail to be of great value to you when connected with future operations. In justice to other regiments I cannot say what I should like to about the officers and men in my own, consequently would only say that all alike did their duty faithfully and well.

"I regret to add that owing to our limited transportation we were compelled to leave behind fourteen of our wounded in care of Dr. Warren of the 21st Massachusetts, two or three of whom were brought away by the chaplain of the Ninth.

"I have to-day sent a flag of truce by Major Jardine, who was accompanied by the surgeon, chaplain, and ten privates of the 9th New York, for the purpose of bringing back the wounded and the bodies of Lieutenant Gadsden and our dead who were buried on the field.

"Herewith you will find a complete list of the killed, wounded and missing of the fourth brigade in the action of the 19th.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"RUSH C. HAWKINS,

"Colonel, Commanding Fourth Brigade and Post.

"MAJOR-GENERAL AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE,

"Commanding Dept. of North Carolina, Newberne, N. C."

As the above correspondence is from the Official Records, we append the following letter which is of interest and taken from the same source:

"HEADQUARTERS, ROANOKE ISLAND, N. C., April 23, 1862.

"SIR:—Doubtless the unfortunate occurrence of the 19th has been brought fully to your notice. No one can regret the result more than myself.

"First, because of the loss of life; second, the object of the expedition not being accomplished after all the obstacles in the way had been removed.

"It seems that both sides were badly frightened. The enemy ran like quarter-horses toward Norfolk, and we as fast as our weary legs would carry us toward Roanoke, leaving quite a number of our wounded and destroying the bridges behind us. In this connection I will only add our retirement was discretion, our valor having been wholly spent on the field of battle. There is one satisfaction that we whipped them like the devil in their own well chosen position.

"They acknowledged to have had three companies of the Georgia Third completely cut to pieces, and from this acknowledgment it is but fair to infer their loss was much greater. Their force, as near as I can ascertain, was the Georgia Third, 1,165 strong; a battery of Henningsen's artillery of four pieces, and some North Carolina Militia, number not known, and a full squadron of Suffolk and Southampton cavalry. This statement of the enemy's forces I believe to be very nearly correct. I most cordially join in the recommendations of the

surgeons, that the wounded be removed North as soon as possible, and that a steamer, made comfortable by the necessary beds, etc., be sent here for that purpose at the earliest moment. They can be of no service here and will recover much more rapidly at the North, besides relieving our surgeons, who are already worn out by their arduous labors.

“Owing to the little wound received in my left arm in the affair of the 19th I am compelled, by the advice of surgeons, to lay up in ordinary for repairs, much against my desire or inclination. They say it will be eight weeks before I am fit for service. Under such circumstances, being forbidden to perform any labor, I would ask for leave of absence until such time as I am able to return to duty, which shall be at the earliest possible moment. But, still, if you cannot spare me, I will remain and render such service as I am able to perform lying on my back. I know and can dictate what ought to be done.

“I should be very happy to see you here, as I have much to say to you that I cannot write. Most faithfully your friend and servant,

“RUSH C. HAWKINS,

‘ Commanding Post.’”

## CHAPTER VIII.

NINTH NEW YORK GARRISONS ROANOKE ISLAND—RE-CREATION THE ORDER OF THE DAY—PRACTICAL USES OF CAPTURED POWDER—COMPANY K'S NEW BATTERY TACTICS—INNOCENTLY GETTING SQUARE WITH THE COMPANY COOK—TESTIMONIAL TO COL. HAWKINS—PARADE AND DRILL OF NINTH UNDER COMMAND OF NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS—NEW RECRUITS TROUBLED WITH "LAPSY PALLS" CURED BY SERGEANT HORNER—LIEUTENANT FLUSSER, U. S. N., CAPTURES PLYMOUTH AND COMPANY "F" DETAILED TO GARRISON TOWN—RUNAWAY SLAVES RETURNED TO OWNER—WESSEL'S BRIGADE RELIEVES COMPANY "F,"—ENEMY ATTACK AND DEFEAT WESSEL, RE-CAPTURE PLYMOUTH AND KILL FLUSSER—BURNSIDE LEAVES FOR FORT MONROE—NINTH LEAVES ROANOKE FOR NORFOLK—CAMP FOR CONTRABANDS—LOSSES OF BURNSIDE EXPEDITION.

AFTER the battle of South Mills and the return of the regiment to Roanoke Island the Zouaves were allowed a few days for rest and recuperation, when they settled down for what proved to be a protracted stay on this isolated spot. The regular routine of drill was not calculated to make them thoroughly con-

tented with the situation, and idleness fostered the spirit of homesickness. The longing for home was increased when the wounded returned from furlough and related the manner in which they were received; how everyone considered them genuine heroes and treated them as such, and no little heart-burning arose when the tales were told, with somewhat of a swagger, of the tender solicitude displayed by their acquaintances of the opposite sex, who never tired of hearing them repeat their experiences in Dixie.

It was decided that some radical departure must be made to lift the lads out of the "slough of despond" and make them forget their loneliness. A reading-room and post office was established, also a debating club where regular meetings were held and numerous subjects discussed and argued. Several baseball clubs were organized, while some of the companies erected various kinds of gymnastic apparatus, and much skill was shown in the acrobatic feats which followed, while the sparring and wrestling matches would have delighted the eyes of a professional.

A further proof of the talent to be found in the regiment, and which while not exactly "hid under a bushel," was so modest as not to attract general attention, was the success which

attended the formation of "The Zouave Minstrel and Dramatic Club."

There was some doubts expressed at first regarding the success of the projected undertaking, but no sooner had the determination to have a show in camp taken definite shape than it was discovered that there were plenty of men in the regiment well qualified to fill every position in a theatrical company from that of manager to stage doorkeeper.

The company was well chosen and well managed. Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball, who was in command of the regiment at the time and was heartily in favor of the project, assisted the organizers in every way possible. A building was assigned to them which, after a few entertainments had been given, was found to be entirely too small, and it was arranged to provide them with a larger one, which after being fitted up properly would accommodate five hundred persons. This was soon transformed into a very respectable theatre.

Robert L. Cutler, of Company D, was general manager as well as stage manager, and also "went on" in some of the plays. He was a man of versatile talents, and although little more than a boy in years, had been connected professionally with a Broadway theatrical company before the war. He wrote a burlesque on



Richard III, in which he appeared in one of the leading parts, and which proved to be a great success.

The scene painter was G. W. Roberts, of Company A, who belonged to a family of artists. He is still, at this writing, a prominent scene painter, as was also his father before him. Wilbur F. Curtis, of Company B, was the orchestra leader, and was as thoroughly devoted to his work and fully as successful in his limited sphere as though he were nightly receiving the applause of Metropolitan audiences.

Among the other members of the company were Andrew Thompson, of Company A, vocalist as well as actor, who was heard in many songs, among them "Gently Breathe the Tender Sigh," "Simon the Cellarer," etc.; William Burns, of Company "K"; William Renner, of Company F, whose proper name seemed to have been forgotten by his comrades, and who was known throughout the regiment, and even appeared on the play-bill by his sobriquet of "Corporal Casey"; Thomas Fisher, of Company "B," the great and successful delineator of female character parts, and who was known among the men of the regiment as "Kate Fisher"; Walter Nolan, of Company E, who performed Irish characters and sang Irish songs; Hospital Steward William Grobecker,

Company A; Sergeant Al. Salisbury, of Company A, a member of the chorus, but who often sang "The Boy with the Auburn Hair;" James Fitzgerald, of Company A, delighted the boys with the ballad "The Southern Groves;" Peter L. Drew, of Company A, who was not only an actor of some merit, but was a jig dancer who had few equals; Walter L. Thompson, of Company I, who not only performed in the "legitimate drama," but was the "end man" in the minstrel show; Robert M. Johnston, Company H, character singer and balladist, as well as actor, who sang the character songs of "Lord Lovell," "Billy Barlow," "Reuben Wright," "Bacon and Greens," and the "Cork Leg," to the great admiration of appreciative audiences; J. C. Julius Langbein, of Company B, better known throughout the regiment as "Jennie the drummer," appeared as "Mary" in an original production entitled, "A Kiss in the Dark"; Frank Mergarthalder, of Company A, who delighted the boys with his "Essence of Old Virginny."

The "nigger" minstrel performance, which was a part of the entertainment, also carried off high honors, and will always be remembered by the Roanoke survivors; but the part of the performances longest and most pleasantly remembered by a majority of the regiment was

the singing by the quartette. This part of the program was seldom omitted and was always awaited with great interest.

The quartette as per programme, was composed of the following voices,

ROBERT M. JOHNSTON,	.	FIRST TENOR.
JAMES FITZGERALD,	. . .	SECOND TENOR.
ALEX. F. HAMILTON,	. . .	ALTO
ANDREW THOMPSON,	. . .	BASS.

Each one of these comrades was the fortunate possessor of a superior and well-trained voice, and while none of them were professional singers each one had been closely connected with amateur musical societies, and were more or less accustomed to appearing in public. In the estimation of their comrades in the regiment none of them would lose anything by comparison, either as a quartette or as soloists with many of the greater lights of the professional stage.

The question of procuring properties which would enable them to make a proper presentation of the various plays taxed the ingenuity of the managers and the members of the company to the utmost limit, but as necessity is the mother of invention, it—the necessity aforesaid—together with the ingenuity possessed, of which there appeared to be an inexhaustible supply, enabled them to overcome all difficulties.

The apparent impossibility of procuring curled hair for the wigs necessary for the minstrel band had at the beginning almost brought them to the verge of despair when an idea occurred to one of them. It resulted in a sudden and extraordinary interest being shown by certain men in the regiment in the welfare and also the personal appearance of the negroes about camp, especially the ones with long wool. Missionaries appeared among them preaching the gospel of cleanliness and neatness; but every exhortation ended with advice against the wearing of long hair. They were told of the many evils attending such a practice and of the unhealthfulness of it, and as the exhorter removed his own head covering and slapped his clean-shaven poll, he dilated on the comfort that attended a close crop. All this was to try to induce the darkies to sacrifice some of their wool for the benefit of histrionic art. Little or no progress was made until it was shown the negroes by unassailable arguments that they could never successfully aspire to be soldiers while they wore long hair; that all soldiers wore their hair short, therefore, if they wished to be soldiers they must do likewise. This made a few converts, and some material for wigs was forthcoming. It was necessary, however, before the supply fully equalled the de-

mand, to fall back to first principles and revive Rob Roy's rule. The negroes who were the owners of the kind of head covering coveted, were kidnapped, carried to a squad-room, kept quiet by dire threats, their wool deftly and swiftly removed by a Zouave armed with a pair of shears, and the shorn victims sent on their way as bald as babies. In this way sufficient wool was secured to finish the number of wigs required.

When the theatre was first fitted up a private box was not forgotten and one was built and gayly decorated for the use of General Burnside who, while on a tour of inspection on the island, was invited to attend the play. The box was afterward reserved for Colonel Hawkins and Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball, or any visiting officer of rank.

A regular admission fee was charged and the "season" proved so successful that the managers, after paying all expenses, placed as a first contribution the sum of \$364.00 in the hands of Chaplain Conway, with instructions to distribute the amount equitably among the widows of the members of the regiment who thus far had given their lives for their country. Crowds came from all the camps on the island, numbers frequently were turned away, and many returned to camp in disappointment.

The natives were simply astounded at the ease and facility with which soldiers acted the various parts.

The entertainments were given ordinarily about once a week. To have given them more frequently would have interfered too much with the regular routine of the camp, and probably have been detrimental to discipline.

On the nights when the theatre was open it was necessary for all visitors to be provided with passes, for while the building was inside the regimental guard line it was always after tattoo before the performance ended and visitors from outside, both citizens and soldiers, had to be safely escorted out of camp by their individual hosts. However, "the largest liberty compatible with law" was accorded to all who were not on duty on those evenings.

Among the stores found on the island at the time of the capture was a quantity of damaged powder. This was not "taken up" by the ordinance officer of the army, as it was considered worthless for military purposes, but was permitted to remain in the magazine at Camp Reno, and was cared for so that it did not further deteriorate. It was afterwards the means of furnishing a great deal of amusement as well as instruction to the men of the regiment. Considerable quantities of it were issued to

the several companies and sufficient good cartridges were always found for target practice. With these Company K was enabled to obtain some valuable artillery experience, not only with their own guns but also with the heavier ones mounted on the forts. This was a great saving of the precious government cartridges. To discharge a government cartridge except in battle was next in point of heinousness to murder. In camp and on the march the men were obliged to account for each cartridge issued to them. If this was not done Uncle Sam, who held company commanders personally responsible, would stop from their monthly pay the money value of ammunition unaccounted for. Besides being of great service much fun was provided the men. There were improvised Fourth of July celebrations, mining operations on the line of original ideas, and all kinds of wild pranks.

Some of K's men organized a light battery after a somewhat ingenious fashion. They procured six wheelbarrows from the quartermaster, and on each one fastened an old musket selected from among the captured arms. Then, with an active youth between the handles of each barrow, to perform the part of a battery team, they would occupy the parade ground between drills, and give as fine an exhibition of light-battery drill

and practice as could be desired. All their evolutions were performed in strict accordance with artillery tactics, and they were always sure of a good sized audience, who were quite generous in their applause.

There was one occurrence in camp, in which the captured cartridges played a prominent part. Just before dress-parade one evening, two privates of Company G—George Teller and John Weaver—were seen working industriously in the middle of the company street, endeavoring to reduce a large, knotty, live oak stump into fragments of convenient size for their fireplace. They worked away steadily until the bugle sounded “first call” for parade, when they hurried to quarters, put on their equipments and marched with the company to the “color line.” One suspicious circumstance in the manœuvres of the men was the carelessness with which they left the stump in the street; for, while it is said “there is honor among thieves,” in a camp where fuel is scarce it is well understood that a soldier has no compunctions of conscience, and, considering this a case of abandoned property, would promptly confiscate it, regardless of consequences. No sooner had the company left the street for the parade ground than the company cook, who had been secretly observing the “stump-splitting” process, stealthily appropri-



ated the log, and to make sure that the rightful owners should not wrest it from him on their return and at the same time to destroy the evidence, placed it at once on his fire. Much to the cook's wonder, no inquiry for the log was made after the parade was dismissed, and neither of the owners appeared to be in a frenzy of indignation over its loss, nor did they express their ability to whip the man who had stolen their property, which was the usual course pursued on the loss of anything of value. They retired to their quarters, without comment which led their comrades to believe—almost with awe—that they were unable to find a vocabulary violent enough to express their feelings. Meanwhile the cook chuckled and resumed his work. Sometime later the company was aroused by a loud explosion, and, rushing out to ascertain its cause, found the street covered with pots, kettles, messpans and other cooking utensils, splintered boards, articles of food, etc., while beneath and among it all lay the cook, half dead with fright and a few injuries. The cook-house had completely disappeared.

When Captain Jardine, in whose company the affair occurred, heard the explosion, he was mystified for only a moment. Then he remembered the two soldiers and the stump, and light

dawned upon him. It seemed plain to him that the explosion was caused by a loaded stick in the cook's fire, and he at once ordered the dynamiters to report at the guardhouse under arrest. He made no inquiries and required no further evidence to convince him that the whole affair was an attempt to "get square" with the cook. The men were kept some days in confinement, but they both persistently asserted their innocence, and as the cook proved to be more frightened than hurt, nothing more was done about it and they were liberated. Teller and Weaver still maintain their innocence of any intention to injure the cook. They relate that a hole was bored in the stump, which was then loaded with two cartridges. The fuse burned low and was extinguished and could not be relighted. Other means of splitting were tried and failed. Before they could accomplish their object the bugle called them away. Upon returning and finding the stump missing, they decided to keep quiet and await the explosion which would at once discover the thief and punish him.

Probably the most interesting and practical use to which the powder was applied was in sham battles between Company K's battery and the rest of the regiment. Several times these occurred, and were not only realistic, but both sides were familiarized with conditions which

arise in most engagements. The charging infantry were made familiar with the flash and concussion of artillery fire, while the battery-men also became familiar with the appearance of charging infantry.

In the early part of May information was received at headquarters that the rebels had a large amount of stores, consisting of bacon, corn, salt, flour, etc., collected at a point near Gatesville, and it was determined to destroy the same if possible. Company C (Captain Parrison) was detailed to perform the task, and on May 7th they embarked on the gunboat "Shaw-sheen," Captain Underwood commanding, and proceeded through Albemarle Sound and up the Chowan River to the mouth of Catherine's Creek, which empties into the river near Holliday's Island. They proceeded cautiously up the creek about two miles, being careful to conceal their lights, and about one o'clock in the morning landed in a densely wooded swamp, through which they advanced silently, and succeeded in effecting a complete surprise the enemy scattering after making only slight resistance.

The torch was applied and property of much value destroyed. While returning to the gunboat the rear guard, commanded by Lieutenant Cooper, was attacked by about twenty-five of

the enemy's cavalry. Parisen, returning to aid Cooper, repulsed the rebels, one of their number being shot through the heart. The Zouaves arrived at Roanoke without further trouble.

About this time a proposition was made by the sergeants of Company B to present some kind of a testimonial to Colonel Hawkins. By virtue of seniority in rank he was nearly always in command of brigade or post, and sometimes of both, but still, his first care was always for the welfare of his own regiment. He was watchful in protecting it from being overlooked or neglected by commissary or quartermaster's department, energetic and tireless in having it well clothed, and, in camp, well fed. The men were all aware of these attentions and desired in some manner to express their appreciation of them. The subject had been somewhat agitated throughout the regiment, but did not assume definite shape until B's sergeants visited the first sergeants of the other companies, and asked each one to call a meeting of his company, inform the men of the object and have them appoint a committee to take action on the matter. The plan met with general approval, contributions were limited to a moderate amount, and the enterprise reached a successful conclusion. It was understood that the

participants should be only enlisted men. Commissioned officers were not only excluded but were to remain in ignorance of the movement until the presentation was ready to take place, and as there is little difficulty in withholding secrets from regimental officers the latter part of the agreement was successfully carried out.

The requisite money was quickly contributed and forwarded to Judge Whiting, of New York, with a request that he would purchase a handsome dress sword, have a suitable inscription engraved upon the scabbard, and express it to the camp at his earliest convenience. Assistant-Surgeon White, who had been enjoying a brief leave of absence in New York, was about to return to his regiment, when the Judge had the good fortune to meet him and turned the sword over to his custody.

Dr. White arrived at Roanoke on the 9th of May, and delivered the box containing the sword to the committee who had the affair in charge.

The officers were informed, Colonel Hawkins communicated with and requested to favor the regiment with his presence at Camp Reno on the afternoon of the succeeding Saturday. Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball permitted the regiment to parade under command of Sergeant-Major Dusenbury, with the companies com-

manded by their respective first sergeants. When the day arrived the regiment was duly paraded, then formed in hollow square, and the sword was presented by Private Reed, of Company B, in an neat and appropriate address, the Colonel accepting in a few feeling remarks which showed how deeply he was touched by this token of his men's gratitude. The ceremony then ended, and the parade dismissed.

A notable feature of the presentation exercises and one which caused much comment and excited general surprise, not only among the regimental officers, but also among the many visitors present, was the appearance of the regiment and the excellent manner in which it was handled by the "non-coms."

The masterful way in which Dusenbury manoeuvred the command, executing some intricate battalion movements before "forming square," and the prompt and ready manner in which the first sergeants handled their companies, was, to state it mildly, a revelation to the officers, who gazed at one another in undisguised astonishment, and the unwritten law of the Zouaves, that "no man could be a corporal unless he was fit to be a colonel," in this instance appeared not to have been mis-applied. It should be remembered that a member of a regiment, either enlisted man or officer, seldom

has an opportunity to see his own regiment on drill or parade. Only when on guard duty, or some detailed or detached service, would such an opportunity present itself.

In the present instance there was something in addition to a feeling of gratification in the breasts of captains and lieutenants in observing their own regiment. There was a sense of amazement that these non-coms. who had been drilled and disciplined, watched over, and, so to speak, held in a leash, and who were still considered pupils, could drill the regiment in such a correct and ready manner, and as one captain expressed himself to another, "just as well as we can." The men noticed the looks of surprise among the officers, and knowing the cause were correspondingly elated.

Regiments in active service in the field, are constantly losing men in addition to those lost by the casualties of battle. Some persons are more susceptible to disease than others. More or less sickness always occurs in camp. The recovery of some of the sick men is slow and tedious, while others become completely broken down in health and continue for a long time unfit for active duty. With either class it is far better for themselves and for the cause in which they are enlisted, that they be discharged and their places filled by others more able to

withstand the hardships of a soldier's life, and all conscientious and patriotic surgeons recommend this mode of procedure. Recruits are constantly being sent to the front to refill these vacancies; regiments with the best reputations for soldierly or fighting qualities being thus continually augmented through their entire term of service. When the recruit arrives in camp he is received in a friendly spirit, and should he bring with him a goodly share of bounty money, and is fond of the good old game of "draw," he is treated with tender consideration until his money has been transferred to the pockets of the older and more experienced campaigners, and all are glad that he joined the regiment. His verdancy speedily disappears with the tuition he experiences and he becomes a good soldier. At first he may be a little troublesome and inclined to be insubordinate, for in some instances he imagines he left all constituted authorities behind when he put on his uniform and started to join the regiment, but alas, how quickly that impression is removed, though in his mind he may for a time resent the quiet, unquestioning way in which older soldiers obey all commands. If a bully, he endeavors, and quite often succeeds, in working up the other recruits to revolt against, "these fellows with stripes on their arms who



go around bossing everybody," and thus foments to unnecessary disturbance, but extra fatigue or guard, with a tour of duty on a *wooden* horse or with a weighted knapsack or the novel position assumed by being bucked and gagged never fails to eliminate that feeling. In the "Ninth" the non-coms. under supervision of the first sergeants attended to all details of military life in their respective companies, the commissioned officers having advanced beyond that condition. Should a first sergeant prove incompetent to take care of his men, clothe, feed, drill and control them, it was not difficult to depose him and fill his place with one who possessed all these requisites. One of the duties of the first sergeant was to take charge of recruits assigned to his company and make soldiers of them.

This was generally accomplished without much friction, but in case of a bully appearing among them, each sergeant employed methods of his own toward him which he deemed especially applicable to the situation. On one occasion during the early days at Roanoke, a squad of recruits assigned to Company D, contained a member who seemed determined to create trouble. He did not propose to surrender his cognomen of "bad man," without a struggle. His natural assurance enabled him

to continue an influence already established over his comrades, and organize an attempt to destroy the discipline of the company. The design was to cover the first-sergeant with shame and mortification, by openly disregarding the proprieties which governed military custom, and which the sergeant felt in duty bound to enforce.

The first morning after the squad arrived in camp, "sick-call" sounded and the first-sergeant presented himself at the place where the ailing men were accustomed to assemble and be marched to the surgeon's quarters, when he found in addition to those actually ill, every one of the recruits lined up, the embryo mutineer at their head, ready for business. At that time the first-sergeant of D, was one James B. Horner, a good soldier, a strict disciplinarian, but not blessed with an angelic temper. A characteristic of his, well known throughout the regiment, was a decided lack of patience. He grasped the situation and the meaning of it all at a glance, saw but one way out of the dilemma, which appeared to him the right way. He believed there was but one time to solve a problem and that was the present. The moment he noticed the crowd of recruits ready to answer "sick-call," he prepared for action. To say that he was angry, feebly expressed it.

Giving one glance along the line, he stepped up to the ring-leader on the right, and calmly asked: "What's the matter with you? Why do you wish to see the surgeon?" The man replied with a leer; "I've got the lopsy palls," with further remarks which are unprintable, but which were grossly offensive and insulting. The sergeant quietly leaning his musket against the nearest tent-pole, said: "You needn't go to the doctor for that, I can attend to your case myself," and before the recruit had time to think or move, Horner "lit on him," and so sudden and unlooked for was the attack, and so vigorously and industriously maintained that the recruit was taken completely by surprise and in a moment was in such a condition that his dearest friends would have found it difficult to recognize him, and before he could fully realize what had occurred, he was on the way to the guard-house. Horner now fixed his not very gentle gaze on the next man, and with finger pointed at him like a poised javelin, asked savagely: "What's the matter with you?" The man backed away with hands partly raised as though to protect his face, and stammered out something about not meaning any harm, that the other fellow asked them to "fall in" as a joke on the sergeant, and more to the same effect, when he was cut short by Horner saying:

“Get to your quarters or I’ll murder you,” and when he looked round for the other pretended sick men of the squad they had disappeared. That “lasy pall” disease was not again on the list of maladies, and there was no more trouble with that batch of recruits; they moved along quietly, did their duty and obeyed orders, the matter never after being referred to.

It must not be supposed from the above that physical force was generally employed in exacting military obedience in the 9th New York. It was in strict opposition to the Rules of Service and also contrary to regimental orders for a non-commissioned officer to strike a soldier of whatever rank, particularly a private. Seldom or never was this resorted to except when a non-com. had become irritated and aggravated beyond endurance by acts, which, though not strictly overt, were nevertheless of such a character as to injure discipline and tend to destroy authority, and which gave the officer an opportunity (If he possessed sufficient courage and the physical qualities) to successfully redress his own grievances.

After the evacuation of Norfolk by the enemy, Colonel Hawkins had urged upon the department the importance of opening the Dismal Swamp canal to Norfolk, by which route a twenty-four hour communication between Fort-

ress Monroe and Newberne would be secured and the dangers of the outside route around Hatteras avoided. The authorities decided to act on his suggestions and in the latter part of May Professor Malifert, who had been the first person to successfully conduct submarine blasting operations, arrived for the purpose of superintending the work of removing the obstructions from North river and the canal.

The steamer "Port Royal," with a detail and two guns from Company K, under Captain Whiting and Lieutenant Morris, was assigned to protect the working party. This was made up of one hundred contrabands from the island in charge of Sergeant Thompson of Company I. Very little opposition was encountered by them and the undertaking was successfully accomplished, all obstructions being removed, the abandoned rebel fortifications destroyed, and an unobstructed and direct waterway secured between General Burnside's forces and the north.

On the morning of May 20, the "Port Royal" completed the first trip through the canal and arrived at Fortress Monroe, carrying dispatches direct from General Burnside to General Wool, and the work was accomplished.

Captain Whiting, with the detail from Company K, continued to keep the communication

open during the month of June, after which they were relieved and returned to the regiment.

The men of the regiment who were so fortunate as to take part in the expedition to open the canal enjoyed a new and interesting experience in thus penetrating the heart of the mysterious "Dismal." Vivid object lessons in relation to certain phases of the "peculiar institution" were brought forcibly to their notice by the occasional appearance of fugitive slaves among the working party. These men, five of whom appeared while the detail were in the canal, had been living in the swamp for years; they presented themselves fearlessly and asked to be permitted to join the party. There was no hesitation nor distrust. They had evidently received full information regarding the situation by that unexplained and mysterious system used for spreading information, known only to themselves and which no white man has yet been able to discover. It was all like a page from "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

They were received without question and became part of the working force, and afterward returned with the party to Roanoke Island.

One of the fugitives informed Sergeant Thompson that he had escaped from his master in the year 1855, had succeeded in baffling the bloodhounds, and had lived in the swamp ever since — seven years.

Early in the month of June the town of Plymouth on the Roanoke river was captured by the fleet and held by the naval forces until the 15th, when after inspecting the place, it was decided to hold it permanently, if possible, and Company F was detached from the regiment for this purpose, remaining as garrison of the town until the following December.

Plymouth at that time was a city of much importance, being a port of entry with a large trade in lumber, shingles, naval stores, etc., but when first occupied by Company F, had been almost deserted by its inhabitants. A dwelling-house of sufficient capacity to accommodate the rank and file was levied on for quarters for the company while the officers were provided with a smaller one near at hand. Permission having been granted to Colonel Hawkins to enlist loyal North Carolinians for service with the Union troops, and organize them into companies or regiments as he deemed best, equipments sufficient for a regiment each of infantry and cavalry were issued to him for that purpose.

The custom house was again taken possession of by the Government, and was utilized as a depot for military and naval supplies. In a short time the town became a busy little military post, garrisoned by one company whose captain

(Hammill) commanded the post, Lieut. H. C. Perley the troops, while Lieut. M. J. Graham composed the entire staff of quartermaster, commissary and ordinance officer.

The surrounding country being held by the enemy the greatest vigilance was at all times observed. A heavy picket guard was continuously on duty, causing the details therefor to follow in turn with such frequency that it was far from agreeable.

This duty, however, was considerably lightened as soon as the "Yokels" (as the boys dubbed the new North Carolina recruits) had received sufficient instruction and drill to warrant detailing them for such service. The Union fleet, consisting of improvised small gunboats, had its permanent rendezvous in the river fronting the town and was commanded by Lieut.-Commander Charles E. Flusser, an exceptionally energetic and efficient officer. Frequent expeditions were sent into the adjacent country, with the special object of capturing detachments of the enemy or destroying collections of military supplies; at other times on a simple reconnoissance to locate the enemy and gain from the loyal inhabitants, whose fathers and brothers were serving with the Union army, any information they had been able to gather concerning the operations of the enemy, and which occa-



sionally proved of much value. These expeditions were generally ordered by Flusser, who was ranking officer at the post, and the available number of soldiers being limited, were frequently largely composed of sailors from the fleet. Flusser was continuously on the alert, constantly striving to advance the interest of the cause in which he was enlisted. He was known in the navy to be of unflinching courage, clear and correct in judgment, and was looked upon by both soldiers and sailors as the coming Nelson of the war. His men never tired of repeating the account of their fight up the Chowan river, when they rammed, and boarded the gunboat which was flying the flag of the rebel Commodore Lynch, who had been Flusser's commander before the war, when upon closing in on the Commodore, Flusser, who was forward at the head of his boarders, removed his cap and shaking it toward the enemy, shouted: "Put out your fenders, Mr. Lynch, I'm coming alongside," then rammed and boarded, and in five minutes had captured the enemy; but not his old commander, however, who had escaped.

Occasionally Company F would come in contact with the enemy while on these scouts, but their casualties were few. In two instances they went up the river on the gunboats in

attempts to capture or destroy the nearly completed rebel ram "Albemarle," but on both occasions unforeseen circumstances prevented success in the design. On the whole, garrison life at Plymouth was more congenial and pleasant to the men of Company F than any previous experience. The town was of considerable size and although at first practically deserted, shortly afterwards contained quite a colony, the inhabitants returning and refugees, both white and black, coming in from the neighboring country.

The sailors passed their days of "shore leave" in town, and fraternized with the soldiers, while both having considerable money, created quite a lively trade in the place which was increased as the citizens returned. The public market reopened, some of the merchants resumed business, and the general outlook for prosperity was gratifying to the inhabitants. The treatment of the black refugees by the post-commander created much feeling among the men of the company, and only the restraints of discipline and the personal popularity of Captain Hammill prevented serious consequences to him.

Several unpleasant incidents occurred in connection with runaway slaves of which we recount the following: Two negro men escaped from their master and sought protection within the lines. The owner followed them to Plymouth, reques-

ted and was granted permission from Hammill to recover and take away his property. On finding them he tied their wrists together with one end of a rope, leading them through the streets by the other end, as a farmer might lead cattle to market. On the way to the dock where his boat lay, he was compelled to pass the guard-house of the regiment, and the sight of the shackled colored men was an unpleasant one for the eyes of northern soldiers. Clark Wright, who was corporal of the guard that day, was unable to control his indignation at the spectacle, and taking out his pocket-knife quickly cut the rope and told the negroes to run. They, without a moment's hesitation, did so, conforming to the scriptural injunction, and quickly disappeared. Shameful to relate, they were recaptured by Hammill's authority and assistance, and restored to the owner. Corporal Wright was reduced to the ranks for his part in aiding the escape.

In the fall of 1862 a large force was organized at Newberne under General Foster, with the intention of capturing Tarboro, Little Washington, and other important strategic points in that portion of North Carolina. Company F joined the column upon its arrival at Plymouth, and, because of its familiarity with the country, was placed in the advance as

skirmishers, and held that position without once being relieved during the entire march to Tarboro, returning to Plymouth after the completion of the movement. This occupation of the country by Foster afforded an opportunity for the company to rejoin the regiment, and in November, it was relieved by Wessel's brigade of Foster's command, and after a tedious roundabout journey via Newberné, Baltimore and Washington, and after a six months' separation rejoined the regiment in front of Fredericksburg, where it again took its place in line. No fatted calf was killed on the return of the company, but the best the regiment had (hard tack and coffee) was passed around amid general rejoicing.

One week after Company F left Plymouth the place was attacked simultaneously by land and water. Wessels was defeated, and the town re-captured. The steamer "Albemarle" attacked the Union fleet, and Flusser was killed by the rebound of one of his own shells. The "Southfield" was sunk, the remainder of the fleet was temporarily scattered, and Plymouth and its surroundings were once more in the hands of the enemy, while general demoralization was felt everywhere.

About this time great anxiety was felt and great activity prevailed in higher military circles,

owing to the precarious position then occupied by the Army of the Potomac.

On the 8th of June, 1862, General Burnside passed through the Dismal Swamp canal on his way to Fortress Monroe for the purpose of consultation with General Dix. He arrived the following day, and at Secretary of War Stanton's suggestion visited General McClellan's headquarters, where he remained some six hours, then returned to his own department.

June 24th, in reply to a dispatch from McClellan, Burnside answered that in five days he could land a force of 7,000 infantry in Norfolk, ready for transportation to White House landing, but without wagons, camp equipage, artillery or cavalry, or in the same time he could place at a point on the Chowan river with a view to co-operation in an attack on Petersburg, 7,000 infantry, 12 pieces of artillery, 3 companies of cavalry, and sufficient wagons for ammunition and 5 days' subsistence; could move on Weldon with the same force, or on Goldsborough at 60 hours' notice with 10,000 infantry, 20 pieces artillery, and 5 companies of cavalry.

The next day McClellan telegraphed Burnside, that reports had been received stating that Jackson's forces were coming to Richmond, and part of Beauregard's had already

arrived, and for Burnside to advance on Goldsborough with all his available force at the earliest practicable moment, and wished him to understand that every minute in this crisis was of the greatest importance. He was urged to reach Goldsborough as soon as possible, destroying all the railroad communications toward Richmond that he could, and if possible destroy bridges on the Raleigh and Gaston R. R., and threaten Raleigh. President Lincoln had previously telegraphed Burnside: "I think you had better go with any reinforcements you can spare to General McClellan."

At 3 o'clock A.M., July 1st, the Ninth moved to Pork Point in heavy marching order, boarded schooners which were towed by the "Ocean Wave" down Pamlico Sound to the mouth of Neuse river, where they were met by a steamer bringing orders for them to return to Roanoke, "the object of the expedition having been accomplished." The Ninth reached Roanoke the following evening.

On July 3d Burnside at Newberne telegraphed McClellan that he had embarked 7,000 infantry and was on the way to join him, when he met a messenger informing him of McClellan's important successes before Richmond, which, if true, would render it unnecessary for him to join McClellan.

He brought his fleet to anchor and sent a steamer through to Norfolk to ascertain the exact state of affairs, while he held himself in readiness to move in any direction. The same day Burnside telegraphed Stanton that in accordance with the latter's suggestion, he had embarked 7,000 men and was proceeding to the point designated by Stanton when he met a dispatch from Colonel Hawkins, commanding at Roanoke, stating there was information from Fortress Monroe of some very important successes to our arms in front of Richmond, which if true, rendered his proceeding further unnecessary. He had come to anchor and sent a messenger to Norfolk to ascertain the exact facts.

On July 2d, 6 P.M., Hawkins sent the following message from Roanoke Island to General Dix:

"General Dix I wish you would telegraph immediately to President Lincoln if he has any orders other than the last sent some three days ago for General Burnside.

"We are almost ready to move in obedience to that order. If Richmond be taken the President may wish to change his instructions. Please give me General McClellan's position when last heard from. Please return dispatch-boat immediately, as the news which it brings will, I think, govern the operations in this department."

On July 3d, 3 P.M., General Dix forwarded this dispatch to Secretary Stanton with these comments:

"I have just received the following dispatch from Colonel Hawkins:"

"I do not quite understand why General Burnside should not have

sent it in his own name, if it comes from or is authorized by him. The officer who brought it says Colonel Hawkins sent it with the assurance that General Burnside would approve it."

The same date Stanton sent Hawkins through Dix :

"Richmond not taken. General McClellan has been compelled to fall back to Harrison's Bar on James."

"It is the opinion of the President, and he so directs, that General Burnside in person, with all the infantry force he can spare, move by way of Hampton Roads and the James, to General McClellan's headquarters to reinforce him immediately."

On the same date General Dix telegraphed :

"The President:—Soon after sending you Colonel Hawkins' dispatch I received from General McClellan an order to General Burnside to bring on all the troops he could spare. I sent it off immediately with a letter from myself, describing to General Burnside the position of General McClellan's army. The steamer having gone I cannot send your dispatch to Colonel Hawkins until morning. I will do so then if you desire it."

July 5th, Burnside sent word to Stanton that his dispatch-boat sent for information to Norfolk had not yet returned, and adds :

"In the meantime we hear most startling rumors of disasters to General McClellan's army, which are in sad contrast to the dispatch from Colonel Hawkins on Roanoke Island on the night of the 2d inst., and announced himself ready to move in any direction."

Stanton replied at once :

"The department has no further orders to give but hopes you will with all speed reach General McClellan with as large a force as possible."

At 4:40 P.M., Burnside reported he had reached Fortress Monroe with nearly 8,000 good men, and would leave as soon as the bulk of the command arrived, and was told to remain until the President, then on the way,



reached the fort. General Foster was left in charge of the Department of North Carolina.

The regiment as a whole was in blissful ignorance of the exact military situation here shown, and, of course, had no knowledge of these flying telegrams or hurried preparations, and it is not remembered now that the men were even aware that the greater portion of the corps was already in Virginia. Consequently they kept on in the even tenor of their way.

Fourth of July was celebrated by firing salutes from Forts Foster and Parke, and reading the Declaration of Independence; after which the day was devoted to all kinds of sport and amusement—one specially notable feature being a fantastic parade in the afternoon, when Company K gave a fine exhibition of light artillery drill with their wheelbarrow battery, which was warmly applauded by the enthusiastic spectators.

One extremely interesting feature of the stay at Roanoke was the "Contraband Camp." When the news of the capture of the island spread among the slaves on the adjacent mainland they commenced getting their belongings together, and leaving homes and masters to flock to the Union camp, searching for that freedom of which they had so long dreamed.

Nearly every night one or more boat-loads of slaves landed on the beach and were taken in charge by the guard. This was an extremely dangerous proceeding for escaping slaves, and would have been considered heroic bravery had they been white men. No sooner had the danger of pursuit and capture by wrathful owners abated, and the peril of the watery journey been overcome, than a new danger, demanding the greatest caution, presented itself. They were obliged to approach a strange shore in the darkness of night, where the sentinels were keenly alert for the approach of an enemy, especially by water. The flapping of sails or the sound of oars from the water was naturally accepted by the picket guard to denote an attempted night attack and surprise, and their faculties were doubly keen, and they were ready to at once fire in the direction of the sound, should their challenge not be promptly and satisfactorily responded to. To the soldier's hoarse challenge of "Who goes there?" would come an answering chorus of screams from the women and children, with shouts from the men of "Don't shoot, massa sojer! don't shoot! We's only po' niggahs!" and similar assurances of friendliness, which meant much more of uncertainty to the sentinel than the refugees knew. For how could the sentinel know that this was

not a ruse employed by the enemy? They were, however, seldom or never fired upon, but permitted to land, though kept under guard until daylight, when they were marched to headquarters and proper disposition made of them by the commanding officer. The mingled terror and joy exhibited by the slaves was enough to melt the heart of the most unsympathetic. In their efforts to gain their freedom they had risked death at the hands of the very men from whom they sought protection. They did not know whether or not they would be returned to their former masters or be retained by new and unknown owners—simply exchanging one bondage for another. They were of all shades of color and degrees of breed, from the full-blood, short-wooled African to almost pure white. They came in such numbers to this camp that it was soon found necessary to make special provision for sheltering, feeding and controlling them, as well as for using their labor. On February 20th, 1862, an order was issued, detailing Serg't. Walter L. Thompson, of Company I, "to organize and care for contrabands within this military district." Sergeant Thompson at once assumed control of all the straggling contrabands on the island. The nucleus of his camp was the twenty-seven persons who had been left by the rebels when the

place was captured. All others, scattered about the island, were gathered together, and these, with the numbers constantly arriving by boats from the adjacent mainland, counting men, women and children, numbered two hundred and fifty, by the 1st of April. In three months the black refugees reached the number of one thousand. The able-bodied males were employed in every kind of labor made necessary by the conditions existing in the military department. They did the greater part of the heavy work of the Quartermaster's Department, unloading, handling and housing provisions, forage, ammunition and the various other stores necessary for the maintenance of the army. A large number were put at work on a new fort which was being erected on the island, to mount nine guns, and which was to be named Fort Burnside.

While employed the men were paid the regular per diem wages of ordinary hired laborers. To those unable to work at such employment as the government had to offer, rations were issued and shelter provided. Thompson proved himself a most efficient officer and was very successful in his administration of his negro colony. He soon secured perfect control of all his subjects, male and female. The female portion proved the most difficult to manage. Fights among the

women were a common occurrence and were, in a majority of cases, caused by jealousy over the attentions of some one or other of the dusky dandies of the camp.

The sergeant was known in the regiment and by the soldiers generally, as "Niggardier General Thompson." He was a busy man during the stay on Roanoke.

When Newberne was besieged by the enemy and General Foster sent an urgent appeal for aid to assist in throwing up intrenchments and breastworks to protect the city, Sergeant Thompson responded so promptly that in six hours after the receipt of the order to furnish the labor, he was on board the steamer "Ocean Wave" on his way to Newberne with three-hundred able-bodied men with their families. He left them there working like beavers on the defenses—and the place was not taken.

It is needless to say that the "Niggardier" was looked upon by the negroes under his command as a big man. He, to them, was the visible representation and embodiment of authority. He fed and clothed them, praised and punished.

It is related that at a time when there was to be a general inspection of the camp by Colonel Hawkins, who was in command of the post, a number of the negroes happened to be present when he arrived to perform that duty.

The full dress uniform for commissioned officers of the regiment was modeled after the French fashion, and, like the French officers, the rank was designated by various convolutions of gold lace on the sleeve, extending from the wrist to the elbow. Now the Colonel being a remarkably fine looking man, even without any extreme ornamentation, was simply gorgeous in his handsome uniform, with gold laced red cap and six bands of lace on his sleeves and would have attracted attention anywhere and from anybody.

One of the darkies, a newcomer, upon catching sight of the Colonel, seized his nearest neighbor, a veteran of the camp, by the arm and stammered in an awe-struck voice: "Who, who dat ar man wid all dat gold on his sleebe?" The other, who knew who the Colonel was, replied very consequentially: "Dat de gin'ral ob all dese yer Zourabs. Dat de highest up man on de Island." That statement appeared to unsettle, in a measure, some former ideas of rank and power apparently held by the recruit, for he inquired timidly: "Am dat ar gin'ral ob de Zourabs a bigger man dan Massa Thompson?" The other turned on him with scorn and contempt in both voice and manner, and by way of reply asked: "Who feed you nigger? Whar you git yo' blankets from? Who git yo' de

money for yo' wo'k? Does dis yer gin'ral of de Zourabs gib it to yo', or does Massa Thompson gib it to yo'? Go 'way nigga yo' mak me tired." Of course the other negro slunk away, no doubt feeling that he had been properly rebuked for permitting himself to doubt for a moment that Massa Thompson was the "biggest" man on the Island.

A certain class of officers in the service during the war (which may be said to be also true of certain others yet in the army), found considerable difficulty in maintaining a degree of dignity satisfactory to themselves without using all the accessories possible, the most noticeable being the constant attendance of an orderly, both in season and out of season. Thompson, who held the rank of Niggardier-General, not to be outdone by his fellow officers of high rank, felt called upon to do the same. It was suspected, however, that there was a little sly humor in this and that probably he had in mind Burns' lines

"Oh! wad some power the giftie gie us  
To see oursel's as ithers see us," etc.

But be that as it may, he was followed on all occasions of ceremony and when visiting headquarters for orders, or on ordinary duty, by his orderly. This individual was a diminutive negro about seven or eight years old, and small for that

age. The sergeant had him fitted out with a complete Zouave uniform, fez included, and had trained him to follow at a distance of two or three paces, and to conform to every movement of his chief like a bugler to his commanding officer on drill or in action. It was a source of great amusement to the men to see the performances of the little darkey orderly. When Thompson moved the orderly moved, and when Thompson stopped the orderly halted like a well-trained soldier. If it became necessary to stop to converse with acquaintances, to report to a superior officer, or for any other purpose, the first thing the sergeant did was to turn quickly and look sternly at the orderly, who would cast a quick upward glance at him exactly like that of a trained dog. Thompson would say sharply: "Salute the gentlemen! What do I keep you for?" when the little fellow would execute the military salute with a precision and dignity equal to the showiest drum-major in the army.

On the afternoon of a scorching day, July 10th, final orders were received to leave Roanoke Island, and it proved to be a departure for all time. No doubt there were a variety of sensations in the breast of the soldiers as they tramped with well filled knapsacks through the hot sand to the transports. The vessels quickly



got up anchor and sailed for Norfolk, Va. The troops arrived early on the 12th inst., landing and making camp within a stone's throw of Old Fort Norfolk.

The boys parted from Roanoke Island with many regrets, for while an inconvenient place, in the sense that it required a long time to receive a letter from home, still there were many pleasant memories connected with their stay there. It was there they saw their first severe active service, and where they had so conducted themselves as to earn favorable comments from the several generals in command. For their conduct there they had received the plaudits of the Northern press. The pictorial weeklies had emblazoned their celebrated bayonet charge both far and wide, which illustrations had been copied in some of the foreign illustrated periodicals, while artists had embraced the subject in their studies.

Before closing this chapter which ends the career of the regiment in North Carolina, it may be interesting to mention some of the fruits of the victories gained by the Burnside expedition.

At Roanoke Island: 4 forts mounting 29 guns; 3 rebel gunboats destroyed by the fleet; 4,000 prisoners with their arms and equipments

and a strategical position which commanded both the North Carolina Sounds.

At Newberne : 9 forts mounting 41 heavy guns ; over two miles of intrenchments with 19 field pieces in position, and 6 32-pdrs., unmounted ; over 300 prisoners and more than 1,000 stand of small arms ; tents and barracks for 10,000 troops ; large amounts of army supplies and naval stores, and the control of the second commercial city of North Carolina.

Fort Macon, with 67 guns and over 500 prisoners.

The Union losses were comparatively small when the great result attained by them is considered.

At Roanoke Island the Union losses were : Army, 37 killed, 214 wounded, 13 missing ; total, 264.

Navy, 3 killed, 11 wounded ; total, 14.

Confederate loss not ascertained.

At South Mills or Camden, Union loss : 13 killed, 101 wounded, 13 missing ; total, 127.

Confederate loss : 6 killed, 19 wounded, 3 missing ; total, 28.

At Newberne the Union losses were : 90 killed, 380 wounded, 1 missing ; total, 471.

Confederate loss : 64 killed, 214 wounded, 413 captured and missing ; total, 578.

At Fort Macon : 9 killed, 25 wounded on both sides.

Truly Gen. Burnside was not vain-glorious when, on leaving the department, he said :

“The Burnside expedition has passed into history. Its record we can be proud of. No body of troops ever had more difficulties to overcome in the same space of time. Its perils were both by land and water. Defeat never befell it. No gun was lost by it. Its experience was a succession of honorable victories.”

## CHAPTER IX.

FAREWELL TO ROANOKE ISLAND—ARRIVAL AT OLD FORT NORFOLK, VA.—OFF FOR FORTRESS MONROE—ARRIVAL AT FALMOUTH, VA.—DRILLS AND DRESS PARADES A PROMINENT FEATURE—RUMORS OF DISASTER—ARMY DESERTS FREDERICKSBURG AND DESTROYS STORES—POPE'S CAMPAIGN AND DISASTROUS FAILURE—McCLELLAN AGAIN IN COMMAND OF ARMY OF THE POTOMAC—DISORDER IN WASHINGTON—CAMP AT MERIDIAN HILL—OFF FOR THE MARYLAND CAMPAIGN—DESCRIPTION OF MARCH—SKIRMISHES WITH THE ENEMY—ARRIVAL AT FREDERICK CITY, MD.—HOSPITALITY OF INHABITANTS—FIRE IN JAIL—ON TO ANTIETAM—BATTLE OF SOUTH MOUNTAIN—COOLNESS OF MAJOR JARDINE UNDER FIRE—DEATH OF GENERAL RENO AND COMMENTS ON HIS SOLDIERLY QUALITIES—ARRIVAL NEAR ANTIETAM—NIGHT BEFORE THE BATTLE.

THE route from Roanoke Island to Norfolk lay through Croatan Sound and North River, to and through the Dismal Swamp Canal and Elizabeth river. The journey was full of interest to the Zouaves, many of whom were entirely unacquainted with the sights and sounds of that strange region. Owing to the shallow water of the Dismal Swamp Canal, the transports stopped at its

headwater and the troops were transferred to vessels of lesser draught which were to be towed through the canal by tugboats. The human heart is always profoundly moved by the majesty of silence. The faculties of the mind are more keenly alert and the emotions more responsive at the midnight hour than during the hum of busy noon. Thus when the world-famed Dismal Swamp was entered new emotions were put into life—set at liberty, so to speak.

“ Silence! coeval with eternity!  
Thou wert ere nature's self began to be.”

To the northern soldiers all was new and strange and they also were silent. The boats glided weird and ghost-like through the dark water, “amid the ancient forests of a land mild, gloomy, magnificently grand,” and when a comrade's attention was desired

“ The tongue moved gently first, and speech was low.”

The straight columns of the cypresses towered far above, their gnarled roots, rugged and buttress-like where they showed above the water. Clinging to them were whisks and festoons of Spanish moss contrasting beautifully against the darker hue of trunk and branches. And now the boats seem to stand still, while trooping toward them came holly, juniper, cotton-gum, and sweet-bay scattered thickly among the lordly cypress. A species of bamboo-cane

grew profusely, its graceful stems bending over the brown water, or standing stiffly erect in small huddling crowds. On the dry ridges were beech, and oak and through the overhanging foliage the light struggled down subdued and soft as through cathedral windows. Nor was it indeed utterly desolate and voiceless. Occasionally the sweet notes of a song bird filtered through the trees or a startled gray crane, with discordant cry, flapped heavily upward from the water. Blue heron were sometimes seen, but quickly disappeared down the long vista before, or darted into a familiar bayou out of sight and danger.

On one occasion a solitary negro appeared upon the elevated bank of the canal, and stared in open-mouthed wonder at the troops as they passed in slow review before him. To the many questions and salutations hurled at him he returned no answer, but gazed in speechless astonishment at the gliding boats and their armed and uniformed passengers. Long after the flotilla had passed he remained on the bank, motionless as a statue, until the intervening foliage hid him from view. Speculation ran high among the more romantic and imaginative of the men as to who he was and where he came from. Had he escaped from a cruel master to liberty and a home in the great dismal swamp? Had

he eluded the overseer and baffled the bloodhounds? Was he alone in this solitude? Was his habitation near? How did he subsist? Was he still a slave or was he merely a "free nigger" engaged in the regular occupation of shingle making? Some of the boys were by this time about ready to expect Tom Moore's ghostly Indian maiden with her white canoe and fire-fly lamp.

Altogether the journey through the swamp was a pleasant experience, which for novelty and instruction could scarcely be surpassed. It was greatly enjoyed by all.

On the morning of July 12th, the vessels arrived at their destination, and the regiment, disembarking, went into camp at old Fort Norfolk. They remained at Norfolk about a month, the time being passed, as usual, in the execution of drills and parades.

It was at Norfolk that the increased number of visitors at dress parade first became noticeable. Many visiting soldiers, officers, as well as privates, were sure to grace the occasion of that ceremony with their presence. Some of the New York militia regiments who had responded to the President's call for thirty day troops, were then stationed at Fortress Monroe. They were eager to observe the Zouaves at drill, and many obtained passes and visited old Fort Norfolk for that purpose.

The color line of the regiment was on ground recently cleared of trees, the stumps being left still standing. This was the cause of much distress of mind to all the troops—men and officers alike, as the difficulty of marching or carrying out any movement among the obstructing stumps was very great. It was, nevertheless, the best of practice, and taught the men to preserve alignment with great precision under better or ordinary conditions. The manner in which the various companies moved out of their respective streets at the adjutant's call was a sight much appreciated by the visitors, judging by the generous applause bestowed each evening.

The old smooth-bore muskets with which the men were originally armed, and which were known among them as "Columbiads," were here turned in and the new Springfields issued in their stead, much to the delight of everyone, from the colonel to the drummer boys. The Springfields were far handsomer in appearance, weighed less, and, as the calibre was smaller, the ammunition was lighter, the latter being a matter of no small importance.

On July 24th, tents were struck, and the Ninth, with its camp equipage, embarked on the steamer "C. S. Terry," during a driving rain. The destination was Newport News, which was



reached about noon of the same day. The road here was lined with encampments of other regiments, past which the Ninth was obliged to march. The distinctive dress of the Zouaves disclosed their identity to the others at once, many of whom viewed them for the first time. Their reputation for tried and seasoned soldiers, however, had evidently preceded them for their passage was a continuous ovation. On a bluff near the James river, not far from the camp which it first occupied, the regiment halted and raised its tents. Ten days later (Sunday, August 3d) the regiment again broke camp in another drenching rain and boarded the steamer "New York," which in the afternoon carried them away to join the army of the Potomac. After a delay of about five hours at Fortress Monroe, the steamer proceeded at 9 o'clock P.M., up the now famous Potomac river reaching Acquia Creek about 10 o'clock the next forenoon. On the following day (August 5th) the soldiers were transferred to the steamer "Columbia," bound for Brent's Point, where they arrived about noon and boarded a railway train for Falmouth Station. Falmouth Station was on the Stafford side of the Rappahannock opposite the City of Fredricksburg, which could be plainly seen from the camp. Here the regiment pitched its tents and named the place Camp Parke, after its brigade-commander.

A detachment of one hundred men which had been left at Roanoke to pack up and guard the surplus stores left behind by the regiment, arrived on August 8th, under command of Captain Graham, bringing also the regimental uniforms.

Knapsack drills were now the order of the day, but the Ninth showed they could maintain their perfect drill under any conditions.

The regimental band had been re-organized and enlarged and the members clothed in new uniforms. Under the excellent leadership of Mr. Wallace, of New York City, their music was of a high order and their appearance decidedly attractive.

The proficiency of the regiment in all matters pertaining to the duties of a soldier was shown in its complete mastery of military details. Guard mounting and guard duty, discipline, style and finish in the performance of the manual of arms, promptness and accuracy in the fulfillment of camp duties, and especially the efficiency of battalion drills and dress parades, very quickly attracted the attention of the members of neighboring regiments. Soldiers off duty, and occasionally officers, began to notice the drills and parades, and they evidently spread the report among their comrades, for the audiences began to swell

daily until the parade ground was lined with a large crowd ere the parade began. Horse and foot came from all directions to view the Zouaves. In pleasant weather enlisted men by the hundred, mounted officers by the score, and even generals did not disdain to carefully scrutinize the movements. It is recalled with pride that General McClellan, who was at Fredericksburg for several days just previous to the withdrawal of the corps to Washington, was present with his staff on more than one occasion. The members of the regiment did not fail to notice the interest shown by the other troops and the resulting pride tended to strengthen their *esprit de corps* and assisted them to maintain their high standard.

The foregoing is not written with an intention to exaggerate, nor with a boastful spirit. Doubtless, there are still many of those spectators living at this writing who could vouch for its historical truth. To the little company of survivors of the regiment, however, these statements are known not to be exaggerations, and they, through the instrumentality of this small history, assure their relatives and friends of its truth.

The details for picket duty on the Orange Court House, Culpepper, and other roads leading from the city into the enemy's country, consisted of entire regiments.

When the Zouaves were detailed they always paraded in full dress uniforms, headed by the band with its new instruments, and led by Drum-Major Wiley, who was most gorgeously arrayed; and their progress through the city, which was as though marching on review, attracted universal attention.

There is little doubt that the appearance of a genuine Yankee regiment, in full dress, with colors flying, and band playing, had its effect upon the inhabitants of Fredericksburg.

On August 12th, Company H was sent to guard Potomac Creek Bridge, and on the 14th, Lieutenant Herbert was detached with a force of twenty-nine men and two guns from Battery K, with orders to break up a rebel ferry, which was being operated some miles down the river. Embarking on the steamer "Cooper's Point," he hurried down the Rappahannock river to the ferry, the affair being managed so skillfully and secretly as to prove a complete surprise. After a brief conflict the detachment captured thirteen of the enemy with their side-arms, a quantity of baggage, and four horses, and after destroying all means of transportation at the ferry, returned safely without the loss of a man.

At this time news was received of the crushing defeat of the army under Pope, and the invasion of Maryland by Lee's forces; and

General McClellan was once more placed in command of the Army of the Potomac.

Some days before this rumors were circulated that bodies of troops had repeatedly been detached from the army and sent towards the right, up the Rappahannock.

Reports were also rife about battles having been fought to the northwest of Fredericksburg with varying results, and finally that the enemy had defeated Sigel and broken through the Union lines away towards the right.

Great activity was also observed among the higher officers connected with headquarters, and the soldiers soon manifested a restless and uneasy feeling, which could not be well defined or described.

It was not the same uneasiness which soldiers usually exhibited on the eve of a battle, but was more like the effect of a belief that some important movement had resulted in failure, and that defeat and disaster were impending; still there was nothing tangible on which to base such a belief, beyond the mysterious camp rumors prevailing. It was an epidemic of uneasiness and unrest.

Marching orders at last came to their relief, attended with great haste and consequent confusion. As the Zouaves moved from camp and marched over the hills near Falmouth, on

the evening of August 31st, the sky reflected several large fires in as many different portions of the city. The troops intuitively recognized this as the destruction of stores and impedimenta which could not be saved for lack of time. The regiment took up the line of march which, though only fifteen miles long, will never be forgotten while the participants live. A furious rain storm had raged all the previous night while on picket, and the men with everything in their possession, excepting muskets and cartridges, were thoroughly soaked. Under any and all conditions these latter must be protected from injury. Tents were struck in the mud, and all regimental property which could not be carried on an active campaign was securely and strongly packed for storage.

Here the theatrical properties and scenery which had been gotten up, or acquired while at Roanoke Island, had to be abandoned for lack of transportation. They had been carefully guarded and cared for by the men during the migrations of the regiment subsequent to the departure from that station, in the hope that an opportunity might present itself to again start the theatre, but at last they had to be left to the tender mercies of the "Rebs." Many a laugh was afterward indulged in by the men at the thought of how astonished the Johnnies must

have been at coming into possession of such strange looking articles, and the way in which they must have stared at them and wondered and guessed at their uses.

The breaking up of a camp involves an immense amount of labor, and as this work was begun the instant the regiment was relieved from picket no opportunity occurred for "cleaning up" or drying clothes and blankets. The additional weight of soaked blankets to the knapsacks was a most trying burden to carry even on good roads.

At 6 P.M., the Zouaves moved forward on the road for Acquia Creek, and the night soon enclosed them in pitchy darkness. The rough and hilly roads, muddy and slippery from the recent rains, with occasional swollen streams to ford made marching almost intolerable. At last, about 5 A.M., weary, worn, blistered and bleeding, they reached the landing, and after a little delay marched about four miles to the bluffs overlooking the river where they bivouacked in line of battle to act as a support for the artillery there stationed and to cover the embarkation of the other troops.

In company with other commands they remained on the hills for two days, destitute of tents or rations, until the remainder of the army, with all stores and camp equipage, had embarked on transports.

On the 4th they marched back to the landing, and at 8 P.M., boarded the "Louisiana," bound for Washington, arriving there at 10 o'clock the next forenoon. Notwithstanding that large numbers of troops had recently passed through that city, the inhabitants still showed their appreciation of a perfect company front, and the Zouaves' brisk change of manual while marching called forth frequent applause. After marching a few miles beyond the city limits they bivouacked on Meridian Hill.

While in bivouac here and owing to the humid days and cool nights, accompanied by heavy dews, and the fact that the regiment was without tents, the men suffered severely. Soon, however, marching orders were received and preparations made for an arduous campaign.

On September 7th Colonel Hawkins received leave of absence and, turning over the command of his brigade to Colonel Fairchild, departed for New York City, regretting that it was obligatory for him to leave the army at the commencement of a new and what proved to be a most important campaign. The Ninth Corps now became incorporated with the Army of the Potomac, and the Zouaves won new and unfading laurels through their historic charge on the desperate field of Antietam.

It may be as well to state that by reason of this



leave of absence the 1st Brigade, 3d Division, 9th Corps, then officially known as "Hawkins' Brigade," now became "Fairchild's Brigade," and it was so known and designated in all official reports and accounts of movements and battles which occurred during this most important campaign.

The Army of the Potomac in its campaign up the Peninsular had met with reverses in front of Richmond, and retreated to Harrison's Landing on the James river. In the meantime Major-General John Pope had been called from his successful campaign in the West, and placed in general command of the armies of McDowell, Fremont and Banks, although he was junior in rank to the other three generals.

The purpose of this united command was to make a demonstration toward Gordonsville and Charlottesville and thus draw off part of Lee's forces from McClellan's front.

On June 26th (which was the second day of the "Seven Days' Fight") President Lincoln issued an order calling this command the "Army of Virginia."

Early in July Jackson's corps was detached from Lee's army confronting McClellan at Harrison's Landing, and on the 19th of that month was at Gordonsville confronting Pope, while

Stuart's rebel cavalry division was sent toward Fredericksburg to watch the movements of the Union forces from that direction. During his operations on the Virginia Peninsular McClellan received nearly 160,000 men. When President Lincoln reviewed the army at Harrison's Landing on July 7th, he saw only 86,000, the remainder having been removed by disease or casualties on the field, fully 50,000 being victims of malaria and fever. The President and his cabinet now decided that an older and wiser soldier should be placed at the head of all the Federal armies, and as Gen. Henry Wager Halleck had shown ability in the west, he was summoned to Washington, and on July 11th appointed commander-in-chief.

Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, strenuously opposed this appointment but was over-ruled.

On July 30th, Halleck ordered McClellan to send away his sick as rapidly as possible, and telegraphed him August 3d: "It is determined to withdraw your army from the Peninsular to Acquia Creek. You will take immediate measures to effect this." . . .

McClellan protested against this movement, as did Generals Dix, Burnside and Sumner, but without effect. August 13th Longstreet's whole corps was sent to join Jackson at Gordonsville, to which place he had fallen back from Cedar

Mountain, and these forces were commanded by Lee in person. This left nothing but D. H. Hill's corps confronting McClellan, who, had he been permitted, might possibly have taken Richmond with very little resistance.

The first of McClellan's troops arrived at Acquia Creek within seven days, and the last of the infantry within twenty-six days after the receipt of Halleck's order.

Before the majority of these troops could reach Pope he abandoned his line on the Rappahannock to concentrate his whole force in the direction of Warrenton and Gainesville, to confront the enemy who were rapidly marching to his right.

Jackson, passing through Thoroughfare Gap, reached Manassas Junction in the rear of Pope, and between him and Washington, overcoming the small force left to guard the large quantities of supplies gathered there. These he destroyed, while Stuart struck Catlett's Station, thirty-five miles from Washington, where were most of the Federal wagon trains, and destroyed what he could not carry off, the feat being a peculiarly daring and effective one. Jackson made this wonderful march of fifty-six miles over difficult roads in the short space of thirty-six hours. These disasters were followed by the second battle of Bull Run, in

which Pope was disastrously defeated, and his army stampeded toward Washington in as great disorder as in the first Bull Run; in fact all communication between Pope and Washington was cut off from August 26th until the 30th. The greatest panic prevailed in Washington, and its early capture by the Confederates was greatly feared, and yet it was defended by an army of 110,000 men, for in addition to Pope's army, which was falling back, there were 40,000 veterans standing before the lines who had not fired a shot in the campaign; behind the lines 30,000 good men of the garrisons and the reserves, two-thirds of whom were veterans in discipline though untried in battle.

General McClellan and staff rode into the city on the morning of September 2d, as one writer says: "Through an innumerable herd of stragglers, mingled with an endless stream of wagons and ambulances, urged on by uncontrollable teamsters, which presently poured into Washington, overflowed it, took possession of its streets and public places and held high orgie."

Disorder reigned unchecked and confusion was everywhere.

The clerks in the departments, many of whom had been hurried toward the front to do service as nurses, were now hastily formed into companies and battalions for defense. The

Government ordered the arms and ammunition at the arsenal and the money in the treasury to be shipped to New York, and the banks followed the example. A gunboat, with steam up, lay in the river off the White House, as if to announce to the army and the inhabitants the impending flight of the administration. It was at this juncture that the President, on his own responsibility, once more charged General McClellan with the defense of the capitol. On the afternoon of the 7th (Lee's army having disappeared from in front of Washington) 87,000 men were in motion, and General McClellan set out for Rockville to put himself at their head, leaving 73,000 men, 120 field-pieces, and about 500 heavy guns in position, or nearly one-half of McClellan's entire army. General Lee, his army flushed with victories, had begun an invasion of the North by way of Maryland.

Moving from Meridian Hill on the morning of the 7th of September, the Ninth proceeded some ten miles and went into bivouac. On the following day shelter tents were issued to the men. On the morning of the 9th reveille was sounded at three o'clock, and at sunrise march was resumed. A march of twelve miles brought the regiment to Brookville at 11 A.M., where it rested until 5 P.M., and once more

took the road until 10 P.M., having made an additional ten miles and camped near Laytonsville. The movement continued the following day in the direction of Frederick, but after travelling some four miles the regiment was ordered to retrace its steps to its last camp where it remained until 9 A.M., of the 11th. Again starting for Frederick it passed Damascus at 1.30 P.M., and at five o'clock camped near Ridgeville, after a fifteen-mile march.

Thus far the campaign had been of a pleasant nature, the weather had been fine, the absence of the accustomed mud being especially noticeable, and all were in high spirits. The troops were in what appeared to be a friendly country, and in comparison with the Virginia they had seen, a beautiful one. The soldiers sauntered along leisurely enjoying the rural scenes and the pleasing sight of men pursuing their daily vocations, while women and children stood in doorways or leaned from windows to watch them pass. Horses and cattle were grazing quietly on field and hillside, and everything seemed to indicate peace and friendliness from the inhabitants who seemed to regard the troops as their army. Dust was the only disturbing element. The dry roads were so pulverized by the continuous march of

thousands of men and miles of wagon trains and artillery, that the men moved literally in a cloud of dust which was dispelled only occasionally by a gentle breeze, but hardly long enough to obtain a view of the surrounding country. An abundant water supply along the route was a comforting refreshment, however, for which all felt truly thankful.

When the regiment first moved out of bivouac on the 7th it became a portion of a great river of men rolling down toward Frederick. A large proportion of this stream of men bore but little resemblance to military organizations. Thousands went plodding along the road apparently entirely uncontrolled. Many organizations scattered among the mass kept well together in regular military formation and in good control of their officers. But the disorganized ones were judged to have been portions of Pope's command, which had not yet recovered from the demoralization the result of the severe campaign through which they had just passed.

Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball was determined that the Ninth should not be contaminated by this loose example, and therefore issued stringent orders against straggling on any pretense whatever. A strong detachment was each morning detailed as a regimental rear guard during

the day's march, with positive orders to permit no member of the regiment to fall out for any cause whatever unless ordered to an ambulance by one of the surgeons. This guard was maintained until after leaving Frederick. It is but just to state that during the entire march not a man of the "Ninth" straggled from his regiment. The disorganized condition of portions of the troops above mentioned was corrected after the campaign was fairly under way. Each day saw an improvement, and within a week from the start, the entire army was as orderly and well disciplined in appearance as the most observant military critic could desire.

Early on the morning of the 12th, march was resumed along the main turnpike across the Monocacy river for Frederick direct, which had been invaded by "Stonewall" Jackson's men. Newmarket was passed through at one o'clock, and about 3:30 P.M., the column was halted under the brow of Monocacy ridge.

Scattering firing was heard a short distance ahead. The advance had struck the rebel army. Their rear guard pitched a few shot and shell at the advancing troops, more in the way of defiance than with a view of making any real resistance to the passage of the Monocacy bridge. The cavalry soon had the enemy on the run, crowding them through Frederick and up into the



Catocin mountains. It was noticed and commented upon by the rank and file that when these collisions occurred between the advance of the army and the enemy's rear guard, and it became necessary to employ infantry for his dislodgment, none of the veteran troops were detailed for that duty.

As the troops moved along the road they would become aware that an engagement was taking place at some distant point ahead by the dull roar or growl of the artillery. This sound became more pronounced as they advanced, until the sharp crack of the Napoleons and sound of bursting shells became more distinct. If the resistance proved to be so stubborn that the available cavalry were not in sufficient force to overcome it, the column would come to a halt, while an infantry force strong enough to effect the object would be sent forward. These troops were always taken from the new regiments. On such occasions they were seldom if ever actually engaged, for by the time they were deployed and arrangements completed for the attack the enemy would generally move away to repeat the operation at the next favorable position found on their line of march. Thus, the recruits were made to believe that they had been in battle and had been victorious, though escaping without injury. This

use of the new regiments was most satisfactory to the veterans. The boys who were not "sent in" had a rest, and what some of them liked still better, an opportunity to ironically praise the new men, who, moving past the line of resting veterans by the roadside, received an abundance of gratuitous advice as to their actions when they should strike the enemy, also very circumstantial accounts of what was taking place at the front; the force of the enemy, what troops had just been repulsed, the number of killed, etc., etc., all being purely imaginary, and done for the purpose of frightening the recruits. All this was regarded as immensely funny by the veterans. When Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball became aware of this practice, however, he at once put a stop to it, and severely lectured the men for their thoughtlessness.

The advance was now taken by the division to which the Ninth belonged (General Rodman's) which descended the ridge, crossed the bridge, and when within half a mile of the outskirts of Frederick, filed to the left until the whole command reached the open fields across the railroad, and moved in line by brigades, over fences and through the tall corn, where the alignment could only be maintained by observing the tops of the numerous colors, the men

jumping all obstacles and smashing down the fences with the butts of their muskets.

The advance, composed of cavalry and light artillery, was busily engaged with the enemy. Sharp skirmishing was taking place in the streets, the fighting continuing through and beyond the city until night and darkness caused a cessation. Troops poured into the city from all the roads east and south, and the "Ninth" pitched its camp upon the rocky bluff overlooking the railroad near the depot. It was a night of the wildest excitement in Frederick, the streets being crowded with citizens who in every way displayed their loyalty and loudly welcomed the brave veterans who so hurriedly rushed to their protection. And it was a night ever to be remembered by the tired and footsore troops. To those fortunate enough to obtain passes into the city and who were not too weary to leave their bivouac, a scene was presented which is seldom witnessed even by soldiers of a victorious army.

Every house was illuminated, as though for a victory, the streets crowded with citizens eager to welcome the soldiers of the grand old Army of the Potomac, while refreshments were offered to the men from every doorstep, trays and baskets of food, water, lemonade, and other and more enticing drinks were

forced upon the soldiers on every side. All residences were wide open to any one in uniform who cared to accept an invitation to enter, and many a travel-stained and weather-beaten soldier enjoyed that night the only occasion of real, civilized, social entertainment which had fallen to his lot since leaving his northern home. Among the belated members of the regiment returning to camp in the "wee sma' hours," after reluctantly leaving their hospitable entertainers, were Lieutenants Barnett and Horner. They were so fortunate as to discover a fire which had broken out in the jail and threatened a serious conflagration. It was thought probable that the fire might have been started by sympathizers or emissaries of the enemy who had just been driven out, for the purpose of throwing the city into confusion, and enabling them to further some scheme which would tend to seriously injure the Union cause. Barnett hurried to camp to report the matter to Kimball, while Horner hastened to the jail to render any help possible, pending the arrival of reinforcements, and to release and afterward prevent the escape of the large number of prisoners there confined. Colonel Kimball at once dispatched three companies to the scene under Captain Barnett, and they

arrived about the time that Horner and the jailer had succeeded in opening all the cell doors and were driving the confused and frightened prisoners into the jail yard.

The wall surrounding the yard was quickly mounted by the Zouaves, which point of vantage enabled them to keep the prisoners under control while the troops were fighting the flames and sentinels were being posted around the vicinity of the jail.

No hostile demonstrations were made by either rebel sympathizers or the lawless element and after a while a regular regiment relieved the boys of the Ninth, who reached their camp about daybreak. Hardly had they turned in when reveille sounded, and for once the order to "fall in" was not obeyed with their accustomed alacrity. Almost as soon as coffee had been prepared and disposed of the Ninth was ordered out to the support of "Rush's Lancers" who, striving to drive back the rebel rear guard, found a detachment of them so strongly posted that infantry was required to dislodge them. Marching rapidly toward Jefferson the regiment reached the place where the Lancers were engaged. The enemy had a mountain howitzer in the road which led up to the hill in front, but the supporting force was unknown.

Companies C, H and I were sent to the right and Company B to the left of the road and deployed as skirmishers, the remainder of the regiment being held in reserve.

Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball's dispositions of the regiment were so quickly made, and the advance began so promptly that the enemy's evident intention to fall back leisurely was rudely interrupted. Two detachments of their rear guard were struck so suddenly that they were scattered before either could return a shot, while some of them were wounded. One sharpshooter who failed to obey the scriptural injunction, "Stand not upon the order of your going," etc., was discovered by private Sam March of Company I, trying to conceal himself in a tree where he had taken position and was captured. It is not probable that this detachment intended to seriously resist infantry. They simply opposed the cavalry to gain time for their forces to get farther away, thinking to escape easily themselves and without loss, as soon as the infantry arrived within striking distance.

From the summit of the ridge, over which a portion of the regiment now passed in skirmishing order, the whole valley stretching away to South Mountain lay exposed like a vast painted canvas. Far to the northward the village of Middletown was in flames.

At several points along the foot of the opposite ridge batteries were spewing out little clouds of curling smoke, pierced by angry tongues of fire. Cavalry troops were dashing here and there, the infantry more slowly but deliberately advancing or retreating, and artillery hurrying to some new point of vantage. On this immense stage the drama of war was being enacted on a gigantic scale. In many a soldier's breast as he gazed on the scene were mingled the emotions of hatred, ambition and sorrow at the startling and impressive sight. Hatred for the offending foe, ambition to subdue him, and sorrow that men should have found it necessary to take each other's lives to establish a principle.

But little time was given to philosophizing. The various companies of the regiment, including the battery reassembled on a road on the farther side of the ridge and marched rapidly toward the village of Jefferson or Jeffersonville. Fearing to be outflanked the enemy fell back, withdrawing the howitzer, while the Ninth eagerly pursued, but without avail, as the Johnnies were too fleet.

Arriving at Jefferson, arms were stacked in the street, pickets thrown out, and the inhabitants regaled the Zouaves with food of various kinds, which was eagerly devoured by the half-famished men. Officers and men took

advantage of an opportunity to rest, and in a few moments nearly all were sleeping by the roadside.

During the whole afternoon cannonading could be plainly heard from the direction of Harper's Ferry, where Jackson was then making his attack. The deep boom of the big guns and the sharper crack of the smaller ones was remarkably distinct, and as the men awoke and were on the *qui vive*, they in imagination followed the fortunes of the battle raging a few miles distant. While the Ninth was still awaiting orders General Franklin's command arrived and passed through the village in the direction of the firing. They were a most dilapidated looking lot, ragged and weather-beaten, and had evidently seen some pretty hard marching recently. From the leisurely way in which they marched it was plain that like the Ninth they were not under orders for Harper's Ferry, where the battle was still raging. An officer—said to be General Franklin—and his staff, dismounted, procured some refreshments, and seating themselves on the porch of a house, ate with great deliberation.

All subordinates in the army of whatever rank are well aware that there are superiors in abundance to do the thinking, and the rank and file are not presumed to exercise



their brains on any subject or to contemplate any time beyond the present. Still men of inferior rank, however lowly, have their own ideas and will cogitate over them, and during this period of rest at Jeffersonville there were many who thought it would be more pertinent to the occasion to move forward and create a diversion in favor of the men ahead who were fighting for their lives, rather than that thousands of men should stand listlessly hearkening to the cannonading at the Ferry, whose increasing volume 'plainly told them, which afterward proved to be correct, that their comrades were in sore need of assistance.

About 6 P.M., all pickets were drawn in, with the exception of Sergeant Jackson, who was accidentally left on post with his men, but who fortunately succeeded in joining the regiment later, and the regiment started on its return to Frederick, which was reached before midnight, after a march of twenty-five miles. This was one of the most fatiguing marches the men had been called upon to make, not so much because of distance covered, as of their exhausted condition consequent upon the amount of labor they had been called upon to perform in the preceding forty-eight hours. On the 12th they had been in line of battle the greater part of the day, leav-

ing the roads and advancing across country through field and wood, plowed land and meadow, which is the hardest kind of work entailed on the soldier, heavily weighted as he is with musket and equipments.

Night had fallen when the regiment left Jeffersonville, and all passed pleasantly for a time. The men sung their customary marching songs and the woods rang with the choruses. With the intention of making the march as easy as possible Colonel Kimball halted the column for a rest, at the most inopportune time, which proved to be unfortunate. The regiment had moved leisurely out of the village towards camp and the men had "limbered up" nicely and were in good marching condition and could have continued to Frederick in fairly good shape with little or no rest, but now the long halt which followed induced them to fall asleep. When the bugle sounded "forward" the boys were stiff and sore, and slowly responded to the call.

There was no more singing, no more conversation in the ranks. Each man felt fagged out, but doggedly plodded onward over the apparently endless road having no further desire for even a temporary rest. The only wish or thought was how to get through and reach the objective point in the shortest time possible,

knowing there would then be an opportunity to obtain the much required sleep. After what seemed like hours of marching the regiment reached Frederick, and proceeded haltingly and painfully through the silent and deserted streets and at last arrived at the old camp. Throwing themselves on the hard earth the tired men enjoyed that sweet rest which the worn and footsore soldier can so well appreciate. Orders had been given to move at 3 A.M., and it seemed as though they had scarcely rolled themselves in their blankets ere the order came to "fall in," which was obeyed with the greatest reluctance, and without the accustomed promptness. Passing out of the city on the way to Fairville and Jerusalem, they arrived at Middletown at about 10 A.M. There the "Ninth" came to a halt after a rapid march of seven hours. Every appearance tended to impress the observer with the belief that a battle was near. The regiment, which had evidently been started prematurely in the early morning, was marched into a field by the roadside with orders to "halt" and "rest." All felt that they were only waiting their turn to "go in" as the cannonading in front of them was increasing every moment. Brigades, divisions and corps which probably had remained in bivouac until after daybreak, streamed past to the front, while

the Ninth waited by the roadside. It was evidently clear that their corps was not to be utilized until these other troops should reach their positions.

The battle of South Mountain had opened and troops were being hurried forward to the front while the Ninth was ordered to rest. All hands were soon sound asleep, and continued so until 2 P.M., when, after a cup of good coffee they were ordered forward in the direction of the firing which had become exceedingly brisk. Forging a small stream at the foot of South Mountain they filed into a narrow and rocky road leading to the summit, and while passing up the steep ascent met a stream of wounded men being transported rapidly to the rear. Working their way steadily up the mountain and also moving obliquely to the left to extend the line in that direction, they met with little opposition until nearing the position assigned them, when suddenly a rebel battery opened fire most vigorously. This did not check them in the least or cause any damage, the battery being situated so far above them on the top of the mountain that the enemy was unable to depress his guns to any marked degree but was obliged to fire straight ahead out into the "wide world," the shells exploding so far above the regiment that few casualties

resulted. The firing ceased shortly after and the position was gained without further opposition.

This cessation it was afterward learned was due to a charge made by an Ohio Brigade (the 11th, 12th, and 23d Regiments), which compelled the battery to limber up and hastily withdraw and also temporarily clearing that part of the line of the rebel infantry.

Battery E, 4th U. S. Artillery, occupied the position vacated by the rebel battery, and the "Ninth" moved into line to its support.

Being on the extreme left of the army, the brigade was formed like the letter L, the Ninth being the base line, while the 103d and 89th New York were formed at right angles to it, extending toward the rear. The battery faced down the line towards the left. The Ninth and 103d, with about two companies of the 89th, had arrived on the line when the enemy, who were concealed in a close thicket of laurel on the west slope of the mountain, suddenly dashed from their cover, and made an impetuous charge on the battery, yelling and discharging their muskets as soon as the forces were sighted. Without hesitation Colonel Kimball gave the order: "Right wing, attention! Fix bayonets! By the right flank by file left, double quick. March!" and led the way through

and between guns and limbers into the thick brush on the right of the battery beyond the view of the remainder of the regiment, to a position where he could strike the flank of the charging rebels. Meanwhile the battery was firing double charges of canister at point blank range, the enemy being so close that it was unnecessary to aim but simply point the guns after each discharge. The 103d after a momentary unsteadiness, stood up to the work like good fellows, firing volley after volley, while the two companies of the 89th opened a steady, well-directed fire, the other companies joining in as each arrived on the line, the entire movement being as coolly and methodically performed as though on drill in winter camp.

At this point an incident occurred which will illustrate the coolness under fire of Major Jardine who temporarily commanded the 89th New York.

Shortly after the Ninth relieved the Ohio Brigade on the summit of the mountain, the left of the regiment being close to the battery, and the 89th following by the flank up the steep ascent, the sudden and unexpected dash of the enemy was so unlooked for that for an instant there was a halt in that part of the 89th not yet on the line, when Major Jardine sprang upon a stone wall on the left of the Ninth and

running diagonally toward it (the 89th) cried out: "Eighty-ninth New York, what in h—l are you about? Continue the movement!" In the meantime the battery men had picked themselves up from the grass and made their guns talk with grape and canister. Although the regiment had orders not to fire without command, Corporal Charles Curie, of Company C, acting sergeant and left-general guide, cocked his musket to await orders to fire, when Jardine, hearing the lock click, turned toward him, and said to Curie: "Put down that hammer. You know what the orders are. We want to meet the charge with the bayonet. You ought to be promoted for that."

Major Jardine then jumped down from the wall and resumed command of the 89th, which he retained until after the battle of Antietam. He was subsequently presented by the officers of that regiment with a magnificent gold medal in appreciation of his meritorious services during the campaign.

For a moment bullets seemed to fill the air and matters assumed a serious aspect, but the supporting line stood firm and poured in such withering volleys that the enemy recoiled and fell back suffering great loss.

As darkness set in the Ninth was detailed for picket duty, and that night guarded the ex-

treme left of the army. The howitzer battery of Company K was in reserve, supported by several companies to enfilade any attacking party who might attempt to surprise the picket line. General Reno's command kept up a continuous fire with the enemy in his front for some two hours after dark, but on the left all was comparatively quiet throughout the night.

Among the drummer boys who enlisted in the regiment at its organization was J. C. Julius Langbein. Although but thirteen years of age he was bright, intelligent and manly, but so small in stature and so feminine in looks that he could easily have passed as a girl. He at once received the sobriquet of "Jennie" from all the men, which name clung to him during his term of service and for years afterward. It may prove of interest to here produce part of a letter written by one of the wounded officers of the regiment to 1st Sergeant Green, of Company F, relating an incident which occurred during this battle—Company F being then detached from the regiment on garrison duty at Plymouth, N. C. :

NEW YORK, December 3rd, 1862.

"MY DEAR JACK: \* \* \* Now, Jack I must tell you of my experience with 'Jennie' the drummer, during this fight.

Just as we were coming on to the line I noticed that he was with my company and was keeping pretty close to me. There was no firing on our part of the line just at the time. I noticed the boy particularly as it was such an unusual circumstance to see him away from his own company that I was obliged to.



He stood around while the brigade was forming and when the rebels burst out of the woods, and we were ordered to lie down temporarily, he squatted down right beside me. Of course, I was all alive to catch any order that might come from 'the old man,' but I saw what was going on all the same.

About the time the rebel yell began to change its tone a little and their fire slackened up, Jennie very deliberately straightened up and looked all around surveying the situation. Saying to him pretty sharp, 'Sit down you d—d little fool, you'll get your head knocked off,' he looked at me with a kind of queer expression, hitched up his trousers and with the reply, 'that's what I came here for,' walked off towards the left where most of the firing was.

After the rebels had been repulsed and things quieted down, he drifted back to my vicinity again. It was getting quite dark by this time, so dark that we could see the fire pour out of the muzzles of the guns and spatter like melted metal as it struck the ground. As soon as the firing had entirely ceased we sat down—tired, hungry and cold—and were exchanging confidences in relation to our respective condition of emptiness, when one of the sergeants of the battery brought us something to eat and also blankets to sleep under. After eating and chatting for some time—Sullivan his name was; E. of the 4th U. S. Artillery—we rolled ourselves in his blankets, and I, at least, tried to sleep. All this time the heaviest kind of a musketry fire—the heaviest and steadiest I ever heard—was being kept up on our right where our center was forcing its way up the mountain. At that time our line was like a bow with the concave side toward the enemy. I was in such a condition of nervousness, owing to the lack of grub and the mental and physical strain of the three preceding days, that I could not get to sleep at once, but I tried to rest and lay quiet so as not to disturb 'Jennie' should he be asleep.

After lying quietly for a time he raised himself to a sitting position and after appearing to listen to the musketry for a while, said quietly: 'Are you asleep, Lieutenant?' I answered that I was not asleep; 'That's an awful heavy fire, Lieutenant,' he said, 'but I think the boys are driving them. It appears to be coming up the hill.' Then he heaved a deep sigh and lay down. He repeated this performance several times before I dropped off to sleep. In the morning he rolled up the blankets, took them over to the sergeant, and I suppose went to his company, as I saw him only once again during the day, when he came to tell me that the 'mess' had something to eat and that I had better get up toward the right where it was or it would be all gone.

Now Jack, I would like to know what you think of that for a fourteen year old drummer boy. I thought the thing over a good deal after I was wounded and I had nothing else to do but think, and I honestly think that boy believed it his duty, inasmuch as I was only a second

lieutenant and was for the first time in command of a company in action, to keep his eye on me and see that I did not go wrong or do anything to bring discredit on the regiment. He was apparently satisfied with the way I behaved myself during the fight and went back to his own company with the consciousness that he could trust me to do what was right.

In my next I will tell you something about the big battle, Antietam.

Remember me to Captain Flusser and also to Captain Hammill and Lieutenant Perley.

Yours sincerely, ——"

The next day the Ninth was relieved and placed in reserve for a much needed rest. There were no rations obtainable, the wagon trains were not permitted to come forward among the moving troops on the roads and the men were forced to forage in the potato and cornfields, which had previously been visited by the rebels, consequently the supply obtained from these sources was decidedly slim.

About 5 P.M., on the 15th, the regiment was ordered forward, and before moving down the western slope of the mountain came upon the scene of the previous day's heaviest fighting. The result of battle was here visible in all its ghastly horror.

The enemy's dead were so numerous that at one point—a sunken road where they had made a determined stand—their bodies had to be removed from the road to make a passageway for the troops. They were piled in heaps on either side. Their limbs contorted and their faces black as negroes, presenting a most

horrible sight. It was near here about sunset that the lamented Reno lost his life while supervising his lines. He was in all respects a most admirable officer and his untimely decease was regretted by the entire army.

There seems to be some uncertainty as to the manner of his death, some persons asserting that he was picked off by a rebel sharpshooter, while at the present date (1899) others as positively assert that he met his death in a manner similar to that of "Stonewall" Jackson — was mortally wounded by his own men. In the gathering darkness, and being at the extreme front to assure himself that his lines were correct, he is said to have been mistaken for an enemy. To signify the high estimation in which the General was held by his superiors, we quote a well deserved tribute to his memory, in an article on "The Second Bull Run," written by Major-General Pope for the *Century Magazine*:

"I rode along the front of our line, and gave the same information to Heintzleman and Reno. I shall not soon forget the bright and confident face and the alert and hearty manner of that most accomplished and loyal soldier, Gen. J. L. Reno. From first to last in this campaign he was always cheerful and ready; anxious to anticipate, if possible, and prompt to execute with all his might the orders received.

"He was short in stature and upright in person, and with a face and manner so bright and engaging at all times, but most especially noticeable in the fury of battle, that it was both a pleasure and a comfort to see him. In his death, two weeks afterward, during the battle of South Mountain, when he led his troops with his usual gallantry and daring, the Government lost one of its best and most promising

officers. Had he lived to see the end of the war, he would undoubtedly have attained one of the highest, if not the very highest position in the army.

"His superior abilities were unquestioned, and if he lacked one single element that goes to make a perfect soldier, certainly it was not discovered before his death."

General Cox in his report, says :

"A little before sunset Reno came up in person, anxious to know why the right could not get forward quite to the summit. After a few moments' conversation with me he passed on to Sturgis. It seemed to me he was hardly gone before he was brought back upon a stretcher, dead. He had gone to the skirmish line to examine for himself the situation there, and had been shot down by the enemy posted among the rocks and trees."

The 9th Corps followed hotly on the rear of the flying enemy, crossing Little Antietam Creek near Keedysville, and fording another small stream near Locust Spring.

It was now nearly 11 o'clock, and the men were thoroughly exhausted by the severe marches of the past week, and were delighted to hear the command "Halt!" given for the night. Stopping at the foot of Red Hill, they threw themselves on the ground, too fatigued to put up any shelter, and awaited the forthcoming of rations, but were again disappointed, as no wagons could be found, and they passed another night nearly famished.

About 8 A.M., of the 16th, the rebels opened their batteries upon the Union forces, who replied spiritedly until 11 o'clock, when the enemy retired.

The position of the bivouac occupied by the

Division, appeared to be in the rear of Hooker and the rest of the right wing of the army. At frequent intervals during the greater portion of the day the latter were hotly engaged with the enemy.

At 5 P.M., the regiment was ordered forward, and reaching the line of battle already forming in front of the enemy, were moved by General Rodman to the left, and soon after dark arrived at the extreme left of the army.

The night was very dark, and the flank was still further extended by a staff officer, the greatest caution being observed as they advanced—absolute silence being preserved—the other regiments of the brigade moving in a similar manner, but more to the rear, forming a kind of echelon by the flank on the “Ninth.” While passing through a cornfield the heavy tramp of men was heard coming down the hill to the left of the Ninth, and they prepared to meet the enemy.

“Fix bayonets!” commanded Kimball. It was instantly executed, and the men firmly faced the expected attack, while General Rodman rushed forward to assume charge of the threatened assault. The command “Halt!” was several times repeated and heard above the noise made by the approach of the supposed enemy, then all became quiet. A few paces distant the Zouaves were met by the

103rd New York, who, if they had continued to advance a moment longer would have received a volley from the regiment, and a terrible slaughter would have resulted. The Zouaves again moved ahead, a detail from Company B feeling the ground in advance, and on reaching the position selected, halted and lay down. The battery of Company K was divided—three guns, under command of Captain Whiting, being placed on the right of the brigade, the remaining ones on the left, under Lieutenant Morris. The orders to Captain Whiting were, if attacked by infantry to open fire at once, but if by artillery only, to remain silent.

The brigade was still on the extreme left of the army, and, from the nature of the ground and the conditions under which the dispositions for battle were made, was the last one to arrive at its designated position in the line; consequently it was long after dark before its marchings, manœuvres and changes of positions came to an end, and the tired men were permitted to lie down and seek what rest was possible to prepare them for the pending battle of the morrow.

The subsequent events of "the bloodiest battle of the war" can best be described by quoting a letter written to Colonel Hawkins, at his request, by Lieut. Matthew J. Graham, on September 27th, 1894.

## CHAPTER X.

LIEUTENANT GRAHAM'S LETTER DESCRIPTIVE OF THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM — ATTACK ON THE STONE WALL — GREAT BRAVERY OF THE TROOPS — ORDERED TO RETIRE AND LIEUTENANT-COLONEL KIMBALL'S PROTEST — GENERAL WILCOX IN PERSON PEREMPTORILY ORDERS KIMBALL TO FALL BACK — ASSISTANCE TO THE WOUNDED — McCLELLAN'S, BURNSIDE'S, FAIRCHILD'S, AND KIMBALL'S REPORTS — MR. KIRKLEY'S STATEMENTS OF TOTAL KILLED IN THE CIVIL WAR, AND PROPORTION OF WOUNDED TO KILLED — GENERAL LONGSTREET'S COMMENTS ON THE BATTLE AND COMPARISON WITH OTHER NOTABLE ENGAGEMENTS — PERCENTAGE OF REGIMENTAL AND BRIGADE LOSS OF THE NINTH REGIMENT.

NEW YORK, September 27, 1894.

COLONEL RUSH C. HAWKINS.

MY DEAR COLONEL:—In response to your suggestion offered at the meeting of the Association on the 24th inst., I will try to write down my recollections of the movements of, and the various positions occupied by our regiment, the Ninth New York Volunteers (Hawkins' Zouaves), just prior to, and during the Battle of Antietam, on the night of the 16th and the day of the 17th of September, 1862.

Thirty-two years is a long time to look back.

Particularly is this so if one indulges in reminiscences which require the element of accuracy. But I think it will not be necessary for me to try to recall any of the principal happenings of that time;—of that day particularly. What I write will be, I think, merely a statement of what I saw on the evening preceding, and on the day of the battle;—incidents which were impressed on my mind then, and which have been vividly in view of my memory ever since. In doing this I may fall into error; I may transpose actions and incidents; but I shall strive to avoid these, giving due consideration to the fact that when talking over these matters with other members of the regiment, I frequently find that their recollections and mine do not always agree.

The last movement which the regiment made on the evening of the 16th toward the perfecting of the line of battle, was after dark—in almost absolute darkness. The sky was cloudy, and the air charged with moisture—a heavy mist, or, more properly, a light drizzle—not fog. We were extending the line toward the left. It was too dark to see either one's comrades, the bushes through which we forced our way, or the stumps and inequalities of the ground over which we stumbled. The movement completed, we halted and lay down, as we had stood, in line.



Only a short time before this I had appeased my hunger with a conglomeration of stuff, the chief ingredient of which was green 'corn—a tomato can nearly full of it,—which had been prepared and given me by Dick Rivers (who has since gone to his reward), and consequently, or otherwise, I slept the sleep of the just. I was awakened in the morning at early daylight by one of the sergeants, who informed me that the enemy were about to open fire on us.

Upon looking about me I found we were in a cornfield, the ground behind us rising gradually until it formed a considerable ridge. It was timbered, but not thickly, from within a few paces in rear of our line back as far as I could see from our position. The field sloped very gradually from our front until it ended in bushes, and in what appeared to be swampy ground; beyond that toward the front the hills were quite high and appeared to be very steep and bluff.

I do not know of a person now living who could give a better description of the ground where we bivouacked than Lieutenant Horner. He was officer of the guard that night, and, therefore, had better facilities for observing than any of us; and this is equally true concerning our movements on the day of the

battle. Circumstances made it necessary to detail him as acting adjutant, but while he had an excellent chance to observe the nature of the ground, I think he had neither the time nor the inclination to dwell much on the beauties of nature. The ground over which the regiment advanced that day was not a path of roses.

There was considerable activity among some men in grey on the top of one of the hills in our front. They were apparently shoveling and leveling the ground. My impression was that they were preparing a place for their battery to stand; that they had gotten their guns up there and were obliged to prepare a platform or level space for them so that the recoil would not force them down the hill.

On our right also the hills were quite abrupt. One spur which attracted my notice was thrust boldly and precipitously out into the low land. On our left the land was considerably elevated, but the hills were not so steep. Down in the swamp, or what I thought was a swamp, there was a little scattering picket firing. From the general appearance of the ground in our immediate front I was sure there was a stream near, but did not suppose for a moment that it was between us and the hill from which the enemy were preparing to open fire on us. The ground in our front looked to be impassable by reason

of its apparent swampy nature. It did not occur to me that the Antietam was no near, and I am still inclined to the opinion that the men in grey with the battery were on our side of the creek. They finally got their guns fixed to their satisfaction and fired one shell as a trier. It struck and exploded in the spur on our right front which I mentioned above. This spur may have covered our right wing. When the shell exploded there was a general laugh along my part of the line at the bad shot. Another shot followed in a moment or two which was better, but still did no damage. A third shot was right—the pieces falling right among us. When the men in grey saw the effect of this shot they opened fire in such a furious style as to give the impression that they had a dozen guns there, and every shell seemed to land in or near our line. At this time the regiment had not been called to attention. The men formed in line instinctively and awaited orders. Colonel Kimball came up from the left, followed by Captain Barnett. The Colonel gave the command: "By the right of companies to the rear!"

Some of the men with whom I have talked about that particular movement insist that we were then in the line faced to the rear. I remembered that on the previous evening we

extended our line to the left. In the morning we faced toward the place where the enemy should be—that is, faced to the right from the direction we had been marching the night before. At the above command I put myself on the right of my company, where I found Sergeant Forbes, and broke by files to the rear. While moving to the rear, perpendicular to our line of battle, I spoke to Captain Childs, who was toward my right, to the right of my company as I was then moving, and who was leaning against a tree, wounded. I said to him: “Get on the other side of the tree, Captain; get to leeward.” My company was between “E” and “G” that day; Libaire on my right and Childs on my left. At the same time I remember that Captain Barnett came from toward the left of the regiment—the *then* left. He commanded the company on the *right* flank of the regiment. Also, that when we made our next forward movement we were followed by the 103d; not preceded by them. I am inclined to think that we were a little mixed as to formation.

At the command march we moved directly to the rear into the woods, up the slope of the ridge, and after we had passed out of sight of the enemy, they did not appear to be able to find us with their shells, and after a few moments they ceased firing.

A number of our men were hit before and during the execution of this crawfish movement, but the exact number I do not know. We had coffee there on the ridge in the woods. There were some farm out-buildings and a barnyard there but I do not remember that there was a dwelling house. We shortly afterward moved forward, out of the woods, on to an open grassy slope, starting in a direction as though to continue our line to the left, but gradually swinging around toward the right, until at last we were moving in a direction perpendicular to our line of battle of the morning. This movement was made in echelon by companies or divisions, the 103d following us, Kimball and Ringold riding together part of the way in front of our regiment. While moving across this sloping meadow we passed our battery, or a part of it. They were "in battery" farther to our left, and were occasionally firing a shot. They moved off further to our left as we went forward, and again went "in action," still in plain sight. I do not recall seeing either Whiting or Morris with the battery. I saw only Shields, and I think that is why I had the impression that I saw only part of it.\*

\*On the night before the battle the battery had been divided, part of it being placed on the right of the brigade and the remainder on the left.

We ended our forward movement right at the edge of the bluff, the creek being below some distance, and the face of the bluff being very steep. The ground was high enough to give us an extensive view of a stretch of country toward our front and right, including much of the battlefield. I could see no lines or masses of troops anywhere; some of the rebel batteries, however, were in full view in front of us and on our right. Farther toward our right, above the bushes and over the cornfields, we could see the light musketry smoke drifting, which seemed to indicate heavy infantry fighting there. The air was very still, and great piles of white smoke, like clouds, hung over and around the batteries, both the enemy's and our own. We occasionally saw groups of men, officers we took them to be, both mounted and on foot, moving about on the other side of the creek. Once a skirmish line appeared moving directly toward the stream, our battery fired one shot at them and they disappeared—into the earth, it seemed, as I did not see them afterward.

General Rodman joined us here.

I had a glass and noted everything carefully which took place within my circle of vision. While we stood here the movement on the bridge was made, I think by our second divi-

sion. I could not see it all, as the country was timbered in places, which hid the movements of the troops. I don't remember seeing the bridge at all. I saw the troops moving down the hill; saw them once or twice break up and scatter and reform again and advance but did not know just what was going on until I noticed that some of the figures on the ground, who did not scatter with the rest, were lying with their heads down hill. I then realized that they were dead, and that the movements which I had been watching were charges. All this time, while we were standing on the bluff, we were not disturbed. We stood up in line of battle; there was no hostile demonstration whatever made against us; not a shot of any kind was fired at us; there were "none to molest us or make us afraid."

Then came the crossing of the creek. We marched by the left flank down what appeared to be an old wood-road, and filed to the right at the edge of the stream. I do not remember how deep it was, but it was quite an effort to stem the current. When partly across we received the fire of a detachment which was stationed behind a wall at the head of a ravine which opened up from the water towards our left front. I judge there were about two companies of infantry of them. Their fire was not

very heavy, rather scattering, and we did not answer it. One reason was that we would have to stop in the stream while firing, and any of our men who might be wounded would be in great danger of drowning, so we urged the men forward and passed the order not to fire. I had two men hit here.

We filed to the right when we reached the bank, and were at once out of the fire in the shelter of the hills or bluffs. We then faced to the left, which brought us by the rear rank into line, and marched, or rather climbed, directly up the bluff; the ground in front of my company was very rough and difficult and also very steep. Rodman appeared here again on foot and went up with the regiment. At the top of the hill we again came in sight of the gentlemen who disputed our crossing the ford, but they were not having things so much their own way as they had then. A party of our troops—I got the impression that they were Rhode Island men—were advancing rapidly up the ravine, firing as they went. They were led by a mounted officer, whom I recognized as “Happy” Tom Lyon, a major of a defunct rocket battery. He was then serving on Burnside’s staff. While our men were advancing determinedly and rapidly the Johnnies did not seem to keep up as good a fire as they should



have done ; in fact, as I looked at them, just for the moment, Burn's lines came into my mind :

“ Their boldest thought 's a hankerin' swither  
To stan' or rin.”

Lyon was doing the military picture act in the most approved fashion. I concluded that his horse had been wounded, it was plunging so.

We lay down here and waited for the new formation to be completed. The bridge had evidently been carried by this time, as the troops were pouring across, some of them passing along our rear and extending the line to the left. We changed position once or twice as the movement approached completion, the fire of the enemy's batteries becoming heavier and heavier, until finally we had to lie very close.

The general level of the fields from the bank of the creek was reached by a succession of terraces or benches — say two or three. The first rise from the stream might have been fifty feet or more ; then, on my part of the line, came a level space a few yards wide ; then a rise of a few feet, not over ten ; then a wide level space, a hundred paces at least ; then another rise, quite steep in places, and high enough to elevate us as we lay in line far above the heads of the mounted officers who were grouped on the next level below us. We lay

as near the top of the slope as we could without actually being on the level ground. On our line, between us and the 103d, a battery was in action. It was reported along the line, though I do not know on what authority, that it was Clark's Battery "E," of the 4th U. S. Artillery. They did not appear to be able to do much in the way of firing, as it seemed to me that every time they would get fairly at work the rebels would concentrate such a fire on them as to silence them; and the men would be obliged to lie down in such shelter as they could get until the weight of the enemy's fire was directed to another part of the line. Their "park" was on this lower level before mentioned, and almost in line with, and in rear of, the guns, and it caught a good deal of the fire that missed the battery. The practice of the rebel artillerymen was something wonderful in its accuracy; they dropped shot and shell right into our line repeatedly. They kept the air fairly filled with missiles of almost every variety, from shrapnel to railroad iron. The shrapnel or canister was very much in evidence. I saw one of our men in hospital afterward who had nine gunshot wounds in his right arm. I watched solid shot—round shot—strike in front of the guns with what sounded like an innocent thud, and,

bounding over battery and park, fly through the tree tops, cutting some of them off so suddenly that it seemed to me they lingered for an instant undecided which way to fall. These round shot did not appear to be in a hurry. They came along slowly and deliberately, apparently, and there appeared no harm in them until they hit something.

As soon as our line was established Colonel Kimball ordered Company I out as skirmishers. They seemed to be pretty busy for a time, judging from the amount of shouting and firing in the field in front of the regiment where they deployed. This, however, died away gradually as the boys pushed farther out and drove the enemy's skirmishers before them.

I was lying on my back, supported on my elbows, watching the shells explode overhead and speculating as to how long I could hold up my finger before it would be shot off, for the very air seemed full of bullets, when the order to get up was given. I turned over quickly to look at Colonel Kimball, who had given the order, thinking he had become suddenly insane; never dreaming that he intended to advance in that fire, and firmly believing that the regiment would not last one minute after the men had got fairly on their feet. Sure enough, there was Kimball, looking all right.

He repeated the order: "Get up the Ninth!" and, I thought, looked directly at me. We got up and went forward, passing at once into a cornfield. The fence over which my men were swarming was at that moment knocked down by a shell. From the cornfield we crossed over a meadow, then over a strip of plowed land, and then another piece of grass or stubble. We halted twice, I think, to rest and dress the line, although dressing was not necessary as every man was in his place. The loss was frightful. I could see the regiment — the line — shortening perceptibly as we advanced. We could hear the crash of the missiles through the ranks, and strange as it may seem, that sound brought like a flash to my mind a saying of Lannes, when describing the Battle of Austerlitz: "I could hear the bones crash in my division like glass in a hailstorm."

The whole regiment behaved magnificently throughout. Nothing could be better. The advance was over sharp ridges and through the intervening hollows for a long way. Although just then I was not conscious of either the lapse of time or of the distance we were covering, I now know that we advanced altogether about a mile, and we lost men at almost every step. In two or three of the sheltered places, where we were partly protected from the enemy's

fire by the ground in front, Colonel Kimball, as I said before, halted the regiment just for a moment to give the men a chance to get their breath. During these halts he always remained erect, moving up and down the line uttering words of encouragement for everybody. To the shouts of some of the men of "Get down, Colonel!" "Don't expose yourself that way!" "Wait 'till we're ready to advance!" etc., he would reply: "Don't mind me, boys, I'm all right," or, "If you want a safe place stick close to me," or some such remark. Meantime he was pacing up and down the line rubbing his palms together, and clapping his hands at intervals to express satisfaction, exclaiming repeatedly: "Bully Ninth! Bully Ninth! Boys, I'm proud of you! every one of you!" During one of these momentary halts I glanced back at the field we had just crossed and saw it sprinkled all over with our dead and wounded, all lying with their heads toward the enemy, presenting the appearance of a thin field of cornstalks I had seen some place, all rolled down to lie in the same direction for convenience in plowing them under.

The charge ended, so far as I was concerned, in what appeared to be a grand finale. We had been advancing over what I remember as rolling, but at the same time, rising ground;

we had reached what looked like the summit of this particular ridge when we were met by what I remember as a crashing volley of musketry. We all went down together, although I was hit not with a bullet but with a grapeshot. The fronts of the companies had by that time become so narrow that I found myself right at the colors. They did not average, I think, above twelve or fifteen men each at that stage. When I recovered myself after I fell—that is, got into position to see about me, and after the men had passed over me, some stumbling over and others stepping on me, which occupied but a moment, nearly everybody was down on the ground. The whole color guard lay prone, the colors on the ground. One or two of the men staggered to their feet and reached for the flags, but were shot down at once. Then there was what seemed a spontaneous rush for them by a dozen or more men from several companies, who were shot down in succession as each one raised his flag. One of these whom I noticed was Lieutenant Myers, who was hit just as he picked up one of them. The flags were up and down, up and down, several times in a minute. Libaire at last seized one of them, and swinging it around his head was profane for the first and only time, I think, shouting to his company, “Up, damm you, and forward!” I could

see only toward the right of the line as I lay. I saw four commissioned officers in front of the line. Kimball, Horner, Libaire and McKechnie, all shouting forward as the men sprang to their feet. McKechnie was on the stone wall with his fez on the point of his sword waving his men on.

All this took place in a flash, as it seems to me now, and the next minute the regiment was gone; over the wall and out of sight. At that time only one non-commissioned officer was left in my company—Sergeant Salisbury, who assumed command. He also was wounded shortly afterward. I was picked up in a few moments and carried to the rear by the ambulance corps men, who happened to be of our own regiment.

I have never known in what formation we went forward on that charge; whether only our single brigade in line or a column of brigades; but after going to the rear a short distance we met a line of troops, a brigade apparently, in a hollow of the ground, but not advancing. I learned or guessed, or got the information in some way—as one gets it on the field—that they were part of Cox's men, Ohio troops. Our Adjutant General, Captain Shephard (*Official* John Shephard), was with them. He had one of their colors and was trying to

induce them to advance. I tried to reinforce his efforts with a word or two. I told them the fighting was all over; that we had carried everything; that they had only to go forward and show themselves if they wished to be participants in the greatest victory of the war. I believed what I said, and I pretended to be cheerful, but from the way they looked at me I knew they didn't believe a word of it.

While the general direction in which the men carried me was to the rear, still we kept bearing off toward the left, our left—our backs you will remember were now turned to the enemy—then following the low ground to keep out of the fire. We had gone but a short distance when all signs of battle disappeared, except the occasional singing of a minnie bullet overhead; we followed down the lowland and came out on the road near the head of the bridge without being aware that we had gone down any sensibly steep place or places. After leaving the ground which the regiment had gone over, we saw no dead or wounded. I spoke to Captain Barnett, who was tying up his hand, where he had been slightly wounded. I also saw "Jennie" the drummer, sitting on the old bobtailed sorrel, about half way between the place where I was wounded and the bridge. On the road near the bridge everything was as



quiet and serene as a Sabbath morning. Only two or three soldiers were in sight; one of them a 79th man, was sauntering along, eating an apple and carrying a stretcher on his shoulder. He was interviewed at once by my bandits and robbed of the stretcher, for my benefit.

This quiet scene into which we entered, on the road near the bridge was suddenly and without any apparent reason changed into a pandemonium. Two or three baggage wagons and more than one battery of artillery appeared around a turn of the road retreating toward the bridge. At the same time the rebels opened fire with as much vim and energy as they had shown earlier in the day. There was a rush to cross, each driver trying to get ahead of all the others. They became jammed on the bridge. We had to stand aside, of course. Every shell seemed to plunge right into the struggling mass; confusion reigned supreme for a few moments and, taken all in all, and the fact of the batteries being in retreat (although their ammunition chests may have been empty) it was the most discouraging sight I had seen during the day.

When we got an opportunity we crossed. I had suggested—not unselfishly, altogether—to the men who were carrying me that they lay

me in the ditch and get under cover until the fire slackened a little. They declined, in forcible language and with much profanity. We found that Dr. Humphreys had established his hospital within a few paces of the head of the bridge. Here was a good deal of confusion; shells were falling or exploding constantly; the wounded were being hit and some of them killed every moment. The doctor was sending them to the rear as fast as he could get ambulances or wagons to carry them. The shells and bullets did not seem to enter into the doctor's calculations only so far as they were injuring his wounded. Personally he seemed to treat them with the calmest indifference. He examined my wound and deciding it would never need any dressing, sent me and my stretcher to the rear. We turned to the left up the stream, and after a little time arrived at Miller's house, where, very much to my astonishment then, although I understand it now, I found the whole place, house, out-houses, orchard, and enclosures of all kinds, filled with wounded, and it seemed to me that most of them were our own men. I could not understand where they came from or how they got there.

Now, Colonel, these are some of the principal things which I remember about the battle

of Antietam. I know that the principal thing you wished was a topographical description of our part of the field. I have done as well as I could in that respect. I can see it all very plainly, but cannot describe it as I would wish. I have been careful in giving the directions in which we moved that day. I have taken care to state only what I know, or what I think I saw. I only mention the names of officers and men whom I was forced to notice. It does not follow that those who escaped my notice were not present and in the thickest of it. For example, I do not remember seeing Larry Leahy at all after he was sent out with the skirmishers, just after we climbed the hill; but no testimony is needed from any one to satisfy those who knew him, that he was where duty called him.

It is possible, as I mentioned at the beginning, that I may be wrong in many of these statements; some of them may have gotten out of their proper positions, or become confused with other battles or some other movement, but I have done the best I could.

Very truly yours,

M. J. GRAHAM.

About the time the first brigade was ordered to charge, the Confederate General, A. P. Hill,

arrived on the field from Harper's Ferry with a body of several thousand troops, who had made a forced march from that place after its surrender to "Stonewall" Jackson. These troops came by the Sheperdstown road and arrived on the Union left flank while the charge was in progress.

Their attack compelled first the 89th and later the 103d New York to halt and change front to oppose them, but the Ninth being in ignorance of the attack, kept straight forward, officers and men concentrating their attention on the rebel line of battle in their immediate front, which was delivering a steady fire upon them. When the enemy broke and ran from their stone wall breastwork leaving a battery in possession of the regiment (supposed to be McIntosh's, which A. P. Hill had sent forward in advance of his infantry), the Ninth found themselves alone and entirely unsupported on the hill overlooking the village of Sharpsburg. The other regiments of the brigade being faced toward the new attack from the left, had checked the rebel advance, and were holding them at bay. Owing to the great losses sustained during the charge, and especially by the last volleys of the enemy, the regimental formation of the Ninth had become badly broken. Many of the men flushed with enthusiasm and the intense, almost

savage desire for vengeance on those who had slain so many of their comrades, continued in pursuit of the fleeing enemy down the hill toward the village. Even after the regiment was halted and the readjustment of the line ordered, some of the officers were obliged to follow and command these men individually to return to the line. The acting adjutant, Lieutenant Horner, only succeeded in driving Sergeant Searing of Company D (who was among the foremost in the pursuit) back to the company by threatening him with a revolver.

Searing had been wounded during the charge but not severely enough to disable him. He was not inclined to submit, even when so threatened by the officer. All the latent tiger in his nature had been awakened and aroused by the sights and sounds of the last quarter of an hour, and it required decidedly pointed demonstrations on the part of the acting adjutant to recall him to the condition of the obedient and well-disciplined non-com. of ordinary times. One of these enthusiasts had pursued the enemy into the village, at least his dead body was afterward found in the village street.

After having passed through that dreadful storm of death and wounds there was still about one hundred men of the Ninth left to

rally around their colors on that bloody hilltop. These Kimball formed into a company on the ground which had been occupied by the enemy's line of battle, and while still exchanging shots with the scattered groups of the enemy, waited anxiously for the reinforcements which were momentarily expected to appear.

The greater part of the enemy against whom the charge had been made had fallen back in confusion into the village of Sharpsburg, where they were striving to reform their scattered and apparently demoralized men. Others had retreated across the deep ravine through which runs the road from the village to and across Burnside's bridge, and had joined the force of infantry and artillery which occupied the hill where the National cemetery is now located. The Ninth Corps is said to have numbered about 15,000 men, only part of which had been heavily engaged, while the entire Fifth Corps had not yet pulled a trigger in the entire battle. While the Ninth was holding the position easily and was so far as could be seen in no immediate danger of dislodgment, Major L. C. Brackett, of General Wilcox's staff, rode up and informed Kimball of the situation on the left and rear, and directed him to retire his regiment. Kimball objected to this and Brackett did not feel that he was in a position where he could right-

fully exercise his authority as staff officer and order him to do so. Wilcox's division, which was also of the Ninth Corps, had moved forward, whether in support of Rodman's division or as part of the general movement cannot now be satisfactorily determined. They had, however, arrived at a point comparatively near the position then occupied by the Zouaves, when Brackett rode forward to inform Kimball of the dangerous position in which his regiment was placed.

While he (Brackett) knew that the situation of the Ninth, with Hill's rebel troops attacking its flank, was a very much exposed and extremely dangerous one, he hesitated to give an absolute order to fall back. Kimball declined to retire unless he was peremptorily ordered to do so. He was not disturbed or confused in the least by the information that his flank was being attacked. He was sure that the other regiments of the brigade were still on his left, and he knew that within a short distance of his position there was ample force to not only capture Sharpsburg and turn Lee's right, but also to encompass the destruction of the now thoroughly exhausted and partly demoralized rebel army. He felt no necessity for retreating, and he so informed Major Brackett, assuring him that he was in no difficulties, but was

well able to maintain his position. He pointed out the evidences of demoralization among the enemy in sight, and demonstrated that the order should be to advance instead of retreat, and requested the Major to impress upon the generals as strongly as possible the exact condition of affairs and the urgent necessity of quickly sending reinforcements to finish the work which his brigade had thus far so successfully prosecuted.

When one or more of his own officers suggested that Major Brackett's contention was correct, and that they should retire, inasmuch as there were not cartridges enough left in the boxes of the men to enable them to hold their ground very long, Kimball replied: "We have the bayonets. What are they given to us for?" etc.

Before the discussion ended Wilcox and the rest of his staff rode up and the General directed Kimball to retire. Before the regiment was put in motion to carry out the order there was noticed what appeared to be a fresh brigade of the enemy preparing for a charge on the Zouaves. Wilcox feared the effect of a charge on the troops already attacked in flank. There was no time to bring up reinforcements or to send for ammunition. There were just then no troops at hand to meet the impending



attack but the badly shattered Ninth, alone and unsupported, and whose cartridge boxes he knew were nearly empty. But desperate as the situation was he determined to meet it in the only way possible and try to prevent the disaster that would almost surely follow if the rebels were successful. He called Kimball aside and said: "Ask your command if they will receive the charge at the point of the bayonet if we stick to them?" Their answer was given in cheers and the fixing of bayonets.

A movement on the left just then frustrated the plans of the enemy and the charge was not made.

While obeying the orders to fall back Kimball still insisted that his regiment was not beaten. He called Wilcox's attention to the manner in which the regiment moved off quietly submitting to his command: "Look at my regiment! They go off this field under orders. They are not driven off. Do they look like a beaten regiment?" He insisted that the General should acknowledge that the regiment retired under direct orders from the field, to gain which it had suffered such fearful losses.

One who viewed the battle from Elk Ridge, near McClellan's headquarters, thus describes the closing moments of the battle on the left:

"Immediately north of Sharpsburg and along

the hill in front, now the National Cemetery, Longstreet's cannon were in play. Half way up the hill Burnside's men were sending out a continuous flame, with A. P. Hill's veterans confronting them. All the country was flaming and smoking; shells were bursting above the contending lines; Burnside was asking for reinforcements. How quickly Porter's corps could have rushed across Antietam bridge with no Confederates to oppose them, swept up the hillside and forced themselves like a wedge between Longstreet and A. P. Hill; but McClellan had only Miller's battery to send him. The sun went down; the thunder died away the musketry ceased; bivouac fires gleamed as if a great city had lighted its lamps."

The regiment fell back to a position near Antietam Creek, and subsequently recrossed the stream and bivouacked on high ground below Burnside's bridge.

When the advance of the brigade, preparatory to fording the creek was first made, that part of the battery (Company K) under Lieutenant Morris, which had been stationed on the left of the brigade on the night of the 16th, advanced and took up a position which would enable it to command the enemy's position in the vicinity of the ford. It rendered valuable service in clearing the hills on the opposite side

of the stream of the enemy, or so harassing those who could not be dislodged that they were unable to offer any very effective opposition to the crossing of the infantry. The whole battery subsequently forded the stream, under a heavy fire, and after being engaged so continuously that its ammunition was exhausted, recrossed and was detailed by General Burnside to act as infantry.

The men were posted as sharpshooters and maintained the position to which they were assigned all night and the following day.

It was the universal opinion at this time that a golden opportunity had been wasted and the Ninth Corps prevented from winning laurels which would have completely offset the somewhat vicious criticisms since made over its tardy movements in the forepart of the day and for which the Corps as a body was in no way responsible. A careful review of the battle by the military student will clearly show that Colonel Kimball was positively correct in his surmises. His experience as a veteran of the Mexican War having taught him the value of a combined dash at a critical point, where apparent rashness accomplishes the desired result with the sacrifice of comparatively few lives. There is not the slightest doubt that Lee would have been overwhelmed and driven into

the Potomac. His own generals admitted this possibility, and were extremely grateful that Rodman's attack was not more strongly supported, as there would have been but one ending to the story.

The Army of the Potomac was numerically superior, in better physical condition, and nerved on by success, only one thing was lacking — a leader.

The enemy's skirmishers, shortly after the troops on the left fell back, occupied the ground over which the brigade had charged, which enclosed many of the disabled wounded within their lines. The regiment was not as a body again engaged that day. Fighting ceased long before nightfall, although skirmishing and picket firing continued through the night and all the following day. It was afterward learned that this activity on the part of the rebels was to cover Lee's withdrawal across the Potomac.

On the next day the knowledge was unpleasantly and forcibly brought to the attention of almost everyone, both officers and men, that the feeling of distrust towards the authority responsible for the terrible mistakes committed on the left of the line during the battle was shared by all. It was demonstrated that practically every man in the regiment was fully alive to the greivous errors which caused the withdrawal

of the regiment from its advanced and hard-won position, and they perfectly realized the fact that their efforts toward success and their devotion to duty had been wasted and the lives of so many of their comrades sacrificed for naught.

Two companies were ordered to move down the stream a short distance and defend a ford below the bridge.

When the detail was made many of the men supplemented the command of the first sergeants to "fall in," with shouts of "fall in for the slaughter house," and other cries equally as pointed and expressive of their feelings. At that time, and until it gradually wore away, there was great indignation among all ranks in the regiment and a feeling which bordered closely on conviction, that no matter what other ability might be possessed by some of the higher officers, it was not the ability to fight and win battles.

The above detail of two companies who were defending the ford were actively engaged during the entire day, and met with several casualties, but on the night of the 18th the enemy's skirmishers withdrew, and the following morning Lee's army had disappeared.

As is customary after a battle a certain percentage of the survivors were active in render-

ing assistance to the wounded between the lines.

This does not refer to the details which at such times are always made to care for the wounded and bury the dead, but to volunteers who singly, in couples, or larger groups were willing to run the risk of death, wounds or capture, in order to succor comrades known to have fallen, and who might possibly be alive but helpless, and whose lives might be saved if assistance could reach them before the regular hospital corps commenced its labors. These acts of humanity illustrate the strong bonds of comradeship which existed. They occurred on every battlefield of the war, and it is fair to state that those engaged in these works of mercy were seldom interfered with by the enemy. The men generally proceeded without arms, and, if they did not approach too close to the lines of the enemy, their presence was generally ignored.

David L. Stage, of Company A, was left on the field so badly wounded that he was unable to crawl away. At the opening of the campaign he was a patient in the Hygiene Hospital at Fortress Monroe, just convalescent from an attack of typhoid fever. Upon learning that his regiment was on the move, he sought for and obtained his discharge from the hospital

with orders to rejoin his company, and reported for duty just before the command left Washington.

Being "soft" from life in the hospital he broke down, and being unable to keep up with the regiment, reported to the company commander, requesting to be excused from evening roll-call, and to be permitted to get over the ground in his own fashion, promising to be present at the morning roll-calls, and to be with the regiment in the next engagement. His captain recommended that he "report sick" and be ordered to an ambulance, which suggestion was declined. He was with his company at South Mountain and pulled through all right, but at Antietam he was wounded five times and left on the field when the regiment fell back. He was found by one of the above mentioned searchers, John W. Jacobus, of his own company, barely alive. For two days he had lain on the battlefield without food or drink with his wounds fly-blown and filled with maggots. One wound was in the face, the jaw having been broken by a fragment of shell, making the mastication of soldier's fare an impossibility. Procuring a bottle, Jacobus, with much ingenuity and the aid of a quill projecting through the cork, improvised a very respectable nursing bottle, and espying a cow in the neighboring

field obtained a supply of milk with which he fed Stage. This restored his strength to such a degree that he was able to bear removal, when with the assistance of others of the boys he was carried to the hospital, where, under the skillful and attentive treatment of Surgeon Humphreys, he was soon out of danger and ultimately made a complete recovery.

The following extracts of reports are taken from the Official Records of the Rebellion :

Vol. 19, Series I, page 63, from the report of Maj.-Gen. Geo. B. McClellan :

“ The troops of General Burnside held the left of the line opposite bridge No. 3. The attack on the right was to have been supported by the attack on the left. I visited Burnside’s position on the 16th and after pointing out to him the proper dispositions to be made of his troops, informed him he would probably be required to attack the enemy’s right on the following morning, and directed him to make careful reconnaissances. \* \* \* \*

“ Early in the morning of the 17th I ordered Burnside to form his troops and hold them in readiness to assault the bridge in his front, and await further orders. At eight o’clock an order was sent to him by Lieutenant Wilson, Topographical Engineer, to carry the bridge, then to gain possession of the heights beyond, and to advance along their crest upon Sharpsburg and its rear. After some time had elapsed, not hearing from him, I dispatched an aide to ascertain what had been done. The aide returned with the information that but little progress had been made.

“ I then sent him back with an order to General Burnside to assault the bridge at once, and carry it at all hazards. The aide returned to me a second time with the report that the bridge was still in possession of the enemy, and I directed Colonel Sackett, Inspector General, to deliver to Burnside my positive instructions to push forward without delay, and if necessary carry the bridge at the point of the bayonet, and ordered Colonel Sackett to remain with Burnside and see the order was executed promptly. After three hours’ delay the bridge was carried at one o’clock by a brilliant charge of the 51st New York and 51st Pennsylvania ; other troops were then thrown over and the oppo-



site bank occupied the enemy retreating to the heights beyond. A halt was then made by Burnside's advance until 3 P.M., upon hearing which I directed one of my aides, Colonel Key, to inform General Burnside that I desired him to push forward his troops with the utmost vigor and carry the enemy's position on the heights; that the movement was vital to our success; and this was a time when we must not stop for loss of life if a great object could be accomplished; that if, in his judgment, his attack would fail, to inform me so at once, that his troops might be withdrawn and used elsewhere on the field.

"He replied that he would soon advance, and would go up the hill as far as a battery of the enemy on the left would permit.

Upon this report I again immediately sent Key to Burnside, with orders to advance at once, if possible, to flank the battery or storm it, repeating that if he considered the movement impracticable to inform me so, that his troops might be recalled. The advance was then gallantly resumed, the enemy driven from their guns, the heights handsomely carried, and a portion of the troops even reached the outskirts of Sharpsburg.

"By this time it was nearly dark, and strong reinforcements just then reaching the enemy from Harper's Ferry, attacked Burnside's troops on the left flank and forced them to retire to a lower range of hills nearer the bridge.

"If this important movement had been consummated two hours earlier a position would have been secured upon the heights, from which our batteries might have enfiladed the greater part of the enemy's line and turned their right and rear. Our victory might then have been much more decisive."

### Extracts from Burnside's report, page 419:

"At this time (morning of 17th) Rodman's division with Scammon's brigade in support was opposite the ford some three-quarters of a mile below the bridge. \* \* \*

"The battery of Dahlgren boat howitzers attached to the 9th New York covered the crossing of Rodman's division at the ford. At ten o'clock I received an order from the commanding general to make the attack. \* \* \* Rodman was directed to cross over at the ford below the bridge and join on to the left of the command, which was to be thrown over the bridge. From General Cook's position it was found to be almost impossible to carry the bridge, and General Sturgis was ordered to make a detail from his division for that purpose.

"He sent forward the 2d Maryland and 6th New Hampshire, which regiments made several successive attacks in the most gallant style, but were driven back by the galling fire of the enemy.

"I then directed the batteries on the left to concentrate their fire on the woods above the bridge, and sent Sturgis word to detail the 51st

Pennsylvania and 51st New York to assault the bridge and carry it at all hazards.

"In the meantime Colonel Crook had brought a section of his battery to bear upon the heights just above the bridge. Sturgis, by a judicious posting of these two regiments in rear of a spur which fronted the bridge, succeeded in protecting them from the enemy's fire until they reached the crest of the spur, at which point they commenced their charge and carried the bridge at the point of the bayonet about one o'clock, the whole division following immediately. \* \* \* \*

"Rodman's division succeeded in crossing the ford below, after a sharp fight of musketry and artillery, and joined on to the left of Sturgis." \* \* \* \*

"The dispositions being completed, about three o'clock in accordance with instructions received from the general commanding, I directed Cox to move forward with the whole command, except Sturgis' division left in reserve. \* \* \* Rodman succeeded in carrying the main heights on the left of the town, one of his regiments (the 9th New York) capturing one of the most formidable of the enemy's batteries (McIntosh's); but at this juncture the enemy was largely reinforced by A. P. Hill's light division, which had just arrived from Harper's Ferry. During the attack Rodman was forced to bear more to the left than was intended when the advance was ordered, and Cox was forced to move him more to the right with a view to strengthening the line, during which movement Rodman was mortally wounded while gallantly leading his command to the assault. At this time Colonel Harland's brigade was driven back leaving the battery which they had captured. \* \* \*

"It was now nearly sundown and I ordered Sturgis' division forward in support and they held the enemy at bay, fighting him at close quarters until long after dark. The enemy being strongly reinforced, and as we could not be, the command was ordered to fall back to the crests above the bridge."

General Cox in his report, page 426, says: "Rodman fell desperately wounded by a ball through his breast. The loss of their commander at this critical period caused confusion in a portion of the division on the extreme left."

Kimball's report to his brigade commander says: "At daylight on the morning of the

17th, six of the rebel guns commenced shelling us with such effect as to compel us to change our position. The Ninth lost here in wounded twelve men. After changing our position still further to the left, I directed, in accordance with orders from the General commanding the battery, Company K, Captain Whiting, to open fire on the enemy's battery across the creek, which he did, soon silencing it. Immediately after this we were ordered to ford the creek and form in line of battle on the bluff opposite, directly in front of the enemy, which order was promptly executed, pushing his entire line of skirmishers back from the creek, and compelling him to retire to his main force on his left, we proceeding by the right flank along the bluff of the creek for about three-fourths of a mile to the brow of a hill, till within about eight hundred yards of the enemy's main body of artillery and infantry.

"Here we halted for rest, when the rebel batteries opened an unmerciful fire of shot and shell upon us, killing and wounding a number of my regiment. We were soon ordered to advance, which was promptly done, the different battalions moving in line of battle, and dressing on their colors with as much coolness and accuracy as though upon the drill ground instead of the battlefield.

“After proceeding about two hundred yards you ordered the charge to be made, when we rushed forward with a wild huzzah, peculiar to the Zouaves, and immediately received the fire of thousands of the enemy’s fresh troops, consisting of infantry and artillery, which had been brought forward to meet us. At this time the gallant Cooper fell. A shell fell in my lines, killing eight men at one explosion, and a round shot took off private Conway’s head. While the infantry fire was like hail around and among us, producing the most dreadful carnage, not a man who was not wounded, wavered or faltered, but all pressed on with charged bayonets to the top of the hill, and drove the enemy from his position. At this time our color-bearers and guard had all been shot down, when Captain Libaire of Company E, seized one, and Captain Leahy of Company I, the other of our standards and advanced them to the wall near the road, when the rout of the enemy at this point became complete. After crossing the road and ravine the enemy promptly rallied and attempted to turn upon us by a flank movement on our left, but were prevented by the 89th New York, under command of Major Jardine of the Ninth, who gave them the bayonet, and captured their colors, which proved to be those of a South Carolina regi-

ment, and completing the victory at this point. After resting here for a short time and finding the enemy massing fresh troops in large force on our left, we were ordered to retire and take position about four hundred yards in the rear of the position we then occupied, which change was executed in good order and without confusion. After remaining in this position for a short time we were positively ordered to withdraw from the greater part of the field we had won.

“The men retired in good order at a slow step, and with tears in their eyes at the necessity which compelled them to leave the field they had so dearly won and bivouacked for the night. Thus ended one of the hardest battles ever fought on this continent. While all behaved so gallantly it would be invidious to mention one as distinguished above another.

Captain Libaire, Company E (color company) did splendid service, and seized and carried the colors when the sergeant bearing them was shot down.

“Captain Childs, Company G, wounded by a shell early in the morning, was prevented from taking further part in the action of the day. Captain Leahy, Company I, acted in the most gallant manner, seizing and advancing to the foremost front one of our standards when the

regular bearer thereof was killed. Lieutenants Bartholomew, Burdett, McKechnie, Klingsoehr and Powell, all performed their duty in the most gallant manner, and to my entire satisfaction.

“Lieutenant Graham, commanding Company A (Captain Graham being sick in hospital) was wounded, and since has had his leg amputated, behaved in a most admirable manner. Lieutenant Horner, acting adjutant (Adjutant Barnett being sick), behaved splendidly and performed every duty in the coolest manner and to my entire satisfaction. Captain Whiting and Lieutenant Morris, of battery Company K, although not under my immediate notice, being detailed on artillery service in another part of the field, I learned behaved well, Lieutenant Morris making some excellent shots with his rifled guns, and silencing one of the enemy's batteries. The thanks of the entire regiment are due to Surgeon Humphreys and Assistant-Surgeon Harding, who were indefatigable in their attentions to the wounded.

“We have to lament the death of 2d Lieut. E. C. Cooper, who was wounded just as we entered the charge, who thought his wounds slight and refused to be carried from the field. He was a good officer, a brave and gallant soldier, and much beloved, and his loss is deeply regretted by the regiment.

“ I cannot close this report without calling your special attention to the Quartermaster-Sergeant Pannes (slightly wounded), Sergeants Dews, Whitney (wounded), and Schmidt; Corporals Farrell (wounded) Cornell and Roberts, Company B; Sergeants Forbes, Salisbury and Corporal Vanduzer (all wounded) Company A; Sergeants Geayer, Stiles, Corporals Fields and Stephens (all wounded) Company C; Sergeants Fitzgerald and Searing, Company D; Smith, Hankinson, Jackson and Keating (the latter both wounded) Company E; Riley, River, Connor (wounded) Company I; Color-Sergeant Myers (wounded) Company C; and Color-Corporal Van Cott, Company A.

“ I would also call your special attention to Bugler Horn, who, until wounded, sounded the various commands with as much coolness and nonchalance as though on a parade-ground instead of a battle-ground.

“ The Pioneer Corps under Corporal Van Duzer behaved well, indeed.

“ There are many non-commissioned officers and privates to whose names I would be pleased to individually call attention, did space permit, but suffice it to say that all behaved gallantly and are entitled to credit for good conduct on the field. \* \* \* In conclusion, my thanks are due to the 89th New York,

Major Jardine, and the 103d New York, Major Ringgold, for the efficient and united support rendered us during the entire engagement. It is proper to add that on the 19th, I made a detail from my regiment under Lieutenant Powell, who buried our entire dead and marked the bodies for identification.

“Thanking you in behalf of my regiment for the gallantry and coolness with which you commanded us, and the confidence with which you led us.”

E. A. KIMBALL,  
Lieutenant-Colonel,  
Commanding 9th New York Volunteers.

TO COL. H. I. FAIRCHILD,  
Commanding 1st Brigade,  
3d Division, 9th Army Corps.

“The report of Col. H. I. Fairchild, commanding 1st Brigade, 3d Division, 9th Army Corps, page 449, says :

“Saturday morning, September 13th, General Rodman ordered the 9th New York, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball, to support Colonel Rush’s regiment of lancers on the road from Frederick to Jefferson, and subsequently the battery company of the Ninth, together with the 89th and 103d New York, were ordered by General Parke, Chief of Staff, as additional support to the regiment, and on



our arrival we found the lancers and Ninth had a skirmish about five miles from Frederick.

"The enemy was reported in front with artillery and cavalry, and Company B of the Ninth was sent forward to reconnoitre on the left, and reported the enemy having left the position they occupied the previous night with three guns and a small cavalry force and the road clear.

"Companies C and H, Captain Parisen and Lieutenant McKechnie, were sent to the right in the woods and discovered, engaged and drove the enemy's pickets across the fields toward Middletown, the lancers and remainder of the 9th advancing toward Jefferson. With the rest of the brigade I took position on the hill one and one-half miles this side of Jefferson forming line of battle, and at sunset received an order from General Reno to return with the brigade to Frederick, where we arrived at 7 o'clock P.M., and received orders to march the next morning (Sunday) at 3 A.M. Reaching Middletown the next day at 10 A.M., we bivouacked a few hours, then moved to South Mountain Gap, and were ordered to the left to form line of battle on Cox's division and support Battery E, 4th U. S. Artillery.

"While forming line of battle we were attacked on the left by the 2d, 3d, 13th and 30th

North Carolina regiments, their object being to capture the battery which had been sometime in position without support.

“The 9th and 103d New York were in line of battle ready for action. The 89th New York got in line and opened fire (being the only regiment engaged) with Battery E, 4th Artillery; the enemy were repulsed, the left saved from being turned, and the battery from being taken. Our loss was 2 killed, 18 wounded. We captured 18 prisoners and 150 stand of small arms, holding our position during the night, the enemy retreating. On the afternoon of the 15th we marched till late at night, encamping a little beyond Mt. Carmel. We were again ordered forward in the afternoon of the 16th, taking position on a hill in a cornfield on the eastern shore of Antietam Creek, being the extreme left of line. Placing two guns of the 9th battery in position on our left flank we slept on our arms.

“At daylight, the enemy discovering our position, we were fired upon by sharpshooters and briskly shelled by a battery on the opposite side of creek.

“By order of General Rodman we left this exposed position under a heavy fire, having 36 men wounded, and took position to the left and rear, up the gorge of the mountain. After

resting two hours we were ordered to advance and form line of battle on the crest of the hill to the left of the position vacated in the morning. The 9th battery was ordered to the left and commenced shelling the road and woods on the opposite side of creek driving the enemy from their position. The enemy then advanced their skirmishers, but were forced to retire by the timely execution of this battery.

“The brigade then moved by the left flank down to the ford, crossing the creek and forming in the woods, advanced and took a position opposite the bridge and formed line of battle in rear of a battery, remaining in position under a heavy fire of shell for nearly an hour until ordered to advance. General Rodman then ordered us to advance to the support of Sturgis' command.

“We advanced to the opposite hill up steep embankments under a very severe fire from the enemy's batteries. Arriving near a stone fence the enemy (a brigade of South Carolina and Georgia troops) opened on us with musketry. After returning their fire I immediately ordered a charge, which the whole brigade responded to, moving with alacrity and steadiness.

“Arriving at the fence behind which the enemy were awaiting us, receiving their fire

and losing large numbers of men, we charged over the fence dislodging them and driving them from their position down the hill toward the village.

“A stand of rebel colors of a South Carolina regiment was here captured by private Thomas Hare, Company D, 89th New York, who was afterward killed.

“We continued to pursue down the hill, when finding the enemy massing fresh troops on our left, I went back and requested General Rodman to bring up rapidly the second brigade to our support, which he did, they engaging the enemy, he soon after falling badly wounded. The enemy were then discovered moving up from the cornfield on our left to flank us, and I ordered the brigade to retire about two hundred and fifty yards to the rear of the position we now held, which movement was executed in good order and without confusion.

“The large force advancing on our left flank compelled us to retire from the position, which we could have held had we been properly supported. We remained in this position until we were positively ordered from the field, the officers and men regretting such a necessity. Great praise is due Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball commanding the 9th, Major Jardine commanding the 89th, and Major Ringgold com-

manding the 103d regiment, for their coolness, gallantry, and bravery on the field; also to the line officers of the several regiments and the steadiness of the men."

H. I. FAIRCHILD,

Colonel 89th New York,

Commanding 1st Brigade.

The dead bodies of 54 of their comrades lying on the field, with nearly 200 wounded, proved how nobly and faithfully the Zouaves fulfilled their vows to guard and protect their regimental colors with their lives.

Their regiment went into action with eight companies numbering 373 men, the loss being 54 killed, 158 wounded, and 28 missing, amounting to a loss of 64.5 per cent., exceeded by only ten regiments out of the more than 2,000 regiments enlisted on the Union side during the "War of the Rebellion," and surpassed by but one regiment from the Empire State, which State furnished 445,959 men during that war.

To appreciate the magnitude of these figures we quote from "Fox's Book of Regimental Losses," a statement of the average loss of life in battle:

↓ "Mr. Kirkley, the statistician of the War Department, states the death from battles dur-

ing the Civil War at 110,070, of which 67,058 are classified as killed in action, and 43,012 as having died of wounds."

From this it appears that on the average the mortally wounded are equal to 64 per cent. of the killed.

The proportion of wounded to killed, where the mortally wounded are included with the wounded, is a fraction over 4 to 1. Where they are included with the killed, the proportion is something over 2 wounded to 1 killed. The first represents the common form used in stating the casualties at the close of an action, the second the same loss, after the number who died of wounds has been ascertained from the muster-out rolls and added to the killed outright, which generally increased the number of killed over 50 per cent.

It should be remembered that the greater part of the loss of the Ninth occurred in the space of about fifteen minutes, as McClellan mentions in his report of sending orders at three o'clock to Burnside to push forward with vigor and carry the enemy's position on the heights.

General Longstreet, in his book "From Manassas to Appomattox," says, page 240:

"But the sanguinary character of this battle is most strikingly exhibited by a comparison of

the accurate figures of the Federal losses returned specifically for the day. These show a total killed and wounded of 11,657 (or, including the captured and missing, 12,410) as contrasted with 17,567 killed and wounded in three days at Gettysburg, 16,141 in eight days at Spottsylvania, and 14,283 in the three days at the Wilderness, while the three and two days' fighting respectively at Chancellorsville and Chickamauga were actually productive of less loss than this battle of one day.

“The exceeding losses of this battle are further shown by the fact that of the 11,657 Federals stricken on the field, the great number of 2,108 were actually slain—more than two-thirds of the number killed in three days at Gettysburg (3,070). And this tremendous tumult of carnage was entirely compassed in the brief hours from dawn to four o'clock in the afternoon.”

The brigade to which the Ninth was attached (Fairchild's) had a total loss of 455 in killed, wounded and missing, the 9th regiment losing 240, or 53 per cent. of the brigade loss, the regimental loss being 64.5 per cent.

## CHAPTER XI.

RETREAT OF THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA—APATHY OF FIFTH CORPS—CAMPING ON THE ANTIETAM—RECRUITS FOR THE NINTH—THEIR RECEPTION AND TREATMENT BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL KIMBALL AND HIS TRIBUTE TO THE OLD REGIMENT—CAPTAIN WHITING—VISIT FROM PRESIDENT LINCOLN—THE LOAVES AND THE GOOD ZOUAVES—HOSPITAL ARRANGEMENTS—THE BAND PLAYS “ANNIE LAURIE” FOR THE SICK MEN—PROMOTION OF SURGEON HUMPHREYS—ACROSS ELK RIDGE TO PLEASANT VALLEY—“TENTING ON THE OLD CAMP GROUND.”

ON the following morning it was seen that the army of Northern Virginia was still in position with its front well covered with skirmishers who were at times quite aggressive. The remnant of the Ninth was ordered on the skirmish line and were several times during the day quite sharply engaged. The regiment continued to act in this capacity until about three o'clock in the afternoon when it was withdrawn and went into bivouac.

The activity on the part of the enemy's skirmishers was thought by many of the men in



the Union army to be for the purpose of concealing important movements in their main body, and it was learned later that they were busily preparing for their withdrawal from their position and across the Potomac, which movement was successfully accomplished that same night notwithstanding the presence of the eighty or ninety thousand men of McClellan's army.

Among the troops, on the left of the Federal line at least, it was a matter of wonder why they remained so comparatively inactive, only resisting the aggressive action of the enemy's skirmishers, instead of "going in" and renewing the battle in earnest. It was a matter quite generally discussed among officers and enlisted men, and it was the almost unanimous opinion among them that Lee's army could be completely destroyed if active operations were resumed at once and carried out with spirit and determination, and at a loss that would be insignificant as compared with that of the day before. Now, after the lapse of years, and with the knowledge we possess concerning the condition of each army, it is incomprehensible why the Army of the Potomac was not pushed forward vigorously and Lee's army utterly destroyed or captured.

The whole fifth army corps had been held in reserve all day on the 17th. They had not

been engaged with the enemy, nor does it appear that they had been used for any military purpose whatever either during or after the battle. To the ordinary citizen soldier, not especially educated and trained for the profession of arms, it seemed that troops held in reserve should be so held for a purpose and with specific objects in view. That after the enemy had been shattered and weakened by successive, and more or less successful attacks, the reserves should be pushed forward and the destruction of the enemy's line, already wavering, be completed and the victory made sure; or that, in the event of disaster and repulse, it should be used to cover the retreat of the rest of the army. This latter contingency was not present on the Union side at any time during the battle of Antietam, and in regard to the former, this splendid fifth corps, the admiration of every West Pointer in the army, which comprised within its ranks all the regular troops in the army of the Potomac, did not pull a trigger all that day. Lee's army had been so broken and beaten that day that Longstreet afterwards described its condition at the conclusion of the fight as being "torn into tatters." Still the opposing commanders permitted an army in that condition to retire and cross a difficult river without molesting it. The corps

to which the Zouaves belonged, the Ninth, is said to have numbered about fifteen thousand men of all arms. Some of its brigades had sustained comparatively little loss—not enough to seriously impair their effectiveness—and most of them were certainly in a condition to be pushed forward at the critical moment. That moment arrived on their part of the field when Fairchild's brigade broke the enemy's right and drove his scattered soldiers into the village of Sharpsburg. Hill's attack on the flank of Fairchild's advancing brigade, and on the left of the line, would have amounted to even less than it did had a fresh brigade of infantry been thrown forward to oppose him when it was first made. It is now known that he had only about twenty-five hundred men left in his command after the forced march from Harper's Ferry, while there was force enough unengaged in the Ninth corps alone to brush him off the field with very little trouble.

This is not the place, however, nor is it the intention of the writer of this chronicle of the Ninth Regiment to enter into any extended criticism of military movements and operations, or to attempt to record anything that does not pertain particularly to the regiment and is necessary to describe its services while in the field.

On the 19th the regiment moved about six

miles and established a camp on the bank of the Antietam where the regular routine of army life, drills, parades, etc., was again resumed.

At about this date a large body of recruits, that had been specially enlisted for the regiment, was received from New York. The exact number cannot now be given, but there were enough of them to double at least the then effective strength of the command. Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball's reception and treatment of them was decidedly original. To simply say that he was proud of the regiment, especially after the way the men had behaved in the late battle, the unflinching courage they had shown even after their number had been reduced by the fire of the enemy to less than a hundred men, does not fully describe his feelings toward them.

The newly arrived recruits were regularly assigned to the various companies and they began to receive instructions in their duties and practice in the drill and manual as was usual, but Kimball would not at first permit them to parade in the ranks with the other men upon occasions of ceremony. He did not consider it proper to permit raw recruits to become at once fully privileged members of such a regiment as the Ninth. On two or three occasions after the evening parades had been resumed (which was some days after the battle)

he caused them to be separated from the other men and formed in a battalion and drawn up in a position from which there was a good view of the dress-parade and where they easily could see the various details of the ceremony and observe the general appearance of the men, and the style of the regiment. He explained to them that it would be out of place to permit new and untried men to parade with, and at once become part of, such a regiment, and that he wished to give them the opportunity to study the command to which they had been assigned. He informed them that they must consider themselves very fortunate in getting into the best regiment in the service and in sharing the honor that regiment had already gained. He also directed them to look at the boys and to remember that they were the remnant of a gallant organization that had, in obedience to orders, advanced against a greatly superior force of infantry supported by three batteries of artillery, and that they had continued unhesitatingly and unflinchingly to "obey the orders of the officers appointed over them," which orders on that occasion had been simply "forward," and this while being constantly decimated by the enemy's fire, and that after having left sixty-five per cent. of [their number dead and wounded on the ground, they had

dislodged a brigade of the enemy from a strong position which they then occupied and had held the ground until positively ordered away by superior authority. He assured the recruits that they had honor reflected upon them by simply belonging to such a regiment, and that it was a privilege which they should not underestimate to be in a position to claim these men as comrades. Continuing, he said he was not sure that he would be justified in permitting new and untried men to take their places, just yet, in the ranks of a regiment with such an exceptionally honorable record, where they (the recruits) would be mistaken by the ordinary observer, for the men who had participated in the "Charge of the Ninth New York at Antietam." Their future conduct, he said, would determine his course in reference to that. He hoped they would soon have an opportunity to show what kind of soldiers they would make and when the time did come, whether soon or late, he hoped and almost believed that they would prove they were not unworthy of standing in the ranks with the old men of the Ninth Regiment.

Of course some of the old boys heard this harangue and all of them sooner or later heard about it. It pleased them greatly to learn that the "old man" had such a good opinion of them, and was so proud of their behavior in the

recent battle. There is not the slightest doubt that the incident had a very beneficial and elevating effect on both veteran and recruit. There can be very little doubt that the object he had in view was to strengthen the *esprit de corps* among the older men and to inspire the new ones with a desire to show themselves worthy of any regiment or of any cause, and, as on another occasion, when the regiment was going into action at Roanoke Island, where his remarks to the men were somewhat differently worded, but with the same end in view, there is no doubt his object was attained.

The world contains men of all kinds and characters. Their diversity was as great among the Zouaves as elsewhere under similar conditions. Some of a certain kind thought they saw in the Lieutenant-Colonel's remarks to the recruits indications of an approaching change in his manner of governing the regiment. Probably some of them even went so far as to imagine that hereafter the "old man" would fraternize with them, and would be likely to call a meeting of the regiment and put it to a vote to determine the advisability of executing an order or performing a military duty — to simulate a sort of town meeting. But they were woefully mistaken, for on the first sign of carelessness or inattention to the slightest detail of duty, they

were rudely and suddenly awakened to a realization that they had been dreaming, that the old rule of discipline — constant and rigid discipline — under all conditions and at all times still prevailed.

While the regiment was encamped at this place Colonel Hawkins returned from leave of absence. Upon reporting for duty he was assigned to the command of the division, which was the 3d Division of the 9th Corps. The command of a division is, under ordinary circumstances, that of a major-general, but the scarcity of officers just then, due principally to the exceptionally large number killed and wounded during the battle of the 17th, made it necessary to assign the surviving officers to a much larger command than their grade would entitle them to under ordinary conditions.

Colonel Hawkins ranked as colonel from the 4th of May, 1861, which in all probability made him at that time and subsequently until the muster-out of the regiment, the ranking colonel in the Army of the Potomac.

From the date of the occupation of Hatteras by the regiment until the expiration of its term of service, the Colonel always commanded a larger sub-division of the army than a regiment. The only exception to this was during the Roanoke Island campaign, when the Ninth was



attached to the brigade of General Parke, Colonel Hawkins being in command of his own regiment. In the absence of the colonel as brigade division or post commander, the senior field officer present with the regiment was the commanding officer. Lieutenant-Colonel Betts performed this duty until his resignation, when he was succeeded by Kimball, first as major, and afterwards as lieutenant-colonel. This will serve to explain why the name of Kimball so often appears as the commanding officer. He was so in fact.

About this time Captain Whiting, of Company K, resigned his commission. His loss was much regretted by nearly every one in the regiment, especially by the men of his own company. He had always shown himself to be a good officer. He was a strict disciplinarian, but kind and considerate toward his men, while his conduct in battle left nothing to be desired.

Lieutenant Richard Morris, of the same company, was promoted to the vacancy and became captain of the company. He had developed an extraordinary aptitude in the handling of batteries, proving himself a natural artilleryman. His skill attracted the notice of his superior officers and he became well known throughout the whole corps as a marvelously accurate shot, either with a field-piece or a siege gun.

On the 23d of the month Company K was, by order of General Burnside, detached from the regiment and directed to report to the commanding officer at Harper's Ferry, when it was assigned to a position on Bolivar Heights.

On the 26th the camp of the regiment was moved about six miles to a location near the Antietam Iron Works. It was a much better place for a permanent camp than the former one. There was an abundance of good water for all purposes, and in addition other advantages, such as convenience to transportation facilities, etc., which the old camp did not possess. Rations began to be issued here in quantities somewhat approaching the regular army allowance. Fresh meat and fresh vegetables were included in the issues, and the men of the regiment had the first opportunity to fully satisfy their hunger that they had enjoyed since the advance guard of the army first struck the enemy's rear east of Monocacy Ridge on the 9th or 10th of September.

President Lincoln visited the army while the Ninth was in camp here. On the 3d of October the regiment had the honor of being reviewed by him. The men were very proud of it, and each one did his very best to aid the regiment in making the best appearance possible before the chief magistrate. The President seemed

very much pleased with what he saw, and was quite complimentary—almost flattering—in his comments on the regiment, on its proficiency in drill, on its general style, its movements and its marchings. This was extremely gratifying to both officers and men, especially as his remarks were made to, or in the presence and hearing of a number of prominent personages, generals included, who had attended him at the review. It is well known that commendation is to a soldier, as indeed it is to nearly everyone, the very breath of life. Honorable mention in an order or a report, the simple saying of “well done” by a superior, repays him for any risks run or any task attempted.

It may be interesting to relate an incident which occurred here in the presence of Mr. Lincoln which will show to the reader how the varied experiences of soldiers in camp and field taught them to be prompt to act and resourceful in expedient at all times and under all circumstances.

As a mild apology for what follows the writer desires to explain that ever since the manœuvring and fighting which led up to the battles of South Mountain and Antietam began, food had been so scarce that the men had continued in a state of ravenous hunger. While every road in the territory over which two armies are

marching, manœuvring and skirmishing preparatory to engaging in a great battle is for days fully occupied by the moving troops, or reserved to be used for the rapid transfer of regiments and batteries to critical points as they may be needed, the quartermaster's trains are compelled to hover on the fringe of the army. Occasionally some quartermaster will push in in the night with one or more wagons, and if fortunate enough to find his command, will replenish the empty haversacks with more or less hardtack. But they seldom succeed in their efforts to do this. Generally there is considerable suffering from hunger. This condition still continues for some days after the battle has been fought. Then every energy is exerted in caring for the wounded and in bringing up ammunition to fill the empty ammunition chests and cartridge boxes. This last takes precedence of everything. The battle may be renewed at any moment, and without a sufficient supply of cartridges the army is lost. It is a very difficult matter to get anything to eat at such times. The living—if the opportunity offers—empty the haversacks of the dead and the neighboring fields are scoured in search of corn, potatoes or anything that can be cooked for food.

As soon as the beaten army retreats and it

becomes comparatively safe to move about again, the commercial spirit suddenly awakes and the wagons of the sutler fill the land. Not alone the army sutler, but men from near and far — and women also at times — appear in the various camps offering eatables for sale, bread being the staple.

One morning, during the time the President was on his visit to the army, several of the Zouaves found themselves part of a crowd of soldiers surrounding a wagon loaded with bread which was being peddled along the road. Some of the soldiers in the crowd had money and bought, but, alas, some of them had none, and still they wanted the bread. To want and to have are sometimes very closely allied in the army, so a linch-pin was slipped out, a wheel removed, and the whole load upset in the road. A general scramble was made for the scattered loaves and when the tumult was at its height General Burnside's carriage, in which he was escorting the President on a visit to one of the camps in the vicinity, suddenly appeared in the midst of it. The occupants of the carriage were instantly recognized and as a result the raiders scattered in every direction, each man, however, clinging tightly to his stolen loaf and endeavoring to put as much ground between himself and the carriage in as

short a period of time as possible, in the hope that the letters and numbers denoting his company, regiment, and State would not be noted. Each of the Zouaves instead of taking to flight like guilty things upon recognizing the occupants of the vehicle, as if moved by a common impulse, released the loaf which had been hidden under his blouse, permitted it to fall to the ground at his feet, and assuming as unconcerned an expression of countenance as was possible under the circumstances, drew himself up and assuming the most approved "position of a soldier" received the distinguished, but nevertheless at that time unwelcome, visitors with a profound military salute.

Burnside who had seen what was going on while the carriage was still some distance from the wrecked wagon began shouting at the men to cease their outrageous conduct. In fact they were so intent on the business in hand that had it not been for this shouting he could probably have driven right into the midst of the crowd before they would have noticed him.

As the raiders scattered over the fields the General at first shouted after them to come back; but no, no! He then turned to the group of expressionless but innocent looking Zouaves standing "at attention" on the side of the road, and with a great deal of gesticulation

and with considerable show of excitement, commanded "Go after those men and bring them back! You New York men — you Zouaves—go after those men; arrest them! Bring them back here!"

The President neither said or did anything to indicate that he was especially interested in the affair, he simply looked on.

Some of the boys thought the General rather overdid the thing, but they all started after the fleeing culprits with a great show of zeal and in a few minutes each one had overtaken and laid hands on a robber and brought him back to where the General was awaiting them.

Burnside berated them soundly using decidedly pointed and vigorous language in doing it. He was astounded he said to learn that he had such men in his command; that the army contained men who had profited so little by the teachings of discipline and who would so openly and shamelessly disobey orders. He nearly overwhelmed, with modest confusion, the meek and diffident looking Zouaves when he pointed to them as examples of what good soldiers were and informed the crestfallen prisoners that here were men who would never so far demean themselves and disgrace their uniforms as to rob a poor peddler of bread just because they happened at the

moment to feel a little hungry. He finished by ordering the captors to turn their prisoners over to the provost guard. This, like good soldiers who always obey orders, they did. But they also reasoned that the probabilities were that more important matters would soon cause the General to forget this little affair, so, when the provost officer asked for information as to what the charges against the prisoners were, they informed him that they "didn't know," that General Burnside had directed them to turn them over to the provost guard, and that they thought it was for "straggling." Then with mixed feeling of sadness and elation, sadness at the loss of the "soft tack" they still longed for, and elation because of the good but mistaken opinion General Burnside had expressed in reference to their soldierly qualities, etc., and because they had been enabled to have such a close view and, they might say, protracted interview with the President of the nation, they betook themselves to the regimental camp to relate their adventure and embellish the same each according to his own fancy.

The various changes of camp that had been made since the day of the battle had continually removed the regiment farther away from the hospital where its wounded were.



About the time the last change of camp had taken place the wounded had also been collected and taken to a division hospital which had been established several miles in a direction opposite to the one taken by the regiment. This made visiting the wounded a matter of considerable difficulty, both on account of time and distance, and was a serious hardship to both the wounded and those on duty. Brothers wished to see brothers, and friends and tent-mates were desirous of visiting and conversing with the wounded companions with whom they had marched and tented. There was no company in the regiment but had more than one set of brothers in it, and in many instances some of them were wounded while some escaped uninjured. In Company H, out of the three brothers Johnston, David was killed on the field, John died of his wounds in hospital, and Robert came out uninjured. In Company A, of the two Van Cotts and two Stages, one of each was wounded and one escaped. This was also the case with the Rassigas of Company C, and probably every company in the regiment had similar cases. It can easily be understood from these examples how anxious the majority of the well men were to visit, or at least hear, regularly from the hospital.

During and immediately after the battle the wounded were gathered together for treatment at the most convenient places, which were in nearly every instance the various farmhouses on the field and in the immediate vicinity of it. Surgeon Humphreys first established his field hospital at a point near Burnside's Bridge. When later in the day the rebel batteries opened fire on the bridge, with the object of preventing or delaying the crossing of troops, it proved to be in direct range and was subjected to a heavy fire. A good many casualties occurred among the wounded from this cause. Humphreys sent them away as quickly as he could, and the first suitable place reached was Miller's house. This was taken possession of and was soon filled with men having wounds of all kinds and degrees. Not only the dwelling but all the outhouses, sheds and other shelters were filled, while the orchard, doorway and barnyard were crowded with them, both Union and Confederate. These men outside were obliged to lie on the ground with absolutely no protection of any kind. Most of them without even blankets under them, and no roof save the blue sky over any of them. They, however, appeared to do better; their progress toward convalescence was more rapid, and there were fewer deaths among them (other

things being equal) than among those in the house. Surgeon Humphreys was so impressed with this fact that he seriously contemplated removing all his wounded to the open air.

In the early part of October tents were erected at a place called Locust Spring and a division hospital established there. The wounded from Miller's house and grounds were transferred to the new location. Notwithstanding the distance between the regiment and this hospital the men still continued to get passes from camp and take the long tramp to visit their suffering comrades. None of the boys had anything to bring, and had no way of procuring anything that would add to the comfort of the patients. All they had to offer was sympathy and cheering words. It was affecting and sometimes a little comical to observe the means taken by some of the visitors to cheer up the others. Like Traddles drawing skeletons for David Copperfield, to cheer him up when he learned of his mother's death.

Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball marched the regimental band all the way from camp one Sunday to play for the sick boys. They gave their best selections of marching tunes and other music and devoted several hours to alternately playing and visiting from bed to bed, or to be

more correct, from man to man, as there were no beds, all the men lying on the ground or on such makeshift protection from direct contact with mother earth as the soldier nurses could improvise out of the materials within reach.

Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball and several commissioned officers, together with a number of enlisted men, accompanied the band on this occasion. Their presence had a good effect on the wounded boys, who kept them busy answering questions about the regiment. The regiment appeared to be uppermost in the thoughts of each of them. They wanted to know how it looked on parade; what number of men were present for duty; what kind of a camp they had; what Burnside and the other generals had said in their reports in relation to the charge of the regiment in the battle, and a hundred similar questions. It was always the regiment: its welfare, its *esprit de corps* and its standing and reputation in the corps and in the army.

About this time Surgeon Humphreys was ordered on duty with the troops to act as division surgeon. While the boys were pleased to hear of his advance in rank and gratified that his worth as a man, and his professional skill as a surgeon were recognized and rewarded by the military authorities, still they did not like

to see him go. Each man in the regiment reposed the utmost confidence in his skill and judgment, and the wounded had perfect faith in his ability to "pull them through." Therefore, the knowledge that he was ordered away caused considerable uneasiness among them.

He was succeeded by Dr. Squires, Chief Surgeon of the 89th New York, a regiment of their own brigade. He proved to be a sympathetic man, a good surgeon and an excellent executive officer.

On October 7th the regiment again broke camp, crossed the mountain called Elk Ridge, and went into camp in Pleasant Valley. The climb over the mountain was an arduous one and somewhat trying on the men, as they were in heavy marching order and the way was rough and steep. They were repaid, however, in a measure, by the view, which, broadening and changing as they ascended, opened to them a more beautiful and varied panorama than it had been the fortune of many of these city-bred boys to have viewed before. The whole country lay spread below them like a picture, the undulations softened and the landscape beautified by distance. The villages of Sharpesburg, Kee-dysville and Boonsboro appeared like collections of toy houses and churches, while the scattered farmhouses, each nestling beside its

grove or orchard, assisted in completing a picture of a peaceful pastoral scene which was gratifying to the eye of these men so far separated from home and peace. It was hard to realize that only a few days since nearly two hundred thousand men had striven here in mortal combat.

The new camp now occupied was found to be very favorably located and excellent in almost every respect. It was situated on the main road and had good terminal facilities. A fine stream of water flowed conveniently near, always a welcome as well as a necessary adjunct to a camp. The weather was now getting quite cold, especially at night, and shelter tents were the only protection the men had. Rations were still deplorably insufficient, causing much inconvenience and some suffering.

The regiment remained in camp in Pleasant Valley until the 28th of the month. In the meantime Major Jardine had been relieved from the command of the 89th New York, to which he had been assigned at the opening of the campaign, and had returned to duty with the regiment. Lieutenant Bartholemew, of Company B, had, since the battle, been appointed adjutant. The regular everyday routine of camp life, drills, guard-mounts, and parades was being followed when, on the 28th of Oc-

tober, the "general" was again sounded, and tents were struck and the regiment started on the march after Lee and the army of Northern Virginia, which ended just one month later at the old campground of the preceding summer, opposite the city of Fredricksburg, Va.

## CHAPTER XII.

CLOTHING AND CAMP EQUIPPAGE LEFT AT MERIDIAN HILL — CLEANLINESS — KNAPSACKS RECOVERED — KNAPSACK DRILL — HUNGER, COLD AND MARCHING — THREE COLUMNS ABREAST — COMPANY G AS HEADQUARTER'S GUARD — COMPANY K JOINS GENERAL KAUTZ—GENERAL BURNSIDE RELIEVES GENERAL McCLELLAN OF THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY — SCATTERING A QUARTERMASTER'S TRAIN — GOOD ARTILLERY SHOOTING — THANKSGIVING DAY AT FALMOUTH—BATTLE OF FREDRICKSBURG—STRAGGLERS — WINTER QUARTERS IN VIRGINIA — ON TO FORTRESS MONROE.

EVER since the opening of the campaign on September 7th, all the knapsacks belonging to the regiment, together with the company property, had lain piled together under the trees of Meridian Hill, covered with tarpaulins, unguarded and at the mercy of those "whom it might concern." Consequently neither officers nor men had opportunity to change underclothing. Each man's wardrobe consisted of just what he stood in. The only article of extra raiment provided was for the feet and nearly every man carried an extra pair of socks in his



blanket roll. Some men were naturally improvident and also inclined to be careless of personal cleanliness. These soon learned from experience on the long marches how necessary for their comfort was a due regard for the feet and that clean socks were necessary and a simple expedient to that end. Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball had steadily and persistently insisted on the importance of this sort of cleanliness. As a result of these continual reminders all the men soon acquired a habit of exchanging soiled for clean socks whenever such a fortunate combination as a roadside halt and a convenient stream happened to favor them. Many a fist fight was caused by the failure of one man to properly respect the rights of another in this connection. There were those who thoughtlessly and perhaps selfishly squatted down on the bank of the brook at times and began washing the socks in which they had marched all day, within a foot or two of the spot where a comrade was industriously filling the canteens of his squad with drinking water. It was the general rule under such conditions to follow the practice of John Burns, of Gettysburg, "Be slow to argue but quick to act."

The task of providing other articles of clean apparel was a more difficult one. The problem of clean shirts, for instance, was solved as fol-

lows: The shirt was removed during a temporary halt near a stream and washed. As the halt was seldom or never of sufficient length to permit the drying of the garment, it was spread over the naked shoulders of the owner and carried thus, he meanwhile marching along amid clouds of dust with the column. This cleansing process was, therefore, often questionable and always comparative. It was comforting to the men, however, for it inspired a belief that the garment was thereby rendered less inviting as a retreat for certain unwelcome and generally unmentionable invaders of the army blue.

At the opening of the campaign the quartermaster's department had taken charge of the discarded knapsacks, and after the battle of Antietam had been fought and the campaign ended by the escape of Lee across the Potomac, they had been sent forward in pursuit of the army in an effort to deliver them to the various commands to which they belonged.

When it became known that they had been so forwarded and that they were then somewhere west of South Mountain, in the hands of those who were trying to find the owners, details were sent out with instructions to find those belonging to the Ninth and bring them into camp. The first detail sent out was un-

successful. The next, however, was more fortunate and on the 8th of the month they returned with the long lost property. On the day following amid much rejoicing, the knapsacks were distributed to the men. They were at once overhauled for changes of clothing and incidentally to ascertain how much property each unfortunate had been despoiled of by the quartermaster's men.

The receipt of the knapsacks very soon proved to be anything but an unmixed blessing. Knapsack drills began to be very much in vogue much to the disgust of the men, who were frequently compelled to take long practice marches weighed down with all their earthly possessions. This was probably done for the purpose of getting them accustomed to moving in heavy marching order.

The regular daily routine now was company drill in the mornings, knapsack drill in the afternoons, and always dress parade in the evenings.

The weather was now becoming very unsettled. There were a good many rainy days and several times falls of snow. Some of the latter might fairly be said to have attained the dignity of storms.

The only means which the men of the regiment had for protection against the inclemency of the

weather was the regular shelter-tent; a piece of unbleached muslin two and a half yards long and a yard wide. A row of buttons along one side and end, and a row of button holes on the opposite ones, was the means by which two or more of them could be joined together for the purpose of making a tent or shelter of the desired size. These were utilized in every possible way in order to provide the best protection possible against the storms of the season.

The regiment continued an uncomfortable, hand-to-mouth existence, being short of rations nearly all the time, until the 28th of the month when, having received instructions to prepare for the event, the "general" was sounded, tents struck and a start made on the long and toilsome march through Virginia which ended only when it arrived at Falmouth Station on the opposite side of the river from Fredricksburg.

During the greater part of this march—where conditions made it possible to do so—the army was moved in three columns, marching as nearly abreast of each other as was practicable. One of the columns occupied the road, while the others marched on either side of the road in the fields, keeping as near together as the conformation of the ground would permit. This order of march was changed each day by the column which had enjoyed the use of the

road the day before taking the fields, while the others occupied the road alternately.

The advantages gained by this system were many. Under it the army moved much more rapidly than it could have done in the single column formation. The various divisions and brigades were enabled to get out of camp in the morning at nearly the same time. It did away with the long tiresome waits which the center and left were compelled to endure in the mornings before the right of the line could get out of their way. It was equally advantageous at night. All the troops were able to bring their day's march to an end nearer together. The men of the center and rear were no longer obliged to stumble along hour after hour in the dark over bad roads, in order to reach camp where the troops on the right of the column had probably been since the afternoon or early evening.

So far as the question of discomforts, or the opposite, was concerned, this march through Virginia was just the reverse of the one through Maryland. Then the weather was generally pleasant and the roads were always good. Now, the season being well advanced, the weather was very often stormy and the roads were always wretched.

The enemy in front was always on the alert

and vigorously disputed the advance of the army by every means at his command. The troops were marched and countermarched continuously, and, in the opinion of the wearied men, without plan or reason, as they could not understand why they should be repeatedly hurried back and forth over roads they had just traveled. Reveille was sounded at any unreasonable hour in the morning—if, indeed, there had been any bivouac at all. Marching hither and thither, sometimes on the roads and sometimes across the fields in line of battle; skirmishing with the enemy or standing in line for hours at a time, expecting momentarily to be ordered into action; rain descended one day and snow the next; little to eat at any time and on many days nothing; wading ice-cold streams and plodding through mud, but always gaining something from the enemy and constantly pushing farther into the Confederacy. In this way, after having crossed the Potomac at Berlin, they successively passed through Wheatland, Union, Upperville, Rectortown and Gascons Mills, which latter place was reached on the 7th of November.

On the 31st of October, Company G of the regiment, (Captain Childs) had been detailed as headquarter's guard for General Burnside. While the men were classed as being on the

provost guard of the army, as a matter of fact, they took no orders from anybody except the commanding general. The detail was considered a great honor and a desirable one in every way. The company was relieved from the harrassing march and countermarch which was a necessity with the other troops. They were also in a position to have their requisitions for necessaries promptly honored, especially those for rations. The men were considered, in the vernacular of the camp as having a "soft thing," and were more or less envied by their less fortunate comrades. They continued to act as headquarters guard until General Burnside was relieved of the command of the army.

On November 3rd, Company K was ordered from the position which it had occupied on Bolivar Heights and sent to join General Kautz, who was about starting on an extended reconnoissance into the Shenandoah Valley. It remained as part of his command until the regiment arrived at Fredricksburg.

While the Ninth was in the vicinity of Gascons Mills, the ground was covered with snow. This added very much to the discomfort of the soldiers. They were obliged to remove it in some way, either with hands, feet or whatever could be found and utilized for the

purpose, to scrape it off the places where their tents were to be pitched, before they could set them up and lie down to sleep.

On the 8th of November, General McClellan was relieved from command of the army, being superseded by General Burnside.

There was great rejoicing among the men of the 9th corps when this change of commanders became known.

Among the soldiers generally, there was a species of blind, bigoted loyalty to their respective commanders, as well as a sincere affection for them. There is very little doubt that almost every man in the army honestly and firmly believed that his own corps commander was one of the greatest, if not *the* greatest, military hero of the times. None of them would admit that when it came to planning battles or movements, or displaying skill in executing them, to say nothing about his bravery on the field, that there could be any question as to his superior ability when compared with any other corps commander in the army. This feeling, or at least the expression of it, was almost universal throughout the army. Therefore, there was rejoicing in the 9th corps when Burnside, its original, and up to that time, only commander was chosen as the head of the army.



Ever since the battle of Antietam there had been (in that corps, at least) a feeling of dissatisfaction, and, it might almost be said, of distrust, of McClellan's honesty of purpose. The impression was gaining strength, gradually but surely, that it was not his intention nor wish to put down the rebellion by force of arms. The responsibility for the piecemeal and disjointed way in which the battle of Antietam had been fought, and especially the childish manner in which the attack by the left wing had been managed, was all—whether rightly or wrongly—charged against him. No one would admit that his own corps commander might possibly have been incompetent or indifferent, or both, and was largely or perhaps entirely to blame for the failure to destroy the rebel army. The men knew fairly well what condition their army had been in on that night. They remembered that there was a whole corps which had not been engaged at all during the battle, and that notwithstanding this, Lee, with his trains and impedimenta, was permitted to cross the Potomac unmolested. Consequently, there were no regrets—on that part of the line, at least—when McClellan was superseded, while the fact that Burnside became his successor was hailed by the men of the corps with great satisfaction.

The army remained in this vicinity, with headquarters at Warrenton, for several days. There was considerable moving of troops hither and thither, however, as there was more or less skirmishing and cannonading going on all the while between the Union advance and the rear guard of the enemy, as well as on the right flank of the army.

On the evening of the 10th it seemed that some movement of more than ordinary significance was about being executed, as the Ninth was moved forward about two miles, and formed in line of battle at the base of a hill. It remained in that position shivering and miserable all night. Hour after hour passed, the men expecting momentarily to be either attacked or to attack. No fires were permitted, as they would have exposed the exact position to the enemy. Everybody in the regiment experienced a great sense of relief when after a night of great discomfort morning at last broke, and no enemy appeared, they probably having fallen back during the night. The regiment was then withdrawn and returned to its former position.

The Zouaves occupied, practically, the same bivouac until the 15th, when the general forward movement was resumed, the column in which they were being the center one and

occupying the road, with Hawkins' brigade in the lead. The line of march was now down the left bank of the Rappahannock. The command had not proceeded more than three or four miles, when it suddenly found itself approaching a scene of confusion the equal of which is seldom witnessed even in war. A rebel battery had taken position in a commanding situation, on the other side of the river, and had opened a vigorous and destructive fire on a wagon train of commissary and quartermaster's supplies, which had been sent forward without an escort. The whole train had been thrown into confusion. It was a mass of struggling men and animals, with some broken wagons and wrecked stores. As the rebel battery was far beyond the range of the men's Springfields, the infantry was powerless to afford any protection. Colonel Hawkins, instantly appreciating the gravity of the situation, hurriedly dispatched a messenger to General Wilcox, the Corps Commander, requesting that Lieutenant Benjamin, the commander of the famous twenty-pounder Parrott battery, so well known in the 9th corps, be hastened forward with his guns. Major Brackett, of Wilcox's staff, carried the order, and conducted Benjamin to the scene. In a few minutes he arrived, and securing a posi-

tion on a promontory, concealed by a patch of low shrubs, the pieces were loaded, carefully sighted and elevated and the whole battery discharged almost simultaneously. The result was astounding to all beholders. A caisson was exploded, several men and horses killed or wounded, and the battery totally disabled. Benjamin had made a historic shot, and from that time on to Falmouth, the center column was permitted to march in peace.

On Sunday, the 16th, the march was resumed, the command crossing Great River, passing through Fayette and Liberty, and around Warrenton Junction, and went into camp near the railroad. The next day it continued the march in a drizzling rain, taking the direct road to Fredricksburg, and after covering about twelve miles went into camp. At daybreak the next morning the regiment was again on the road. The enemy had disappeared from the front. There had been neither cannonading nor skirmishing since the 15th.

On the 19th the regiment marched through Falmouth, crossed the railroad and encamped on the hill directly opposite the city of Fredricksburg. It was learned that the main body of the enemy was arriving and occupying the hills immediately behind or south of the city,

and it was also ascertained that his pickets extended along the opposite bank of the Rappahannock, not only in the town itself, but both above and below it.

Now that the army had at last arrived at Falmouth, which appeared for the present at least, to have brought the long march to an end, everybody was delighted. The prospect of at last getting into a permanent camp was very gratifying. The regiment had been on the move nearly every day since the 28th of October, the day on which it broke camp in Pleasant Valley. The men were nearly worn out physically, and were greatly in need of supplies of every kind, especially shoes and clothing.

On the following day Company K rejoined the regiment after having been on duty with General Kautz's division in all its various movements and operations, since it first started on the march up the Shenandoah.

On the 22d there was great activity noticeable throughout the camps. Batteries were being planted in positions which appeared to be favorable for shelling the enemy. Shots were exchanged with them during the day and as a result the troops that were exposed to the enemy's fire were moved farther back out of range of their guns. Orders for a forward

movement were now expected daily. Every indication pointed to the probability that a great battle was very near. Day after day passed, however, but still the movement was delayed.

The 27th day of November was Thanksgiving day. It was not celebrated by the Zouaves with any great degree of enthusiasm. Inasmuch as there was neither hardtack nor coffee in their camp that day, and as they were obliged to go hungry, they failed to properly grasp the idea of the propriety of being particularly thankful. On the contrary they gave themselves up fully to indulging in a general growl, and devoted themselves unreservedly to the exhilarating and pleasant recreation of d—ing the quartermaster, both individually and collectively, for the rest of the day. While this did not allay their hunger, it nevertheless gave them the only satisfaction obtainable at that time.

Early in the morning of the 11th of December, the regiment was aroused without reveille, the men being awakened quietly by the members of the guard. The long looked for order for the attack on Fredricksburg had come at last.

The day opened with a bombardment on a most gigantic scale. The thunder of the guns and the bursting shells seemed to make the solid earth quake. Outside of this there was

little to be seen. The troops were mostly hidden in the woods and hollows of the ground out of view of the enemy, and were waiting patiently for the completion of the pontoon bridges upon which they were to cross the river. From unforeseen causes these bridges, which should have been laid the night before were delayed. When daylight came the rebel sharpshooters, who had excellent cover in the houses of the town near the river, effectually stopped all work on them. Notwithstanding the terrific character of the bombardment it was as ineffective against them as artillery usually is against infantry so protected. The smoke from the guns settled down and almost completely hid the city and the opposite hills. The river had to be crossed and it became necessary to detail regiments to cross in pontoon boats and storm the positions occupied by the sharpshooters.

The honor of successfully performing this difficult task is now claimed by the survivors of many regiments. As a matter of fact official records and authoritative statements show that the gallant exploit was performed by several different regiments at widely separated points, where the various bridges were being laid, and without any of them knowing that the same thing was being done by other commands.

A careful examination of the official reports relating to the earlier operations in this battle will show that probably the first regiments to respond to the call for volunteers and to cross the river in this way, were the Seventh Michigan and Twentieth Massachusetts, both of Howard's division, who rowed themselves over in pontoons, at the upper end of the city and dislodged Barkdale's Mississippi sharpshooters and occupied the positions from which they had harrassed the bridge builders.

When it became apparent that, under the heavy and accurate fire from the sharpshooters, it would be impossible for the engineers to lay the bridge over which the 3d division was to cross the river, the 89th New York, of the 1st brigade (Hawkins') was sent over in boats to dislodge them from their strong position in the houses opposite. This duty was performed in gallant style, the other regiments of the brigade covering the movement as well as possible. The 89th, after a hot fight, in which they captured sixty-five prisoners, succeeded in dislodging the sharpshooters and occupying the position, thereby permitting the laying of the bridge to be completed and a crossing made practicable. That evening, the brigade to which the Ninth belonged, after some light fighting occupied the lower part of



the city, taking position in one of the streets which ran parallel with the river, where the men slept on their arms through the night. Company D was thrown forward as a picket, and a guard, under command of Lieutenant Webster, was posted in the outskirts of the town. The night was very cold and the men suffered much from this cause. They were not allowed to leave the ranks to seek shelter in the neighboring houses, and a chilling fog penetrated the clothing and seemed to pierce the very marrow of their bones. Severe fighting was going on nearly all the following day outside the city, but the Ninth was not sent forward to take part in it but remained in about the first position occupied until dark. The fog settled closer and at times was so dense that nothing could be seen of the position or movement of either side.

About 8 P.M., the Ninth was ordered on picket, relieving the 103d New York. The outer line was on the plain outside the city and within about one hundred and fifty yards of that of the enemy, though the fog obscured the exact position. Under such conditions there was no sleep for the men not on post, and the time wore heavily on, without even the excitement which picket firing might afford. The night was passed in general

gloom and depression. Some sharp fighting had taken place on the preceding day, but on the 13th the battle had raged fiercely and continuously from morning until night. Brigade after brigade, and division after division, had been sent in, relieving others as they became depleted or partly or wholly broken up and demoralized by the terrible fire of artillery and musketry. The fighting had been of the most sanguinary character, but the positions defended by the enemy were naturally so strong and had been so scientifically fortified that it seemed impossible to make any impression on them. Line after line went gallantly forward to the attack, but as soon as each one came within range of the enemy's well posted artillery and strong lines of infantry, it melted away under the furious storm of bullets broken up and demoralized; the survivors seeking shelter in the hollows or behind the inequalities of the ground, where they kept up a steady fire against the enemy until opportunities came to relieve them.

The following extracts from General Couch's article entitled "Sumner's Right Grand Division," will give the reader an idea of the character of the fighting as seen by him, with the frightful losses sustained by the troops while powerless to inflict any serious damage on the

enemy. General Couch was the commander of the Second Corps, but at the battle of Fredricksburg was temporarily in command of the Right Grand Division of the army:

“Early the next morning, Saturday the 13th, I received orders to make an assault in front. My orders came from General Sumner, who did not cross the river during the fight, owing to a special understanding.

“General French was at once directed to prepare his division in three brigade lines for the advance, and General Hancock was to follow with his division in the same order. The distance between the successive brigade lines was to be about two hundred yards.

Towards ten o'clock the fog began to lift; French reported that he was ready. I signaled to Sumner and about eleven o'clock the movement was ordered to begin. French threw out a strong body of skirmishers, and his brigades filed out of town as rapidly as possible by two parallel streets. \* \* \* On the outskirts of town the troops encountered a ditch, or canal, so deep as to be almost impassable except at the street bridges, and one of the latter being partly torn up, the troops had to cross in single file on the stringers. Once across the canal the troops deployed under the bank bordering the plain over which they were to charge.

This plain was obstructed here and there by houses and fences, notably at a fork of the telegraph road, in the narrow angle of which was a cluster of houses and gardens ; and also on the parallel road just south of it, where stood a large, square brick house. This cluster of houses and the brick house were the rallying points for parts of our demolished lines of attack. The forks of the road and the brick house were less than one hundred and fifty yards from the stone wall, which covered also as much more of the plain to the left of the brick house. A little in advance of the brick house a slight rise in the ground afforded protection to men lying down against the musketry behind the stone wall, but not against the converging fire of the artillery on the heights. My headquarters were in the field on the edge of the town, overlooking the plain.

\* \* \* French's division charged in the order of Kimball's, Andrew's and Palmer's brigades. Hancock followed them in the order of Zook's Meagher's and Caldwell's brigades.

“Without a clear idea of the state of affairs at the front, since the smoke and light fog veiled everything, I sent word to French and Hancock to carry the enemy's works by storm. Then I climbed the steeple of the courthouse and from above the haze and smoke got a clear view of

the field. Howard, who was with me, says I exclaimed, 'Oh, great God! see how our men, our poor fellows, are falling!' I remember that the whole plain was covered with men, prostrate and falling, the live men running here and there, and in front closing upon each other, and the wounded coming back. The commands seemed to be mixed up. I had never before seen fighting like that; nothing approaching it in terrible uproar and destruction. There was no cheering on the part of the men, but a stubborn determination to obey orders and do their duty. I don't think there was much feeling of success. As they charged the artillery fire would break their formation, and they would get mixed; then they would close up, go forward, receive the withering infantry fire, and those who were able would run to those houses and do all they could, and then the next brigade coming up in succession would do their duty and melt. It was like snow coming down and melting on warm ground.

"Soon after four o'clock, or about sunset, while Humphreys was at work, Getty's division\* of Wilcox's Corps was ordered to the charge on our left by the unfinished railroad. I could see them being dreadfully cut up. \* \* \* I determined to send a battery upon the plain to

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\*The division to which Hawkins' brigade belonged.

shell the line that was doing them so much harm, so I ordered an aid to tell Colonel Morgan to send a battery across the canal and plant it near the brick house.

“Morgan came to me and said: ‘General, a battery can’t live there.’ I replied: ‘Then it must die there.’

“Hazard took his battery out in gallant style and opened fire on the enemy’s lines to the left of the Marye House. Men never fought more gallantly, and he lost a great many men and horses. \* \* \*

“That night was bitter cold and a fearful one for the front line hugging the hollows of the ground, and for the wounded who could not be reached. It was a night of dreadful suffering. Many died of wounds and exposure, and as fast as men died they stiffened in the wintry air, and on the front line were rolled forward for protection to the living. Frozen men were placed as dumb sentries.

“Again my corps bivouacked in the town and were not allowed fires lest they should draw the fire of the enemy’s artillery.”

When Getty’s division, of which Hawkins’ brigade was a part, was ordered forward to take part in the assault of the enemy’s line, it was late in the afternoon. At about the same time the Fifth Massachusetts Battery was ordered

to the extreme front in a desperate endeavor to render efficient assistance to the charging troops, who were being literally torn to pieces by the fire from the guns mentioned by General Couch. The Ninth Regiment was detached from the brigade and ordered forward to support it. It appears not to have been the intention to detail the Ninth for this duty, as Colonel Hawkins, in his report to General Getty, says: "Owing to a misapprehension of your orders, the Ninth New York Volunteers were ordered to support a battery and did not participate in the advance made by the brigade." The order to support the battery, come from whatever source it did, was received just about dark, and the regiment moved forward "By the right of companies to the front," at a double quick, through yards and gardens, over fences and other obstructions, through the outskirts of the city, and over the plain beyond, and succeeded in gaining a position just below the crest of a low ridge which afforded partial protection from the fire of the enemy's artillery. The regiment held its ground here while exposed to a withering fire both from the front and right flank, with no opportunity to reply to it, simply being obliged to hug the ground and take whatever the fortune of war had in store for it until the battery was totally disabled

by the loss of men and horses and was obliged to retire.

At about ten o'clock the regiment was ordered to fall back, which it did to an open field outside the city, where it bivouacked.

The total loss of the regiment in this battle—killed, wounded and missing—numbered only fifteen, which is a very light one when the dreadful slaughter of men throughout the army as a whole is considered. The loss of the 1st Brigade, without counting that of the Ninth, amounted to two hundred and forty-three men. If the Ninth had advanced with the brigade to the assault, instead of having been ordered to support the battery, and if its loss had been no greater than the average in the rest of the brigade, it would have amounted to eighty-one men. The regiment was, therefore, very fortunate, when the matter of loss is considered, in having been detached from the brigade just before the attack was ordered.

The night was again bitterly cold. No fires were permitted, and everyone was on the *qui vive*, as it was rather expected that the enemy would make a counter-attack. It was a night of great discomfort and anxiety, and a sleepless one for all.



Just before daybreak the regiment was withdrawn from the advance position occupied, and fell back into the city, taking position in one of the streets, where it remained all day and the following night. During the night permission was granted the men to enter the houses for shelter, and all except the guard availed themselves of it, and secured a much needed rest and sleep.

There was very little firing from either side during the night. Both armies were so thoroughly exhausted by the marching, fighting and waiting of the three preceding days that an involuntary truce was accepted by both the tired combatants.

On the next day the Zouaves again remained under arms, in the street, until about ten o'clock at night, when the regiment was quietly withdrawn, and marched silently to the river. Recrossing by the same pontoon bridge by which it had entered Fredricksburg, it regained the old camp which all had left with such high hopes, on the morning of the 11th. Tired, hungry and beaten, though no man would give utterance to the latter as a conviction, they marched into the old camp, but still ready to try it again when the opportunity presented itself.

History dignifies by the name of War all periods of human strife when large bodies of men assemble with the avowed object of taking the lives of their adversaries. The popular conception regarding war—the one which seems to occupy even the mind of the intelligent and peace-loving citizen—is a vague, confused jumble of parade and glitter, guns and drums, noise and glory, clanking swords and gleaming bayonets, and especially and above all, excitement. Many thousands of men are supposed to be engaged, as with one accord, in performing the most brilliant movements or heroic acts, all inspired by the noblest impulses. The press, the rostrum, and part of the pulpit are largely responsible for this—not more in declaring it than in omitting to state all the truth. They have, then, rhetorically plastered the subject with glory—that superficial flow of words which means nothing. It is not, therefore, strange that the average citizen adheres to the fallacy, which he elevates to the dignity of a belief, that all who enlist in the army in time of war at once become subjects for admiration and respect.

General Sherman defined war as “hell”; and again, “War is barbarism; you can’t humanize it.” If “war is hell,” it is the habitation of Satan and his minions. It invites the im-

moral, the vicious, the depraved, the dishonorable, the base, because it makes possible the pursuit of their various rascalities under the guise of patriotism. A soldier's uniform often clothes a rascal. Apparel does not change one's character; and if the soldier was dishonorable as a citizen, he continued so as a soldier. The citizen who enjoyed the respect and confidence of those who knew him at home, who strove to do his duty to his family, his neighbors and the State, and who enlisted from a sense of duty, became as good a soldier as he was a citizen. These remarks are intended to remind the reader of the presence in the army of the lawless element, who sought that field because it promised a larger opportunity for evil and a less degree of liability to apprehension and punishment.

There was always a certain percentage of nearly every command who took advantage of the confusion while their officers were engaged in performing the manifold duties which always accompany the movements of troops, to slip away from their companies unobserved and become stragglers. Some seized this opportunity to avoid the dangers of the battle by skulking in the rear, rejoining their companies after the fighting was over, and then ostentatiously related the acts of bravery they per-

formed during the engagement. If any question was raised as to the whereabouts of one of these men at a specified time, he had only to claim that he was anywhere on the battlefield except in the immediate vicinity of the questioner. Of course, evidence was abundant and easily produced to prove the presence of a soldier in line of battle during action; but in the absence of roll-call, no officer or enlisted man could prove that the suspected straggler was not present somewhere at any given time, and this class of men understood this perfectly.

The fighting outside the city, along the base of the hills, was of such a determined and bloody character, that the skulkers soon found it was no place for them, and the whole twenty-five per cent. of the troops at the front, which Sheridan said was the percentage of men who were useless when the fighting began, together with the skulkers from the reserves and supports, were soon straggling throughout the city.

Some stragglers simply pilfer—take such articles as come under their notice, perhaps with the thought that if he does not take it others will. Some, with the robber instinct more strongly developed, enter houses, either by force or stealth, in search of plunder. Others

rob the persons of the dead lying on the battlefield or commit the various other kinds of misdemeanors which opportunity offers or a vicious instinct prompts. These acts form a part of the "hell" General Sherman had in mind when he defined war. They are also what the after-dinner orator advocates when he glibly talks of the benefits of "a little blood-letting to the body politic." Of course, he doesn't mean his own, but some other person's blood. They are what the so-called statesman sanctions when he howls about the "rust of peace," or, when with contempt, he alludes to the "commercial spirit which smothers the warlike instinct." They are the acts which have the approval of certain divines, when they pervert the teachings of the Master they pretend to serve by preaching the "righteousness of war," blasphemously asserting that God's blessing attends it.

While the Ninth was in Fredricksburg the city appeared to be full of plunderers. Numbers of men were seen loaded with goods of every kind and description. Some articles might have been of use to the possessor, but many could not in any way be of the slightest utility. Men wrapped in quilts, blankets, and comforters to protect them from the biting wind, stood in line with their commands or lounged in the

shelter of the buildings. The guards, and also the officers and men not on guard, were constantly compelling the plunderers to give up their booty. These articles were left in the streets as it was impracticable to return them to their original owners. At the several bridge heads great piles of goods accumulated as the provost guard stopped the stragglers in their attempts to cross the river, and made them disgorge their plunder there. While it is not literally true that the city was crowded with stragglers and plunderers, still there was plenty of them.

While the reserves were stationed in the streets, the vicious minority among the stragglers were kept in check by a wholesome fear of consequences which would follow should any of them be detected in the perpetration of nefarious acts. When such acts were discovered, good soldiers (by which is meant an overwhelming majority of all those in the service, both commissioned and enlisted) would not, and did not hesitate to take the law into their own hands and put a stop to them in a summary manner. But when the troops were being withdrawn and the different sections of the city left entirely unprotected, the vicious and criminal had full sway.

During the last night in Fredricksburg, when the men of the Ninth were given permission to seek shelter from the cold in the houses, a number of Company D's men occupied one in which the female members of the family still remained, having faith in the chivalry of the Yankee soldiers and nerved by the natural desire to protect their homes and property. Their confidence was not misplaced, as, during their stay of about twenty hours the men treated them with the utmost consideration and courtesy, and made their own occupation of the premises as inoffensive as possible.

After the regiment had crossed the river on the night it evacuated the city, Sergeant Searing, who had been one of the occupants of the house above mentioned, discovered that he had forgotten some papers, diaries, etc., which he had left at the house in the hurry of departure. Recrossing the river and proceeding there to recover them, he arrived just in time to protect the women of the house from abuse, as three stragglers had entered but a few moments before, and, finding the inmates unprotected and helpless, were about to assault them when Searing entered. The Sergeant's unexpected appearance, and his authoritative and peremptory demeanor as he

ordered the ruffians out of the place and to their regiments, probably conveyed the impression that he had a guard outside, as the assaulting party slunk away at once and disappeared in the darkness. Sergeant Searing's only guard just then was a firm belief in the everlasting right, backed up by a stout heart and a good Springfield musket.

After quieting the frightened women by assurances that there would be no further cause for alarm, that their own friends—the Johnnies—would soon come in and occupy the town, together with other reassuring statements, he secured his lost papers, and recrossed the river, being probably the last man of the Ninth in the city, and reached the regiment in safety.

Colonel Hawkins did what he could to check lawlessness in that part of the city occupied by him. He called the attention of General Howard to the acts of men who belonged to his (Howard's) command, with a view of having the latter take measures to maintain order. Howard's answer was: "Soldiers are not expected to be angels." Hawkins afterward established a guard along a brook, which was a kind of general dividing line between the corps, and would not allow any of Howard's men to come into that part of the city occupied by his brigade.



The following is Colonel Kimball's official report of the part taken by the 9th New York Volunteers in the battle of Fredericksburg:

CAMP OPPOSITE FREDERICKSBURG, VA.

December 16, 1862.

COLONEL :—I herewith have the honor to report that, in compliance with your orders, I left this camp on the evening of the 11th instant, crossed the Rappahannock to Fredericksburg, and bivouacked, occupying the main street for about one block and a half north of the railroad, throwing Company D forward to the enemy's front as picket. Immediately upon taking position I established a strong guard upon the sidewalks and both flanks of my command, with instructions to allow no one to enter a house or destroy or take away a single article from that portion of the street in which we were stationed, which order, I am happy to say, was literally obeyed during our entire occupancy of that position.

At seven o'clock of the evening of the 12th, the entire regiment was ordered to the front on picket duty, and did not again return to that portion of the town.

At daylight on the morning of the 13th, I was relieved from picket, and returned to town near the lower pontoon bridge, where I remained until about 6 P.M., when in obedience to your orders, I advanced my command, under a heavy fire of artillery, to the brow of the hill in front of the enemy, to the support of the Fifth Massachusetts Battery. I here received your orders to halt, which I did, and remained in support of the above battery, as directed, till it was disabled and retired past us from the field. At this point the fire of shell and shrapnel was tremendous, totally disabling the battery, and killing one and wounding eight men of my command. I then received your orders to return to the lower part of the city and bivouac, which I did, remaining in that position during the night.

The next day, 14th, we were ordered into quarters, where we remained till the evening of the 15th, when we were ordered to recross the river and return to our old camp at this place, where we arrived about eleven o'clock at night.

I would beg leave to call attention to the following officers, which list embraces all of those engaged with the regiment during the action of the 13th; Captain Barnett, acting major; Adjutant Bartholomew, Captains LeBaire, Graham, Rodriguez, and Klingsoehr; Lieutenants Harrison, Webster, Fleming, Powell, Donaldson, Jacobsohn, Vogt and Jackson.

I can say no more than that all behaved in the most admirable manner, and are entitled to great credit for gallantry and coolness under fire. The men obeyed every order with alacrity and promptness, and are entitled to the commendation of their officers and the thanks of their countrymen for their courage and coolness on this as well as other occasions.

Below is a list of killed, wounded and missing.

\* \* \* \* \*

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,

E. A. KIMBALL,  
Lieutenant-Colonel,  
Commanding Ninth New York Volunteers.

COLONEL R. C. HAWKINS,  
Commanding First Brigade.

After regaining their own side of the river and re-establishing the old camp and devoting a few days to recuperative rest, the ordinary routine of camp life was resumed—drills and reviews being the order of the day. Camp life under tents in a Virginia winter is, or was, decidedly unpleasant. The changes in weather conditions were very marked, the extremes of cold and heat, of snow and rain, following each other in rapid succession. Such protection as the troops were able to provide for themselves had to be improvised out of their shelter tents, supplemented with such other material as could be procured about camp or in the near vicinity. During this period Uncle Sam was not very prodigal in providing for the comfort of the soldiers. He was busily engaged in more important matters. The men were alive, and

should have been satisfied. They received pay occasionally, and sometimes, but not often, got full rations. Notwithstanding their deprivations, there were practically no expressions of serious discontent. The army was composed of citizens of the average class, but with more than the average intelligence, and they understood and appreciated the difficulties under which the Government labored. Nearly, if not all, the soldiers realized that the officials at Washington and elsewhere were doing the best they could under the circumstances. The men growled occasionally about the pay not coming and about the scarcity of "grub," as all kinds of food was classified, but it was only a soldier's growl, and in many instances the man who growled the loudest would march farthest, fight the hardest, and go without food the longest.

The field encampment of an army in active service, in the winter, is very far from being a neatly and systematically arranged place, clean, fresh, and pleasant to the eye. It is not such as one sees in the usual summer camp, where there is an ample supply of roomy tents arranged symmetrically in column with the tents of the officers in their proper position and everything about it bright, fresh and orderly. In the presence of the enemy the

location of the camp is rarely an ideal one and seldom a matter of choice. Tents must be pitched and camps located with a view to the exigency of the situation. Hillsides and ravines must be utilized as well as the more level ground. As a consequence many of the regimental camps were by reason of surface conditions, very irregular in their formation. It was not always practicable to conform to the strict rules and plans of camp enjoined by the regulations. The irregularity in appearance was heightened by the fact that at this period of the war there was little or no uniformity in the tents issued to the troops. Occasionally part of a regiment or possibly a company here and there was supplied with wall, Sibley or A tents, while others, and by far the greater number, had to be contented with the regular shelter, or dog tent, which was originally intended only for shelter while the soldier was actually on the march. The ingenuity displayed by the men in constructing comparatively comfortable quarters out of the material at hand was really remarkable. One method was to excavate a cellar three or four feet deep, over which the tent (if of the wall or A pattern) was set up. This arrangement was warmer and furnished greater head room than if the tent had been simply pitched on

the ground in the usual way, while it also admitted of having a fire, which was not practicable in a tent erected on the surface. In the latter case there was no outlet for the smoke unless the tent itself was left open. With the cellar attachment a horizontal hole was made in the earth in the side of the cellar wall, generally opposite the entrance, of sufficient size to serve as a fire-place. From the fire-place a perpendicular opening was carried to the surface for a flue, over which a chimney, either of empty barrels or of clay and sticks was built, high enough to safely conduct the smoke and heated air from the fire above the ridge-pole of the tent, thereby lessening the chances of fire. If the builders of the habitation had only shelter tents as a foundation for their work they built a log structure high enough to give, with the cellar included, sufficient height; gable ends were carried up, light pole rafter laid on these and the shelter tents buttoned together, stretched over for a roof.

If the ground was not suitable for a cellar, by reason of being too wet, or so stony as to be too difficult to excavate, the log structure was put up on the surface. If the builders possessed a tent, the log pen need be only three or four feet high; then with the tent

pitched securely on top of the low wall they had a house high enough to enable them to move around in comfortably. If they had only their individual shelter tents to help out with, the walls had to be carried up to the height of a man and roofed with the buttoned tents as in the first example.

Making provisions for a fire was much more difficult when the above-ground style of architecture was adopted. It was necessary to leave an opening in one side of the log structure about two or three feet square for a fire-place. The hearth was outside of the wall, after the plan almost universally followed in the South, the fire-place being an oven-shaped structure of earth, or of earth and stones, with a chimney of the usual kind erected over it.

When one of these houses was well banked with earth, the openings between the logs well chinked with clay, and a good fire burning on the hearth, there was a surprising degree of solid comfort in it. To a man coming off guard where he had been exposed to the rain or snow for twenty-four hours it certainly seemed like homely luxury.

The general appearance of camp could not be said to be inviting to one unaccustomed to it. The stranger viewing it, or even the convalescent returning after an absence more or

less protracted, saw that there had been no attempt at architectural uniformity. Indeed, this would have been impossible with the materials at hand.

As he gazed at the various structures throughout the camps, with their canvas roofs discolored by various kinds of dirt stains, and with their gaping rents caused by storms or black margined holes burned by sparks from their own chimneys, in some cases patched with stray bits of old rubber blankets or odd pieces of discarded tent cloth of almost every hue, he would not have been inclined to worship it as at a shrine of beauty. A nearer view disclosed mud everywhere, banked up against the houses and plastered between the logs to keep out the cold; piles of earth which had been removed in making the ditches which surrounded every house to deflect the water during storms were visible everywhere. The company streets were oftentimes little better than quagmires, and tramping about through it all, were disconsolate looking soldiers, the blue of their uniforms turned to a dark brown by the pine smoke of the guard fires around which they had huddled all winter. The stranger within its gates would conclude that the two words in the English language which best described the camp were "squalor" and "wretchedness."

There were exceptions here, however, as there are in almost everything.

Many of the soldiers who were encamped on the "Brick house hill" that winter will remember a camp which was just the opposite in general appearance to those which have been described here. It was the camp of a Maine regiment, the number of which cannot now be recalled. It was located on fairly level ground, at a considerable distance northwest of the "Philips House," where General Sumner had his headquarters, and on a spot from which all the trees had not yet been removed. This gave it a sheltered appearance and invested it with an air of comfort. Each company street was formed of two rows of neatly built, comfortable looking log houses, roofed with shelter tents. Everything about them and throughout the camp presented an appearance of extreme neatness and regularity, one might almost say of thrift. Everything had been done in a substantial and workmanlike manner by men who had been accustomed to the woods and were past masters in the art of chopping.

Upon suddenly coming into this camp, without having any previous knowledge of its existence, the visitor might well imagine that he was entering a well regulated and conducted New England village.



The monotony of camp life was soon unexpectedly broken by an attempt to resume offensive operations against Lee. This is what is known among soldiers generally as the "Mud March." Evidently there was to be an attempt made to turn Lee's left by a rapid move up and across the Rappahannock by the upper fords. It proved to be a lamentable failure, however, but not through any fault or error on the part of the general commanding. The movement had no sooner been decided upon and its execution begun than the weather suddenly became mild. The frozen ground was transformed into mud, "the rains descended and the floods came," and the army, or such part of it as had already started on the march, found itself literally stuck in the mud, unable to move the field artillery, and the attempt had to be abandoned.

The movement had not progressed far enough to involve the division to which the Ninth belonged in it, and consequently it did not break camp and, therefore, were saved from a most unpleasant experience.

On the 26th of January, 1863, the whole regiment was brought together for the first time in nearly eight months. On that day Company "F" (Captain Hammill) returned from duty at Plymouth, N. C., and Company "G" (Captain Childs) from duty as body guard to General Burnside, both reporting to the regiment.

February 5th, the Ninth Corps received orders to proceed to Fortress Monroe, and on the 7th at sunrise, the Ninth New York struck tents, marched to the railroad station, took the cars for Aquia Creek, boarded the transport "Robert Morris," and at about two o'clock P. M. started down the Potomac on the way to Old Point Comfort.

## CHAPTER XIII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF CAMP AT NEWPORT NEWS — THE NINTH ASSIGNED AS PROVOST GUARD — CONCENTRATING TROOPS — SUTLERS' TRIALS — RUM AS A DISTURBER OF MARTIAL DISCIPLINE — REVIEW OF THE NINTH CORPS — HORSE RACING AND BASEBALL — ENROUTE TO FORTRESS MONROE AND PORTSMOUTH — TELEGRAMS — BORROWED TENTS IN SUFFOLK — AN UNWARRANTED TRAGEDY — THE USE — OF COUNTERSIGNS — DEATH OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL CORCORAN — OMINOUS THUNDERS OF MUTINY CALMED BY GENERAL GETTY — REMOVAL TO FORT NANSEMOND — UNDER FIRE — FAKE BULLETS — CAPTURING A BATTERY — A LOST YANKEE IN REBEL LINES — THE LAST DAY — GENERAL ORDERS NO. 27 — DISAPPOINTMENT OF RECRUITS — MUSTERED OUT.

ABOUT noon on the 8th of February, the transport, with the Ninth on board, arrived at Fortress Monroe. Here it remained at anchor until about ten o'clock the next morning, when orders were received to proceed to Newport News. Arriving at that place the regiment landed and was assigned to quarters in some very dilapidated buildings which had previously been used as stables. They were in an extremely filthy condition, as well as

sadly out of repair. In obedience to orders the men at once began the task of converting these tumbledown, filthy hovels into habitable barracks. Their success was simply marvelous.

It is doubtful if during the entire term of the regiment's service a better example of the result of intelligent, well directed labor could be shown. Nearly all the mechanical trades were well represented in the regiment, plenty of skill and ability, supplemented with an abundance of energy—the latter a native possession of these young soldiers. The work progressed rapidly and the old stables were very soon transformed into respectable looking and comfortable quarters.

On the next day after its arrival the regiment was designated as provost guard of the post, with Major Jardine as Provost Marshal.

This line of duty being entirely new to the men of the regiment was rather an agreeable variation from the usual unbroken monotony of ordinary camp life with its unvarying round of drills, parade and guard, and it was so accepted by them. Officers and men entered on the performance of their new duties with great satisfaction, and with a determination for thoroughness in the performance of them.

After a few days' experience in the new

camp, it appeared evident, judging from the activity prevailing at the post, and from the continuous arrival of regiments, that the military authorities intended to concentrate a large number of troops here, and to make it a base for operations of some kind in the near future. The detailing of the Ninth as provost guard was, in the minds of the men, confirmation that such was the intention. They reasoned that under ordinary conditions any regiment would have served for a provost guard, but the detailing of the Ninth denoted that extraordinary conditions were about to develop.

Regiment after regiment continued to arrive, following each other in rapid succession until, in a comparatively short time the whole of the 9th Corps was encamped on the high bank of the James. The place which a short time before had been almost deserted was now occupied by nearly twenty thousand men.

The swarms of sutlers, who had been laboring under great difficulties during all the time the army was on the march through Virginia, far away from its base, became suddenly alert, and were keen to take whatever advantage the situation offered for catching the trade which they saw was sure to follow the arrival of such a large number of soldiers at the post.

For a long time these sutlers had been enduring conditions very unfavorable to them, but which always prevail during the progress of an active campaign. While following the army on the march their stock in trade had to be transported in wagons and their safety and convenience were not considered to any very great extent by either the commanding general or his principal subordinates. They, therefore, had to trust to Providence for getting from point to point, or from one camp or halting place to another, without being captured by the Johnnies. They were frequently treated with scant courtesy by those in command, especially when they happened to interfere in any way with the free movement of troops, as they sometimes did by obstructing the road, bridge or ford. The long haul was very expensive and the risk of capture was very great, not only by the scouting parties and moving bodies of the enemy but, under certain conditions, by their friends also.

Discipline is always more or less relaxed when an army is on the march, and the longer the march the greater the relaxation. In a permanent camp, under ordinary conditions, the stock of the sutler would be just as safe as in a civil community, but when the army was on the march, if it should happen to be dis-

covered at any place outside of the range of vision of such commissioned officers as might realize the importance of their responsibility, it would be considered by soldiers generally as legitimate spoil, and in all probability would be captured and appropriated.

From the above the reader must not conclude that robbery was practiced generally by the soldiers during the war, or that men who would rob a sutler's wagon, would, under normal conditions, steal the property of another. Scattered all over the land are men holding high positions of honor and trust, who, when soldiers, assisted in robbing a sutler, and were glad of the opportunity. The doubter of this statement may ask the judge, congressman, clergyman, physician, merchant or lawyer who served in the ranks during the Rebellion, if he ever did such a thing. Watch the expression of his face and see how his eye will light up as his thoughts revert to those days when mischief was looked upon as a virtue, and all the wild pranks committed on the march or in the camp were considered as simply ebullitions of animal spirits.

It was but natural that the arrival of a large body of troops at Newport News, which was so easy of access by water from near-by Northern ports, should be looked upon by many army

traders as the sunshine in which their hay should be made, and they accordingly proceeded immediately to take advantage of it. Almost as soon as the first bodies of troops were landed, vessels loaded with sutlers' stores began to arrive from Baltimore and other places at the north. A goodly proportion of many of the cargoes, and in some instances almost the whole cargo, consisted of rum.

The supplying of liquors to soldiers during the war caused more trouble and brought about more breaches of discipline and military law than all other causes combined. A single gallon of rum introduced into a regiment will, for the time being, destroy the discipline of years. Everybody in the army who was at all observant was aware of this, yet almost everyone, excepting such officers as realized the responsibility resting upon them, encouraged, or at least did not discourage the traffic. It was principally to prevent this traffic or to break it up if established that the Ninth was appointed provost guard. Major Jardine was just the man for the work. He was shrewd and energetic, and while it was practically impossible to at once entirely stop the introduction of liquor into camp, he and his assistants by their vigilance and the severe measures enforced against offenders, gradually put an end to it.



By the latter part of February the whole of the Ninth Corps had arrived, and on the 25th of that month there was a grand review of all the troops at the post. The various commands were in excellent condition, both in regard to equipment and discipline and presented a magnificent spectacle as they marched past the reviewing officer.

Experience had taught the veterans and the observant ones in the army that the review of large bodies of troops was always a preliminary to some important movement, consequently the strategists among the soldiers at once began planning their campaigns, and the camp was soon filled with rumors regarding the next move.

As spring advanced and the weather became milder the men were able to get along without the fires they had been hugging so long and to move about with less discomfort from mud and kindred evils than during the inclement winter. Consequently there was more time spent in the open air, the benefit of which was soon apparent in the improved appearance of all. Both officers and men began to organize sports and recreations of divers kinds with which to vary the monotony of drills and parades and to enliven life in camp. Horse-racing became quite popular

among the officers, and on the evenings when matches were decided thousands of spectators assembled at the course to yell, applaud or bet for or on their respective favorites. This favorite was in every case the horse which belonged to or which was ridden by an officer belonging to their own regiment or particular sub-division of the army. Those who bet on the result were always influenced by the same feelings. Points were not taken into account at all, it was simply "ours against theirs" always. The great race of the season was one between the horses of Colonel Hawkins and Captain Stevens of the staff, each ridden by its respective owner. It was run, as all the races were, just before "retreat," which was the hour when everybody but the guard was off duty, and was attended by a big crowd from all the brigades, including the whole of the Ninth who were off duty. These latter considered it a bounden duty to be present and to yell for their favorite. Colonel Hawkins came in a winner, to the immense gratification of the men of his regiment and the chagrin and humiliation of the partisans of Captain Stevens. Baseball "nines" were organized in a number of regiments and many games played between them in the interval between afternoon drill and dress parade. The "nines" of the Ninth

and the 51st New York played a series of games during the early part of March, in which the Zouaves were nearly always victorious, much to the gratification of the boys of the Ninth, who were wont, at the conclusion of each game, to express their feelings in much noisy tumult and with many sarcastic inquiries directed to the men of the 51st as to what if any game said 51st could play better than baseball.

These may seem small matters to chronicle in the history of a regiment, but as a matter of fact, they were of very great importance to the men of the regiment. They served to enliven and give variety to camp life; were recreation and amusement for all, and were looked forward to with delightful anticipation and remembered with a great deal of pleasure.

During the early part of March troops began to leave Newport News for some unknown destination, and by the middle of the month regiments were being sent away almost daily.

As early as the 7th of the month the regiment had received orders to prepare three days' cooked rations and be ready to move at a moment's notice. Nobody seemed to know the destination of the troops that had already left, or were leaving daily, but rumors were plentiful in camp and new ones were being put in cir-

culatation almost every hour about the new field of operations to which the troops were destined. Each new report differed from all others that had preceded it, but every one was discussed with great interest and animation and with many disputes and arguments among the men in relation to grand strategy, the future movements of the army and the plans of the generals.

The regiment continued in this state of uncertainty day after day, waiting for orders, but they did not come.

The command of the post had now devolved on Colonel Hawkins, as he was the ranking officer present.

On the 13th, the 3rd Brigade of the 3rd Division embarked on transports and proceeded toward their unknown destination, and on the day following, all the rest of the division, except part of the 1st Brigade, to which the Ninth belonged, followed it. On that day the regiment was relieved from provost guard by the 51st New York.

About daybreak on the 1st of April, marching orders were at last received and the company and regimental property was soon packed and safely stowed on board the transport at the wharf, but instead of embarking thereon the regiment, presumably by orders, took the road and marched to Fortress Monroe, where

it arrived at about four o'clock that afternoon. Tents were issued, which were soon pitched, and before tattoo all the work had been completed and the regiment was comfortably encamped. On the 3d, camp was changed to Camp Hamilton where the regiment remained until the 10th, when orders were received to proceed to Suffolk, Va. At sundown that day it embarked on the transport "Robt. A. Morris," and about midnight arrived at Portsmouth, remaining on board until daylight next morning.

Colonel Hawkins was not relieved from the command of the brigade when marching orders were issued to the regiment and, therefore, was not in command. About the time it departed from Newport News he was either ordered or requested to proceed to Washington on some matter on which the military authorities were consulting and did not join the regiment which had arrived at Suffolk, and assume command until the morning of April 12th.

The fact that the regiment had remained so long without orders while such a large percentage of the corps had departed, or were departing for a new field of action, had caused a great deal of speculation and discussion among the rank and file. Every imaginable theory was advanced by the camp strategists and sea-

lawyers in the regiment to explain it, but none of them appeared to be entirely satisfactory. The most plausible one and the one most generally accepted was, that inasmuch as the regiment's term of service would expire in about one month, the military authorities had concluded to (as the men expressed it) "let the boys take it easy" until the time came to send them home.

The following telegrams copied from official records may throw some light on the question. They at least show that the military authorities were aware that the Ninth New York existed and that, to a certain extent at least, its reputation with said authorities was good.

Official records, Vol. 18, p. 582, April 4, 1863.

General Dix sends despatch to General Keyes, commanding at Yorktown, that he leaves for Washington that day, and says: "I have promised General Peck, in case he is attacked, to send for the Ninth New York Volunteers, which is at Camp Hamilton, and belongs to Getty's Division."

On April 10, 1863, General Keyes, from Fortress Monroe, telegraphed General Peck at Suffolk: "I will, when the enemy advances on you, send Hawkins' Zouaves and other aid nearly equivalent."

And on the same day the General telegraphed from Fortress Monroe to General Halleck:

“Upon Peck’s urgent call I have sent the Ninth New York to Suffolk to-day.”

On page 598, April 11, 1863, Keyes telegraphed to General Peck: “I have this moment received your telegram announcing that the enemy is moving upon you in large force. I suppose the Hawkins’ Zouaves are now with you.”

It may not be out of place here to call the attention of the reader to the fact that these telegrams demonstrate that the Ninth New York Volunteers was held in higher estimation by the officers who signed them and by those to whom they were addressed than one would believe possible after reading certain so-called regimental histories, the emanations of J. Madison Drake, Brigadier-General, N. J., and his fellow writers, on the battle of Roanoke Island. The reason is perfectly plain. The confidence of Generals Dix, Keyes, Peck and Halleck was inspired by the reputation gained by the regiment during its two years’ of service, while the writings of the authors above mentioned, were governed by the wish to manufacture records for their several regiments before there had been either time or opportunity for them to earn them, and by reciting alleged occurrences which never happened, and of which none of them could have had knowledge, under the existing conditions, even had they taken place.

When the Ninth landed at Portsmouth on the morning of the 11th, they found that owing to the advance of the enemy on Suffolk and the alarm and confusion resulting therefrom, the railroad service had been discontinued and the only way of reaching the besieged town was by marching. After marching about four miles the company and regimental property and knapsacks were packed in wagons and the regiment completed the march of twenty-seven miles over the railroad sleepers. The march was a very fatiguing one. It rained considerably during the day and when at last Suffolk was reached the men were wet, hungry, and very tired. The marching on the ties was particularly fatiguing to men loaded down with the ordinary equipments.

It was late when Suffolk was reached, and for the last hour or two of the march the subject uppermost in the thoughts of the men was where they were to find quarters when they arrived at their destination. After standing in the ranks for some time, waiting to be assigned to their position, it was ascertained that the 103d New York—a regiment of their own brigade which had preceded them some days—was on guard duty at the extreme front. This left their camp unoccupied, so the Ninth unceremoniously turned into



their tents and proceeded to make themselves comfortable and at home, knowing they would be welcome.

On this night a tragedy occurred, which for a time threatened serious consequences. This was what seemed at that time, and which after the lapse of so many years still seems to be, the unjustifiable and wanton killing of Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball by General Corcoran.

As stated above, it was late in the night when the regiment arrived in camp. There were no provisions made for quarters for either officers or men. It had been raining all day, and if any sleep was to be had it was necessary to find shelter. Colonel Kimball was invited to share the tent of Major Bowers, of a New Hampshire regiment, who had been a companion in arms of Kimball in Mexico, being a lieutenant in the same company. It was necessary for Kimball to visit Getty's headquarters to report the arrival of the regiment, and to receive orders, which he proceeded to do, Major Bowers meanwhile preparing a place for him to sleep. While on his way to make this call, or on his return therefrom, Kimball's attention was attracted to a sentry challenging a group of mounted men. The challenged party did not respond to the satisfaction of the sentry, who again demanded the countersign. From among the challenged

party came voices, some raised in expostulation and others in explanation of their identity and their destination. Colonel Kimball advanced toward the disputants, at the same time saying, "That's right, sentry; let no one pass without the countersign." He then challenged the party himself, demanding the countersign. The group of strangers numbered a dozen or more men, some of them in military uniform, others in citizen's dress. As they could not or would not give the countersign, the principal spokesman of the party merely reiterating the statement that he was General Corcoran, Kimball resolutely determined that they should not pass, and placed himself in such a position as to obstruct the passage of the leader. After a few more words of altercation, a shot rang out, and Kimball fell and instantly expired.

The bullet from Corcoran's pistol had passed through his neck, severing one of the carotid arteries, and causing death almost instantly.

A day or two after this tragedy, Brig.-Gen. Michael Corcoran sent a letter to Colonel Hawkins, in which he set forth what he evidently considered the extenuating circumstances or justification of his act. This letter is as follows:

SUFFOLK, VA., April 13, 1863.

COLONEL :—To prevent any misapprehension I send you a brief statement in relation to the sad affair of Sunday morning, which resulted, I regret to say, in the death of Lieut.-Col. Edgar E. Kimball. \* \* \* I proceeded along the main road toward the front lines \* \* \* when an officer, whose rank I could not recognize (the night being very dark) rushed out in front of me and ordered a halt, with the additional remark, "I want the countersign." \* \* \* I requested to know the object of his halting me, and his name, rank, and other authority, but could obtain no other reply than it was "none of my — business ; you cannot pass here." I expostulated with him \* \* \* told him he must let me pass. I asked him if he knew who he was talking to, and gave him my name and rank \* \* \* but it was of no avail. He answered : "I do not care a — who you are." I then told him I should pass and warned him to get out of my way, and attempted to proceed. He thereupon put himself in a determined attitude to prevent my progress. \* \* \* It was at this point I used my weapon. \* \* \*

MICHAEL CORCORAN, Brig.-General.

Without the testimony of the above letter over his own signature, it would be difficult to believe that any man could be found in the army—especially one who had secured the rank of brigadier-general—so utterly regardless of all questions of right and justice, so deficient in ordinary intelligence and so grossly ignorant of the simple primary rules and practice of camps or troops in time of war, that he would, when abroad in the night time, in the immediate presence of the enemy, surrounded by members of his staff and a crowd of visiting friends, have answered the demand for the countersign by volunteering information as to his supposed name, rank and purpose.

It is the well-known practice in all civilized

armies to enforce by both precept and practice the rule that nobody—not even the soldier's own captain or colonel or most intimate friend—shall be recognized at night or dealt with otherwise than as a stranger and an enemy, unless he properly identifies himself by giving the countersign. There is no departure from this rule, "Know nobody, at night." A challenged person who attempts to identify himself by such explanations as announcing his supposed name and rank, or stating his alleged objects and mission, at once excites the suspicion of the veteran soldier, and causes him to be, if possible, still more upon his guard. Camps and garrisons have been surprised and disasters have followed in numerous instances by departure from this plain and simple rule.

If parties of men, either mounted or on foot, should have the right to freely move through or about camps or bivouacs at night, by simply announcing, when questioned, I, or we, are so and so, going to such a place, as they might care to mention, there would be no use in maintaining guards at all. Everybody, enemies as well as friends, could then go wherever inclination, interest or desire called them.

Among the many instances where surprise and loss has occurred when plausible ex-

planations have been accepted by sentries and others in lieu of the countersign, is the following, which happened about a month before the fatal night on which Colonel Kimball was killed, and which was probably recalled to his mind when he discovered Corcoran and his mixed cavalcade attempting to ignore the demand for the countersign and offering explanations instead.

On the 8th of March, 1863, Col. John S. Mosby and a detachment of his command, rode into the Federal camp at Fairfax Courthouse. They had succeeded in avoiding the outlying camps and pickets, the gleaming campfires serving as beacons to warn them where danger lay. They were not interfered with until they arrived in the heart of the camp, when a sentry challenged them. His challenge was answered with the information that they were a detachment of the 5th New York Cavalry and were waiting there for the rest of the regiment. They chatted familiarly with the sentinel until the opportunity they were waiting for arrived, when a pistol was suddenly clapped to his ear and he was informed that he was a prisoner and that his death would instantly follow any attempt to alarm the camp. They then proceeded to the quarters occupied by the Union Commander, Brigadier - General Stoughton.

They informed the soldier on guard that they were bearers of dispatches for the General, and succeeded in capturing him in the same way they had the other sentinel. Part of them then secured the rest of the guard while the others proceeded to General Stoughton's room, and after awakening him informed him that he was a prisoner; that his camp had been completely surprised and was in possession of Stuart's cavalry; compelled him to dress; took him, his staff, his headquarters' guard—in all 32 persons, 58 horses and his headquarters' equipage—and rode gayly, chatting and laughing as they went, unmolested, out of camp, and succeeded in getting safely away.

Unfortunately for General Stoughton and his reputation, there was no Colonel Kimball awake in his camp that night.

The official recognition of this successful venture is contained in the following congratulatory order:

HEADQUARTERS CAVALRY DIVISION, ARMY OF  
NORTHERN VIRGINIA, March 12, 1863.

GENERAL ORDERS :

Captain John S. Mosby has for a long time attracted the attention of his General by his boldness, skill and success, so signally displayed in his numerous forays upon the invaders of his native State. None know his daring enterprise and dashing heroism better than those foul invaders, though strangers themselves to such noble traits.

His late brilliant exploit—the capture of Brig.-General Stoughton, U. S. Army; two captains, thirty other prisoners, together with their

arms and equipments, and fifty-eight horses — justifies this recognition in General Orders.

This feat, unparalleled in the war, was performed in the midst of the enemy's troops, at Fairfax Court House, without loss or injury. The gallant band of Captain Mosby share the glory as they did the danger of this enterprise, and are worthy of such a leader.

J. E. B. STUART,

Major-General Commanding.

The above single illustration of what sometimes does and what at any time may follow the disregard of the simple axiom that the only identification to be received by a sentinel in the night is the countersign, would seem to be sufficient to dispose of the singularly foolish and childlike contention of Corcoran and a few thoughtless apologists of his act, that Kimball had no right to demand the countersign that night.

Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball was born in Pembroke, N. H., June 3, 1822. He became a printer in his youth, and for a number of years was editor and publisher of the *Woodstock (Vt.) Age*. At the breaking out of the Mexican War he abandoned his paper and raised a company for the service and was assigned to Colonel Ransom's regiment which became the 9th U. S. Infantry. He was commissioned captain March 8, 1847; brevet-major, August 20, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battles of Conteras and Cherubusco; honorably discharged August 26, 1848; commissioned major Ninth New

York Volunteers May 4, 1861; lieutenant-colonel February 14, 1862, and died, as has been seen, the victim of a combination of ignorance and arrogance. He was a gallant and intrepid soldier, one whom no dangers could daunt nor numbers terrify when either stood in the path of his duty as a soldier. Always ready to perform any act of daring or to lead to danger where any man would follow, he was the admiration of the regiment, the men of which sincerely mourned his loss and the manner of it. Michael Corcoran will be remembered by many New Yorkers of ante-bellum days, as the colonel of a militia regiment, in which position he gained considerable notoriety by flatly refusing to obey the lawful command of his superior officer when ordered to parade his regiment—with the command to which it belonged—to receive the Prince of Wales when on his visit to New York. Corcoran was then, and subsequently remained until, the breaking out of the Rebellion, the keeper of what was known in the vernacular of the day as a “three cent grog shop,” Hibernia Hall, in Prince Street, New York City. He went to the front with his regiment in response to the call for three months’ troops, was taken prisoner at Bull Run and was confined some time in Libby Prison. Afterwards he was appointed brigadier-general



and served a short time as commander of the Corcoran Legion. He was killed by a fall from his horse shortly after the killing of Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball, and while engaged in a night ride (accompanied by visitors, citizens and soldiers) which was a counterpart of the ride of the 11th of April, 1863.

When Colonel Kimball's death, and the manner of it became known throughout the regiment, which was not until daylight the following morning, there was intense excitement among the men. The indignation reached such a height that serious consequences were feared. There was much confusion and the scene for a time savored somewhat of insubordination, not to say mutiny. Some of the men loudly demanded that their officers lead them to Corcoran's headquarters that they might avenge what they all considered the wanton and cowardly murder of their Lieutenant-Colonel. Before the point of open outbreak was reached the "assembly" was ordered sounded and the regiment "fell in." The habit of obedience and discipline was so strong that the excited, almost uncontrollable mob was instantly transformed into an obedient, well disciplined regiment.

General Getty, who had been sent for when the situation became serious, arrived in a few

moments. He addressed them in a quieting and assuring speech, deploring the unfortunate occurrence and promising that a thorough investigation would be had and full justice rendered. He also, and very wisely too, wrote an order, directing the regiment to proceed to Fort Nansemond at once, and occupy that and adjacent works. This order was written while the General sat on his horse in front of the regiment. The Ninth was at once marched to its new field of duty, which was found to be at the extreme front, within a short distance of the enemy's rifle pits, which were on ground that commanded the fort. It remained here constantly under fire for twenty-two days until its time expired, so fully occupied with the enemy in front that if his satanic majesty had wished to brew mischief he could have found no heart or hands in the regiment to do it for him.

Longstreet was investing the place with an army estimated at thirty thousand men. He allowed the defenders no rest either day or night. His attempts to successfully assault various parts of the line were defeated in every instance, however, and the operations so far as the Ninth was concerned, were confined principally to sharpshooting and occasional artillery duels. A portion of the regiment,

the whole of Company K, and such other men as had been instructed in artillery drill at Newport News under General Phelps, and at Roanoke Island, manned different batteries on the line occupied by the regiment.

General Getty in his report says: "The artillery is especially deserving of great credit. Captain Morris, Ninth New York Volunteers, with a battery of 20-pounder Parrott's, silenced most effectually the enemy's battery at Norfleet's, and afterward rendered good service in silencing his batteries at Le Compte's.

The rebel rifle-pits were within easy range of Fort Nansemond and the other Union works, and the sharpshooting was continuous. In a very few days the men became accustomed to this, in a measure, and contented themselves with returning in kind these attentions of the enemy. The latter would occasionally become so persistent and annoying that the artillery would be compelled to take part in the dispute and by dropping shells into the rifle-pits, which they learned to do very skillfully, would cause the enemy to evacuate and scamper to better cover farther to the rear. There would then be comparative peace for a short time, but it would soon be as bad as ever.

As has been stated before, the enemy's rifle-

pits were so situated that they in part commanded Fort Nansemond. Every part of the work except that immediately behind the parapet facing toward the enemy was under the fire of his riflemen. Anyone exposing himself beyond the shelter of the protecting parapet was sure to be made a target of by the rebel marksmen. This condition of affairs afforded an opportunity for some of the most irreverent and fun-loving among the Zouaves to extract a good deal of amusement from it. To do this they provided themselves with nails which, when either officer or man was discovered in an exposed place, was thrown in such a manner as to revolve swiftly on its shorter axis, making a humming noise not unlike the sound of a bullet, and as near to the head of the victim as possible. The unconscious subject of the trick would lose no time in putting himself in a safer place, and nearly always in a most undignified and generally terror stricken manner. This performance would appear to throw the jokers into an ecstasy of glee. If the victim were an enlisted man there were howls of derision and great exultation. If an officer they expressed their feelings by going through many and various bodily contortions, silently of course, but nevertheless very vigorous and demonstrative.

The pinnacle of demoniac joy was reached when occasionally a higher officer on a tour of inspection or observation would unwittingly place himself in a position where the trick would be practiced on him without danger of discovery. To see him, as happened on more than one occasion, drop suddenly on his hands and knees when he heard the whiz of the nail as it passed his head, and in that position scuttle undignifiedly to a place of shelter, was superlative glee, and possibly the memory of it remains a joy with some of the wretches even to this day.

At dusk on the evening of the 19th of April, a part of Hawkins' Brigade, the 8th Connecticut and 89th New York, crossed the West Branch of the Nansmond on "Stepping Stones" and captured the rebel Battery Huger, with five pieces of artillery, nine commissioned officers and one hundred and twenty men. This was a gallant exploit for which the troops engaged were commended in general orders. Among the officers especially mentioned for gallantry on the occasion, was Lieutenant Robert McKechnie of Company H, Ninth New York, aide to General Getty.

During the latter part of the month heavy rain storms occurred but notwithstanding this the fighting continued active.

On the 30th of April the enemy opened with a new battery of one "Whitworth" gun, one 30 and one 35-pounder Parrott. They were quickly silenced by Captain Morris (Company K) detachment, then at Fort Stevens, and consisting of men of the Ninth and the gunboat "Commodore Barney," under command of Lieutenant Cushing, U. S. N.

The expiration of the term of service of the regiment was now rapidly approaching, and all other thoughts and considerations were completely blotted out or lost sight of in the consuming desire and longing for home. For weeks it had been the all-absorbing topic, and had pervaded the minds of all, both sleeping and waking. There was no relaxation, however, in the steady and cheerful performance of every duty, and a casual observer would never have suspected that these soldiers—so obedient and prompt to respond to every order—were expecting almost hourly to be relieved from duty and to turn their faces towards the homes and loved ones many of them had not seen since their term of service began.

On the 1st of May, an attempt was made to capture the enemy's rifle-pits across the river from Fort Nansemond, from which the annoying fire of the sharpshooters had harrassed

the defenders so long. The 99th New York was detailed to make the attempt. They crossed the river by the bridge, deployed on the opposite bank and advanced rapidly up the slope toward the enemy's position exposed to a brisk fire from the sharpshooters in the pits. It appeared to be the intention to move rapidly and capture the line of rifle-pits by a daylight surprise before the rebel infantry could be thrown forward to occupy them, in which event they could, with the help of the artillery in the forts, have held them against a greatly superior force. As the attacking force swept up the hill in plain view of the men in the forts and earthworks on the Union side, a large body of the enemy's infantry was observed to move out of the woods beyond, and charge down the hill toward the advancing line of the 99th. It looked from the works as though it were a countercharge by the enemy. All the guns that could be brought to bear opened on the advancing rebels, and it seemed as though it would be impossible for them to withstand it, when all at once they disappeared from view, having reached the rifle-pits for which they were rushing, and plunging into them were out of sight and well sheltered from the fire of both the forts and the advancing infantry. What had seemed from the

forts to be two bodies of infantry charging each other was, in fact, a race between the attacking troops and the rebels as to which would be able to reach the shelter of the rifle-pits first, and the rebels—having the shortest distance to go—won. As the line of the 99th advanced up the slope, it came within range of the artillery fire from the fort, which, therefore, had to cease, for fear of inflicting damage on their own men. When the rebel reinforcements which had reached the rifle-pits opened fire on the troops advancing to the attack, it seemed to the soldiers looking on from the opposite side of the river that the 99th literally melted away. The fight was kept up for some time, the Union soldiers stubbornly holding their ground, even after all chance of success had vanished; but they were at last compelled to abandon the attempt and retire across the river, leaving their dead and wounded on the field.

Very soon after the 99th had gained the shelter of the earthwork, and the firing had ceased, several men of the Ninth crossed the river, willing to take their chances of getting hit, in an effort to render assistance to the wounded, and later a rescue party of volunteers was gathered and, under command of Major Jardine, went over for the same purpose.



These went over without arms, and made little if any attempt at concealment, only taking care not to show themselves in an ostentatious manner. The rebels showed an equally chivalric and honorable spirit, for, while there was an occasional shot, their presence was generally ignored. As the reward of their labors they brought over six dead and forty-three wounded.

An incident occurred in connection with this good work, an account of which will no doubt be of interest, and which will show the spirit and feelings which animated many of the soldiers on both sides at this period of the war.

One of the Zouaves had become so intent in his search for the wounded that he unwittingly permitted darkness to overtake him, and became suddenly aware that he was lost. He could not determine which was the proper direction to take to find the river, which was his only landmark, but wandered back and forth, thoroughly confused for a time, not daring to go far in any one direction, for fear of running into the enemy's line. While still in this unpleasant frame of mind, he was startled by seeing a rifle-barrel suddenly gleam in the moonlight and a voice behind it say, in accents which plainly would admit of no refusal, "Come here,

Yank." Our friend, knowing well that he was in a situation where a man who hesitates is lost, promptly walked toward the voice, which he found belonged to a rebel soldier whose head appeared just above the surface of the ground, the rest of the body being in a rifle-pit. The Johnny took a good look at the Yank, then lowered the hammer of his gun, and said, in rather a friendly way, "Sit down, Yank. You belong to the 9th New York, don't you?" "Yes," replied the Yank. "Well," said the Reb, "I thought your time was out." "So it is," replied the Yankee. "We are going home to-morrow. At least, the rest of the boys are." But who are you, and what do you know about the 9th New York?" "Oh, I belong to the 3rd Georgia, I know a good deal about your regiment," said the Reb. The Zouave knew something about the the 3rd Georgia, too, so he said, "Isn't your time out, too?" "Out h—!" said the Reb. "No, our time is never out. Time don't count with us."

The conversation continued in this vein for sometime longer, the Ninth man being very uneasy meantime in regard to the final ending of the visit, when the Reb suddenly interrupted the dialogue by saying: "Look here, Yank, you had better be getting out of here. My relief is about due, and if you are found here you will be scooped in." The Zouave informed him

that he was just as anxious to go as his entertainer was to have him go, but that he had lost his bearings and did not know in which direction to reach the river. His friend, the enemy, pointed out the general direction, and "reckoned" that if his Yankee guest should be unable to attract the attention of his friends on his own side, he could swim the river and get back to camp in that way. So they parted with a mutual good night, and the Zouave reached the regiment in safety.

On the next day the regiment was relieved by the 6th Massachusetts, and orders were issued to proceed to New York for the purpose of being mustered out. In connection with orders received for this purpose was a farewell and complimentary one by General Getty, in the following form:

HEADQUARTERS THIRD DIVISION, NINTH ARMY CORPS,  
SUFFOLK, VA., May 2d, 1863.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 27.

After two years of constant field service the Ninth Regiment, New York State Volunteers, are now about to return home; their term of service having expired. Among the first to spring to arms at their country's call, they now return home after two years of faithful and gallant service, with the heartfelt satisfaction of having done their duty, with the praises of their friends and the admiration of the enemy; and with Hatteras, Roanoke, Camden, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg and Suffolk inscribed on their banners.

Fare you well, brave and faithful comrades! The best wishes of those you leave follow you, and will unite with the cheers of the thousands who will greet your triumphant march through your native city to do you the honor you have so richly earned.

By command of

GEORGE W. GETTY, Brigadier-General.

CAPTAIN GARDINER, Asst. Adjt.-General.

This order was very gratifying to every member of the regiment, coming as it did from the general under whose watchful eye they had served for several months, and who had evidently learned to value their soldierly qualities as he had seen them exhibited in camp, on the march, and on the battlefield.

One thing in connection with this last day of their active service as an organization, which had a tendency to dampen the enthusiasm of the men, was the decision of the government, that all the recruits who had enlisted at various times subsequent to the muster-in of the regiment must remain behind in the service and serve a full two year or three year term according to the terms of the "call for troops" under which each one had enlisted.

Nearly, if not quite, all these recruits had enlisted under the belief that their terms would expire with that of the regiment. That was also the general belief among the officers. At the time of their enlistment they were informed that while they were actually being sworn in for a stated term, in years, yet nevertheless every effort would be made to induce the war department to permit them to be mustered out with the regiment at the expiration of its term of service, and it was believed that these efforts would be successful. Colonel Hawkins left

nothing undone in his efforts to have this implied agreement carried out, but without success. Consequently about three hundred men were left behind to serve out their respective terms in some other organization.

On the 3d of May the regiment left Suffolk and proceeded to Fortress Monroe, where transportation by sea was furnished, and on the 5th, after a voyage devoid of incident, it arrived in New York.

One of the New York papers of that date published the following notice of the expected arrival of the regiment:

“The regiment will arrive in this city today. Extensive arrangements have been made in order to give the gallant corps an enthusiastic reception. Several fire companies, both of New York and Brooklyn, have volunteered to turn out on the occasion. The Twelfth Regiment, National Guard, will also parade in honor of the returning heroes. They come on the steamer “Kennebec,” and may be expected to land about 9 o'clock, A.M.

“A meeting of the wounded and friends of the regiment was held at 25 Carmine Street yesterday afternoon, and arrangements were made for the ex-members, wounded, and friends, to turn out upon the occasion. The Zouaves will be commanded by Colonel Hawkins.”

The reception was a very cordial and gratifying one, and the plaudits on the line of march were numerous and enthusiastic. After a short parade, not short enough however to suit the impatient Zouaves, whose one desire was to be with their loved ones from whom they had been separated so long, the regiment arrived at the Twelfth Regiment Armory, where the arms

were deposited and the men dismissed for the time being.

Nothing now remained to do but prepare the rolls for muster-out. These were soon completed and on May 20, 1863, the Ninth New York Volunteers were mustered out of service and ceased to exist as a military organization.

The whole number of men enlisted in the regiment during the two years

of service, was . . . . . 1,413

Mustered out at expiration of term, 539

Transferred to the Third New York, 264 803

Which shows an apparent loss from all

causes of . . . . . 610

In addition to this apparent loss there was an additional actual loss in battle of 155 men, who recovering from their wounds returned to the regiment and were again "present for duty," and are included in the above 803 men who were either mustered out with it or transferred to serve out their respective unexpired terms of enlistment.

## CHAPTER XIV.

THE RECRUITS LEFT AT SUFFOLK — LACK OF MILITARY CONTROL — VOLUNTEERING FOR THE FIGHT — CAMP RUMORS — PRIVATE RECONNOITERING — THE MAN OF STRAW — UNCERTAINTY AND ANXIETY AMONG THE MEN — TRANSFERRED TO THE THIRD NEW YORK — BOSSING THE REGIMENT — OFF FOR FIELD SERVICE — CAMPAIGNING IN SOUTH CAROLINA — ARMY OF THE JAMES — ARMY OF THE POTOMAC — MEN OF THE NINTH DISTINGUISH THEMSELVES — REGIMENT DWINDLES AWAY — CALL FOR SECOND BATTALION — A NEW NINTH ORGANIZED — FORMATION OF 178TH NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS — ORDERED TO VIRGINIA — NEW NINTH RECRUITING — THE JULY RIOTS — JARDINE AND WHITE WOUNDED — RESCUED — BATTALION AT FORT HAMILTON — SEVENTEENTH NEW YORK — ORDERED TO THE FRONT — PROVISIONAL BRIGADE — SERVICE OF 178TH — SERVICE OF 17TH — MEN WHO SERVED IN OTHER REGIMENTS.

WHEN the Ninth departed for New York for the purpose of being mustered out, about three hundred men—recruits—who had enlisted in the regiment at various times subsequent to its muster into the service, were left behind at Suffolk to serve out their respective unexpired terms of enlistment.

They were for a time unattached to any regiment or command. They had no commissioned officers of their own. They were detachments from every company in the regiment, and now found themselves without organization, and for the time being practically free from both military restraints and from the performance of ordinary military duties. They seemed to be at liberty to go and come within camp lines at their own will and pleasure.

Each of them had enlisted for a stated period—two or three years—according to the “call” under which they respectively entered the service, but each and every one of them, as well as every other man in the regiment, both enlisted and commissioned, had firmly believed that they would only be required to serve until the term of the regiment expired. When it was learned that they would not be allowed to go home with the regiment they were grievously disappointed. They had looked forward with pleasurable anticipation to the time when they would march up Broadway with the regiment, participate with it in whatever reception was accorded it, share in its honors and claim their proportion of the glory it had won. These hopes were now all dashed to the ground and the men felt very bitter on account of what they believed to be unjust treatment. Hope,



however, "springs eternal in the human breast," and most of the boys still cherished a faint hope or indulged in a vague expectation that the decision which separated them from their regiment might yet be reconsidered and that some unforeseen turn in affairs might happen, whereby they might still be mustered out with it. This made them ready to grasp at any of the multitude of rumors and camp stories which sprung up—where the wish was father to the thought—regarding the intention of the authorities concerning them.

On the 3d of May, which was the day after the Ninth departed for home, a reconnoissance was ordered to ascertain the whereabouts of the enemy, who had suddenly become less active than usual, and among the troops assigned to the duty was the 103d New York, a regiment which had been long brigaded with the Ninth. A goodly number of the retained men voluntarily joined that regiment and participated in the fight which the movement brought on. Among the killed in the engagement was Colonel Ringold, the commander of the regiment, a most gallant and dashing officer, and one in whom the whole brigade took pride. This engagement proved to be the last which took place during the siege. The fighting for the present in that vicinity seemed

at an end, and the leisure permitted somebody to start and spread a report that Colonel Ringold's remains were to be sent home, and that the recruits of the Ninth, as a reward for their conduct in the fight in which he was killed, were to act as their escort. This report was eagerly seized upon by the men and produced a good deal of excitement, many of them believing it to be true. Like others of similar import, it proved to be baseless. Then a report gained currency, and was also believed, that it had been decided to form the recruits into a light battery to be commanded by Captain Morris, of Company K, of the old regiment. There appears to have been some little foundation for this report as the men to the number of one hundred and thirty were marched to a point between Suffolk and Portsmouth, where they were established in camp and a preliminary organization was begun under somebody's orders. There were no commissioned officers assigned to take charge of affairs, but non-commissioned officers were detailed to act in various capacities with a view to caring for the men. Edward K. Whiteman, of Company B, of the old regiment, was placed in charge of the commissary department, with George W. Rogers acting as commissary sergeant. They both performed their duties well and for the

few days the camp was maintained succeeded in drawing from the commissary, and in properly issuing the full ration of food allowed by the regulations.

This battery organization, however, was abandoned in a few days. It is doubtful if there was any serious intention on the part of the authorities to complete it.

In the meantime, and before the battery camp had been established, sharpshooting along the lines had entirely ceased and a camp rumor began to circulate that the enemy had evacuated his works and retired. There seemed to be nothing improbable about this report except the fact that the lookout was still plainly visible in the rebel observatory or watch tower, and seemed to be attending strictly to business. Many a shot was sent in his direction, not so much with the expectation of hitting him, but just to make it interesting for him.

Some of the more venturesome spirits among the Zouaves determined to find out for themselves just what the situation was in their front and slipping quietly over the works, without going through the formality of asking for orders, started on a reconnaissance of their own. They were very cautious in their movements, as the rebel lookout was still on duty

in the tower, and they did not wish to have him direct the enemy's fire toward them. They soon discovered that the rebel rifle-pits were actually abandoned, and they pushed on for some distance beyond them without finding the enemy. The idea then occurred to some of them, and was quickly acted upon, to attempt to turn the tables on the man in the observatory who had caused them so much trouble by his apparent vigilance, and who it seemed to them had remained at his post too long for his own good, by capturing and taking him into camp. By skillful manœuvering they succeeded in gaining positions which enabled them to cut off his retreat, when they boldly advanced, surrounded the tower, and demanded his unconditional surrender, when lo! the vigilant sentinel proved to be a man of straw. An old suit of rebel butternut had been stuffed with straw and leaves and the Johnnies with considerable skill had so fashioned and placed the figure that the deception at a little distance was complete. The dummy had successfully engaged the attention of the volunteer scouts while the Rebs were quietly retiring, no doubt laughing in their sleeves as they pictured to themselves the disgust and chagrin of the Yankees when they would discover the kind of sentry that had been left on

guard. When the men returned to the fort and reported the results of their investigations they, for reasons of their own, failed to mention the capture of the dummy sentinel.

A day or two after the withdrawal of the rebel troops, word was passed around among the men of the Ninth that they were ordered to assemble at a certain locality in Norfolk—twenty-seven miles distant—and a rumor was circulated at the same time to the effect that it was for the purpose of acting as funeral escort to the remains of Colonel Ringold on their journey north for interment. The men responded with alacrity. Those who still remained about Fort Nansemond and also the men in the battery camp proceeded at once to the rendezvous. Here they were taken in charge by the provost guard, and together with a number who had followed the regiment when it started on the homeward journey, and who were then scattered about the city, were escorted on board a canal boat, and placed under guard. On the next day a tug-boat towed them to Fortress Monroe, and they were marched from the wharf to the sally-port of the fort, through a double line of soldiers, and turned over to the commanding officer. After certain necessary preliminaries had been gone through with—taking their names and

military histories, which would be verified later by their descriptive lists—they were assigned to the various companies of the Third New York Volunteers then under the command of Colonel Alvord.

This body of men was also the remnant of a two years' regiment, the term of which had expired only a few days before, and was composed not only of recruits whose terms of enlistment had not expired, but also of a considerable number of men of the Third, who had re-enlisted for three years. The regiment had served continuously on garrison duty in Fortress Monroe ever since its first arrival in Virginia, never having changed station or camp or made a march. The men wore the regular United States' uniform, with all the brass attachments, and so far as clothing and equipments could make them—even to the band-boxes for their full-dress hats—were regulars. The addition of the men of the Ninth made a good sized regiment, of which Colonel Alvord and his officers were justly proud.

The records of the Third New York, on file in the War Department, give the number of men received by transfer from the Ninth New York as 264. There is no data available whereby the number of men dropped from the rolls of the Ninth by transfer to the Third can

be ascertained. These numbers should agree, but it is known that they do not. Quite a number of the men left behind by the Ninth were never officially accounted for.

For a long time subsequent to the consolidation, conditions in the new regiment were not as pleasant as they might be. The 264 men from the Ninth were veterans who had been continuously in the field ever since they joined their regiment, and had taken part in severe battles and long marches, and it was only natural that they should consider themselves, in all soldierly qualities which came as the result of military experience, the superiors of their new comrades, who had spent their whole terms of service behind the parapets of a fort which was not even in the enemy's country. They soon perceived that they were held in some awe and not a little respect by both officers and men of the Third, and they were not slow to take advantage of it. They objected most strenuously to the regulation uniforms, which they were ordered to draw to take the place of the Zouave clothing which they were then wearing. The opposition was so decided that the Colonel and officers finally submitted to them and the men continued to wear the uniform of their old regiment until it was worn out. This wearing of a distinctive uniform served to

hold them closer together and kept them in a measure separated from the other men of the regiment. This, and the knowledge that the officers would give way to their demands if firmly pressed, was bad for discipline, and for a time, or until nearly the whole personnel of both field and line officers had been changed by resignations and other causes, they were inclined to be somewhat riotous and insubordinate. This gradually wore away, however, as the old officers dropped out one by one and their places were filled by men who had risen from the ranks and who adopted better methods of government and discipline, and the Third soon developed into an excellent regiment.

About two weeks after their arrival at the fort they were gratified by receiving marching orders. The first move was to Portsmouth, Va., where they encamped on Paradise Creek. From there they were sent to Folly Island, S. C., where they arrived in the early part of June, and were assigned to Alvord's Brigade, Second Division, 18th Army Corps.

While here the regiment had plenty of actual war service, taking part in nearly all the engagements up to and including the capture of Fort Gregg; the men so conducting themselves in these engagements as to receive the commendation of their superiors.



In March, 1864, it joined the Army of the Potomac at Gloucester Point, Va., and later was transferred to the Army of the James, where it saw plenty of service both at Bermuda Hundreds and at the front of Petersburg. In the fight at Drewry's Bluff, or Newmarket Road, it participated in a brilliant charge, capturing and holding the enemy's line for a time, but was afterwards outflanked and compelled to retire. Several of the boys of the Ninth greatly distinguished themselves here, notably Sergeant Todd and acting Sergeant-Major Avent. The latter rallied the men, after the repulse above noted, and there being no commissioned officer present with that portion of the regiment, which had become separated from the rest of the command, established a line in the face of the enemy and held it successfully for several hours until relieved of command by the arrival of a commissioned officer, Lieutenant James H. Reeves.

The regiment was engaged in the attack on the enemy's intrenchments on the north side of the James, under General "Baldy" Smith on the day the Army of the Potomac formed the junction with the Army of the James. The movement as a whole was not a success, if it had been the siege of Petersburg would have been unnecessary, but the division to which

the regiment belonged, after being twice repulsed in the attempt, succeeded in capturing that part of the line in their immediate front, turning the enemy's guns upon them and fired their own shot and shell at the retreating rebels.

The regiment joined the besieging army in the works before Petersburg, and during its stay there was repeatedly engaged. It took part in the mine fiasco and was part of the command which held its ground for so many hours in the crater.

While stationed at Chapin's farm a number of vacancies among the line officers of the regiment were filled by promotion from the rank and file, five of the positions falling to men who had been transferred from the Ninth, viz.: George W. Rogers, John Knowles, James Rockwell, George E. Avent and E. K. Whiteman.

When the Fort Fisher expedition was organized the Third was ordered to join it. The regiment did its full share of fighting, and suffered its proportionate loss in the memorable attack and capture of that work. Several of the men of the old regiment greatly distinguished themselves in the desperate hand-to-hand conflict which preceded the capture of the fort. Edward K. Whiteman, one of the Zouaves, who although a commissioned officer,

had not been mustered and was still doing duty as a sergeant, led a detachment of the regiment over the parapet in the most gallant manner, driving the defenders successively, step by step, from traverse to traverse, encouraging his men by voice and example and winning the admiration of all who saw him, until he fell dead, literally in the ranks of the enemy, on the eighth mound which his party had won by their gallant and determined efforts. Thus fell a heroic soldier, giving "the last full measure of devotion" to his country, and reflecting honor on his regiment and on the cause in which he served.

This was the last engagement in which the regiment participated. It had become reduced to a mere handful in numbers, not so much from the casualties of battle, although its losses had been large, as from the rapid discharge of the men, some of whose terms of enlistment began to expire almost as soon as the consolidation had been effected. The first man from the Ninth to be discharged from the Third was Samuel H. Marsh, who had enlisted for two years, just sixteen days after the muster-in of the old regiment. From that time onward it dwindled away very rapidly, some of the men being discharged almost daily. This paucity of numbers prevented the muster-in of

a number of officers who had been promoted for gallant and meritorious services or for marked soldierly ability. From among the recruits of the Ninth sixteen men were promoted to be commissioned officers, and thirty-two to non-commissioned positions, a total of forty-eight promotions out of the two hundred and sixty-four transferred, or a fraction over eighteen per cent.

The regiment was finally mustered out of service at Raleigh, N. C., August 26, 1865.

In the autumn of 1862, at the time when a considerable number of the men of the Ninth, who had been wounded at Antietam were convalescent and preparing to return to the front, a call was published in the New York newspapers, notifying the public generally, that on a specified day a meeting would be held at the office of Mr. Dexter A. Hawkins, for the purpose of organizing and sending to the front a regiment to be designated "Second Battalion Ninth New York Volunteers." Mr. Hawkins was a relative of Col. Rush C. Hawkins, of the Ninth, and one of the many patriotic citizens of the Metropolis who were contributing freely of their time and means in an effort to render assistance to the Government in its desperate struggle against armed treason.

Up to that time the Union forces had gained

few victories and had suffered many reverses, and as a consequence recruiting at the North had almost come to a standstill. Mr. Hawkins and the gentlemen associated with him desired to organize a regiment which would be officered entirely by men who had served at the front and had gained military knowledge from actual experience on the march, in the bivouac, and on the battlefield, and thereby inspire confidence in such patriotic citizens as might desire to serve their country as soldiers, but who might hesitate to enlist, in the fear that they might be obliged to serve under officers who had no more experience in war than they themselves, and would in all probability be sacrificed on the altar of ignorance and inexperience.

The meeting was held in pursuance to the call, several of the Antietam wounded of the Ninth attending, and a preliminary or provisional organization formed, and headquarters for the same established at the corner of Broome and Mercer Streets, New York City. The field officers designated for the proposed regiment were as follows: Colonel, Julius W. Adams, who was a West Point graduate; Lieutenant-Colonel, Edward Jardine, then Major of the old regiment and serving with it at the front; Major, Thomas W. Conway, the then Chaplain of the Ninth, who was at the

time in New York on leave of absence. The positions of line officers were generally left open, to be filled later as companies were organized, except the few who were designated for the companies which were then started, and these were selected both from the old regiment and from other sources. Charles Curie, of Company C of the Ninth, one of the Antietam wounded, became first lieutenant of one of the first companies started. He afterward was adjutant of the new regiment. He at once established headquarters and began recruiting and proceeded with the organization of his company. Recruiting just then was slow work. There were scores of new regiments being organized, the greater number of them, however, remaining skeleton organizations for months.

Before the new regiment had secured recruits enough to entitle it to "muster-in" to the service, the term of the old regiment had expired and the first excitement attending its home-coming had hardly passed away before a new Ninth New York was organized, which was to be officered exclusively by men of the old regiment. The field and staff of the new organization as first decided on were Colonel Edward Jardine; Lieutenant-Colonel William G. Barnett; Major James R. Whiting, and Adjutant G. A. C. Barnett.

There were some changes in the personnel made subsequently, due to casualties and consolidation with other regiments. A part of the Second Battalion was consolidated with the new Ninth, while the remainder, about two companies, were combined with other skeleton regiments and consolidated into the 178th New York Volunteers.

The personnel of the Second Battalion was changed considerably when the Ninth New York was reorganized, and further changes followed the various consolidations, as above, until finally all the field positions were filled by men who had not been members of the old regiment. The consolidation of part of the organization with the new Ninth deprived it of several line officers also, who were former Zouaves. Among those who remained and cast their lot with the regiment, which became the 178th New York, were Harry Wright, who became a lieutenant; Charles Curie, who attained the rank of captain before his final muster-out; John B. Gandolfo, who eventually became colonel of the regiment, and John B. Pannes, who was promoted from the 17th New York to a captaincy in the 178th. In addition to the above mentioned commissioned officers, there was a goodly number of ex-Zouaves among the rank and file of the new regiment.

About the middle of June, 1863, the first five companies of the regiment proceeded to Virginia, where for a time they formed part of the defenses at Washington. Later they were on guard duty in and about that city, and while there were joined by the remaining companies and the regiment completed.

Meantime the reorganized Ninth, which while recruiting had been stationed at Sprague Barracks, Staten Island, was slowly adding to its numbers. When the "July riots" of 1863 broke out Colonel Jardine and the partly organized regiment at once marched against the mob, which was in almost undisputed control in several different sections of the city, and in one of the fights which followed Jardine was dangerously wounded. This proved to be an injury of such a nature as to disable him from further service in the field and to eventually cause his death.

In this fight the troops were at first overwhelmed by the mob which was well armed with carbines from a sacked gun factory, and were obliged to fall back leaving the Colonel, who had already been wounded and was unable to help himself, behind. Assistant-Surgeon White of the old regiment, remained with him, and both fell into the hands of the mob. White, after receiving a blow from the butt of



a carbine, which laid open his scalp and inflicted a serious wound, was hurried away by a portion of the mob and preparations began to hang him to a lamp post. Jardine, in the meantime, with his extraordinary tact and address, which never deserted him under any circumstances, was parleying with the others in an almost hopeless attempt to gain time, when they were both almost miraculously rescued by the timely arrival of reinforcements.

While Captain Webster and his regulars, of which the reinforcements consisted, with difficulty held the mob at bay in the street, Jardine and White were assisted out of the *melee* and taken to a place of safety.

On the 29th day of August, 1863, two full companies of the Ninth were mustered into the United States service, and on September 2d, under command of Captain James B. Horner—who returned at the close of the war major of the regiment—were ordered to Fort Hamilton, New York Harbor, to report to Colonel Hannibal Day, U. S. A., commanding the post, where they did duty with the regular garrison until October 16th, when they returned to Sprague Barracks. The regiment being still incomplete it was here consolidated with other organizations and became the 17th New York Veteran Volunteers.

This consolidation had the effect of relegating Jardine to the position of lieutenant-colonel, and leaving Barnett out altogether, the positions of colonel and major falling to the share of the original 17th, that organization having brought more men into the regiment than any of the others, and it being customary under such circumstances to apportion the officers *pro rata*.

Barnett afterward accepted a position in the regiment and became the junior captain.

Jardine, owing to his wound, never joined the regiment, and resigned his commission May 10th, 1864.

The Zouave uniform of the old regiment, which had been adopted by the new Ninth and supplied by the State to the regiment, was so much admired by the officers of the 17th, that it was adopted by them as the regimental uniform. Many of the characteristics of the old regiment, including their style of drill, was also followed by the new regiment. At the grand review in Washington at the close of the war the appearance of the 17th, in style, uniform and marching, bore such a similarity to the Hawkins' Zouaves that it was commented upon by many of the spectators who had been familiar with the appearance of the latter regiment.

Shortly after the consolidation was effected

the regiment was ordered to the front and near Washington, D. C., early in the autumn of 1863, became part of a provisional brigade, which was composed of the 178th New York Veteran Volunteers, 17th New York Veteran Volunteers, and the 34th and 35th New Jersey Volunteers. They were ordered to report to General Sherman, who was then on the march from Memphis to join Grant at Chattanooga, and whom they expected to find at or near Eastport, Miss. Sherman had already passed when the brigade arrived at that point, and after a wait of several days for orders it was sent to join Gen. A. J. Smith, at Columbus, Ky.

The 178th was detached from the provisional brigade here and was sent to garrison Fort Pillow. From there it joined Sherman at Vicksburg, becoming part of A. J. Smith's division, and participated in the Meridian raid. It was then, with A. J. Smith's and Mower's divisions of the 16th Army Corps, sent to the Red River country to assist Banks out of his trouble, and participating in all the operations of that campaign rendered such efficient and valuable assistance that Banks' army was saved from overwhelming disaster. It was then transferred to Arkansas and joined in the pursuit of Marmduke, thence to Mississippi and Tennessee in the Tupelo campaign and

the marchings and countermarchings, battles and skirmishes in the pursuit of that most able cavalry commander, Forest. Always on the move with little time for either rest or sleep. From there was hurried to Missouri to assist in heading off the Confederate General Price's movement against St. Louis. Participated in the affair at Franklin, where Price was defeated and forced to retreat. Followed close upon his heels across the State of Missouri to the Kansas line, where he was overtaken and again defeated and his army scattered. From here the regiment returned to Pleasant Hill, where it arrived October 31st. Between October 1st, the date of the fight at Franklin, until the arrival of the command at Pleasant Hill, the regiment had marched four hundred miles.

In the early days of December the command, which by that time by reason of their long marches and unkempt appearance, had become known in the army as "Smith's Guerillas," joined Thomas at Nashville and took part in that battle. In response to instructions from General Thomas at that time, directing brigade commanders to report the conduct of commissioned officers during the battles before Nashville. Colonel E. H. Wolfe, commanding the brigade to which the 178th was attached, reported :

\* \* \* Without doing injustice, however, to other officers I would respectfully recommend for promotion Captain John B. Gandolfo, commanding the 178th New York Volunteers. This officer I have before recommended for promotion, and the manner in which he discharged his duties during the engagement of the 16th, has only strengthened my former opinion as to his ability as an officer, and I again urge his advancement in the service. \* \* \*

After the destruction of Hood's army the command was ordered to report to General Canby, and was a part of his forces in the movement against and capture of Mobile, which event occurred on April 9th, 1865.

Having practically reached the end of the war the regiment saw no more active service and in due course was regularly mustered out.

The "Seventeenth" remained for a time part of the provisional brigade above referred to, and after the departure of the 178th was engaged in active duty, marching and counter-marching, to pursue or intercept the enemy over a wide extent of territory. It participated in the movement which is designated by those who took part in it as the "Meridian raid," and in the other operations of the army, being almost continuously on the move until the winter was well advanced and the ground covered with snow. The regiment was afterward sent to Decatur, Ala., and during the time the command to which it was attached was operating in that vicinity became, by reason of its various marches and movements,

well acquainted with a large portion of northern Alabama and northeastern Mississippi.

It finally became part of Sherman's army participating in all its movements, including the battle of Jonesboro, in which in a brilliant charge on the enemy's works it lost its Colonel, Wm. T. C. Grower, and a hundred men. The heroism of Colonel Grower and the gallantry of the regiment was so conspicuously displayed on that occasion that it attracted the notice of General Thomas, who afterward, at the grand review at Washington, took pains to publicly thank it for the gallantry shown on that occasion.

It was prominently active in the Atlanta campaign and in the memorable siege which terminated that brilliant series of strategic movements and successfully fought battles which followed each other so rapidly during that most remarkable chapter of the war.

It was part of the army of Sherman, when that master in strategy cut loose from his base and started on the famous "March to the sea," participated in all the hardships of that army and shared all its glories. It was actively engaged in many of the battles which were fought during the progress of that great movement from Tennessee to North Carolina, and participated and suffered severe losses in the

very last one fought, namely, Bentonville, N. C., April 19th, 1865. Three days prior to that date, at Averyboro, N. C., the regiment sustained considerable loss, among the dead being Captain William G. Barnett, who was killed while faithfully performing his duty at the head of his company. He was one of the old "Ninth" and his military career was in one feature at least a decidedly singular one. At the very outbreak of the war he entered the service as a captain in the "Ninth," and took part as such in the first battle of the Rebellion, viz.: Big Bethel, June 10th, 1861. He was killed while still a captain in one of the last battles fought, having been in the field in active service almost continuously during the four years intervening.

The following obituary notice, which is from the pen of Dr. J. P. P. White, assistant surgeon of the old "Ninth," and which was published at the time of Captain Barnett's death, will not be out of place here:

AVERYBORO, N. C., April 19, 1865.

\* \* \* In the list of officers killed at the battle of Averyboro, N. C., April 16, 1865, occurs the name of Captain William G. Barnett, of the 17th New York Volunteers.

He originally entered service in April, 1861, as captain of "B" Company, 9th New York Volunteers, "Hawkins' Zouaves," serving through all the trying and glorious campaigns of that organization with great distinction, and contributing perhaps more than any other officer of the line to the perfection of drill, which so distinguished it, as well as to the efficiency which was so nobly displayed on many a hotly contested field.

Wounded early in the battle of Antietam he refused to leave his command which sustained the first shock of the furious flank attacks of the enemy late in the afternoon of that eventful day. His term of service having expired, he, with Colonel Jardine, attempted to reorganize the 9th Regiment, holding the position of lieutenant-colonel. During the period allotted for that effort a severe wound received by Colonel Jardine in one of the conflicts with the rioters of 1863, in which Captain Barnett participated with his usual gallantry, frustrated their plans for the future, and on the consolidation with the 17th, he accepted with characteristic modesty the position of captain in the latter, shrinking from no personal sacrifice in his efforts to aid the cause for which he gave up his life.

Peculiar considerations and influences, better understood in his regiment than elsewhere, prevented his promotion to a rank commensurate with his abilities, and his name adds another to the long list of heroes, forgotten while living, but honored in their graves. Lulled to sleep by the thunder of victorious guns, the last sad salute, the rifle shots of his gallant men, he is lying on a well-fought field, the long moss of Carolina forests "dewed with nature's tear-drops," waving gently over his silent resting place. We leave him to future and coming generations, who shall, with reverent feet, hasten to honor the martyr who gave his life to regenerate and purify the country.

As man may he fought his fight, proved his truth by his endeavor;  
 Let him sleep in solemn night, sleep forever and forever.  
 Leave him to God's watchful eye, trust him to the hand that made him,  
 Mortal love weeps idly by, God alone has power to aid him.

The war was now practically over, and after taking part in the grand review at Washington, the 17th, together with the other gallant regiments of which the armies were composed, were mustered out, and the individual members of all of them were soon absorbed in the civil body, and became again the ordinary unpretending citizens of the Great Republic.

These brief sketches of the regiments in which so many men of the "Ninth" completed their military careers, is simply for the purpose of continuing the history of the old regiment



under its other designations. At the time of the muster-out of the Ninth—a two year regiment—the war was scarcely half over. A large majority of the men who had survived the “Accidents of field and flood,” at once re-entered the service. Two hundred and sixty-four men whose terms of enlistment had not expired remained in the field as the 3d New York. As soon as the Ninth had been mustered out, numbers of the discharged men at once re-enlisted in the Second Battalion, and still greater numbers in the reorganized Ninth, when that regiment was started. In the field these men exerted a powerful influence for good on their respective organizations. They, both commissioned and enlisted, set up their old regiment as their standard of excellence and strove to bring their respective regiments up to that standard and to keep them there. The *esprit de corps* of the Ninth was always present and nearly always in the ascendancy, and to it was largely due the honorable records these regiments made in the service.

In addition to those who clung together in groups and so enlisted in their respective regiments, a considerable number entered the service separately. Some of these had strong preferences for other arms of the service than infantry, while others scattered to their homes

in more or less distant localities, in New York and other States, and entered regiments which were recruiting in those localities.

It is neither desirous, nor would it be practicable to give the names of any considerable proportion of such men as thus enlisted singly, but as a matter of corroboration to the above the names of the following members of the Ninth who continued their service as commissioned officers in other regiments than those mentioned in this history are here given.

First Sergeant D. J. Green, of Company F, was commissioned in one of the North Carolina regiments recruited at Plymouth, and served with honor and distinction till the end of the war; Latham A. Fish, of Company C, served his second term as a captain in the 174th New York Volunteers; Lieut. James H. Fleming, of Company I, entered the cavalry after serving his full term in the Ninth, and died heroically at Falls Church, Va., while in command of his company; Serg.-Maj. Augustus Dusenbury entered the 35th New Jersey Volunteers, and finished his second enlistment a captain; John S. Harrison, lieutenant in Company D, joined an Iowa regiment and became captain; Lieut. George W. Debevoise, of Company A, after being discharged for disability, the result of wound, was commissioned

in the Veteran Reserve Corps and served until the end of the war, leaving the service a major; Emil Boese, after being discharged for disability by reason of wound received in battle, joined a New York cavalry regiment and became a commissioned officer; Charles F. Roe, after his muster out, entered the regular army, and was promoted through the various grades to commissioned officer; William Paulding, of Company H, served his time with his regiment, then joined the artillery, and before being discharged for disability from wounds in action, reached the rank of major; William S. Hudson, of Company C, was promoted to a lieutenancy in the 49th New York Volunteers, and became a captain; Matthew J. Graham, who lost a leg at Antietam and was mustered out with the regiment, was commissioned in the Veteran Reserve Corps, and served till the close of the war; Captain A. S. Graham, a brother of the foregoing, saw the end of the Rebellion while serving as a commissioned officer in the department of the gulf; Edwin Dewes, who was mustered into the Ninth as Sergeant of Company B, and discharged with the regiment as lieutenant, entered a Massachusetts regiment and before the end of the war reached the rank of major; Louis Fucot, a private of Company F,

became a commissioned officer of United States Volunteers, and served as a staff officer in the department of the gulf, during the latter part of the war.

This incomplete list, which does not include the names of any from among the scores of ex-Zouaves who entered various regiments as enlisted men, will serve to show the spirit which animated a majority of the men of the regiment. These men of the Ninth had responded to the President's first call for troops, at a time when no other inducements were offered to volunteers than the knowledge that the life of the nation was in danger, and a majority of them remained at their posts until the last armed enemy had thrown down his weapon and surrendered.

## CHAPTER XV.

INTRODUCTION TO THE THIRD GEORGIA—VARIOUS MEETINGS ON THE BATTLE FIELD—SEEKING OLD FOES AFTER THE WAR—THE NINTH VISITS THE THIRD—INCIDENTS OF THE VISIT TO GEORGIA—SPEECHES—RECEPTION OF THE THIRD GEORGIA BY THE ZOUAVES—HOW THEY WERE TREATED BY THEIR OLD-TIME FOES—BANQUETS—SIGHTSEEING—EXCURSIONS—DEPARTURE OF THE GEORGIANS.

THE fortune of war, or the accidents of service, brought the Third Georgia Volunteers and the Ninth New York into contact on several occasions during their respective terms of enlistment. At Hatteras in 1861, while the Zouaves were occupying that breezy watering place, the Third Georgia was for a time acting as a corps of observation for their side, being encamped at a point about twenty-five miles above the inlet. The regiment became known to the men of the Ninth in some unexplainable way, even to the extent of their being familiar with the names of some of its officers. To illustrate: Sergeant Graham of Company "A," of the Ninth, was drilling an "awkward squad" one day among the sand-

hills on the beach, when the commanding officer, General Williams, appeared on the scene. He at once mounted his hobby—"rifles and rifle practice"—and proceeded to give them all a lecture on the subject and on the importance of accuracy in the fire of infantry in battle, etc., etc., and to make his meaning clear and to illustrate the difference between what was and what should be, said, addressing the sergeant, "Suppose *Colonel Wright* (The colonel of the Third Georgia) should come down here tomorrow and attack us, and I should take your regiment out to oppose him, and you should expend forty thousand cartridges—empty your boxes—what would be the result? Probably forty men killed and a hundred and fifty wounded. Why d—m 'em, we should have annihilated them at the first fire." This serves to show how familiar the General was with the regiment, designating it as he would one of his own, by the name of its colonel.

The regiments were afterward in contact at South Mills or Sawyer's Lane, South Mountain, Antietam, and part at least of the Third, at Suffolk, so that the name "Third Georgia," became in a measure like a household word in the Ninth.

After the war was ended and peace restored some of the survivors of the Ninth whose busi-

ness took them occasionally into the Southern States—Georgia more particularly—endeavored to find members of the Third Georgia, with whom they would like to compare notes on the “late unpleasantness,” and talk over the “old heroic days.” Former members of the respective regiment did occasionally meet, and informal invitations were extended in a general way from one to the other, to meet one or the other of the regimental associations at their annual reunions. Mr. Richard H. Jackson, a survivor of the Ninth, finally put himself in communication with the officers of the Third Georgia Survivors’ Association, which led to a correspondence between said officers and those of the Hawkins’ Zouaves Association, and a formal invitation from the former to the latter, to attend their annual reunion, to be held at Fort Valley, Ga., on July 31st and August 1st, 1889. The invitation was extended by the 3d Georgia Survivors’ Association at their annual meeting assembled, the motion being carried unanimously amidst great enthusiasm. The reading of the correspondence which led up to it was received with hearty cheers by the survivors present. One of them shouted: “Thought we killed them all off at Sharpsburg; sorry we killed any of that kind!” another said: “Let us run the reunion until we can telegraph and have some of them down.”

The correspondence between the officers of the two associations, together with the invitation, was received and read at the annual meeting of the Hawkins' Zouaves Association, April 19, 1889, together with the following letter transmitting the same:

THE SURVIVORS' ASSOCIATION, 3D GEORGIA VETERANS,  
MADISON, GA., July 24, 1888.

MR. J. C. J. LANGBEIN, New York City.

DEAR SIR:—In behalf of our Association, most cordially do I second the enclosed invitation to attend our reunion. Come if possible. Taste the sweets of peace with us in partaking of a Georgia Barbecue. That is what "Banquet" means, as stated in the invitation card.

We were foes—Let us be friends.

Yours very cordially,

W. A. WILEY, Asst. Secretary.

The communication was received with cheers and amid great enthusiasm the invitation was accepted; resolutions expressing the kindly feelings entertained by the members of the Ninth New York for their old foes were passed, and the Secretary directed to forward the same to the officers of the 3d Georgia Association, and committees appointed with power to make all necessary arrangements for the trips to Georgia in July following. Everything being completed, the delegation to attend the Georgia reunion left New York by steamer and arrived at Savannah, July 30, 1889, where they were met by a committee of the 3d Georgia Survivors, headed by Secretary A. A. Winn, of the Association. Other committees,



both military and civic, also called upon them to welcome them to the soil of Georgia. The speeches delivered were brimful of fraternity, patriotism, and kind wishes, and the delegation was literally overwhelmed with invitations to partake of the hospitality of the citizens and of the various organizations represented by the committees. Extended notices of the arrival of the ex-Zouaves, their object in coming to Georgia, etc., with sketches of the war services of both regiments—flattering to both—were published in the press of Savannah, Macon, Madison, Fort Valley, Atlanta, and other towns throughout the State, all of them filled with expressions of fraternal greetings and cordial good will, and in every instance breathing a spirit of earnest patriotism.

Short excursions to nearby points of interest, organized and carried out by the citizens of Savannah, occupied every moment of the time the delegation was in the city. At Macon, on the way to Fort Valley, there was a repetition of the friendly reception received at Savannah.

Upon arriving at Fort Valley the 3d Georgia Survivors were drawn up in a body at the depot to receive them. These were supported by a great crowd of citizens, and the welcome extended was flattering in the extreme. A salute of thirteen guns was fired, and an in-

formal reception held amidst great enthusiasm and excitement, cheers and hand-shaking, when they all proceeded to the grand-stand where the formal reception was held. The *Macon Telegraph* of August 1, 1889, published the following from its Fort Valley correspondent:

"Fort Valley, July 31st.—The people here are all wild with enthusiasm over the reunion of the 3d Georgia Regiment, which opened formally to-day under the most favorable and pleasing circumstances.

"Fort Valley is proud of the opportunity of doing honor to herself in honoring the grand old 3d Georgia Regiment, and a delegation of the 9th New York Volunteers—Hawkins' Zouaves—of New York, whose coming so far from home for the sole purpose of meeting, fraternally, a former foe in one of their regimental reunions, evinces a spirit of magnanimity and manhood worthy of the highest admiration, and upon whom it has been most lavishly bestowed by the men of the 3d Georgia Regiment and the citizens of Fort Valley.

"Upon the arrival of the New Yorkers, on the 11.30 train this morning, thirteen rounds were fired in their honor by orders from Colonel Claiborn Snead, Colonel of the 3d Georgia. They received an old-time Georgia welcome and one which they will never fail to appreciate, or which they will ever forget.

"After the reception a column was formed on Main Street, headed by Card's Band, and the regiment together with their guests, marched to the grand stand, where the address of welcome was most eloquently and touchingly delivered by Mayor A. C. Riley, who formally turned over to Fort Valley's guests a quit claim deed to the town and the keys to the guard-house."

During the course of Mayor Riley's remarks, he said: "Survivors of the Ninth New York, veterans of the Hawkins' Zouaves, we give you a cordial welcome. We are glad you were volunteers. Your presence does more to cement the bonds of love and fellowship than all the words of eloquence of all the politicians and philanthropists. It is an honor to your

own grand State, to our common country, to yourselves, and is a living monument to the civilization and Christianity of the nineteenth century. If you were not brave men you would not be here to-day. You could not look these old veterans in the eye if you had not met them with unfaltering courage on the field of battle. We congratulate you—the Blue and the Gray—that God has lengthened out your lives to see this day.”

After the formal response to the Mayor's greeting had been made by the representative of the 3d Georgia, Judge Langbein, the Secretary of the Hawkins' Zouaves Association, asked permission to read the following telegram :

NEW YORK, July 31st, 1889.

To J. C. J. LANGBEIN:—Boys at home send greeting to absentees. All hail, Third Georgia ! Once foes—now friends.

(Signed) HAWKINS' ZOUAVES ASSOCIATION.

This was received with wild enthusiasm by the Georgians, and a hip, hip hurrah !

At the regular business meeting of the 3d Georgia Survivors, which followed the receptions, these resolutions were adopted :

*Whereas*, The Hawkins' Zouaves have sent to this, our annual reunion, a delegation to meet with us as our friends,

*Resolved*, That as a manifestation of our appreciation of their friendship, and as a testimonial of our lasting friendship for them, we hereby set apart a page on the minutes of our Association on which shall be entered the names of the delegates.

*Resolved*, That we hereby tender to the Hawkins' Zouaves, and send them through this committee, our grateful greeting of their friendship and fraternal union forever.

A copy of these was delivered to the delegation to be presented to the Hawkins' Zouaves Association at the next meeting.

A reception and ball was tendered to the visiting Zouaves that evening, at one of the leading hotels. The ball was held at the hotel, but the reception extended to every place where a member of the visiting delegation presented himself. Every house was an open one to them and they were received as old friends by all.

On the next day a formal and official welcome to the Zouaves alone was tendered, and speeches were made by several prominent Georgians, members of the 3d Georgia, and others. Colonel Snead, Capt. J. W. Matthews, C. B. Barrow, John W. Lindsey and others, all spoke eloquently in reference to the era of peace, good will and fraternity, which was so practically illustrated by the presence of their old-time foes, now mingling among them as friends.

Joseph M. Richards, of the 9th New York, replied on behalf of his comrades, in an earnest, patriotic and soul-stirring speech, closing in the following words:

"Fewer and still fewer, as the years roll on, will be the trembling hands that will scatter the fragrance of the spring. Fainter and more faint

will the voices grow that once answered with a cheer the word of command, until at last eternal silence and peace shall rest over the two great armies whose volleys once shook a continent. Only a few days ago, as we count time, the flowers which were strewn by the gray-haired father and mother, by wife and child, upon the graves of the Blue and the Gray alike, were symbols not only of the sacrifices of those who slept there, and tributes to their bravery, but they were significant of the peace which has diffused as with sunshine this entire land, and of that brotherly feeling which has taken possession of the soldiers' hearts, significant of the determination that there shall be but one nation; significant, also, of the fact that there has been and is still growing a wider area of brotherhood and good feeling among the soldiers of both armies, and a conscious sense that in honoring the grave of the other as well as our own, we are paying a deserved tribute to the courage of the American soldier.

“Mr. John Ruskin tells us, in one of his essays, of the possible changes that may be wrought from a handful of dust which may be gathered up from the streets or highways, or from the valley slopes or mountain tops; that in that handful of dust are clay and sand and soot and water. Give it time enough,

and the clay becomes a sapphire, reflecting rays as blue as the dome of heaven yonder; the sand becomes an opal, the soot a diamond, and the drop of water a blazing star of snow, so wonderful is the chemistry of nature, with its laws of co-operation. Comrades, the dust of our heroes lies along the roadside and highways, in the valley and the thicket in the hidden ravine; it lies along the mountain tops and the riverside. Spirit of our heroes! Wherever you lie, the ages are thine, and the economy thereof is God's. His chemistry never fails; and your dust and your ashes—whether you lie in nameless graves or stone-marked plots—are being wrought upon in the laboratory of the ages, and are the foundation-stones—opal, sapphire, diamond—of this vast country, reaching from ocean to ocean, and from gulf to lake."

Comrade Richards' address was followed by impromptu remarks by other of the Zouaves, among them Walter L. Thompson and Robert H. Alberts. Judge Langbein read a communication which had just been received from New York, as follows:

NEW YORK, July 31st, 1889.

J. C. JULIUS LANGBEIN:—

Peace and good will from those of the Hawkins' Zouaves Association who remain behind, to the 3d Georgia.

The Hawkins' Zouaves Association, composed of survivors of the Ninth New York Volunteers, at a meeting held at their headquarters, on July 16th, 1889, unanimously resolved, that we hereby empower those of our comrades who attend the reunion of the 3d Georgia

Survivors' Association at Fort Valley, Ga., July 31st and August 1st, to cordially and fraternally invite them to the next reunion of our Association on April 19th, 1890.

J. C. J. LANGBEIN, Sec'y,

WALTER L. THOMPSON, Chairman Ex. Com.

The Fort Valley *Enterprise*, which devoted almost an entire edition to recounting the proceedings of the reunion, thus speaks of this detail of the reception:

"The Judge also read an extract from a sermon delivered by Rev. Clark Wright (one of the survivors of the Ninth) to the Hawkins' Zouaves at their memorial services last May, and published in the *Westchester* (N. Y.) *Times*, full of noble sentiments towards southern soldiers, and especially toward the 3d Georgia, which the Zouaves met in several battles. He also read a letter of great cordiality addressed to Commodore Dexter, commending him for his praiseworthy efforts to bring about a meeting between these two commands. He also presented the regiment with a souvenir from Mrs. Johnson (handed to him when he was boarding the steamer for Savannah), being a stone taken from a wall at Antietam, in which Federal and Confederate bullets are imbedded. But the tide of enthusiasm, which at this point was well-nigh lapping the highest dike, burst over all restraint when Judge Langbein brought forth a shield of immortelles of blue and gray, bearing across its face the words '9th New York Volunteer Zouaves to 3d Georgia Regiment—Peace and Good Will.' This was presented in eloquent words and was a charge in this contention of fraternal feeling which made the veterans of the 3d Georgia waver, and when the Judge concluded, the Colonel of the old Third, seeing that he was about to lose the day, rushed in the Commodore—the great standby who never flinched in times of trial—to recover the lost ground, which he did eloquently and in well chosen words."

Commodore Dexter's speech was brimful of fraternal greetings, sentiments of good will and patriotic utterances, many references being made to incidents which occurred during periods the two regiments were facing each other as foes, and brought the public part of the reception to a close in a storm of enthusi-

asm in which the rebel yell and Yankee cheer were again blended.

The return trip of the Zouaves was attended with the same enthusiasm which had marked their journey to Fort Valley; the people of Macon and Savannah extending every attention possible, making their stay among them seem all too short.

At the annual meeting of the Hawkins' Zouaves Association, held at 136 Fifth Ave., New York, on September 30th, 1889, Comrade Richards, on behalf of the visiting delegation, reported the details of the visit, and the kind of reception accorded them by the survivors of the 3d Georgia, and the treatment received at the hands of the veterans and their people, which aroused the greatest enthusiasm among the members present.

A committee of seven was appointed to prepare and forward to the 3d Georgia Survivors a resolution expressive of the feelings of the Association at the kind hospitality with which they had received the delegation, and to extend a cordial invitation to the members of that Association to attend the reunion of the Hawkins' Zouaves on the 19th of April following.

The committee presented the following, which were unanimously adopted:



*Resolved*, That the reception of the delegation of this Association bearing our token of "Peace and Good will" to the Survivors' Association of the 3d Georgia Regiment, at their reunion in July and August last, as described in the report of our delegation, was marked by so warm a hospitality and brotherly attention, that it is meet that an expression of our heartfelt appreciation and grateful acknowledgment be made therefor.

*Resolved*, That it is our sincere desire to have the opportunity by a return visit from our friends to express also to them at our homes the warm attachment which animates the hearts of the survivors of the old 9th New York Volunteers toward their oft-repeated foe in battle and friends in peace, the survivors of the old 3d Georgia Regiment, and that we extend to them a hearty invitation to be with us at our next reunion, to be held in this city on the 19th day of April, 1890, and that a copy of these resolutions be spread on our minutes, and a copy be forwarded to the Survivors' Association, of the 3d Georgia Regiment, with the urgent request that as many as can will be with us on the 19th of April next.

(Signed) JOHN HASSALL, CHARLES CURIE,  
 JOSEPH H. STINER, JOHN T. MILLER,  
 SAMUEL L. MARSH, JAMES DUFFY,  
 CLARK WRIGHT.

JOHN B. PANNES, President,  
 Hawkins' Zouaves Association.

J. C. JULIUS LANGBEIN,  
 Secretary.

These were forwarded to W. A. Wiley, Secretary of the 3d Georgia Survivors' Association, on February 20th, 1890, but as the Association did not hold a meeting until the annual reunion in July following, no action could be taken until then, when the following answer was received:

SAVANNAH, GA., September, 10, 1890.

JUDGE J. C. JULIUS LANGBEIN, Secretary,  
 Hawkins' Zouaves Association, New York.

DEAR SIR:—At the annual reunion of the survivors of the 3d Georgia Regiment, held at Irvington, Ga., on the 30th and 31st of July, 1890, the following resolutions were adopted by a rising vote, three cheers, and the famous "Tiger."

Very truly yours,

A. A. WINN, Secretary.

*Resolved*, That the kindly expressions of fraternal feelings shown by the 9th New York Volunteers (Hawkins' Zouaves), at their annual business meeting, held in the City of New York, September 30th, 1889, for the Survivors' Association, 3d Georgia Regiment, be, and the same are hereby reciprocated individually and collectively.

*Resolved*, That we accept with heartfelt thanks the Hawkins' Zouaves kind invitation to be present with them at their reunion, April 19, 1891, and we urgently request our Association to see that a delegation attend said meeting.

*Resolved*, That the 3d Georgia Survivors in reunion assembled, send greeting and kindly remembrances to the Hawkins' Zouaves, their foes in battle—their friends in peace.

*Resolved*, further, That our Secretary furnish to the 9th New York Volunteers (Hawkins' Zouaves), a copy of these resolutions.

CLAIBORNE SNEAD,  
President of the 3d Georgia Veterans,  
Augusta, Ga.

A. A. WINN, Secretary, Savannah, Ga.

WALTER A. WILEY, Asst. Sec'y, Madisor, Ga.

As soon as the above resolutions, with the letters of acceptance which accompanied them, were received, the preliminary movements toward making the reunion a success were inaugurated. Inasmuch as the coming event was not only the thirtieth anniversary of the organization of the Ninth New York, but was also the anniversary of the battle of Sawyer's Lane, or South Mills, as known by the Confederates and Federals respectively, and in which these two regiments took the most conspicuous parts and suffered the greatest loss, it was the determination of the veterans of the Ninth to make the occasion an historic one in every respect. It was also their wish and intention to enable their friends from Georgia,

most of whom had never before visited New York, to enjoy the pleasure of seeing as many places in and about the city of interest and of novelty to them, as it was possible to reach during their short stay, and to make every moment of that stay enjoyable and interesting.

The regular Reception Committee consisted of George F. Betts, Edward Jardine, James R. Whiting, James B. Horner, Richard R. Jackson, George W. Debevoise, Robert H. Alberts, John W. Jacobus, Walter L. Thompson, J. C. J. Langbein, Latham A. Fish, Charles Curie, Joseph M. Richards and Richard H. Morris.

On Sunday evening, April 18th, the delegation of the 3d Georgia, consisting — ladies included — of seventeen persons, arrived by steamer from Savannah. They were met at the wharf by the committee and others of the Zouaves, and an enthusiastic reception was given them. Carriages were in waiting, and after the first salutations were exchanged, they were driven to the Hotel Brunswick, where accommodations had been provided for them and where they made their headquarters during their stay in New York. Monday was devoted to sightseeing. Carriages were provided and the visitors, escorted by members of the Ninth, enjoyed a ride in Central Park and Riverside Drive, and had an opportunity to visit the

Museum of Fine Arts and of Natural History, and several other interesting places.

The hour for the reunion was set for six o'clock, at which time all the survivors of the Ninth who could possibly reach New York were present—one hundred and fifteen in all. While the Zouaves and their guests of the Third were enjoying an interval of pleasant social converse, previous to entering the supper room, Major R. L. McWhorter, of the 3rd Georgia, introduced Miss Lizzie Snead, the daughter of Colonel Claiborne Snead, of the Third, and also the daughter of the regiment, who in a very charming and earnest manner and in appropriate, well chosen and complimentary language, presented a handsome silk national flag, which she had made with her own hands, to the Hawkins' Zouaves Association. Her little speech was filled with beautiful sentiments suitable to the occasion, and when she concluded the cheers from the veterans of both regiments almost shook the building. Judge Langbein responded, on behalf of the Ninth, in a short but touching address.

Arrangements had previously been made for a theatre party of ladies for the evening and at the conclusion of Judge Langbein's response the visiting ladies, accompanied by the wives and daughters of several members of the

Hawkins' Zouaves Association, were escorted to the play, where they enjoyed the pleasure of seeing a first-class performance as it is given before a metropolitan audience.

The speechmaking was still in full swing when the performance ended and the party returned to the hotel. Seats having been provided for them in the balcony of the banquet room, they were escorted thither and for the remainder of the evening listened to the flow of eloquence and viewed the scene of animation and enthusiasm on the floor.

The banquet was served in the ballroom of the hotel, which was handsomely decorated for the occasion, the national flag being used lavishly for that purpose. Conspicuous among the decorations were the tattered and moth-eaten flags of the Ninth, which they had carried through the great conflict. When the time for speechmaking had arrived Colonel Hawkins arose, and in an exceedingly happy and pleasant address, welcomed both comrades and guests to the gathering.

He said, in part: "Comrades of the Ninth New York, and friends of the 3d Georgia, let us rejoice that we have lived to realize the simple fact of this occasion, an unimportant event in the history of a nation, but one which emphasizes an existing sentiment for a broader

nationality and the vanishing of those imaginary lines, which are supposed to mark the boundaries of sections. It is also a rare oasis in the great desert of the usual commonplace of modern life, and mutually we must ever regard it, and the memories it calls forth, as our most precious possessions." \* \* \* "The middle-aged men now here, assembled to celebrate the birthday of a New York regiment, were soldiers in two of the earliest infantry commands to take the field upon either side. They represented the two so-called Empire States of their respective sections, and how worthily their courage reflected credit upon the communities to which they belonged has already been recorded." Colonel Hawkins then sketched in a rapid and masterly manner the progress of the war, the many and great changes made in warfare, armaments and fortifications from time to time during the conflict. He related, facetiously, the details of the various meetings between the two regiments in battle, and dwelt on the mutual respect with which each, no doubt, regarded the other, as a result of such interviews, which brought fourth rounds of applause and hearty laughter; continuing he said: "The war went on. One regiment left the service at the expiration of its term and before the close, the other fought to the end

and went down with the battle-scarred colors that had floated over it through those four long years of unheard-of privations and almost superhuman endeavor, never again to rise above the storm of battle or to be recognized as a national emblem. But the star of victory that illumined the banner of the conqueror was one of mercy, tempering the pride of the victorious and softening the sadness of defeat. The scarred veterans of a hundred fields rejoiced that peace had come, and with longing eyes and quick beating pulse, looked afar off toward the dear ones and the homes they had left when the bugle blast summoned them to danger, and alas, for many, to the path of fame, which lead only to the field of death. \* \* \*

A new South has risen from out the ashes of war, more glorious, more national, and better equipped for those victories incident to the arts of peace than ever before. It did not take the men of the South four years to teach us that they knew how to fight, nor has it taken twenty-five years to prove their capacity for labor. The tenacity of purpose they showed upon the field of battle did not forsake them when the dawn of peace smiled upon their shattered banners, but followed to a new sphere of action, and enabled them to achieve new victories. \* \* \* In this spirit we, who are

left of the Ninth New York, greet you who are left of the 3d Georgia. We differ with you as to the principle for which you fought, but we are certain you believed it right, and we know you contended for it like brave men, and in your heroic efforts we rejoice. There is no difference between us now ; we are of one nationality, and are proud of our joint history of courage and heroism which has become the common inheritance of our whole people.

“It now becomes a pleasurable duty, around which centers a sentimental appreciation of an unique occasion, such as none of those now present are ever likely to witness again, and it is to express the greeting which we so gladly give to the foes of other days—brothers of the same race and friends now. There is the ample, good old Saxon word so dear to all English-speaking lips which comes near expressing all we feel, and I am certain that every veteran of the Ninth now present will join with me when I say to the survivors of the 3d Georgia, ‘welcome a thousand times to this, the thirtieth anniversary of its organization.’”

After the applause which greeted the conclusion of Colonel Hawkins' welcome had subsided, Colonel Snead arose to make reply, and the following is part of what he said:

“Colonel Hawkins and friends of the Ninth



New York: For your generous welcome we are profoundly grateful. It reaches the heart and touches a responsive chord in the bosoms of men who were your adversaries in time of war, but since have learned to regard you as true and trusted friends in these halcyon days of peace. \* \* \* In this demonstration we take nothing personal to ourselves, for we are but a small delegation from the veteran survivors of a regiment that for four long years traversed in martial array the hills and valleys of old Virginia, and whose history is very dear to us, in that it is crimsoned all over with the blood of fallen comrades. And this tribute is especially gratifying, coming as it does from soldiers whom I have seen, on more than one occasion, march unflinchingly into battle with a sheet of fire blazing in their faces, but whose gallantry as far outshone that fire as did the stars of heaven in their brilliancy.

“We first made your acquaintance near the jungles of the Dismal Swamp, North Carolina, in the earlier days of the war. Then your greeting was so warm that we rejoiced when the interview was over. On two other memorable occasions your persistent attentions to us at close quarters were of such a character as to render our position extremely uncomfortable, but when we parted I am sure it was

with mutual respect and with no eager desire to meet soon again. \* \* \*

“Your regiment from New York, like ours from Georgia, enlisted early in 1861, without any draft upon your part or conscription on ours. Here were Northern boys and Southern boys, with the baptismal dew of youth fresh upon their brows, who cheerily went forth to battle in obedience to what each deemed to be his duty. And whether right or wrong, from your standpoint or mine, I care not, for there is the pleasing reflection that each displayed the noblest attributes of a soldiery that knew so well how to illustrate American valor. \* \* \*

“Thus united by the ties of friendship and animated by a lofty patriotism, they can mutually join in the grand acclaim —

A union of rivers and a union of lakes,  
A union of lands and a union of States,  
A union of hearts and a union of hands,  
And the flag of our Union forever.”

The cheering and applause which greeted these remarks were enthusiastic, and were again and again renewed.

The Rev. Clark Wright, to whom was assigned the duty of responding to the toast in honor of the Ninth New York, had a delightful task to perform, and one to which he was [fully equal. He said: “A private soldier who carried a gun, who was the least

of all the men who surround you to-night, is to tell you what you have already learned in your intercourse with the members of the Hawkins' Zouaves Association of this city, namely, that we are glad to see you, and that we take great pleasure in giving you a most cordial welcome to this the thirtieth anniversary of the organization of the Ninth New York Volunteers."

He sketched the history of the regiment, its organization and services, in a very interesting manner, at the same time referring, in a way which produced much applause and shouts of laughter, to the meetings which took place between the two regiments during the war and to the opinion each had of the other at that time, and concluded as follows:

"You, my countrymen, whether from Georgia or New York, to-night, these the remnant of more than two thousand men, these your comrades gathered here to salute you as we bring to mind your faithfulness as soldiers and rejoice with you that our country has passed from the hurricane to the calm, from out of all that crash of which we were part, to liberty, union, brotherly love and peace."

The response for "the 3d Georgia" was by Hon. John W. Lindsey, one of the survivors, and formerly a sergeant in that regiment, who spoke in part as follows:

“Fellow countrymen, I deem it an honor to stand here and respond to the encomiums pronounced upon the soldiers of the Confederate Army. It is a pleasure to me to greet you as fellow countrymen, for we are sons of a common mother, on whose bosom we lean for protection. We are here to-night, true to our allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the American Union, without any qualification whatever; to demand nothing but what you are willing to grant us as free Americans; to invite you to join with us and aid us in driving from our vocabulary that most abominable of all words—sectionalism. \* \* \*

We are here to renew an acquaintance sought long years ago, under less favorable circumstances, and with you to transmit the spirit of these fraternal greetings to the youth of the land, for we desire to consecrate not only ourselves, but our sons and daughters, to the preservation of the liberty of this Union. \* \* \*

We see as you do those columns of blue and gray in the fields of Virginia, who fell fighting for the cause they believed to be the true one. In vindication of that right of our convictions, we discharged our duty, as you did. \* \* \*

But when you fought your last fight, fired your last volley, and received the command that began your homeward march from Appomat-

tox, you went to be greeted as victors—the voices of a thousand cannon gave you a welcome such as never had been heard before. Thus you returned, and retired to your homes to enjoy all that is sweet and dear to noble manhood basking in the sunshine of grateful people. You forgot that other army which left Appomattox on the same day that you did. Our march southward was not greeted with applause, nor our announcement welcomed by cannon. We bade each other good bye in silence, and shed tears as we departed to our homes, only to see the marks of desolation left by the stern hand of war. What did we do? Sit down and brood in silence? No. We stepped from the very warpath of battle to the works of peace. We walked behind the plow to win a living for our own. Our farms were devastated, our slaves freed, our families scattered, yet we went to work in the sunshine of peace in the same spirit in which we had engaged in war. \* \* \* By industry we have wrung from the soil our sustenance. As years have rolled on recuperation has come, and now we have a country to which we are proud to invite you, and to which we do invite you.”

The speech and the sentiments of Sergeant Lindsey were greeted by enthusiastic applause, which was not subdued until the chairman

announced that the formal exercises of the evening would close by the recitation of Gen. Charles G. Halpin's poem, "Just Eleven." This was given by Maj. James B. Horner in excellent style.

Robert L. Johnson, of the Zouaves, in a voice which his comrades thought had lost none of its sweetness, then sang one of the old songs of the soldier days, when the meeting became an informal camp fire, which continued until a late hour.

Next day enough carriages were provided to accommodate all the guests of the Association, together with the members of the Reception Committee, composed of Messrs. Horner, Langbein, Searing, Curie and Miller, who accompanied them, and an extended sight-seeing tour was entered upon. This covered as much of the upper portion of Manhattan Island as could be comfortably gone over in a day. On the way up, all places of interest on the east side of Washington Heights and upper part of the island were visited, and the strangers afforded ample time to view the same.

Arriving at Fort George, one of the most beautifully romantic spots on the whole island, and from which a grand panoramic view of the Harlem river and the heights of Westchester

may be obtained, the party stopped for luncheon, the West End Hotel having been secured by the committee for their exclusive use for that purpose.

The return to the city was by the western roads, from which many fine views of the Hudson and the palisades beyond may be obtained, and which also gave the visitors the opportunity to admire the many elegant private residences which are dotted so thickly along the different roads, and the large number of stately buildings, the homes of public and semi-public institutions of a beneficent character, with which that portion of New York is graced.

Sight-seeing was continued almost without interruption during the remainder of the stay of the visitors, with occasional theater parties and luncheons, to break the monotony and give variety.

A cordial invitation had been received from the proprietor, through Mr. Robert L. Cutler, the erst-time manager of "The Zouave Minstrel and Dramatic Club," of Roanoke Island, for the members of the Association and their guests to visit Harrigan's Theater. This was accepted, with the thanks of the comrades, and a large party enjoyed one of Harrigan's inimitable productions. Arrangements had been

made which afforded ample facilities for such of the guests as delighted in theatrical entertainments to visit the theaters on any evening during their stay.

Comrade John T. Miller and Adolph Libaire escorted parties of the visiting delegation to the Stock and Produce Exchanges, thus giving the Georgians an opportunity to observe the antics of the Bulls and Bears in their native jungles.

A trip to West Point was arranged, and the whole delegation, under the escort of Messrs. Searing, Horner and Jackson, visited that historic and interesting place. They were cordially welcomed by the officers of the Military Academy, who entertained them very pleasantly during their stay, and took special pains to make their visit an exceedingly gratifying and memorable one. This visit to historic West Point, combined with the river journey and the grand scenery of the noble Hudson, will no doubt long remain a pleasant memory with the participants, both visitors and guests.

On the last day of the stay in New York the ladies of the visiting delegation were entertained at luncheon at the Downtown Club by Mr. Latham A. Fish, one of the committee. It was designed to be an affair



that would be remembered with pleasure by those in whose honor it was given, and the resources of the establishment were taxed to the utmost in making it elegant and dainty, even beyond what was usual at that exclusive club. The room was tastefully and handsomely decorated, the tables banked with flowers and elegant souvenir menus, handsomely designed and printed on satin, were provided for each of the guests.

After nearly a week devoted to entertainment, pleasure and recreation, and during which the members of the Hawkins' Zouaves Association had taxed their ingenuity for ways to provide novel and pleasant surprises for their guests, the Georgians—the time allowed for their visit having expired—departed for their homes by the Savannah steamer. A numerous delegation of Zouaves escorted them to the wharf.

A meeting of the Georgians was held on board the ship just before sailing, and a series of resolutions very flattering to the men of the Ninth were passed and a copy of the same handed to the Secretary of the Association.

The *New York Sun*, in its issue of the next day, thus summarizes the visit of the 3d Georgia:

"The Confederate veterans of the 3d Georgia Survivors' Association have received a hearty welcome in the city. They have fraternized with the Union veterans of the Hawkins' Zouaves. They have been banqueted in the New York style to their hearts' content. They have been taken to various theaters by day and by night. They have enjoyed the speeches of sundry ready orators, as well as the strains of music, and they have seen the sights of the city and its parks from the open carriages that were at their service. We trust that these Confederate veterans from Georgia have had a pleasant time during the several days of their stay in New York."

Thus ended a meeting which probably has no parallel in the pages of history. Two regiments serving in opposing armies, whose acquaintance began on the battlefield while engaged in deadly strife, sought each other out after peace had been secured, and in admiration, each for the other, and actuated by an earnest desire to re-establish cordial fraternity between those who had once been foes, met together and announced to the world that there was no lingering animosity in the breasts of either, that the victors had no conditions they wished imposed upon the vanquished, and that the latter fully and without equivocation or reservation, accepted the verdict of the sword and became brothers under one flag with their former foes.

## CHAPTER XVI.

CEREMONIES AT THE DEDICATION OF THE MONUMENT  
ERECTED ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF ANTIETAM IN  
MEMORY OF THE DEAD OF THE NINTH NEW YORK  
VOLUNTEERS — PRELIMINARY WORK OF THE COM-  
MITTEES — JOURNEY TO THE BATTLEFIELD — COM-  
RADE RICHARD'S INVOCATION — COMRADE GRA-  
HAM'S INTRODUCTION — ADDRESS BY COLONEL  
HAWKINS — UNVEILING THE MONUMENT — ORATION  
BY REV. CLARK WRIGHT, OF COMPANY F — THE  
PRESENTATION TO GENERAL CARMAN — REVISIT-  
ING POINTS OF INTEREST — THE RETURN.

FOR years the intention to erect a monument to perpetuate the name and fame of the Ninth New York Volunteers (Hawkins' Zouaves), and to commemorate those who yielded up their lives in defense of the nation during its term of service, had been steadily kept in view by the Association composed of the survivors of that regiment.

As early as in the latter days of the service of the regiment, at Suffolk, Va., the matter was frequently talked over, and ways and means of successfully accomplishing the desired object discussed. At first the intention was vague and undefined. It was an intention but was without form. The men were young and in-

experienced in business methods and hardly knew how to begin.

Years passed with nothing accomplished. At last, in 1890 or 1891, the question was brought up at the annual meeting of the Association, and it was resolved that a united and determined effort should be made to accomplish this most desirable object.

Among the most active of the comrades in assisting to bring the work to a successful completion, and whose names should be mentioned here in connection with it, were Rush C. Hawkins, Robert L. Johnston, James B. Horner, P. J. L. Searing, Charles Curie, Walter L. Thompson, J. C. J. Langbein, James H. Folan, John T. Miller, John Hassall, George W. Debevoise, John W. Jacobus, Latham A. Fish, and James R. Whiting, all of whom assisted in every way possible, to further the object in view.

The actual labor was divided among several sub-committees, each of which had its own separate part, while all worked together. An immense amount of detail had to be worked out. An appropriation of five thousand dollars was secured from the Legislature of the State of New York, and an equal sum was subscribed and paid by the members of the Association. These amounts provided for cost.

Then came the question of design, the selection of material, etc., and quarries had to be visited and inspected in order to determine where the most appropriate and durable stone could be procured at satisfactory prices, and to enable the committee to intelligently enter into the contracts for the work. The position to which the regiment advanced during the charge at Antietam, and where the greatest loss of men occurred, had to be positively identified, and a plot of the ground purchased — at many times its actual value — upon which to erect the monument. The negotiations for right of way over adjacent lands and arrangements for compensating the owners for prospective damages at an exorbitant rate had to be completed. All these, and many other details, entailed a great deal of work on the committee. Many visits, both to the Vermont quarries and to the battlefield, were absolutely necessary. In addition, a large amount of correspondence relating to the work had to be conducted.

Notwithstanding the careful and methodical manner in which every step in the progress of the work had been taken, unforeseen difficulties frequently presented themselves, and annoying and vexatious delays occurred, which interfered seriously with the progress of the undertaking, so that it was not until Memorial

Day of 1897, that the monument was erected and ready for dedication.

The members of the Association cordially approved of the design the committee had decided upon. They also thoroughly appreciated the work done in their behalf by the committee, the unselfish interest with which each member of it had devoted himself to the work, and the successful and gratifying manner in which it had been carried out.

This approbation was more especially due and accorded to the monument sub-committee, Messrs. Hawkins, Curie and Horner, who were untiring in their efforts, and to whom is largely due the credit for the final success of the undertaking.

The same committee completed the arrangements for transportation to the battlefield and return, which was ample, comfortable, convenient, and in every way most satisfactory.

On Friday evening, the 28th of May, 1897, a well-appointed special train left Jersey City for Antietam, bearing a party of survivors of the regiment and members of their families, numbering in all eighty persons. This number was increased at various points on the route by other survivors from various and distant parts of the United States until the number of veterans actually participating in the ceremonies was ninety-one.

Thus the remnant of this gallant regiment returned after a lapse of thirty-five years, still an organization and under the presidency of the man who had been their first and only colonel, to dedicate on the bloodiest battlefield of the Rebellion, a monument to their fallen comrades. Every participant in the ceremonies, from orator to bugler, with the single exception of the daughter of a comrade, who unveiled the monument, was a former member of the Ninth New York Volunteers.

When the company had assembled at the monument the ceremonies were begun by Colonel Hawkins, the President of the Association, announcing as follows :

“No braver or truer soldier honored the ranks of the Ninth New York Volunteers than its chief musician, who holds a large place in the affections of his comrades.”

“And I now take great pleasure to call up ‘our Tom Flocton,’ who was equally handy with both bugle and musket, to use the same old bugle with which he sounded the charge upon this field, to sound out once more upon this historic ground, whose soil was drenched by the blood of so many of his comrades, the ‘assembly’, once so familiar to us and so pleasant to remember.”

After the “assembly” had been sounded the

President introduced Rev. Joseph M. Richards, as one formerly a private in Company F, of the Ninth, and a good and true soldier of the Republic, and who had for many years been enlisted in another army, that of the Prince of Peace. Mr Richards offered the following prayer:

“Our Father, Thou whose throne is in the heavens, yet whose glory and majesty and power is seen in all things which Thou hast created, and whose love is realized and understood and felt, because of the providences with which Thou hast surrounded our being, we come into Thy presence with uncovered heads and bowed hearts, glad that we may acknowledge Thee to be our Father; and as we approach into Thy presence we come remembering not only all the dangers and vicissitudes which once surrounded our lives in this place, but we come remembering too all the mercies and goodnesses which have followed our lives hitherto. We thank Thee that thou dost not only permit us, but has graciously invited us to come to Thee, and not only come to Thee, but with prayer and supplication make known our wants and our requests. Therefore on this glad occasion, and at the very threshold of these services we ask Thy presence and Thy blessing upon all the exercises of this hour,



upon all Thy servants here before Thee, and upon all these comrades who have met after the lapse of years in a scene fraught with such grand and far reaching significance, while its surroundings are filled with the memories of a terrible carnage. Grant, our Father, that the memories of this hour, memories of marches and battles, memories of deliverances, memories of comrades whose forms are scattered on this once fearful battlefield, may inspire us to a more heroic devotion to Thee, and a more faithful consecration of our lives, and a more steadfast performance of our duties on earth. Bless, with the blessing which Thou only can bestow, the members of this regiment and friends here present, and while our heads are bowed, and we remember how many homes were made desolate on this battlefield, we ask too, thy blessing upon the widows and orphans who yet remain. Bless our country, and grant that justice and truth, unity and love, peace and prosperity may abound throughout its length and breadth. Guard it in the future as Thou hast in the past, and grant that it may be an example to all nations. Cement us together in the bonds of peace; make us more and more one people, and may thy blessing be upon it forever. And, our Father, when the march of our individual life is halted, when the last

battle to be fought is ended, and the victory won, grant, we pray Thee, that we may enter into an eternal bivouac in Thy Kingdom above. We ask it in His name, who taught us when we prayed to say, 'Our Father who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven; give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us; lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the Kingdom, and the power, and the glory for ever and ever, Amen.'

The President then introduced Lieutenant M. J. Graham, with the following remarks:

"It is fitting that in the dedication of this memorial the Grand Army of the Republic shall take part in the ceremony. And it is sentimentally fortunate and most appropriate that we have with us to-day an esteemed comrade whom we all honor, and who upon this spot performed brave and honorable service which made him a cripple for the rest of his life.

"He is now at the head of a Grand Army Post, named in honor of one of our brave lieutenant-colonels, who was killed while in the service of his country.

"It is now my pleasurable duty, tinged with

the sadness of memories of far off sorrows, to present Lieutenant Matthew J. Graham, who will conduct the Grand Army part of the ceremonies."

Lieutenant Graham's remarks were as follows:

"Friends and Comrades:—To-day is the festival of our dead. We unite to honor the memory of our brave and our beloved, to enrich and ennoble our lives by recalling a public heroism and a private worth that are immortal, to encourage, by our solemn service, a more zealous and stalwart patriotism. Festival of our dead! Yes, though many eyes are clouded with tears, though many hearts are heavy with regret, though many lives are still desolate because of the father or brother, the husband or lover who did not come back; though every grave which a tender reverence or love adorns with flowers is the shrine of a sorrow whose influence is still potent. Despite it all, to-day is a festival—a festival of our dead. No less a festival because it is full of solemnity.

"And now, as in this silent camping ground of our dead, with soldierly tenderness and love, we dedicate this, our monument, let us recall those who made their breasts a barricade between our country and its foes. Let us recall their toils, their sufferings, their heroism, their

supreme fidelity in camp, in prison-pen, on the battlefield, and in hospital, that the flag under which they fought, and from the shadow of whose folds they were promoted, may never be dishonored; that the country for whose union and supremacy they surrendered life, may have the fervent and enthusiastic devotion of every citizen; that, as we stand in this place as before an altar, we may pledge our manhood that, so help us God, the memory of our dead shall encourage and strengthen in us all a more loyal patriotism."

Colonel Hawkins' then addressed those present as follows :

"Ladies and Gentlemen, and Comrades of the Ninth New York:—To be permitted to express upon this field a greeting of welcome to the surviving members of the regiment I had the honor to command is the most interesting and gratifying duty I have ever been called upon to perform. I share with you all the conflicting emotions of pleasure and sadness which fill our hearts as we gaze upon the faces once so familiar to us, and recall to our minds the many stirring scenes in the far off past in which we participated. Although but a remnant of the patriotic band remains, the old spirit survives.

"The heart-throbs of youth are weakened by

age, but the bond of affectionate comradeship is as strong as ever; time has not affected that, and never will. The chain forged upon battle-fields which binds together the men of the Ninth New York Volunteers can never be broken.

“This is characteristic and as it should be; and now here, upon this to us dearest spot on earth, let us renew our fealty to each other and the sacred memories of the past, which are so honorably interwoven with our military services, and which are the brightest jewels in our earthly crown. The incident which has brought us together is only a part of what has gone before. It is perfectly natural that we should meet upon this field appropriately to honor the bravery of our companions who here gave up their lives.

“Holding prominent place in the earliest known record of human achievements, we find reference to monuments erected to perpetuate memories of heroic deeds and notable events in the history of nations. From a most remote period the custom of monument building has been handed down to the present, ever accumulating strength rather than diminishing, and to-day it may be safely claimed for our countrymen that during the last half of the nineteenth century they have surpassed all

other nations in the number of memorials they have erected to keep alive in the hearts of the generations to come the thrilling story of the heroism of those citizen soldiers who fought for the preservation of a government, established for the purpose of continuing our political experiment in the interest of constitutional liberty.

“It may be said that the culmination, as to magnitude, simple grandeur, beauty of individual examples and perfected artistic purity, was realized by the Greek architects and sculptors who wrought during the supreme Hellenic period. The matchless proportions and refined details of their wondrous conceptions formed a fitting crown to a civilization which fostered the cultivation of the heroic and beautiful as had never been done before or since. The Greeks of that time, by reason of their appreciation of the beautiful in art and its ennobling and refining influence upon their nation, occupy the exceptional position in the history of races and peoples which no lapse of time can efface.

“Running in parallel lines throughout the history of civilization, we find love of the beautiful and worship of the heroic joined together, the ever-reminding evidence of the presence of those higher and better qualities of our imperfect

natures, which lift humanity to a plane above the commonplace of a merely material existence.

“This companionship of the artistic with the heroic has taught us that the office of the beautiful and noble in art is to give living and enduring expression to the heroism of the ages. Art is the recording agent of great deeds. To the hero worship within us we owe the incentive that inspired the illustrious masters of the arts of all times—imperishable masterpieces which have excited the admiration of succeeding ages and kept alive in the hearts of generations living memories of man’s greatest achievements.

“To-day, in our humble and imperfect way, we assist to continue the beautiful custom born of antiquity.

“The solemn and impressive magnitude of the work before us will attest for many generations to come the love and respect a people bear for our brave comrades who nearly thirty-five years ago laid down their lives upon this never fading field of honor; not only a field of honor for those who fell face to the foe, but for those who fought shoulder to shoulder with them. Many have since fallen by the way, but those here to-day who tread again this sacred soil testify their love and loyalty for the dead

of their regiment, who here gave their lives for a cause they had sworn to promote and maintain.

“This simple memorial, fashioned out of a people’s gratitude and placed by our loving hands, will stand a silent sentinel, ever jealously watching over the blood-enriched soil of this sanguinary field. And although silent, yet a living and imperishable record of one of the most thrilling pages in the history of man’s sacrifice for a truly exalted ideal.

“Although more than thirty-four years have passed since the tragic event we now commemorate, we remember that awful day and the unspeakable slaughter. And we remember too, that it was unnecessary, and our victory brought no perceptible result. Thrust unwittingly forward to a position of exceptional danger, face to face with the forces of armed rebellion greatly outnumbering an already depleted command, unsustained by adequate supporting force, our devoted regiment encountered almost alone the concentrated fire of superior numbers, which nearly annihilated its thinned ranks, until there was left but a remnant to tell the tale of horror through which it had passed. This was but one link in the chain that dragged through years of needless slaughter; one of the results that marked the



unnecessarily slow progress of a merciless war.

“In history, Antietam stands for our most sanguinary and earnestly contested single day’s battle, and was attended with the largest proportion of fatalities. Like many battles of our Civil War, it was fought without preconceived plan or definite aim, and ended barren of the hard-earned results which, if garnered, might have finished the war. At best it was a contest of accidents, fought in detached patches, without cohesion of lines, at different hours of the day, when subordinate officers and the rank and file made immortal records, seldom equaled and never surpassed. It was not the fault of the Army of the Potomac that its commander failed to perceive or to take advantage of the victory his command had thrust upon him.

“Under the circumstances then existing, to permit the army of Northern Virginia to recross the Potomac was an unpardonable neglect. It amounted in its results to a crime against a patriotic people whose blind confidence in incompetent leaders was only equaled by their ignorance of military affairs. The capture of any considerable part of the Confederate Army at that time would have placed Richmond at the mercy of the Army of the Potomac. Then the end of the war would have been a matter of

months instead of years. The incidents we now recall are beyond correction. They have passed into the boundless province of history, and we can only say, 'Let the dead bury the dead.'

"While never forgetting the great sorrow which came to us with the reopened knowledge of our mighty sacrifice, we must consider the patriotic cause for which it was made and not hold ourselves responsible for the outward misfortunes of war.

"Now, however, more than a third of a century after Antietam was fought, consolation has come to their companions who survive. We have witnessed how sincerely they who fell were mourned. We know what they did is gratefully appreciated, and are sure that the future will not forget their heroic deeds.

"In all ages the luster which gathers around the memories of those who fall upon the field of battle stands out from the accumulating mists of time as the great signal stations in the histories of nations, emphasizing the ever-present heroic attributes of the human race. And so it is with those whose heroism we honor today. They have joined that silent and ceaseless procession which leads to immortality."

When the hearty applause which greeted these remarks had ceased, Colonel Hawkins

announced that the time for unveiling the monument had arrived. In introducing Miss Lillian Elsie Horner, to whom the honor of removing the flag had been assigned, he said:

“For this occasion we are compelled to call upon one of the second generation to assist in our dedicating ceremonies. We have with us the daughter of one of our most affectionately esteemed comrades. As a non-commissioned officer, he came within a half of a mile of being in the first battle of the rebellion, and as major of a regiment was in the last fight on Southern soil. Not content with serving his full term in the Ninth and being mustered out as an officer covered with honor, he again entered the service of his country and in time became the major of the 17th New York Veteran Volunteer Infantry.

“I am sure we are all happy to have him with us upon this almost sacred occasion. Hale, hardy, vigorous, and, if need be, quite as full of fight as ever. I now take great pleasure in presenting Miss Lillian<sup>4</sup> Horner, the daughter of Maj. James B. Horner, and call upon her to uncover this monument.”

Miss Horner wore a costume which was both unique and beautiful in effect, being fashioned out of the National flag, and as she stepped forward to perform her part in the ceremony,

her appearance was so graceful and striking that it brought forth rapturous applause from the assemblage. Seizing the cords which controlled the covering of the monument, she said:

“To the memory of the brave men of the Ninth New York Infantry—Hawkins’ Zouaves—who fought upon this field, and especially to those who died here that their country might live, we now dedicate this monument.”

The flags were removed, the act being accompanied with the applause of the assembled veterans, and the monument was disclosed in all its beauty, simplicity and stateliness. It is of Barre, Vt., granite, in four pieces, of simple design and imposing dimensions, and of sufficient proportionate breadth for its height of fifty-two feet. It consists of a monolith on an admirably proportioned die and base. The monolith is forty feet long, tapering from four and a half feet at the base to three and a half feet at the top, and said to be the largest single block of granite ever quarried at Barre. On each panel of the die is an inscription. On the first, under the words “*Toujours Pret*,” the motto of the regiment, appears, “Erected by the State of New York to the memory of the Ninth New York Infantry (Hawkins’ Zouaves) who fought on this field September 17th, 1862.”

The others are:

“About 2 P. M., having forded Antietam Creek, the regiment, meeting with desperate resistance, advanced to this position and held it until ordered elsewhere.”

“The greatest mortality occurred near this position, where the regiment contended with a superior force of infantry and artillery.”

“Members present for duty in action, 373; killed, 54; wounded, 158; missing, 28. Total loss, 240. Two companies were detailed and engaged elsewhere and did not participate in the advance.”

The President, Colonel Hawkins, introduced the orator of the day, as follows:

“Among the younger of those who enlisted in our regiment, and performed good service, was one who has lived to arrive at a mature estate and now holds an honorable position among his fellowmen. He was of those who though younger than the law required for military service, could not be held back from the carrying out of a determined patriotic purpose. Law or no law, he had made up his mind to go into the army and fight for his country.

“This boy-soldier was destined to survive and to become a soldier in another and a greater army, where he could exercise a wider field for the benefit of his kind.

“He is known as the Reverend Clark Wright,

of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and I now take great pleasure in presenting him to you as the orator of the day."

After receiving a flattering greeting from his old comrades, the Reverend ex-Zouave spoke as follows:

"Comrades of the Ninth New York Volunteers,  
'Hawkins' Zouaves:'

"Ladies and Gentlemen:—On this battlefield the heroic deeds of the honored sons of the Empire State greet you! We gather to mark the spot where they fell, and dedicate this monument that shall tell to future generations the heroism, fidelity and courage of the faithful soldiers of the State of New York.

"The greatest mortality in one day, of all the battles that have been fought in the New World, transpired on this battlefield thirty-four years ago. During the war of 1861 to 1865 there were 112 battles fought, where the mortality exceeded 500, but here, on this, the bloodiest battlefield of the war, the combined loss of both armies was nearly 25,000 men.

"We come to-day, not to glorify ourselves nor to depreciate the brave men who met us on this sanguinary field, but are here to speak in behalf of the men who, coming from their peaceful homes in our native State, willingly sacrificed their lives that the Union might be

unimpaired, that our flag should float unsullied, without one star dimmed, and the Republic continue to live among the nations of the earth.

“We gather to do honor to those whose blood flowed freely on this spot, while these hills around us were the last scene their eyes beheld ere they closed in death. We come to speak for those whose lips are silent, and tell the present generation of deeds performed by them, equaling in heroism and devotion Marathon or Thermopylæ, Horatious at the Bridge, or the old Guard at Waterloo. We come to speak of the American soldier at Antietam.

“Some things never die. They live on in enduring immortality while the sun continues to shine and the earth revolves in its orbit. The good men do; the self-sacrifice, devotion to duty, consecration to a patriotic work will live as the story of heroism and fidelity is repeated from one generation to another, and will be a monument to the memory of the fallen heroes, more enduring than this beautiful monolith of granite, or the bronze tablet upon which their names are inscribed. And while we, their comrades, who knew them so well, who stood by their side on this and other battlefields, are here with the accredited representatives of the Legislature of the State of New York, who erected this memorial to mark

the spot on this bloody battlefield where they fell, let us rejoice that their memory has a more enduring monument in the Republic that lives, in the Union unbroken, in the starry flag without stain upon its escutcheon, which their heroic acts and vicarious death perpetuated, as we remember, their deeds will be forever enshrined in the hearts of their countrymen.

“With gentle tread and bated breath we come to look upon the scene around us, for we know we are on holy ground, reverently, devoutly, we stand here in the midst of this, the nation’s holy of holies, a place consecrated as no human lips can consecrate the earth, as no waters scattered by the hand of man can hallow the soil, for it was here on this spot the last prayer, the last sign, the last breath, the last drop of blood came from the patriot’s heart making this place forever sacred, as his life-blood baptized the ground with a baptism that shall forever regenerate the nation, banishing disunion and sectional strife, and exalting the American Republic to the highest pinnacle of greatness among the nations of the earth.

“Any words poor human lips can utter cannot add to the sanctity nor enhance the record of the honor and glory of the brave men who, coming from their peaceful homes in New



York, paid the greatest price mankind can pay, even the last drop of blood in their bodies, that future generations might enjoy the freedom and happiness found on the broad domain of this fair land and protection wherever its starry flag may wave.

“Who were these men? Nearly all the men composing our regiment were graduates of the public school, of all trades and professions, averaging twenty-one years of age. In the ranks were those who could build a locomotive, edit a newspaper, survey the land, pilot a steamship across the ocean, conduct a case at law, preach a sermon, direct a commercial house or command a regiment. Men of intellectual power, brave as the bravest, gentle as women; men who could treat the enemy with clemency in the day of victory, manifest magnanimity in the hour of power, who could philosophize and find encouragement amid dark reverses; who decked manhood and truth with a halo, patriotism and martyrdom with a glory that can never fade, and a self-sacrificing devotion that causes the whole world who know their story to exclaim: ‘These died, not for themselves, but for their country!’ They had no old world aristocratic lineage traced through effeminate dukes, counts, or lords, but far nobler, they were American

citizens who, with face to the foe and breast exposed to the deathful fire of a determined enemy, stood for the right as God showed them the right, in defense of home, freedom, and native land, until all who saw the heroism displayed on this spot rise and place a chaplet of fame and glory upon the grave of these true sons of New York, and write their epitaph in a word that means more than star or garter, ribbon or decoration, as we, their comrades, inscribe upon the tablet that marks their resting place the words: 'These were men; men who were true to God, their duty and their sacred honor.' This is the character of those who fought in the ranks of the Ninth New York, Hawkins' Zouaves, on this spot, more than thirty-four years ago.

"How different our surroundings to-day from that of September 17, 1862. To-day the birds sing sweetly in the tops of the trees that in other days were mutilated by shot and shell. The husbandman peacefully reaps the fruit of the soil while the children sit quietly at our feet and listen to our story of the battle of Antietam.

"Let us briefly recall some of the scenes that crowded these fields with the troops of two hostile armies.

"General McClellan, in his official report of

Antietam, states: 'Nearly 200,000 men were for fourteen hours engaged in combat.' The Official Record states that General McClellan's army was composed of the following:

1st Corps, . . . .	14,856	
2d Corps, . . . .	18,803	
5th Corps, . . . .	12,930*	
6th Corps, . . . .	12,300	
9th Corps, . . . .	13,819	
12th Corps, . . . .	10,126	
Cavalry Division, . . . .	<u>4,320</u>	
Total, . . . .		87,154

"There is a great diversity in the figures of the enemy concerning the actual number of troops they had on this field; some place their number as high as 97,000, others as low as 70,000 troops. The best Confederate writers, however, declare they had about 75,000 men, making a total of 162,000 in the combined armies. The distance from the right to the left of each wing of the army was about four miles as the bird flies, but because of the irregularity of the ground the actual distance was greater.

"The right wing of the Union Army was near Keedysville, General McClellan's headquarters being about a mile south of that place.

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\*Although only 8,500 men of this corps were actually engaged.

The extreme left wing, under command of Gen. A. E. Burnside, was south of what history designates as Burnside's Bridge. General Lee had his headquarters near Sharpsburgh, very near where we are now assembled. Here the two armies met, and General Longstreet sums up the result of this battle when he says: 'At Antietam was split the keystone of the arch on which the Confederate cause rested.'

"Our interests at this hour are associated with the 9th Army Corps, whose dead lie buried in seven States of the South, and whose banners are inscribed with battle after battle, from Roanoke Island to the Fall of Petersburg. It was commanded most of the time by the chivalrous Christian gentleman and devoted soldier, Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside. At Antietam, however, General Cox commanded the 9th Corps, Burnside being in command of the left wing of the army, General Rodman commanded our division, and Colonel Fairchild the brigade that occupied this particular part of the battlefield thirty-four years ago.

"The objective point of the engagement at this part of the field was to drive the enemy from their guns, capture their position, and cause them to retreat across the Potomac; this was the object, and Hawkins' Zouaves were ordered to lead in the charge south of the

bridge, expecting the troops of the left wing of the Union Army would be ready to support them in the desperate undertaking. But, supported or not, their duty was to advance, and forward they went.

“Up to this time this continent had not seen a battle like this about to take place, which Horace Greeley characterizes (2d Vol., page 211) as the ‘bloodiest day America ever saw.’

“Of the one thousand eight hundred and eighty-two general engagements, battles, or affairs in which at least one regiment was engaged, Colonel Fox states in his book of regimental losses that, while Gettysburg was the greatest, Antietam was the bloodiest, and tells us more men were killed on that one day than any other one day of the war.

“That September morning the sun looked down upon the flower of the best manhood this country had produced, young men from north and south in the bloom of health and strength. The choicest and best material were in both armies—volunteers in the highest sense, because up to this time enlistments were voluntary, and drafts, force or financial inducements to obtain men were comparatively unknown.

“Our comrades of other regiments who performed valorous deeds on this field will not

charge us with discourtesy or neglect of their faithful efforts if we turn to the consideration of the work performed and triumph achieved by the regiment whose monument we here dedicate, the Ninth New York, Hawkins' Zouaves of Hawkins' Brigade (in temporary command of Colonel Fairchild) Rodman's Division, 9th Army Corps.

"Before Fort Sumter had been fired upon the nucleus of this regiment, composed of gentlemen living in the city of New York, had formed an organization, and immediately upon the publication of Abraham Lincoln's first proclamation calling for 75,000 troops in defense of the country, Col. Rush C. Hawkins tendered to the Government a regiment that became in after years conspicuous and honorably known as 'Hawkins' Zouaves.'

"I will not recount the details of the organization of the regiment, the presentation of colors on the Fifth Avenue by Dr. Gardner Spring, of the Presbyterian Church, the departure for the seat of war, the days spent in camp at Newport News and Fortress Monroe, nor relate the story of the battles of Big Bethel, Hatteras, the bayonet charge of Roanoke Island, a similar one at Camden, North Carolina, nor the story of Plymouth, Winton, Fredericksburgh and Suffolk, and other engage-

ments through which we passed, but turn our attention directly to the scenes preceding the battle of Antietam, and the work performed on this field September 17th, 1862. To do this, let us go back a few days before that battle. On the 7th of September, Col. Rush C. Hawkins, to whom we all owe a debt of gratitude, the beloved commander of the regiment, transferred the command to the heroic Lieut.-Col. E. A. Kimball, and in obedience to imperative duty, regretfully took his temporary departure. The regiment encamped that night at Meridian Hill, remaining there until three o'clock on the morning of the 9th, when, after a march of twelve miles, it rested near Brookville. Starting again, it arrived near Laytonville at ten o'clock the same night. Next day it was again on the march, passing Damascus and Ridgeville, and camping south of the latter place; and, although it rained hard all night the tired men lay down on the ground and slept soundly. On the 12th it passed the town of New Market, meeting only the slight resistance offered by a few shots from the enemies' guns near the Monocacy Ridge. General Rodman's division ascended the Ridge and came near the city of Frederick, where they remained all night. The 18th was occupied in supporting Rushes' Lancers, who were

pressing the videttes and rear guard of the enemy. Reaching Jeffersonville, where a cordial welcome was accorded the regiment, by the inhabitants, it returned the same night to Frederick, which proved a night of uproar and excitement caused by a fire in the town. At three o'clock the next morning up again, like a hound after the prey, arrived at Middletown at ten o'clock the same morning, where, after eating the little that remained of the rations, pushed on in the direction of the battle of South Mountain, fording a small stream at the foot of South Mountain, and up the precipitous sides of the stony slope, reaching the battlefield of South Mountain about five o'clock, where the regiment was placed to support a battery on the left of the line. After dark the regiment was ordered on picket duty, guarding the extreme left of the army. An incessant firing was kept up between General Reno's command and the enemy. It was here our old friend, whose acquaintance the regiment first formed at Roanoke Island, met his death. An excellent soldier, a devoted patriot, a man of sterling character and noble qualities—the regiment realized we all lost a personal friend in the death of Maj.-Gen. Jesse L. Reno.

“The brunt of the battle of South Mountain



was fought by the 2nd and 9th Corps, and continued until nine o'clock, when the firing ceased and the quietness was unbroken. Awakening next morning the regiment found there was no breakfast, as the supply train had gone in the wrong direction. After foraging, some green corn was secured in the adjacent fields. Food or no food the boys were in hot pursuit of the enemy, and the hungry regiment pressed forward, crossing Little Antietam Creek near Keedysville, passing Locust Springs, coming to the foot of Red Hill, where, weary and supperless, all lay down to rest. Next morning the supply train had not yet arrived, and the regiment was shelled by the enemy just at a time when hard-tack was needed more than hard shells. During the day, however, provisions were obtained, and the regiment was directed by General Rodman to take position on the extreme left of the Army of the Potomac. A cornfield close to the enemy was that night the scene of the bivouac. Company C was ordered on picket, the balance of the regiment getting such rest as circumstances permitted before the terrible, eventful scenes of the morrow; for, as the sequel proved, this was the last camp ground, the last earthly comradeship, the last night many of these heroic souls who had marched, toiled, suffered and fought

with us, were to have, e're they yielded their life in defense of Liberty, Union and Truth.

“Let us briefly glance back at the night scene of September 16th, 1862: Near Antietam creek, amid dense darkness where, because of the immediate proximity of the enemy, absolute silence was a necessity, the quietness interrupted only by the bubbling Antietam Creek, that flowed on its way then as now, the other regiments of our brigade, the 89th and 103d New York, also lay quietly at rest. On the opposite banks the enemy were industriously engaged placing batteries in position. No glimmer of moonlight nor twinkling stars to cheer the eye of those who, lying in the mud of that cornfield, thought of home, mother, and loved ones e're they closed their eyes in sleep, while the sky was veiled by clouds as the Angel of Death was spreading her wings over the camp e're she should take one and another of that quiet host to herself on the morrow.

“Could the mothers of New York have visited this field that night, knowing what the morrow would bring, the heads of the soldiers would not have lain on the ground; they would have taken their boys upon their breasts and pillowed them upon mother's heart; and though we know our mothers cherished us better than their own heart's blood, they would

have told each to be faithful in the performance of duty; for our mothers of New York gave their boys to their country and her God, with a realizing sense of the desolateness of heart and loneliness of home that was to follow their great sacrifice in their pilgrimage through life.

“God bless the mothers of our sacred dead who gave their boys to die in defense of our country!

“We cannot bring their sons back to life, but we are here to affectionately honor their memory and perpetuate their record, while we cherish in loving remembrance the parents who laid their choicest treasures upon the altar of their country.

“With the first gray tint of morning our regiment was awakened by the shells from a six-gun battery on the opposite side of the creek. The shells were falling fast, and here Louis Fuco, of Company F, picked up a twelve-pound fuse shell, that fell under Colonel Kimball's horse, and threw it down the embankment where it exploded. A change of position was ordered further to the left, and later our own aggressive battery in charge of our boys of Company K did excellent service, and ultimately succeeded in silencing the early morning disturbers of the peace. Throughout the entire day Company K did efficient ser-

vice and magnificent work wherever they were placed with the battery of the regiment.

“On the extreme right of the Confederate Army, facing our extreme left, General Longstreet had concentrated several batteries of artillery, and here, near the cemetery and to the right and left of Sharpsburgh, artillery was placed, whose range extended down the surrounding slopes toward Antietam Creek.

“The official record of the War Department of Union and Confederate Armies (Series I, Vol. 19) says: ‘It is very evident the critical hour with the Confederate right wing was about 4 o’clock P.M., on the 17th,’ which was the time of the final charge.

“General S. D. Lee, Commander-in-Chief of Artillery of Longstreet’s Division, says (page 846 of above column): ‘He had centered his artillery at Sharpsburgh village, and the immediate vicinity’ and names the following batteries present at that point: ‘Miller’s, Parkes’, Moody’s, Jordan’s, Richardson’s, Norman’s, Rhett’s, Carter’s, Squire’s, McIntosh’s, and Eubank’s batteries.’ These are referred to by General Toombs also, who commanded infantry before Sharpsburgh, and others, as doing effective service for the Confederates between 3 and 4 P.M. on the 17th. According to the Confederate reports, the smallest number of

guns any of these batteries contained was four, most of them had six guns. Supporting this artillery were troops from Georgia, Virginia, North and South Carolina. It would appear as though General R. E. Lee, realizing the critical situation of this part of the battlefield, fixed his headquarters at the village of Sharpsburgh, where this particular locality would be under his immediate supervision. The battle raged during the morning all along the line, but before the enemy could be whipped and made to retreat across the Potomac, this position must be captured and the enemy driven from their guns.

“General Burnside directed General Rodman, Commander 3rd Division, 9th Army Corps, to drive the enemy from their position on the west side of Antietam Creek; and our brigade composed of the 89th, 103d, and 9th regiments, all troops of New York, were ordered to advance upon the enemy. Major Jardine, of our regiment, had been placed temporarily in command of the 89th New York, and with the 103d, did valiant service, but because of the rough and uneven nature of the ground, or other reasons, these regiments did not keep alignment with Hawkins' Zouaves in the final charge that drove the enemy from their guns, so that the last bloody charge at

the stone wall was made practically alone by the Ninth Regiment. Sometime after two P.M., the regiment forded Antietam Creek, a short distance below the Burnside Bridge, receiving the fire from the enemy on the opposite side.

“Sergeant Johnson of our regiment, whose two brothers were killed in this battle, says: ‘We were ordered to form line and advance. The hill that stood in our front was the one from which the rebels opened on us in the morning. As we advanced the enemy retreated to a hill beyond. We lay for about half an hour on this hill, all the while receiving the rebel fire.’

“Lieut. M. J. Graham, while gallantly leading his company, lost his leg in this battle. He writes: ‘The practice of the rebel artillerymen was wonderful in its accuracy. They dropped shot and shell into our lines repeatedly. They kept the air filled with missiles of every variety, from schrapnel to railroad iron. The schrapnel and cannister were very much in evidence. I saw one of our men in the hospital afterward—Jas. H. Brainard, of Company D, who had nine wounds in his right arm. I watched solid shot and round shot strike the ground with what sounded like an innocent thud, and bounding over battery and

park, fly through the tree tops, cutting them off so suddenly it seemed to me they lingered undecided which way to fall. I was lying on my back, watching the shells explode overhead, and speculating how long I could hold up my finger before it would be shot off (for the air seemed full of bullets) when the order was given to advance.' Concerning the charge Lieutenant Graham says:

"I could see the line of the regiment shortening as we advanced. We could hear the crash of missiles through the ranks, and, strange as it may seem, the sound brought like a flash to my mind a saying of Lannes' when describing the battle of Austerlitz: "I could hear the bones crash in my division like glass in a hail-storm."'

"This is the testimony and recollection of two of our faithful comrades of the scenes of that eventful day. •

"Let us return to our narrative.

"All day long death was reaping a terrible harvest amid these hills and dales, thirty-four years ago. The shells from the enemy's guns, on the early morning of the 17th of September, resulted in the loss of twelve men of the regiment, wounded, and before these guns ceased their immediate action upon the regiment, heavy cannonading and long deep rolls of

musketry could be heard all along the line to the right of where our regiment was stationed, showing that the battle was raging with fierceness and intensity.

“The key to the situation on the left immediately in our front was what was known as ‘The Burnside Bridge,’ which crossed the Antietam. Here the enemy had planted his guns and disposed his regiments to make a determined stand, and it was not until one o’clock in the afternoon that our old friends of the 51st New York, who had fought with us at Roanoke Island, assisted by the 51st Pennsylvania, gallantly charged and carried the bridge at the point of the bayonet. Shortly afterward our regiment, as already indicated, was ordered to ford the creek below the bridge and, forming in line on the bluff opposite, drive the enemy from their places of security behind the stone walls and onward toward Sharpsburgh. The crossing was disputed. As our regiment advanced into the water several men went down before reaching the opposite shore. Between three and four o’clock the enemy retired as the regiment advanced by the right flank along the bluff of the creek for about half a mile to the brow of a hill. At this point our regiment was within about eight hundred yards of the enemy’s main body of artillery and infantry.



Up to this time the loss was meager compared with what was about to take place. The steep ascent, rough nature of the ground, promptness in the execution of orders, caused the men to be fatigued and out of breath. On arriving at this point the regiment halted to recover breath before making the next charge.

“ Here was where the rebel batteries opened a most scathing fire of shot and shell, and although men were falling upon the right hand and left the regiment was as passive and calm as at an evening parade; each soldier seemed to say: ‘Come one, come all; these rocks shall fly from their base as soon as I.’

“ After a brief time the order came to advance, which was quickly obeyed, moving in line of battle dressing on the colors with as much coolness and accuracy as though upon drill ground. Proceeding about two hundred yards the command ‘Double quick, charge!’ was given. Flocton, of Company F, with a blast from his bugle that could be heard in Sharpsburgh, echoed the command over the hills, when with a loud huzzah and the cry of ‘Zoo! Zoo! Zoo!’ peculiar to our regiment, forward went Hawkins’ Zouaves into the fiercest fire that could be rained upon a devoted regiment. Thousands of the enemy’s troops, consisting of infantry and several batteries of artillery, were

firing upon the regiment with terrible effect, and looking back upon that scene it appears wonderfully miraculous that one soldier escaped to tell the tale. Here the gallant Cooper fell; one shell killed eight men; a round shot took off Conway's head; Bussam was cut in twain by a shell; the men fell on top of one another, while bullets, shell, grape-shot and cannister were poured into this devoted band like hail, producing a scene of carnage dreadful to behold. Not a man wavered or faltered; even the wounded as they fell cheered the regiment onward. One soldier with the whole of his jaw and the lower part of his face shot away, unable to speak, took his fez and waved it above his head, mutely signaling the words he was unable to utter to his comrades, 'Forward.'

"Sergeant Salisbury, with a bullet hole through his breast, from which the blood was spurting, about to fall, encouraged the members of his company with the words: 'Never mind me, boys, I've only got a little breast-pin—Forward!' The brave impetuous hero of Chapultepec, Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball and Acting-Adjutant Horner, leading the way, onward they went; Barnett, Harrison, Childs, Leahey, all were wounded; Graham, Herbert, Burdett, Pannis, Dusenbury, one after the

other were struck by the enemy's fire ; Searing, Forbes, Dews, Geayer, Watson, Whitney, Sites, Keating, Smith, Russer, Groser, Holland, were wounded or killed amid this withering fire. Curie, Van Cott, Farrel, Stephens, Lawrence, Judge, Adair, with many others, fell faithfully discharging their duty ; and although the line had been broken and the company diminished by the fire of the enemy, these heroic men, worthy sons of the best blood from the City of New York, our comrades, closed up the ranks, and rallied around these same colors, keeping the old flag that they swore to defend, bravely floating to the breeze as they charged down to the gates of death, up the mouth of hell.

“Dear old flag! Companion of many a hotly contested battle ; we bring you to-day to the scene of one of your greatest struggles and grandest triumphs. Your tattered rags and mangled staff speak in more eloquent words than human tongue can utter, for you tell us of the encouragement your presence afforded, when tired and thirsty we toiled on the path of duty.

“O! old starry flag, tattered and mangled, have you power to hear? Then listen to-day. The arm that fought for you, the hand that upheld you, the heart that beat for you, the one

that loved you, is dead, buried in the grave, and you come again to Antietam battlefield to manifest affectionate regard for the heroes who lie buried on this battlefield. They loved you, old flag, with a love exceeding that of woman! Weep on, old flag, weep on! The ear of these slumbering heroes will not hear your sob, their eyes do not see your sorrow, mark the tatters of your folds, nor the feebleness of old age that has come upon you, dear old flag! Their soul is undisturbed; the chaplet of victory is won; the battle is over; the warfare is ended; Jesus Christ, the World's Redeemer, has bent over their clayey tenement, and whispered in accents of peace, 'Sleep on now and take your rest.'

"Your faded colors tell us who survive of Bethel, of Hatteras, of Roanoke, Winton, South Mills, Fredericksburgh, Suffolk, and other battles through which you passed. You bring back the faces of those who marched by our side, whom you saw as they fell wounded, bruised, mangled; you heard their dying cry and your stars were the last object their gaze rested upon ere their souls took their flight. But, it may be, the spirits of our dead comrades who fell here in 1862 are with us again to-day at this reunion, and look with joy on these old flags they gave their life

to defend. Comrades from the spirit world, with all our soul we greet you! Comrades of our boyhood (now immortal), all hail! We welcome you, for we know none have more interest or right here than you!

“You remember, time after time, the one who was bearing the flag fell wounded or dead. Myers was the first to go, and then Hankinson, then Van Cott and Adair; then another and another; and hardly had John Fink, of Company F, grasped it, when he fell stricken down in his tracks. Recovering strength, he crawled from under four men who had fallen by the same fire. This old flag was dyed in blood that day. The color-guard died faithfully performing their duty. The white stripes turned red and the blood flowed from those who thought more of this starry emblem than of life. One bullet pierced the staff and then buried itself in the forearm of Patterson, but grasping the colors more firmly, he cried, ‘Forward!’ when another bullet pierced his left eye and he fell with his face to the foe. All honor to the color-guard and the men who sustained them upon the right and left in keeping the flag waving. There was no mistake concerning these men. Americans were on guard. That morning the Colonel had called Captain Libaire to him, and both knowing they were to

pass through a fearful ordeal, the Colonel said: 'I will commit this flag to your keeping,' and the magnificent, heroic Libaire replied, 'I will bring it back in safety, or you will never see my face in this world again.' And now the issue was upon Libaire, the enemy was directly in front, their guns and musketry were cutting swaths in the regiment; eight times had the colors fallen to the ground, the eight different men—one after the other—had picked it up, each carrying it but a few steps and then falling wounded or dead, and the flag falling on top of them. It seemed instant death to carry the old flag that day; but the thought of duty was greater than the thought of danger, and as the flag went down the last time, the gallant Libaire himself sprang forward in the midst of the reign of death and the horrors of hell, grasped the colors firmly in his hands, and with flashing eye and cheerful tone, cried at the top of his voice: 'Come on, boys! Come on!' and never surrendered his hold until he had planted this American flag upon the stone wall, the last defensive position the enemy's infantry held, while the remnant of our regiment pressed forward and drove the enemy's gunners from their cannon.\*

\*Since this address was delivered, Captain Libaire had received the Medal of Honor from the Government, in recognition of this act, thirty-five years after.

“Concerning this last charge our faithful soldier friend, Captain Curie, writes: ‘About four or five o’clock the order to advance was given. All the men then rose to their feet, and soon were on the march “double time” toward the village of Sharpsburgh. The enemy’s batteries, which, prior to that time had been using only shell, began to pour out grape and canister, making sore havoc on our ranks from the time we began to move. There was a lane between two fences, some of which were down, so that some of the men had to climb these; a stone wall was reached and passed three or four hundred yards before the regiment reached its final stand at the wall on the brow of the hill, immediately in front of and in full view of the village of Sharpsburgh, and on the present site of the monument.’

“At last the victory was ours; the regiment had been given a hard task to perform, but that duty was accomplished, confirming its history of Roanoke, when it made the first bayonet charge of the war, viz.: that it would conquer the enemy’s position or die in its tracks.

“Standing by the side of this monument, that dreadful scene that presented itself after the charge comes vividly to mind, from yonder Antietam Creek to the base of this monument the pathway is marked with the wounded, the

dying and the dead! We think of them as they left New York City, in 1861, bright, buoyant, youthful, hopeful, and we look now over the hills and the valleys and see the same boys—sons, whose mothers loved them as your mother loves you—mutilated, shattered, wounded, dead! I recall a few additional names of those that fell on this field: Turner, Rasiga, Hilderbrand, Bennett, Gunther, Shaffer, Alber, Watson, Beeker, Bessling, Rothers, Blazer, Hassan, McDermot, Smith, Dillman, Conway, Negus, Stites, Hopper, Burd, Fleming, the two Johnson brothers, Stephson, Christain, Collins, and Shaw. Some of these are buried on this field. These are but a few of the names of those who fell on the spot occupied by this monument or on the slopes toward the Antietam.

“This charge, although driving the enemy from their places, bathing the soil with blood and causing the regiment to loose over 65 per cent. of their number, does not tell the whole story, because it carried distress and agony into scores of homes from whence the members of this regiment had come; for we remember that there were fathers, mothers, wives, and sweethearts and little children who were left desolate in many New York homes, because of the events transpiring on this field in 1862.



“The Union Army had won a great victory, and the enemy hastily retreated south of the Potomac; but the price paid was too great for the triumphs won, when we consider what was clearly within our grasp. Had the charge led by this regiment been sustained by the troops in our rear, the mass of cannon and the right wing of the rebel army, and necessarily with it the center and left, would have been captured beyond question, for, although the enemy were reinforced by the energetic A. P. Hill, from Harper’s Ferry, our forces were sufficient for the situation, had they been thrown forward and concentrated by General Cox, at this particular point. It is only another instance that occurs so frequently in war, where a general has victory within his grasp and by neglect or lack of decision fails to reap the benefit of the same. At 4 P.M., on the afternoon of the 17th, the enemy in and around Sharpsburgh were panic stricken and were flying faster toward the Potomac river than any troops ran at the battle of Bull Run; their guns were deserted, and some of the Ninth New York placed their hands upon the guns the enemy had left in their mad flight; indeed, some of the members of our regiment, forgetful of discipline, were so carried away with certainty of victory that they individually pursued the flying enemy on down

through the streets of Sharpsburgh, and were finally recalled, not, however, until some of our number, like comrade Christian and John Byrd, fell, shot through the head, in the principal street of the village—victory was ours!

“General McClellan states in his report of the battle of Antietam: ‘The Union Army captured 13 guns and 39 colors, more than 15,000 stands of small arms, and more than 6,000 prisoners were the trophies which attest the success of our arms.’

“Had the charge on the left been sustained by the troops in our rear that day General Longstreet and General A. P. Hill would have been driven back overwhelmed, and the right wing of the rebel forces captured or destroyed.

“General Hill, in his report of this battle states: ‘My troops were not in a moment too soon; the enemy had already advanced and broken through Jones’ division, captured McIntosh’s battery, and were in full tide of success. With a yell of defiance, Archer charged them, retook McIntosh’s guns and drove them back.’

“The inactivity of our troops in different parts of the army seems inexplicable; with the enemy panic-stricken, deserting their guns, a few of our men fighting to the death, without strength to take from the field the guns they

captured, with thousands of well armed men standing unemployed; with the enemy, reinforced by troops from Harper's Ferry, exhausted by the forced march, coming to bolster the defeated army of Lee. It is a mystery to this day unsolved, why the whole of the rebel army was not captured at the battle of Antietam.

“There is but one way whereby the problem can be solved: It is that there is a Divine Providence ever ruling the affairs of men; that peace should not come to our land until the four millions of slaves held in bondage should be set free; that the slave-driver's whip and the slave-master's shackles should no longer pollute the air of America, but before peace could come to all the land, every human being, black or white, should be free to enjoy ‘Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.’ This is the only solution possible—why the army of General Lee was not captured at the battle of Antietam.

“We must remember that God rules in the armies of Heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth; and he beheld them, as we see now, that this country could not exist ‘one-half slave and the other half free.’ Up to the 17th of September, 1862, the war had been waged solely and absolutely for the preservation of the the Union. The question of emancipation of the slaves had been frequently urged upon the

President, and he was asked to issue a Proclamation of Emancipation as a war measure, to assist in weakening the enemy and strengthening those fighting for the preservation of the Union. None can read the life of Abraham Lincoln and not feel his sympathy and convictions were on the side of emancipation, not only as a war measure, but because it was right, and that as God has created all men free, Lincoln looked upon the perpetuation of slavery as a crime. Yet so complicated was the situation, he feared emancipation would seriously affect the continued loyalty of the border States and loyal men who were slave-holders.

“Such was the condition in the summer of 1862, when a visitor to the White House, who went there to discuss this subject with the President, found Mr. Lincoln pacing the floor of his room. Mr. Lincoln took him by the hand, and said: ‘On my knees, I have laid this matter before God. If He wants the slaves emancipated, I will do it. If, after the next great battle that shall be fought by the Army of the Potomac victory comes to us, I will know by that God desires not only the preservation of the Union, but the freedom of the slaves; it is now in God’s hands. I shall let the matter rest until after the next great battle.’

“You all know how great and bloody that battle was, fought upon these very grounds, and how rapidly the troops coming from the scene of the martyrdom of John Brown, to reinforce Lee’s army here were defeated and driven back, and after fourteen hours’ continuous battle the enemy disappeared and hastily crossed to the south side of the Potomac River. It was God speaking to Abraham Lincoln—‘The slave shall be free!’

“Like Gideon of old, the test was made, and the answer comes from this bloody field of Antietam. Lincoln is true to the compact, for as soon as positive news of the victory reached Washington, he at once prepared the Emancipation Proclamation, and shortly after issued the same, declaring, in the face of the world, that henceforth and forever slavery was abolished throughout the United States.

“We obtain a better understanding of the situation after the lapse of these years, for had Gen. R. E. Lee’s army been captured or completely annihilated on this field, it would have resulted in a compromise with the States in rebellion whereby peace would have been declared and slavery continued; but ‘God moves in a mysterious way, his wonders to perform,’ and the supineness of commanders, the inactivity of army corps, the blunder of

generals, and the escape of Lee, finds answer, as we behold Abraham Lincoln on his knees before his God, asking not only for wisdom to save the Union, but to open the way whereby four millions of slaves may be made free. The revelations of history confirm the statement, permanent peace could not come until the power of the United States to enforce the Emancipation Proclamation should be manifested to the world on subsequent battlefields, extending from Antietam to Appomatox.

“We were disappointed that the fruits of our great victory were not gathered here, but subsequent events proved that on Antietam battlefield we builded better than we knew, for the cardinal issues of the war that should give this country a permanent peace, were fixed and settled by the battle of Antietam. Here the question of slavery was forever settled, and our faithful army was to go hence to Gettysburg and Petersburg, and crown the labor and toil of the years of contest by the surrender of General Lee to General Grant at Appomatox.

“And now, my comrades, this memorial work commemorating the heroism of our fallen comrades of the Ninth Regiment, New York Volunteers, is completed. Our duty is done. Here this monument will stand and tell to future generations how brave men fought, and

how an American citizen, transformed into an American soldier, died, that the Republic might live, and the principles of liberty and union be perpetuated while the land of the free is the home of the brave.

“You, my surviving comrades of our old regiment, come here for the last time—here we bid a final good-bye to all that is mortal of those who found a grave on the field of glory. May their repose be peaceful as the flowers of springtime that bestrew their graves with their fragrance each recurring Decoration Day. We can never forget them, but will remember their fidelity, devotion and heroism; and may it be ours, when the Supreme Commander of the Universe shall call our names to answer with alacrity and joy, ‘Here!’ so when the final report is made it will show all present at that grand reunion on the shores of a blessed immortality.

“Until then, dear comrades of the Ninth New York Volunteers who found your sepulchre on this field, farewell—farewell! May the angels of God watch over your sacred dust.

“The night of final separation has come; the arms are stacked, the sword is sheathed; night is spreading her mantle, but the stars of hope are brightly shining; some in the camp are already sleeping, soon we will join them.

“Solemnly, mournfully,  
Dealing its dole,  
The curfew bell  
Is beginning to toll.  
Cover the embers  
And put out the light ;  
Toil comes with the morning  
And rest with the night.  
Dark grow the tents  
And quenched is the fire ;  
Sound fades in silence,  
All footsteps retire ;  
No voice in the camp,  
No challenge, no call.  
Listen, taps are sounding !”

When the applause which followed the closing of the oration had subsided the formality of completing the transfer of the monument and land to the representative of the Secretary of War was proceeded with, Colonel Hawkins introducing the comrade who was to perform that duty in the following words :

“We have with us to-day another of the youngsters who, like the one previously presented, had made up his mind to become a soldier, and accordingly enlisted in Company C. With gun, canteen, haversack and knapsack, he went through his term of service, having well earned the rank of corporal in his company.

“Not satisfied with having ended his honorable term of service in the Ninth, he became an officer in another regiment and saw the end of the Rebellion as a captain in the 178th New York Volunteers.

“I now take pleasure in presenting that



patriotic gentleman in the person of Captain Charles Curie, who will present the title-deed of our monument to General E. A. Carman, the representative of the United States, appointed to receive it.

Captain Curie, in presenting the deed, said :

“General E. A. Carman, United States Commissioner in charge of Antietam Battlefield—The Act of the Legislature of the State of New York appropriating a portion of the money for the erection of this monument made the conditions following :

‘Upon the securing of the dedication of the ground upon which said monument shall rest to the memorial purpose for which said monument shall be erected, with the rights of free access thereto by the public, subject nevertheless, to proper rules and regulations for the preservation of said grounds and the monument to be erected thereon, and the committee are directed to prescribe rules and regulations to govern the consideration and determination of the matters relating thereto.’

“This Committee, authorized by the unanimous vote of the Hawkins’ Zouaves Association, decided that, inasmuch as the Government of the United States had made provision for the laying out of the battlefield of Antietam, and had already done so much for the preservation of the history of that battle by laying out

roads and placing monuments and markers on the entire field, showing the positions of the contending forces, and also marking the places where the general officers fell, and providing for a care taker, that the monument would be best protected and preserved if placed in its custody and care, and the Committee having received intimation that the United States was willing to accept it for the purpose stated, I have been instructed and have now the pleasure to hand to you, and, through you to the United States of America, the deed for this monument and the land upon which it stands, with a right of way to it, for perpetual custody and care.

“May it stand on fair Maryland’s historic field a reminder to all the sister States that only within the family fold their true happiness lies, and no wrongs to be redressed, imaginary or real, can every justify bloodshed such as was witnessed on this battlefield, and that it is in unity and peace alone they are to abide forevermore.”

In accepting the monument on behalf of the United States, Gen. Ezra A. Carman, of the Antietam Battlefield Commission, who acted by authority and in behalf of the Secretary of War, said :

“Survivors of the Hawkins’ Zouaves:— By direction of the Secretary of War, I accept for

the United States this imposing monument, erected by the State of New York to perpetuate and accentuate the history of one of her most heroic regiments, and especially to commemorate its unflinching devotion to duty on this field.

“It gives me great pleasure to do this, for I recognize that of all the heroic organizations whose devotion to duty and country was tried on this unparalleled field of blood, none exceeded yours in bravery exhibited, sacrifices made, and results achieved.

“The 17th day of September, 1862, will long be remembered in the annals of American history. The bitter and bloody contest in the morning on the right, near Dunkard Church, brought no decisive result. Later in the day you crossed the Antietam by one of the lower fords, advanced over these hills a mile, under a most unerring and murderous fire of artillery, marking your path by scores of dead and wounded, reached this high ground, and in the face of a sheet of musketry dashed at and overthrew the right of Lee's army—Kemper's Virginia, and Drayton's South Carolina Brigades—the flower of the Southern Confederacy.

“Through no fault of yours the fruits of your bravery were not gathered, and the vantage ground so dearly paid for by the blood

of your comrades was relinquished, but you can never relinquish the claim of duty well done, nor will history question it.

“One of the most eloquent tributes paid to human valor was that of Sir Charles Napier, to an English officer, who fell while assaulting the enemy’s work at Badajos, Spain, in 1812. He says: ‘But Ridge fell, and no man died that night with more glory, yet many died, and there was much glory.’

“What is here most beautifully and touchingly said of one man can be said of your comrades—none died with more glory, where many fell, and there was much glory.

“In yonder beautiful cemetery, in ground hallowed by their silent forms, your comrades, who carried the crown of glory are taking their long rest. The Government whose liberties they did so much to preserve and integrity to perpetuate, watches their eternal sleep with tender care. As it cares for them, so will it care for this imposing shaft dedicated to their memory and to their and your valor.

“So long as granite shall last, history will not fail to write nor tradition to repeat the story of the Hawkins’ Zouaves on the field of the Antietam.”

Colonel Hawkins then said:

“Among the brave and faithful of the regi-

ment no one was ever more respected than Sergeant Samuel L. Malcolm, who honestly earned his stripes in Company C. I now call upon him to give us, in his own impassioned way, the well known poem entitled ‘Antietam!’”

Sergeant Malcolm recites the following extract from the poem :

“ To rest as those who bivouac still  
 At Marathon and Bunker Hill.  
 No more the pulse that beat so true  
 Will quicken at the loved tattoo;  
 Still hands unseen will hither bring  
 The earliest flowers of the spring;  
 For every clod we tread to-day  
 Is moulded from some hero's clay.  
 And looking downward from the skies,  
 Perchance the melancholy eyes  
 Of Lincoln wear a tender glow  
 As on this scene he gazes now.  
 O death! where is thy sting? O grave!  
 Where is thy victory o'er the brave?  
 Not with dim sight and tottering frame  
 They sought the dust from whence they came.  
 With eye whose flash seemed of the storm,  
 And war embodied in each form,  
 They marched at glory's clarion call  
 To graves as to a banquet hall.  
 Through such heroic souls as those  
 The Lord of Hosts his God-head shows;  
 O'er them no mournful requiem floats,  
 But bugles peal their loudest notes;  
 As to the heaven of fame they march  
 Beneath the flag—its rainbow arch;  
 With an eternal furlough blest,  
 Sweet, sweet shall be the patriot's rest,  
 As worn with toil whose fruits sublime  
 Are hudding on the bough of time.  
 And while above these sainted brave  
 One stripe of that old flag will wave,  
 This consecrated spot will be  
 A sacred Mecca of the free.”

The reading of the poem closed the dedicating ceremonies as arranged by the committee.

Just as the comrades and their friends were beginning to disperse Colonel Hawkins again claimed their attention for, as he said, a few moments, while General Carman, who was already leaving the field, was intercepted and brought back to the foot of the monument by Major Horner with the remark: "One moment, General. We have a little private matter we wish to settle with you."

General Carman submitted with a good grace, but was very much astonished at the procedure. Colonel Hawkins then addressed the assemblage as follows:

"The bringing to a successful conclusion the labor of erecting this monument was not accomplished without the usual accompanying vexatious incidents. And your committee had not proceeded very far with their undertaking before they discovered that outside assistance would have to be called to their aid.

"What was needed most was a man on the spot—some one intelligent and efficient to assist in locating the site, which was the most important point we had to consider, and, besides, our dealings with the people here—the natives—were so varied, covered

such a multitude of details, that they called for most careful attention. The laying of a sufficiently solid foundation had to be looked after, as well as the moving and setting of the ponderous parts of the superstructure.

“The man of all others for our purpose happened to be just where he was most needed, anxious and willing to serve. And without his kindly and interested assistance we might not have been here to-day to witness the completion of our work.

“We found this efficient assistant in the person of Gen. E. A. Carman, the United States Antietam Battlefield Commissioner, employed by the Government to make a new battle-day map and to mark the most notable points of interest upon this historic field.

“Acknowledging the value of his services, appreciating our obligations to him, and desiring, in an insufficient way, to express our sentiments of gratitude, your committee procured a memento which we are about to present to him as a token of our cordial good will and esteem, and I now ask him to step forward, so as to be seen by all, and to accept from our hands this loving-cup, which carries with it our good wishes for his health and happiness as well as all the gratitude we have to give.”

General Carman, although very much surprised, and, as was natural under the circumstances, somewhat embarrassed, accepted the cup in a few well-chosen words, assuring the committee of his appreciation of the gift, which, although given for acts which he considered labors of love, and which he was only too happy to have been able to perform, still, that he would always prize the gift in remembrance of a pleasant duty and as a memento of the brief but cordial association with the committee, and in pleasant remembrance of his meeting with the survivors of a gallant regiment that had done so much to make Antietam's field historic.

The company, separating into groups, enjoyed an interesting drive over the battle-field, visiting the National Cemetery, Burnside's Bridge, and many other points of interest, including the farmhouses where several of those present, who were wounded in the battle, had been cared for; and after spending several hours in this manner were reassembled at the train and proceeded to Hagerstown for dinner. The return journey was resumed in the evening, and after a leisurely and enjoyable trip, all arrived safely at their destination without a single unpleasant incident to mar the success of either the journey or the ceremonies.



## CHAPTER XVII.

AFTER MUSTER-OUT — DESIRE OF THE MEN OF THE REGIMENT TO RETAIN THE FLAGS — MANNER IN WHICH THEY WERE CARED FOR — REASONS WHY THEY SHOULD BE TRANSFERRED TO THE STATE — CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GOVERNOR — NAMES OF SURVIVORS WHO WERE PRESENT AT THE CEREMONY — RECEPTION OF THE DELEGATION BY GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT — LIEUTENANT GRAHAM'S REMARKS — GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT'S REPLY — MAJOR DEBEVOISE'S SKETCH OF SERVICE — TAPS — THE END.

AFTER the regiment had been mustered out of service all the government property of which it, as an organization, was possessed, or for which any of the individual members were responsible, was either turned over to the custody of the various government officers, whose duty it was to take charge of it, or was properly accounted for to such officers, except the regimental colors. These, in response to the almost unanimous wish and desire of both officers and men, were retained as the property of the regiment and placed in the care of Colonel Hawkins.

The ex-members of the regiment, both collectively and individually, felt that they had full

proprietary rights in them, and these rights they wished to exercise. At that time, and for a number of years subsequent thereto, the State had not made any proper provision for the care and safety of such flags as had been or were being delivered to its representatives by the returning regiments. An old fire engine-house in Albany was at that time considered by the State officers good enough to serve as a final depository for these relics, which, during the years when serving as regimental standards, had been followed by the men of the various organizations through march and battle, storm and sunshine, summer's heat and winter's cold; which were to them the visible embodiment of their country, and of the cause in which they were engaged, and which were considered by them as almost too sacred to permit the rains of heaven to fall upon.

When the survivors of the regiment formed the Hawkins' Zouaves Association, it was formally decided by that body that their flags which had waved over them in the hour of victory, and under the folds of which so many of their comrades had given up their lives, would, under the then existing conditions, be safer in their own custody than in that of the State.

A place was provided for their safe-keeping from which they were never removed except

when taken out on occasions of extraordinary importance and interest to the organization of survivors as a whole, as for instance, to accompany the body of a deceased comrade of the regiment to its last resting place, where they were unfurled while "taps" were sounded over the grave. They were sacredly guarded and protected, as well as it was possible to do so, against deterioration and decay, but a time came, when owing either to the chemical action of the dye with which the silk was colored or to the destroying effects of time alone, the fiber of which they were composed became so weakened and frail that they were reduced to a condition when they could no longer be handled without injuring them; when they could not be unfurled, no matter how carefully that operation was performed, without great danger of their falling to pieces.

In addition to this, the sad realization had been gradually forced into the minds of most of the survivors that year by year their number was so rapidly diminishing that in a comparatively short time none of them would be left to care for them. Time, the great destroyer as well as healer, had been busy in their ranks in the years since the muster-out. The Grim Reaper had made many calls during the thirty-six years which had passed

since then, and who can deny him when these visits are made? These considerations forced the comrades at last to take action, and inasmuch as a suitable and worthy place had finally been prepared at the Capitol for all the State flags, it was decided to deposit them there.

By direction of the Executive Committee of the Association the Governor of the State was communicated with as follows:

HEADQUARTERS HAWKINS' ZOUAVES ASSOCIATION,  
No. 74 William Street, New York, April 17, 1899.

HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT,  
Governor State of New York.

DEAR SIR:—The Battle Flags of the Ninth New York Volunteers (Hawkins' Zouaves) will be deposited in the Capitol at Albany on Thursday, the 20th inst. It has always been a matter of pride to the relatives and friends of the regiment, as well as to its surviving members, that if any comrade should be taken away the old colors would accompany his remains to his last resting place. But time and former service have made sad havoc with the material of which they are made, and they can now no longer be unfurled with safety. We are, therefore, about to deposit them in the place reserved for their perpetual care and protection.

We deem it a special privilege to perform this patriotic duty during the term of your administration. You have shown your devotion to your country and its flag during the recent war with Spain, and we are sure you will be better able to appreciate our feelings in parting with our dear old colors. Should your public duties permit, it would afford the old veterans of the Ninth the greatest pleasure to have you present on this occasion with such members of your official staff as could be present to witness the ceremony.

With the kindest regards and best wishes from all the comrades,

I am, most respectfully yours,

JAMES H. FOLAN, Secretary.

OFFICIAL, JAMES R. WHITING, President.

The Governor, with soldierly promptness, sent the following reply:

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,

ALBANY, April 19, 1899.

MR. JAMES H. FOLAN, Secretary.

No. 74 William Street, New York.

MY DEAR SIR:— I thank you most heartily for yours of the 17th inst. I deeply appreciate the gift. Of course I shall be present with all my staff that I can gather to take part in the ceremonies.

Yours sincerely,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The day chosen for the ceremony, the 20th of April, 1899, was the one following the anniversary day of the regiment and on which the annual reunions are held. This was to enable the out-of-town comrades, who were obliged to make some sacrifice of time to attend the reunion, to participate in the ceremonies of the flags before returning to their homes, thereby avoiding an additional journey for that purpose.

The following named twenty-six members of the regiment left New York on the 8:30: A.M. train for Albany on that day, to participate in the last parade of their old colors

Matthew J. Graham, V. M. C. Silva, Charles Curie, J. C. Julius Langbein, James B. Horner, George W. Debevoise, James H. Folan, Daniel T. Van Duser, William H. Stevens, John T. Miller, William H. Rogers, George W. Rogers, Louis Layman, Thomas Farley, Frank Heckler, Thomas Flockton, John W. Jacobus, Samuel Tait, Thomas Stapleton, Frank Burke, Richard H. Jackson, George

Loughlin, Peter J. L. Searing, Robert Bradley, George Teller and John Hassall.

Upon arriving at the Capitol the detachment was met by an official messenger, who conducted them to the Executive Chamber where they were received by the Governor with Adjutant-General Andrews and others of his staff. Owing to the unavoidable absence of the President of the Association, Captain James R. Whiting, the duty of formally turning over the flags to the State, devolved upon Lieut. Matthew J. Graham, the Vice-President. By his directions Comrade Flockton, who had been chief-bugler of the Ninth, sounded "the assembly" on the same old bugle to the sound of which the survivors present had so many times responded during their term of service. At the "call" the Governor and staff placed themselves in front of the executive desk, the delegation of survivors forming a semi-circle, facing them with the flags in the center. Lieutenant Graham made a brief address. He stated the purpose which brought them there and expressed the regrets which he and his comrades, both present and absent, felt that the time had at last arrived when they were to be finally and forever separated from their old colors; but that regret, he said, was tempered and made less acute by

the knowledge, which was both gratifying and satisfactory, that they were being turned over to the custody of the State at a time when the Chief Executive was himself a soldier-comrade who had also "bared his brow full in Death's face," while upholding his country's flag and carrying it forward to victory; who could fully appreciate the feelings of soldiers who were, it might be said, attending the funeral of their flags; that he and his comrades of the old regiment, while they resigned the custody of these relics reluctantly, still had the satisfying reflection that as they hung in their places in the chamber to which they were to be consigned, they would serve as an object lesson to the youth of the State who might gaze upon them, from which they might gather inspirations of patriotism and love of country which would—should the time ever come when their services were needed—cause them to emulate the deeds of the men who followed these flags on the battlefields of the Nation.

The Governor in reply said he was more gratified than he could express to be permitted to receive these colors and to offer homage to the men who had upheld them so valiantly through the bloody period of the War of the Rebellion; that while he had been a soldier it was in a "little war;" that he fully realized the

difference between the so-called war in which the country had just been engaged and the tremendous struggle in which the men before him had participated; that the greatest regret of his life had always been that he had not arrived at an age when he could have taken part in that struggle; and that the height of his ambition would have been reached and his cup of satisfaction filled if fate had permitted him to earn the right to wear a Grand Army button and to call the other wearers thereof comrades.

All this was said in his own intensely earnest manner, and in a way that was very gratifying to the men.

Lieutenant Graham then introduced Major Debevoise, who in a feeling and impressive manner sketched the history of the regiment, recounting some of the scenes through which it and the old flags had passed, after which Flockton was called upon and sounded "taps," at which there were many suspiciously moist eyes, and the old colors were borne away.

Governor Roosevelt then expressed a wish to be presented to each of the survivors present personally. This duty devolved upon Major Horner, who introduced each comrade, who received a cordial handshake and a few pleasant words from the Governor. This ended the



ceremony, and after a short time spent in social converse with the Governor and the gentlemen of his staff, the delegation departed to return to New York.

Thus ended the last official act of the regimental organization, as the recounting of the details thereof ends this history of the Ninth New York Volunteers.

THE END.





MUSTER-OUT ROLL.



MUSTER-OUT ROLL of COLONEL RUSH C. HAWKINS' 9TH REGIMENT, NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS (Infantry) called into service by the President on the 4th day of May 1861 for two years. Mustered out at New York, N. Y., by reason of expiration of term, on the 20th day of May, 1863.

FIELD AND STAFF.

MUSTERED OUT WITH REGIMENT.

COLONEL.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Hawkins, Rush C.	29	May 4, '61	Colonel	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.

MAJOR.

Jardine, Edward	31	May 4, '61	Captain	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C. Promoted major Feb. 14, 1862.
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ADJUTANT.

Bartholomew, Thomas L.	21	May 4, '61	2d Lieut. Co. B.	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.; promoted 1st lieutenant, April 20, 1862, adjutant Sept. 25, 1862.
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QUARTERMASTER.

Parisen, Otto W.	35	Oct. 4, '62	Q'rmaster	
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SURGEON.

Humphreys, George H.	26	May 4, '61	Surgeon	
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ASSISTANT SURGEON.

Harding, William L.	24	Aug. 20, '62	Asst. Surgeon	
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## FIELD AND STAFF.—Continued.

## DISCHARGED.

## LIEUT. COLONEL.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Betts, George F.	34	May 4, '61	Lt. Col.	Resigned, Feb. 14, 1862.

## ADJUTANT.

Evans, James W.	..	May 4, '61	Adjutant	Resigned, Feb. 23, 1862.
Barnett, George A. C.	21	" "	1st Lieut. Co. B	Appointed, adjutant June 18, 1862; resigned, Sept. 24, 1862.

## QUARTERMASTER.

Elliott, Henry W.	27	May 4, '61	Q'rmaster	Resigned to enter regular army, Aug. 10, 1862.
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## CHAPLAIN.

Conway, Thomas W.	..	May 4, '61	Chaplain	Resigned Sept. 4, 1862.
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## ASSISTANT SURGEONS.

White, Jabez P. P.	..	May 16, '61	Asst Surgeon	Promoted surgeon 10th New York Infantry May 13, 1862.
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## DIED.

## LIEUT. COLONEL.

Kimball, Edgar A.	38	May 4, '61	Major	Promoted lieutenant-colonel, Feb. 14, 1862; killed at Suffolk, Va., April 12, 1863.
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## ADJUTANT.

Gadsden, Charles A.	30	Mch, 22, '62	Adjutant	Killed in action at Camden, N. C.
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## NO RECORD.

## ASSISTANT SURGEON.

Buck, Ephraim W.	36	June 10, '64	Asst Surgeon	Colonel Hawkins declined to assign him to duty; no further record.
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## NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

MUSTERED OUT WITH REGIMENT.

## SERGEANT-MAJOR.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Dusenberry, Augustus	24	May 12, '61	Private Co. C	Promoted corporal June 1, 1861; sergeant- Sept. 1, 1861; sergeant-major, May 1, 1862; taken prisoner at Antietam; paroled; reported to Camp Parde, Md.; exchanged; returned to regiment Nov. 1862.

## QUARTERMASTER-SERGEANT.

Pannes, John B.	23	May 4, '61	Private Co. A.	Promoted corporal, date not stated; ser- geant, Oct. 14, 1861; quarter-master-ser- geant, March 20, 1862; wounded in action at Antietam.
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## COMMISSARY-SERGEANT.

Knowlson, Charles F.	24	May 4, '61	Private Co. A.	Promoted sergeant, Aug. 19, 1861; commis- sary-sergeant, Jan. 1, 1862.
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## HOSPITAL STEWARD.

Grobecker, William	..	June 1, '61	Private Co. A.	Promoted hospital steward, Nov. 4, 1861.
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## REGIMENTAL BAND.

## DRUM MAJOR.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED,		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Smith, Charles T.	..	May 4, '61	Drum Maj.	Discharged, May 26, 1861, as incompetent.

## BAND LEADERS.

Strachan, James C.	27	Aug 30, '61	Band Master	Mustered out at Washington, D. C., May 21 1862.
Wallace William V.	..	June 15, '62	"	Discharged by Act of Congress, 1862.

## MUSICIANS.

Baques, Cornelius	..	Aug. 1, '62	Musician	Discharged, Dec. 17, 1862 at Falmouth, Va.
Bernhardt, Carl	46	Sept. 3, '61	"	Discharged, Oct. 11, 1862.
Conway, Martin	25	Aug. 30, '61	"	Taken prisoner at Camden, N. C.; mustered out as paroled prisoner, May 1, 1862, at Washington, D. C.
Ellison, William J.	22	" 30, '61	"	Discharged, Oct. 11, 1862, at Pleasant Valley, Md.
Flocton, John M.	35	" 1, '62	"	Discharged, Nov. 1, 1862, at Wheatland, Va.
Gier, Friedrich	28	" 30, '61	"	Discharged, Oct. 13, 1862, at Pleasant Valley, Md.
Haines, Thomas	19	Sept. 15, '62	"	Discharged, Dec. 17, 1862, at Falmouth, Va.
Hofmann, Ludwig A.	26	Mch. 18, '62	"	Enlisted in 103d New York Infantry; transferred to 9th New York, Aug. 11, 1862; discharged Dec 17, 1862, at Falmouth, Va.
Holland, George	30	Aug. 30, '61	"	Discharged, Aug. 16, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.
Hughes, William H.	24	May 4, '61	Private	Transferred to band, Sept. 24, 1861; discharged at Falmouth, Sta., Va., Aug. 22, 1862.
Keefe, William	31	Aug. 30, '61	Musician	Discharged, Feb. 23, 1862, at Roanoke Island.
Lent, Harlan L.	26	" 30, '61	"	Discharged, Aug. 16, 1862, at Falmouth, Va.
Lent, Henry D.	42	" 30, '61	"	Discharged, Feb. 28, 1862.
Marvell, Henry	30	" 1, '62	"	Discharged, Feb. 17, 1862, at Falmouth, Va.
Mentz, Charles	29	Mch. 12, '62	"	Enlisted in the 103d N. Y. V.; transferred to this regiment; discharged, Nov. 17, 1862, at Warrenton Sta., Va.
Middleton, George	21	Aug. 30, '61	"	Discharged, Oct. 13, 1862.
Miles, John T.	25	May 4, '61	Private	Transferred to band, Oct. 1, 1861; discharged, Aug. 16, 1862, at Falmouth, Va.
Miller, Jacob		Aug. 1, '61	Co. B. Musician	Discharged, no date given.
Moss, John R.	42	" 30, '61	"	Captured at Camden, N. C.; mustered out as paroled prisoner, at Washington, D. C., May 21, 1862.
Rodgers, Samuel D.	34	" 30, '61	"	Discharged, Oct. 13, 1862, at Pleasant Valley, Md.
Shaw, Orin W.	27	Oct. 3, '62	"	Discharged, Nov. 17, 1862, at Warrenton Sta., Va.
Seaton, Daniel	21	Aug. 30, '61	"	Discharged, Oct. 11, 1862.
Simpkins,	26	Sept. 3, '61	"	Discharged, Oct. 11, 1862, at Pleasant Valley, Md.
Steele, Henry	35	Aug. 30, '61	"	Discharged, Aug. 25, 1862, at Falmouth, Va.



## MUSICIANS.—Continued.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
<b>Tonge, Daniel</b>	19	Oct. 3, '62	Musician	Discharged, Dec. 17, 1862, at Falmouth, Va.
<b>Uphous, Peter</b>	42	Aug. 1, '62	"	Discharged, Dec. 17, 1862, at Falmouth, Va.
<b>Vives, John</b>	38	" 20, '62	"	Discharged, Dec. 17, 1862, at Falmouth, Va.
<b>Wilbur, Charles</b>	19	Sept. 3, '61	"	Discharged, Aug. 23, 1862, at Falmouth, Va.
<b>Wittchell,</b>	38	Nov. 21, '61	"	Transferred from 103d N. Y. V., Aug. 11, 1862;
<b>Christopher</b>				discharged, Dec. 17, 1862, at Falmouth, Va.
<b>Worley, Henry</b>	21	Sept. 15, '62	"	Discharged, Nov. 1, 1862, at Wheatland, Va.

MUSTER-OUT ROLL of CAPT. ANDREW S. GRAHAM'S COMPANY A,  
9TH REGIMENT, NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS.

Mustered out with the company on the 20th day of May, 1863.

CAPTAIN.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Graham, Andrew S.	26	May 4, '61	Captain	Wounded in action, at Camden, N. C.

1st LIEUTENANT.

Horner, James B.	21	May 4, '61	1st Sergeant Co. D.	Promoted 2nd lieutenant Company B, April 20, 1862; transferred to Company D, Nov. 22, 1862; promoted 1st lieutenant, Jan. 30, 1863; transferred to this company, March 17, 1863.
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2d LIEUTENANT.

Jackson, Richard H.	19	May 4, '61	1st Sergeant Co. I.	Promoted 2nd lieutenant Company D, Oct. 29, 1862; transferred to Company H, Nov. 23, 1862; and to this company, March 26, 1863.
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1st SERGEANT.

Forbes, Oliver P.	25	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted sergeant, date not stated; 1st sergeant, May 25, 1862; wounded in action at Antietam; absent in hospital; (died of wound, May 31, 1863.)
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SERGEANTS.

Allen, James W.	..	May 14, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Jan. 1, 1862; sergeant, Sept. 30, 1862.
Gould, John D.	25	" 4,	"	Promoted corporal, Aug. 19, 1861; sergeant, Oct. 14, 1861.
Hardley, Frank	22	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Oct. 14, 1861; sergeant, May 25, 1862.
Stewart, Joseph I.	23	" "	"	Promoted sergeant, April 11, 1863.

CORPORALS.

Bentley, Thomas	21	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, May 1, 1862.
Miller, Jacob	27	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Aug. 19, 1861.
Dreyfuss, Gustav	24	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Sept. 30, 1862.
Stevens, John J.	20	" "	"	Wounded in action, at Antietam; promoted corporal, Sept. 30, 1862.

MUSICIANS.

Horn, Joseph	20	May 4, '61	Bugler	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Holwell, James A.	23	" "	Drummer	

## COMPANY A.—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## PRIVATEES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Abbott, Theodore	19	May 4, '61	Private	
Betts, Theodore	19	" "	"	
Brill, Jacob C.	19	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Brill, Augustus J.	22	" "	"	Captured at Fredericksburg, Va.; paroled; reported at Camp Parole, Md., May 5 1863.
Dolan, James	19	" "	"	
Drew, Peter L.	19	" "	"	Honorable mention by Spec. Ord., Reg. Hd. Qrs.
Eldredge, George W.	23	" "	"	
Hyde, Robert R.	22	" "	"	
Jacobus, John W.	18	Aug. 12, '61	"	
Kelly, James	20	May 4, '61	"	
Kress, Severin,	20	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C., and at Antietam, Md.
Le Roy, Moses,	18	" "	"	
Lyon, Charles	21	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
McConnell, James	24	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Mergenthaler, Frank C.	19	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Morse, Charles W.	..	" "	"	
Muskulus, John	20	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Newcomb, George E.	19	" "	"	
Parker, George	28	" "	"	
Roberts, Ephraim B.	23	" "	"	
Schweizer, Herman C.	18	" "	"	
Sherman, Birdsey L.	18	" "	"	
Smith William M.	18	Jan. 7, '62	Drummer	
Snow, Frederick S.	18	May 4, '61	Private	
Snow, George H.	18	" "	"	Wounded in action at Roanoke Island.
Stage, Joseph	22	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Stevens, William H.	19	" "	"	
Thompson, Andrew	24	" "	"	
Thompson, John	23	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Vanderburgh, Richard	28	" "	"	
Volk, William H.	21	" "	"	

## DISCHARGED.

## LIEUTENANT.

Debevoise, George W.	21	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Promoted 1st sergeant, June 25, 1861; 2nd lieutenant, Nov 28, 1861; wounded in action at Roanoke Island, N. C.; promoted 1st lieutenant, not mustered; discharged Aug 23, 1872, by resignation.
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## DISCHARGED.—COMPANY A.—Continued.

## SERGEANTS.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Nicholls, James	19	May 4, '61	1st Sergeant	Reduced to the ranks; promoted sergeant, date not stated; discharged for disability, Aug. 19, 1861.
Feldman, Christian	20	" "	Sergeant	Discharged for disability, Aug. 19, 1861.
Salisbury, Alblen V.	25	Aug. 22, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, March, 1862; sergeant, date not stated; wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, April, 11, 1863.

## CORPORAL.

Van Duzer, Daniel T.	23	Aug. 23, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, date not stated; wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, April 7, 1863.
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## PRIVATEES.

Areson, Stephen M.	24	Aug. 30, '62	Private Co. D.	Transferred to this company, Oct. 25, 1862; discharged for disability, Dec. 31, 1862.
Bommer, Peter	29	May 4, '61	Private	Discharged for disability, Aug. 19, 1861.
Braitmayer, Otto	19	" "	"	Discharged for disability, Aug. 20, 1861.
Brazier, William S.	22	" "	"	Discharged for disability, Aug. 20, 1861.
Clarke Samuel J.	30	Aug. 5, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Jan. 10, 1863.
Cooper, William S.	19	May 4, '61	"	Discharged for disability, Aug. 20, 1861.
Cutter, John	18	Aug. 7, '61	"	Discharged for disability, at Washington, D. C., Jan. 23, 1863.
Dickenson, Chas. W.	21	May 4, '61	"	Discharged for disability, Aug. 20, 1861.
Dickman, Thomas	19	Aug. 14, '62	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, April 21, 1863.
Donovan, Jeremiah	23	May 4, '61	"	Wounded in action at Roanoke Island, N. C.; discharged for disability, April 22, 1862.
Drake, William H.	19	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Dec. 5, 1862.
Edwards, Joseph	20	" "	"	Discharged for disability, Aug. 19, 1861.
Eldridge, John H.	25	" "	"	Discharged for disability, Aug. 20, 1861.
Freeman, James C.	25	Aug. 22, '61	"	Wounded at Antietam; foot amputated; discharged for disability, Dec. 30, 1862.
Haiselden, George		May 27, '61	"	Transferred to this company, Aug. 20, 1861, discharged for disability, May 2, 1863.
Hopkins, Edward	19	May 4, '61	Private Co. I.	Discharged for disability, at Riker's Island, May 18, 1861.
Hume, Huthwalte	18	" "	Musician	Discharged for disability, Aug. 20, 1861.
Jones, Charles E.	21	July 21, '61	Private	Discharged for disability, at Roanoke Island, May 25, 1862.
Lesch, Daniel W.	19	July 30, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Feb. 18, 1863.
Madden, James	18	Aug. 6, '61	"	Discharged for disability, Dec. 12, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.
May, Marcus	21	May 4, '61	"	Wounded at Antietam; leg amputated; discharged for disability, Jan. 16, 1863.
McManus, John	24	Aug. 13, '62	"	Wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability, March, 27, 1863.
Redfield, James H.	23	May 4, '61	"	Discharged for disability, Aug. 19, 1861.
Relyea, Alexander L.	18	Aug. 20, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Oct. 23, 1862.
Rivers, Richard	24	" 16, '61	"	Discharged for disability, March 21, 1863.
Roberts, George W.	19	May 4, '61	"	Discharged April 23, 1863; at Providence, R. I.

## DISCHARGED.—COMPANY A.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Roff, George W.	26	Aug. 23, '61	"	Discharged, date not stated.
Schumacher, Gustav	27	May 4, '61	"	Discharged for disability, Nov. 30, 1862.
Sickles, Benjamin T.	18	" "	"	Discharged for disability, June 6, 1861.
Spreenwenburg, Jacob	19	" "	"	Discharged for disability, Aug. 20, 1861.
Stage, David L.	24	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Dec. 15, 1862.
Williams, John N.	21	May 26, '61	"	Discharged for disability, Jan. 10, 1863.

## TRANSFERRED

To 3D REGIMENT, N. Y. Volunteer Infantry, May 6, 1863.

## CORPORALS.

Bullinger, Charles E.	20	Aug. 24, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, April 8, 1863.
Fitzgerald, James L.	22	" 20, '61	"	Promoted corporal, Sept. 30, 1862.
Rotche, Robert A.	19	" 21, '61	"	Promoted corporal, April 11, 1863.

## PRIVATES.

Acker, Burlin M.	20	Aug. 21, '61	Private	Transferred to this company, Oct. 25, 1862.
Adrian, Robert J.	27	" 15, '62	"	
Appleby, William	19	" 13, '62	"	
Barker, James E.	22	Oct. 6, '62	Private Co. D.	
Bates, William H.	22	Aug. 29, '61	Private	
Boness, John N.	24	Sept. 3, '61	"	
Boness, William	27	" "	"	
Davis, William	23	Oct. 1, '61	"	
Dixon, George	30	Aug. 10, '61	"	
Dobbs, Andrew B.	19	" 19, '61	"	
Doughty, Zebulon,	24	" 27, '62	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Fitzgerald,	25	" 12, '61	"	
Foster, George A.	24	" 26, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Galvin, John	27	" 20, '62	"	
Gilley, John	25	" 20, '61	"	Transferred to this company, Oct 25, 1862.
Harvey, John S.	22	Oct. 6, '62	Private Co. D.	
Henry, Luther	19	Aug. 5, '61	Private	Transferred to Morris' Battery, May 3, '63.
Heron, John	25	" 17, '61	"	
Jones, Humphrey D.	20	" 27, '62	"	

## TRANSFERRED.—COMPANY A.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Jordan, Stephen L.	18	Aug. 27, '62	Private	
Kalbar, James	28	" 13, '62	"	
Mott, John W.	25	" 5, '61	"	
Mullen, Henry	24	Sept. 3, '61	"	
O'Brien, John	24	Aug. 23, '61	Private	Transferred to this company, Oct. 26, 1862; transferred to Morris' Battery, May 3, 1863.
Ramsey, George	22	Sept. 1, '62	Private	
Seguine, Joseph G.	21	Aug. 26, '62	"	
Skidmore, Eugene H.	19	July 27, '61	"	
Sniffen,	19	" 30, '61	"	
Mortimore M. Stinson, William	29	Aug. 20, '62	Private	Wounded in action at Antietam; transferred to Morris' Battery, May 3, 1863; Wounded in action at Antietam.
Vandervoort,	30	" 15, '61	"	
Richard Vervalen,	19	" 13, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Abraham D. Vincilette, Edward	29	" 23, '61	"	

## DIED.

## SERGEANT.

Watson, James H.	23	Sept. 2, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Oct. 14, 1861; sergeant, Jan. 9, 1862; killed in action at Antietam.
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## CORPORALS.

Cameron, Robert H.	23	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Oct. 14, 1861; died of disease, Nov. 30, 1861.
Van Cott, David	25	" 4, '61	"	Promoted corporal, Aug. 19, 1861; died of wound received in action at Antietam, Sept. 29, 1862

## PRIVATES.

Banta, William H.	19	May 4, '61	Private	Transferred to this company, June 1, 1861; killed in action at Camden, N. C.
Bennett, Charles	21	Aug. 23, '62	Private	
Eavers, James	31	" 13, '61	"	Died at Camp Wool, Hatteras Inlet.
Hildebrant, Geo. H.	..	July 22, '62	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Ott, Jacob	19	May 26, '61	"	Died at Camp Wool, Hatteras Inlet.
Stephens, John G.	19	Aug. 15, '62	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Turner Joseph G.	43	June 20, '61	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Voorhees,	20	May 4, '61	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.; died while at home on furlough.
Jeremiah F. Walter, Charles H.	22	" 4, '61	"	

COMPANY A.—Continued.

## DESERTED.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Alpers, Henry W.	22	May 4, '61	Corporal	Transferred from Company C, Sept. 15, 1861; deserted, Aug. 20, 1862
Dodson, William	11	" 4, '61	Private	Deserted at Ricker's Island, May 20, 1861.
Rogers, George L.	28	" 4, '61	"	Deserted at Ricker's Island, May 30, 1861.
Whitmore, Thomas F.	19	" 4, '61	"	Deserted at New York City, June 5, 1861.

## NOT PRESENT.

Duell, James	30	Aug. 26, '62	Private	Taken prisoner at Antietam; paroled and exchanged, no further record.
Topping, Robert R.	18	May 4, '61	"	Taken prisoner at Antietam; paroled and exchanged, no further record.

MUSTER-OUT ROLL of CAPT. WILLIAM G. BARNETT'S COMPANY B.

9TH REGIMENT, NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS.

Mustered out with the company, on the 20th day of May, 1863.

CAPTAIN.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Barnett, William G.	24	May 4, '61	Captain	Wounded in action at Antietam.

1st LIEUTENANT.

Herbert, George H.	25	May 4, '61	1st Sergeant	Promoted 2d lieutenant, Dec. 23d, 1861; 1st lieutenant, Nov. 14, 1862.
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2d LIEUTENANT.

Dews, Edwin ●	22	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Promoted 1st sergeant, Dec. 23, 1861; wounded in action at Antietam; promoted 2d lieutenant, Sept. 30th, 1862.
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SERGEANTS.

Rogers, William J.	19	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, May 1, 1862; wounded in action at Antietam; promoted sergeant, Jan. 1, 1863.
Smith, Edgar A.	24	" "	Sergeant	
Miller, John T.	25	" "	"	
Murray, George	22	" "	Corporal	Promoted sergeant, Jan. 1, 1862.

CORPORALS.

Boltz, Michael	19	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Oct. 1, 1862.
Molloy, Albert W.	21	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Nov. 15, 1862.
Rassiga, Augustus	19	Aug. 26, '61	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.; promoted corporal Oct. 1, 1862.
Roeder, Charles R.	19	May 4, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; promoted corporal, Jan. 1, 1863.
Wehman, Clemens	20	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Jan. 1, 1863.

MUSICIANS.

Avey, Timothy	16	Jan. 5, '62	Musician	Transferred from 103d New York, Jan. 15, 1863.
Langbein, J. C. Julius	15	May 4, '61	Drummer	Received medal of honor for gallantry at Camden, N. C.



COMPANY B—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Adair, John B.	30	May 4, '61	Private	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Andeson, Mott	19	" "	"	
Atkinson, Thomas	19	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Burgh, Adolph	22	" "	"	
Carpenter, Edward E.	20	" "	"	
Degeman, David D.	18	" "	"	
Ditterlen, Louis	18	" "	"	
Dorber, George	20	" "	"	
Dysert, John W.	24	" "	"	
Enever, Hugh	23	" "	"	
Fisher, Thomas	20	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Godfrey, Edward	22	" "	"	
Good, Michael	20	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Grant, Richard	22	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Greer, George W.	18	" "	"	
Hampson, John H.	19	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Haring, David C.	20	Aug. 5, '61	"	Mustered out to date August 5, 1863.
Harris, Spencer L.	..	May 30, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Hyatt, James H.	21	May 4, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Johnson, John F.	22	" "	"	
Low, James	22	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Malcom, Joseph	19	" "	"	
Mitchell, Francis D.	19	" "	"	
Neil, James	19	" 6, '61	"	
Newell, Garry T.	..	" 4 '61	"	
Osborne, Samuel	20	" "	"	Discharged for disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.; re-enlisted Jan. 21, 1862; wounded in action at Antietam.
Parker, George	18	" "	"	
Parker, James	19	" "	"	
Pfaffle, Frederic	20	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Porter, Albert E.	18	" "	"	
Reed, Thomas	31	" "	"	
Roberts, John H.	20	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
See, John	19	" "	"	
Spooner, Arthur	26	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Stanton, Michael	13	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Thomas, Albert	24	" "	"	Wounded in action at Roanoke Island, N. C.

COMPANY B.—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED,		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Wagner, Peter	19	May 4, '61	Private	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Wettlanfer, John	18	" "	"	
Whitney, Isaac	23	" "	"	

## TRANSFERRED

TO 3D REGIMENT, N. Y. Volunteer Infantry, May 6, 1863.

## 1st SERGEANT.

Schmidt, Hugo	34	Aug. 15, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Jan. 1, 1862; sergeant, May 1, 1862; 1st sergeant, Nov. 24, 1862.
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## SERGEANT.

Cornell, George D.	28	Aug. 16, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Oct. 11, 1861; sergeant, Nov. 24, 1862; transferred to non-commissioned staff.
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## CORPORALS.

Bailey, William H.	19	Aug. 10, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Jan. 1, 1863; wounded in action at Antietam. Promoted corporal, May 1, 1862; wounded in action at Antietam, Promoted corporal, April 11, 1862.
Farrell, George W.	19	" 12, '61	"	
Parker, Smith S.	40	July 1, '61	"	

## PRIVATES.

Brill, John N.	23	Sept. 22, '62	Private	Wounded by accident at Newport News Va. Sentenced by general court martial to confinement in Rip Raps. Transferred to this company, Oct. 26, 1862. Wounded in action at Antietam. To Company B, 15th Michigan Infantry.
Cairns, John A.	19	" 26, '62	"	
Collins, John M.		June 2, '61	"	
Creech, John	21	Sept. 27, '62	"	
Doyle, John J.	21	Aug. 16, '61	"	
Folan, James H.	21	June 2, '61	"	
Hamilton, Joseph	19	Aug. 17, '61	"	
Hines, William		June 2, '61	"	
Howard, George	20	Sept. 2, '61	"	
Hogan, John J.	21	Aug. 22, '62	Private Co. I.	
Hubbell, Silliman J.	19	" 12, '61	Private	
Johson, Robert	21	" 16, '61	"	

## TRANSFERRED.—COMPANY B.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Kane, Michael	20	Sept. 27, '62	Private	
Knowles, John W.	29	" 24, '62	"	
McCarty, Alexander	19	" 26, '62	"	
Moran, James E.	21	" 12, '62	Private Co. I.	Transferred to this company, Oct. 26, 1862; wounded in action at Fredericksburg, Va.
Pfaffle, William	21	Aug. 27, '61	Private	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Rogers, George W.	18	Sept 23, '62	"	
Schlecht, Charles	19	" 26, '62	"	
Schoonmaker, Andrew	34	Aug. 15, '61	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Simpson, William H.	18	" 20, '61	"	
Smith, John	34	" 22, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Travis, William W.	18	" 19, '61	"	
Wightman, Edward K.	27	" 30, '62	"	

## DISCHARGED.

## SERGEANT.

Whitney, John H. E.	20	May 4, '61	Corporal	Promoted sergeant; date not stated; wounded in action at Antietam; dis- charged for disability, June 4, 1863.
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## MUSICIAN.

McClelland, Michael	16	May 4, '61	Musician	May 20, 1861, for disability.
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## PRIVATES.

Bogart, John A.	22	May 4, '61	Corporal	Aug. 31, 1862, by promotion to lieutenant- colonel 127th New York Infantry.
Buckmaster, Robert M.	31	" "	Private	May 2, 1863, for disability, at Ladies' Home Hospital, New York.
Gordnan, Morgan	21	" "	"	Aug. 20, 1861, for disability.
Cortelyou, William H.	19	Aug. 10, '61	"	Wounded in action and captured at Cam- den, N. C.; leg amputated; discharged for disability, May 20, 1863.
Eagleson, William	24	May 4, '61	"	May 20, 1861, for disability.
French, Benjamin H.	24	" "	"	Nov. 29, 1862, for disability, at Philadel- phia, Pa.
Haggett, Samuel		" 30, '61	"	Aug. 21, 1861, for disability, at Newport News, Va.
Jones A. H.	22	" 4, '61	"	Jan. 20, 1863, at Newark, N. J., for disa- bility.
Madden, Martin	19	" "	"	Nov. 18, 1861, at Hatteras, for disability.

## DISCHARGED.—COMPANY B.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Messinger, Peter A.	19	May 4, '61	Private	Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va., for disability.
Miller, Charles R.	22	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.; discharged Jan. 8, 1863, at Falmouth, Va., for disability.
Morgan, Albert	19	Sept. 13, '62	"	Jan. 5, 1863, at Falmouth, Va., for disability.
Palmer, Thomas A.	22	Aug. 9, '61	"	Wounded in action at Roanoke Island, N. C.; discharged Jan. 3, 1863, at Washington, D. C., for disability.
Eowe, Henry	20	May 4, '61	"	Aug. 30, 1862, for disability.
Rynes, James	16	Aug. 6, '61	"	June 9, 1862, for disability.
Sampson, John A.	19	" 10, '61	"	June 9, 1862, for disability.
Sill, Byron G.	19	May 4, '61	"	Captured at Antietam; confined at Richmond; paroled; discharged as paroled prisoner, Nov. 3, 1862.
Smith, William H.	21	Aug. 2, '61	"	Dishonorably discharged by sentence of general court martial, June 16, 1862—(Drummed out).
Valliere, Michael	22	July 31, '61	"	For disability, March 22, 1862, at Roanoke Island, N. C.
Winchell, George W.		June 2, '61	"	For disability, July 3, 1861, at Newport News.

## DESERTED.

## PRIVATES.

Allen, Montagne	21	May 4, '61	Private	April 15, 1862, at General Hospital, Fortress Monroe, Va.
Barry, David		Oct. 4, '62	"	Nov. 22, 1862.
Bright, Henry	23	May 4, '61	"	March 1, 1863, at general hospital, Fortress Monroe, Va.
Conroy, John	20	" "	"	May 25, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.
Jones, Robert	22	" "	"	May 10, 1861, at New York City.
O'Connor, Michael	21	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.; deserted from hospital at Washington, D. C.; date not stated.
Parker, Joseph S.	18	Aug. 5, '61	"	From hospital at Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 8, 1862.
Wadwaurs, Boyd A.	28	May 4, '61	"	May 30, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.

## DIED.

## PRIVATES.

Cortez, John A.	21	May 4, '61	Private	Killed in action at Antietam.
Ginther, William	32	Aug. 17, '61	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Hutchinson, Harold	22	May 4, '61	"	Killed in action at Camden, N. C.
Lindtner, Mathias	19	" "	"	Killed in action at Antietam.

**PRIVATES.**

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Moser, William S.	19	May 4, '61	Private	Died of wounds received at Antietam.
Rassiga, Eugene	18	" "	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Roseberry,	18	Aug. 5, '61	"	Died of disease, Dec. 16, 1862, at Falmouth,
Thomas H. Schaeffer, John	22	" 17, '61	"	Va. Killed in action at Antietam.
Spicer, Napoleon B.	21	May 2, '61	"	Killed in action at Antietam.

**MISSING IN ACTION.**

**PRIVATE.**

Hewett, Elias	18	July 31, '61	Private	At Antietam; no further record.
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MUSTER-OUT ROLL of CAPT. VICTOR KLINGSOEHR'S COMPANY C,  
9TH REGIMENT, NEW YORK VOLUNTEER INFANTRY.

Mustered out with the company, May 20th, 1863.

CAPTAIN.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Klingsoehr, Victor	..	May 4, '61	2d Lieut. Co. A.	Promoted 1st lieutenant, Dec. 24, 1861; wounded in action at Camden, N. C.; captain, Aug. 10, 1862.

1st LIEUTENANT.

Powell, Frank	22	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Promoted 2nd lieutenant, March, 15, 1862; 1st lieutenant, Nov. 1st, 1862.
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2d LIEUTENANT.

Jacobshon, Louis	29	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Wounded in action at Antietam; promoted 2nd lieutenant, Oct. 22, 1862.
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1st SERGEANT.

Geayer, James A.	20	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Promoted 1st sergeant, March 18, 1862; wounded in action at Antietam.
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SERGEANTS.

Cooley, Dawson W.	21	May 4, '61	Corporal	Promoted sergeant, June 1, 1861; reduced, Oct. 31, 1862; promoted corporal, Jan. 3, 1863; sergeant, Feb. 12, 1863.
Field, Joshua C.	21	" "	Private	Promoted corporal, Sept. 1, 1861; sergeant, Oct. 31, 1862; wounded in action at Antietam.
Malcolm, Samuel L.	19	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Aug. 11, 1862; sergeant, Jan. 1, 1863.
Witz, Joseph	21	" "	"	Promoted corporal, May 5, 1861; sergeant, June 1, 1861.

CORPORALS.

Fox, Frederick	19	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Feb. 12, 1863.
Koch, Edward	22	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Jan. 1, 1863.
Lloyd, William	19	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Jan. 1, 1863.
Morschauer, John A.	23	" "	Sergeant	Transferred from Company F as private, May 1, 1862; promoted corporal, Oct. 31, 1862.

COMPANY C.—Continued.—Mustered out with the Company.

## CORPORALS.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Murray, James	24	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Jan. 1, 1863.
Roe, Charles	31	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Sept. 1, 1862.
Van Amburg, John	18	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Feb. 12, 1863.
Witterman, Adam	21	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Feb. 12, 1863.

## MUSICIANS.

Relck, Theodore	16	Oct. 14, '61	Drummer 103d N. Y.	Transferred to Company C, this regiment, Jan. 15, 1863.
Blinn, William H.	21	July 31, '61	Private	Appointed bugler in May, 1862.

## PRIVATES.

Aber, William B.		June 1, '61	Private	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Alberts, Robert H.	22	May 4, '61	Corporal	Regimental commissary sergeant from Sept. 1, 1861, to June 16, 1862.
Beeler, Joseph	20	" "	Private	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Bennett, Alfred	20	" "	"	
Casey, James A.	18	" "	"	
Caster, Edward	18	" "	"	
Chandler, Charles L.	32	" "	"	Quartermaster sergeant from Dec. 5, 1861, to March 19, 1862.
Clerihew, Paul J.	21	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Crawford, Stephen H.	21	" "	Corporal	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Cross, Frank	19	" "	Private	
Cunningham, John	19	" "	"	
Doyle, Patrick J.	25	" "	"	
Duffy, James	19	" 12, '61	"	
Dwight, Delos	20	" 4, '61	"	
Flam, John	20	" "	"	
Flowers, James W.	26	" "	"	
Frederick, Gustavus	19	" "	"	
Gass, Phillip,	20	" "	"	
Gausmann, John H.	19	" "	"	
Johnson, Redmond	21	" "	"	
Kennedy, Edward	21	" 6, '61	"	
Kilmer, Moses C.	19	" 4, '61	"	
Lindner, Nicholas	19	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Sept. 1, 1861.
MacNab, Alexander	18	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.

COMPANY C.—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Madigan, Daniel	20	May 4, '61	Private	
McCabe, George	18	Aug. 12, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Meyers, Martin	23	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.; promoted corporal, June 16, 1862.
Morehead, William R.	19	" "	"	
Morschauer, George	18	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
O'Brien, Daniel	19	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Opdyke, Samuel	25	" "	"	
Panly, Christian	20	" "	"	
Ryan, John	19	" "	"	
Stephens, Elsdon B.	19	" "	"	Promoted corporal, June 20, 1862; wounded in action at Antietam.
Taylor, Henry W.	35	" "	Private Co. K.	Transferred to this company, May 6, 1861.
Thomas, Charles E.	21	" "	Private	
Vanderwerken, George	20	" "	Private Co. I	Transferred to this company, May 5, 1861.
Weber, Andrew	21	" "	Private	
Witz, Paul	23	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.

## TRANSFERRED

To 3D REGIMENT, N. Y. Volunteer Infantry, May 6, 1863.

## PRIVATES.

Aston, John	18	Sept. 2, '61	Private	
Brannon, John J.	19	Aug. 16, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Brennon, John	21	" 12, '61	"	
Bridges, Richard	35	" 4, '61	"	
Campbell, James	21	Oct. 15, '62	"	
Cruden, Alexander B.	18	Aug. 19, '62	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Curtin, Robert R.	25	" 15, '62	"	
Davis, William H.	19	Oct. 22, '62	"	
Degenhardt, Henry A.	28	Aug. 12, '62	"	
Farrell, Michael	21	" 23, '61	"	
Greenhalgh, Squire	22	" 12, '61	"	
Hayward, Leonard H.	21	" 10, '61	"	
Hopkins, Edward	20	Oct. 14, '62	"	
Johnson, David	24	Aug. 2, '61	"	



## TRANSFERRED.—COMPANY C. Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Keenau, Phillip	21	Oct. 23, '62	"	
Lambrecht, Phillip	16	Aug. 12, '61	"	
Lotan, James	18	" "	"	
Madden, George	20	" 23, '61	"	
Madden, William A.	21	Sept. 20, '62	"	
McCullough, Francis	24	Aug. 22, '61	"	
McSherry, Matthew	19	Oct. 15, '62	"	Transferred to Morris' battery. May 3, 1863.
McCready, William	29	Aug. 15, '61	"	
Mnson, Sam'l T. Jr.	21	Sept. 13, '62	"	
Randolph, Thomas F.	23	Aug. 5, '61	"	
Reaycraft, James	27	" 20, '61	"	
Rhodes, Benjamin	19	Oct. 23, '62	"	
Ridley, Frederick	26	" 9, '62	"	
Tomsen, Franz	21	Aug. 1, '61	"	Transferred to Company "L," 1st New York Cavalry, Aug. 19, 1862.
Travis, Francis	19	Oct. 15, '62	"	

## DISCHARGED.

## CAPTAIN.

Parlsen, Otto W.	35	May 4, '61	Captain	Discharged, Aug. 10, 1862, to accept position of quartermaster, this regiment.
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## 2d LIEUTENANT.

Mitchell, John D.	19	May 4, '61	2d Lieut.	Discharged, Sept. 22, 1861, by resignation.
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## SERGEANT.

Stites, Benjamin	24	May 12, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Sept. 1, 1861; sergeant, June 20, 1862; wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Dec. 4, 1862
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## CORPORALS.

Curle, Charles	19	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, March 5, 1862; wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for promotion to 1st lieutenant 178th New York Volunteers.
Livingston, Thomas	21	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Oct. 1, 1861; wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Jan. 10, 1863.

## DISCHARGED.—COMPANY C.—Continued.

## MUSICIANS.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Kies, Edwin H.	21	May 4, '61	Musician	Nov. 14, 1861, by enlistment as hospital steward, U. S. Army.
Baese, Otto	16	" "	"	May 8, 1861, for disability.

## PRIVATEES.

Beese, Emil	19	May 4, '61	Private	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Oct. 11, 1862.
Bradley, Felix	20	Aug. 20, '61	"	For disability, Aug. 23, 1862, at Falmouth Station, Va.
Chandler, John W.	20	May 4, '61	"	For disability, Aug. 19, 1861.
Crookson, Joseph A.	35	Aug. 5, '61	"	For disability, Dec. 11, 1862, at Falmouth Station, Va.
Cunningham, William	21	May 4, '61	"	Captured on board the "Fanny" Oct. 1, 1861; mustered out as prisoner of war, May 1, 1862, at Washington, D. C.
Dale, Samuel,	21	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 2, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Davis, John	23	Oct. 23, '62	"	For disability, Feb. 18, 1863, at Washington, D. C.
Goldsmith Lewis	20	May 4, '61	"	For disability, May 8, 1861, at New York.
Hallowell, Joseph	21	Aug. 16, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, March 4, 1863.
Hassall, John	21	May 4, '61	"	For disability, Sept. 12, 1862, at Falmouth Station, Va.
Havens, John R.	21	" "	"	Captured on board the "Fanny," Oct. 1, 1861; discharged as paroled prisoner, May 21, 1862, at Washington, D. C.
Havens, William A.	25	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 19, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Hudson, William S.	20	" "	"	Discharged for promotion to first lieutenant 49th New York, May 29, 1862.
Matile, Edward	20	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 19, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Munn, Theodore B.	18	Aug. 12, '61	"	Writ of habeas corpus at Philadelphia, Sept. 27, 1862.
Page, Joseph E. K.	22	" "	"	Captured aboard the "Fanny," Oct. 1, 1861; discharged, as paroled prisoner, May 21, 1862, at Washington, D. C.
Patterson, George	19	May 4, '61	"	Discharged, May 4, 1863, at Providence, R.I.
Pease, William R.	22	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 19, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Rowan, John	23	" "	"	Captured on board the "Fanny," Oct. 1, 1861; discharged as paroled prisoner, May 21, 1862, at Washington, D. C.
Seggee, Zachariah	33	Aug. 2, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, May 9, 1863.
Titus, Henry	18	" 8, '61	"	Discharged, May 22, 1862.
Tuttle, Joel	22	May 4, '61	"	Captured aboard the "Fanny," Oct. 1, 1861; discharged as paroled prisoner, May 21, 1862, at Washington, D. C.
Vogel, William A.	24	Aug. 1, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Dec. 11, 1862, at Falmouth Sta., Va.
Wekesser, Phillip	25	May 4, '61	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.; discharged for disability, Nov. 6, 1862, at Washington, D. C.
Wernley, George	28	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 19, 1861, at Newport News, Va.

## COMPANY C.—Continued.

## DIED.

## 1st LIEUTENANTS.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Ennis, William	19	May 4, '61	1st Lieut.	Died of disease, Aug. 10, 1862.
Cooper, Edward C.	25	" "	Sergeant	Promoted regimental quartermaster-sergeant, May 4, 1861; 2d lieutenant Nov. 23, 1861; killed in action at Antietam.

## PRIVATES.

Center, Lucius	..	....	Private	Died, June 4, 1862.
Gallagher, James	19	Aug. 24, '61	"	Died of disease at Hatteras, N.C., Nov. 1861.
Grosser, Franz	28	May 4, '61	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Lawrence, Samuel P.	20	July 29, '61	"	Promoted corporal, March 5, 1862; killed in action at Antietam.
Watson, William K.	..	....	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Frosser, Frank	..	....	"	Killed in action at Antietam.

## DESERTED.

## PRIVATES.

Adams, Robert C.	22	Aug. 22, '61	Private	Sept. 16, 1862, near Antietam, Md.
Arnott, John T.	22	" 19, '61	"	Sept. 16, 1862, near Antietam, Md.
McCoy, Amos	20	May 4, '61	"	May 18, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.
Moore, Lawrence	19	" "	"	June 5, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.
Rolfe, Richard	30	" "	"	May 6, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.
Smith, Angelo M.	19	" "	"	May 8, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.
Wilson, George F.	20	July 29, '61	"	Dec. 12, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.
Witz, Anthony	19	Sept. 20, '61	"	Sept. 16, 1862, near Antietam, Md.

## NOT ACCOUNTED FOR.

## PRIVATE.

Lockwood, John	21	May 4, '61	Private Co. I.	Transferred to this company, Aug. 20, 1861; no further record.
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MUSTER-OUT ROLL of CAPTAIN ALMA P. WEBSTER'S COMPANY D,  
9TH REGIMENT, NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS.

Mustered out with the company, on the 20th day of May, 1863.

CAPTAIN.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Webster, Alma P.	20	May 4, '61	1st Lieut. Co. G.	Wounded in action at Roanoke Island; promoted captain and transferred to this company, Sept. 3, 1862

1st LIEUTENANT.

Perley, John K.	18	May 4, '61	2d Lieut.	Promoted 1st lieutenant, March 16, 1862
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2d LIEUTENANT.

Meyers, Sebastian	29	May 4, '61	Private Co. F.	Promoted 2d lieutenant and transferred to this company, Sept. 3, 1862; wounded in action at Antietam.
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1st SERGEANT.

Fitzgerald, James	25	May 4, '61	Corporal	Promoted sergeant, Oct. 7, 1861; wounded in action at Camden, N. C.; promoted 1st sergeant, Feb. 6, 1863.
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SERGEANTS.

Ontler, Robert	25	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Aug. 20, 1861; sergeant, Feb. 11, 1863.
Kennedy, James E.	21	" 4, '61	Corporal	Promoted sergeant, Sept. 1, 1861.
Searing, Peter J. L.	19	" "	Private	Promoted corporal, Sept. 2, 1861; sergeant, June 19, 1862; wounded in action at An- tietam.

CORPORALS.

Black, John	21	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Oct. 7, 1861.
Curran, Joseph	..	" 16, '61	"	Promoted corporal, July 1, 1862.
Reant, Victor	20	" 4, '61	"	Promoted corporal, Oct. 23, 1862.
Erbe, Charles	19	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Dec. 3, 1862.
Hughson, John F.	27	" "	Corporal	
McNamara, John	21	" "	Private	Promoted corporal, Feb. 16, 1863.

## COMPANY D.—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## CORPORALS.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Moerser, John	19	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Dec. 3, 1862.
Nichols, Jasper	19	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Sept. 1, 1861.
Phoenix, Richard	19	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Feb. 15, 1863.

## MUSICIAN.

Adams, Richard	17	May 4, '61	Drummer Co. G.	Transferred to Company C, Dec. 15, 1861; to Company D, June 6, 1862.
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## PRIVATEES.

Areson, Samuel	18	May 4, '61	Private	
Berry, Theodore	19	" "	"	
Boylan, James	20	" "	"	
Briggs, Charles	19	" "	"	
Burns, Joseph T.	20	" "	"	
Campbell, William	20	" "	"	
Carman, George W.	19	" "	"	
Carson, John	27	" "	"	
Cavanagh, Peter	19	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Ghavantre, Alfred	21	" "	"	
Coleman, Joseph	18	" "	"	
Conroy, Richard	20	" "	"	
Cook, John	18	" "	Drummer	Wounded in action at Fredericksburg, Va.
Curtin, John C.	20	" "	Private	Wounded and captured at Camden, N. C., April 19, 1862; returned to company, Oct. 15, 1862.
Dark, George	19	" "	"	
Delder, John	21	" "	"	
Evans, John	21	" "	"	
Hodges, James	20	" "	"	
Hunt, James	19	" "	"	
Keating, William	19	" "	"	
Lawrence, John	20	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Loyman, Louis	23	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Marshall, William	18	" "	"	
Martin, Alphonse	18	" "	"	
McCoy, Francis	19	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.

COMPANY D.—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
McCready, Edward	19	May 4, '61	Private	
McGowan, Thomas	20	" "	"	
Mealeany, James	19	" "	"	
Mullaney, James	20	" "	"	
Morge, Louis	30	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
O'Connor, Patrick	20	" "	"	
Quian, Michael	20	" "	"	
Shane, Samuel S.	19	June 4, '61	"	
Sherwood, Edward E.	21	Aug. 7, '61	"	
Sherman, George	19	May 4, '61	"	
Stevenson, James	21	June 4, '61	"	Promoted corporal, June 19, 1862.
Van Orden, Robert	19	May 4, '61	"	Wounded in action at Fredericksburg, Va.
Wiebelt, George	20	" "	Sergeant	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Weir, Edward R.	21	" "	Private	
Wilson, Thomas	22	" "	"	

## TRANSFERRED

TO 3D REGIMENT, N. Y. Volunteer Infantry, May 6, 1863.

## CORPORALS.

Christopher, Benjamin	26	Aug. 30, '62	Private	Promoted corporal, Feb. 11, 1863.
Purcell, Frances A.	18	Sept. 2, '61	"	Promoted corporal, July 30, 1862; wounded in action at Antietam.
Sherman, George W.	19	" "	"	Promoted corporal July 30, 1862; transferred to non-commissioned staff of 3d New York.

## PRIVATES.

Able, Hiram	18	Sept. 2, '61	Private	
Bishop, Samuel	29	Aug. 30, '62	"	
Blank, Martin	29	" 23, '61	"	
Burger, Samuel A.	18	Nov. 1, '61	"	Enlisted at Hatteras Inlet.
Chavantre, Edward	19	Aug. 10, '61	"	
Cortissos, David	21	" 24, '61	"	
Crookston, Green T.	18	" 22, '61	"	
Crowley, Florence	28	" 26, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.

## TRANSFERRED.—COMPANY D.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.	
		WHEN.	RANK.		
Eckerson, George W.	22	Aug. 29, '62	Private	Transferred to Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.	
Elsell, Joseph	19	" 23, '61	"		
Fink, John	23	" "	"		
Goodyear, Charles	..	Sept. 4, '61	"		
Kennedy, Robert	26	Aug. 23, '61	"		
McGill, Thomas	22	Aug. 14, '61	"		
Phoenix, Nathaniel	18	Sept. 13, '62	"		
Post, Ebenezer B.	19	Aug 26, '62	"		
Roddy, John J.	21	" 19, '62	"		Wounded and captured at Antietam; confined at Richmond; paroled; reported to regiment; transferred to Morris' battery, May 6, 1863.
Sarles, David R.	20	" 22, '61	"		Wounded in action at Antietam.
Sarles William H.	22	" "	"		
Schaefer, Anthony	18	" 28, '61	"		
Schelk, Valentine	21	" 23, '61	"		
Smith, John	21	" "	"		
Smith, John	24	Sept. 13, '62	"		
Trainor, James	28	Aug. 8, '61	"		
Van Scoy, John A.	19	" 19, '61	"	Wounded and captured at Antietam; confined at Richmond; paroled; reported at Camp Parole, Md.	
Van Scoy, Warren	19	" "	"		
Watkinson, William	22	" 23, '61	"		

## DISCHARGED.

## CAPTAINS.

Prescott, Charles W.	30	May 4, '61	2d Lieut.	Promoted captain, Aug. 1, 1861; discharged by resignation, Sept. 3, 1862.
Wright, Henry	21	" "	Captain	Discharged by resignation, Aug. 9, 1861.

## PRIVATES.

Anderson, Henry	25	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted sergeant, May 24, 1861; 1st sergeant, June 19, 1862; discharged for disability, Feb. 6, 1863, at Falmouth Station, Va.
Austin, John	35	Aug. 28, '61	"	Promoted corporal, Oct. 7, 1861; sergeant, Jan. 9, 1862; discharged for disability, Feb. 15, 1863 at Philadelphia, Pa.
Booth, Charles	21	May 4, '61	Corporal	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.

## DISCHARGED.—COMPANY D.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Brainard, James H.	18	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Dec. 17, 1862
Campbell, George W.	18	" "	Private	At Riker's Island, May 20, 1861.
Cavanagh, Peter	20	Aug. 19, '62	"	For disability, May 6, 1863.
Conklin, John A.	18	May 4, '61	"	At Riker's Island, May 20, 1861.
Dean, Junius E.	20	" "	"	For disability, Nov. 18, 1861, at Hatteras Inlet.
Goem, Mathias	20	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, March 14, 1863.
Hackett, Thomas	18	June 4, '61	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Hotaling, Charles	29	May 4, '61	"	By sentence of a general court-martial, Sept. 8, 1861.
Hyde, Theodore	19	" "	"	Promoted corporal, June 19, 1862; wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, April 2, 1863.
Jones, Samuel W.	23	Aug. 28, '61	"	For disability, May 2, 1863.
Le Noir, Henry	19	May 4, '61	"	For disability, February 17, 1863.
Ostrom, John	25	" "	"	Promoted sergeant, May '24, 1861; discharged for disability, March 13, 1863.
Roach, Samuel S.	20	Aug. 13, '62	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Jan. 9, 1863.
Rusher, William	18	" 16, '61	"	For disability, Dec. 29, 1862, at Washington, D. C.
Scott, John	18	May 4, '61	"	May 5, 1861; no cause stated.
Searing, Sylvester	19	" "	"	May 20, 1861; no cause stated
Westfall, Henry	26	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability April 8, 1863, at Suffolk, Va.
Willey, Wilfred	19	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Wiltsie, James	18	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.

## DIED.

## SERGEANT.

Beesling, Henry	35	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Killed in action at Antietam.
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## PRIVATES.

Beethuysen, Otto	18	May 4, '61	Private	Killed in action at Antietam.
McCasker, John	20	" "	"	Killed in action at Fredericksburg, Va.
Michaels, Charles	21	" "	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Rothert, William	19	" "	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Taylor, Charles	22	" "	"	Died of disease at Roanoke Island, May 16, 1862.
Winn, John	18	Sept 3, '62	"	Died of disease at Falmouth Sta., Va., Jan. 10, 1863.



## COMPANY D.—Continued.

## NOT ACCOUNTED FOR.

## . PRIVATE.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Scott, Charles O.	18	Sept. 4, '61	Private	Appears on rolls of January and February, 1862, without remark; no further record.

## DESERTED.

## PRIVATES.

Alexander, Phillip	24	May 4, '61	Private	At Riker's Island, May 15, 1861.
Burns, Charles	21	July 31, '61	"	At Suffolk Va., April 28, 1863.
Donnelly, Andrew	21	Aug. 8, '61	"	August 16, 1861, at New York, N. Y.
Fletcher, Oatman	18	May 4, '61	"	May 20, 1861.
Haynes, James	19	" "	"	May 12, 1861, at New York, N. Y.
Rogers, William	18	" "	"	Jan. 3, 1863.
Rosseau, Eugene	31	" "	"	Sept. 5, 1862.
Shay, Charles D.	22	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Sept. 1, 1861; deserted at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862, in face of enemy.

MUSTER-OUT ROLL of CAPTAIN ADOLPH LIBAIRE'S COMPANY E,  
9TH REGIMENT, NEW YORK VOLUNTEER INFANTRY.

Mustered out with the company, May 20th, 1863.

**CAPTAIN.**

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Libaire, Adolph	21	May 4, '61	Captain	Received Medal of Honor for distinguished gallantry at the Battle of Antietam.

**1st LIEUTENANT.**

Greene, Joseph A.	23	May 4, '61	Sergeant Co. F.	Promoted 1st sergeant, June 30, 1861; 2d lieutenant, Aug. 10, 1861; wounded in action at Rainbow Bluffs, N. C.; promoted 1st lieutenant, Oct. 4, 1862; transferred to this company Dec. 1, 1862.
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**2d LIEUTENANT.**

Vogt, Alexander	21	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Sept. 26, 1861; sergeant, Jan. 21, 1862; 1st sergeant, Feb. 12, 1862; second lieutenant, Aug. 10, 1862.
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**1st SERGEANT.**

Smith, Abisba N.	24	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted, 1st sergeant, Nov. 21, 1862.
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**SERGEANT.**

Gandolfo, John B.	19	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Wounded in action at Antietam.
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**CORPORALS.**

Campbell, Benjamin W.	20	May 4, '61	Private	Wounded in action at Antietam; promoted corporal, March 11, 1863.
Clements, James	25	" "	"	Wounded and captured at Antietam; paroled same day; returned to regiment; promoted corporal Feb. 13, 1863.
Farrell, Nicholas	25	" "	"	Wounded and captured at Antietam; paroled, date not stated; reported to company; promoted corporal, Jan. 1, 1863.
Martin, John E.	21	" "	"	Promoted corporal, March 11, 1863.
McMahon, James	30	" "	"	Promoted corporal, March 11, 1863.

## COMPANY E—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## MUSICIANS.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Lange, John S.	21	May 4, '61	Bugler	Wounded and captured at Antietam; paroled and reported to company.
Logan, John F.	17	" "	Musician	

## PRIVATEES.

Bauer, John J.	19	May 4, '61	Private	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Byrne, Hugh	23	Aug. 21, '61	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Cahill, Patrick	20	May 4, '61	"	
Chapin, John J.	19	" "	"	
Cockefair, William N.	26	" "	"	
Coen, Patrick	21	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Dever, Daniel	19	" "	"	
Dietrich, Christ.	20	" "	"	
Dillman, Frederick	22	" "	"	Wounded in action at Fredericksburg, Va.
Dunlap, August P.	19	" "	1st Sergeant	
Earl, Charles	21	" "	Private	
Ellis, William H.	21	" "	"	
Fisher, Peter	24	" "	"	Wounded in action at Suffolk, Va., April 20, 1863.
Fransier, Phillip	19	" 7, '61	"	
Gill, Francis P.	28	" 4, '61	"	
Hall, James H.	20	Aug. 5, '61	"	
Hanrahan, John	24	Aug. 12, '61	"	Wounded in action at Fredericksburg, Va.
Hefferman, John	20	May 4, '61	"	
Higgins, Jeremiah J.	22	" "	"	Wounded in action at Roanoke Island, N. C.
Hyde, James W.	22	" "	"	
James, Frederick	..	....	Musician Co. D. 103d N. Y. Private	Transferred to Company E, this regiment, Jan. 15, 1863.
Keenan, Michael	20	May 4, '61	"	
Kelley, Thomas T.	20	" "	"	Wounded and captured at Camden, N. C. exchanged; promoted corporal, Nov. 21, 1862.
Knubel, Henry	21	" "	Corporal	
Logan, David O.	19	" "	Private	
McDowell, Samuel	19	" "	"	
McGowan, James	21	" "	"	
Millenet, Henry	18	" "	Private Co. F.	Transferred to this company May 22, 1861; wounded in action at Roanoke Island.
Miller, Austin	19	" "	Private	
Morgan, Metart	21	" "	"	Captured and paroled at Antietam; returned to duty.
Nichols, Adam	23	" "	"	

COMPANY E.—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED,		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Pratt, Amasa	31	May 4, '61	Private	
Reavey, Hugh	19	" "	"	
Rossner, Frederick	19	" "	"	
Rung, Frederick	19	" "	"	
Sawyer, Charles W.	26	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Sinclair, Raimond H.	22	" "	"	
Stewart, Edward	25	" "	"	
Stuart, Thomas	21	" "	"	
Van Cott, William H.	22	" "	Private Co. A.	Transferred to this company, Jan. 1, 1862; wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Van Syckle, Albert S.	19	" "	Private Co. B.	Transferred to this company, Aug. 23, 1862.

## TRANSFERRED

TO 3D REGIMENT, N. Y. Volunteer Infantry, May 6, 1863.

## SERGEANTS.

Burke, John J.	21	Aug. 9, '61	Private	Promoted sergeant, Nov. 21, 1862; wounded in action at Fredericksburg.
Hankinson,	20	" "	"	Promoted sergeant, Aug. 11, 1862; wounded in action at Antietam.
Charles H. Flood, Owen A.	24	" 6, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; promoted sergeant, Nov. 21, 1862.

## CORPORALS.

Dyruff, Charles	20	Aug. 9, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Nov. 21, 1862.
Hanrahan, Thomas	22	" 5, '61	"	Promoted corporal, June 12, 1862; transferred as Hanasell.

## PRIVATES.

Alexander, George	18	Aug. 25, '61	Private	
Auderbert,	27	Oct. 20, '62	"	
Alexander Black, Samuel	19	Aug. 21, '61	"	
Burke, Francis	20	" 9, '61	"	
Dally, Joseph S.	20	" 26, '61	"	
Dally, James	28	Sept. 9, '62	"	
Dalton, Thomas F.	21	" 3, '62	"	

## TRANSFERRED.—COMPANY E.—Continued.

## PRIVATE.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Driscoll, Robert B.	18	Aug. 25, '61	Private	
Doris, Francis	21	" 28, '62	Private	Transferred to this company, Oct. 25, 1862.
Eames, Edgar N.	19	" 27, '62	Private	
Fisett, Edward	27	Sept. 16, '62	"	
Haines, Benjamin O.	32	" 10, '62	"	
Henken, Henry	20	Aug. 19, '61	"	
Holliday, David C.	23	" "	"	
Knowles, William G.	21	Sept. 4, '62	"	
Langdon, Samuel	21	Aug. 30, '62	Private	Transferred to this company, Oct. 25, 1862.
Lee, Robert	36	Sept. 16, '62	Private	
Lockwood,	28	Aug. 15, '61	Private	Captured and paroled at Antietam; returned to duty.
William J.				
Murphy, James	21	" 23, '62	Private	Transferred to this company, Oct. 25, 1862.
Murray, Thomas	21	Aug. 23, '61	Private	
Nichols, Edward D.	18	" 26, '61	"	
North, Henry	21	" 19, '62	Private	Transferred to this company, Oct. 25, 1862.
Owens, James	21	Sept. 4, '62	Private	
Rush, George	21	Aug. 30, '62	Private	Transferred to this company, Oct. 25, 1862; transferred to Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.
Smith, Martin	23	" 17, '61	Private	
Dan, William	24	May 4, '61	Private	Transferred to 1st N. Y. Vols., Sept. 8, 1861.

## DISCHARGED.

## 1st LIEUTENANTS.

Lucquen, Andre	..	....	....	Elected 1st lieutenant commissioned; not mustered; no further record.
Bartlett, John H.	26	May 4, '61	1st Lieut.	Discharged, Oct. 23, 1861, at Hatteras Inlet, N.C.

## 2d LIEUTENANT.

Bartlett, William A.	24	May 4, '61	2d Lieut.	Discharged, Oct. 23, 1861, at Hatteras Inlet, N.C.
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## SERGEANT.

Keating, James D.	22	May 4, '61	Corporal	Promoted sergeant, Sept. 6, 1861; wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, April 23, 1863, at Philadelphia, Pa.
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## DISCHARGED.—COMPANY E.—Continued.

## CORPORALS.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Davis, James	33	May 4, '61	Corporal	For disability, June 3, 1862, at Roanoke Island.
Hart, Frank	20	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; promoted corporal, Nov. 20, 1862; discharged for disability, Feb. 20, 1863, at Philadelphia, Pa.

## PRIVATES.

Birdsall, John	20	July 31, '61	Private	For disability, Aug. 26, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Burke, Tobias	35	Aug. 7, '61	"	For disability, Jan. 29, 1863, at Washington, D.C.
Cummings, Daniel	20	May 4, '61	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Gorman, Patrick	..	" 16, '61	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Hesse, John	18	Aug. 6, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Jan. 7, 1863, at Philadelphia, Pa.
Hoffman, Frederick	21	May 4, '61	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Hyer, James	21	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Jan. 13, 1863, at Chestnut Hill Pa.
Jalger, Andrew	28	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, March 26, 1863, at Washington, D.C.
Johnston, Frank H.	23	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Knubel, John	18	Aug. 19, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, April 13, 1863, at Antietam Hospital.
Latapie, Peter	25	May 4, '61	Corporal	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
McComb, Thomas	..	....	Private	For disability, May 12, 1862, at Washington, D.C.
McLean, William H.	28	May 4, '61	"	For disability, March 16, 1863, New York City.
McLanghlin, Paul	18	Aug. 20, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Feb. 17, 1863, at Camp Convalescent, Va.
Moore, William H.	19	" 23, '61	"	By sentence of a general court martial, Nov. 22, 1862.
Owen, Thomas C.	26	" 7, '61	"	For disability, Oct. 15, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.
Pollock, William	19	May 4, '61	Musician Co. F.	Transferred to this company as private, May 22, 1861; discharged for disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Thompson, John P.	28	" "	Private	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Volk, Andrew	19	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, April 23, 1863, at Philadelphia, Pa.
Withers, James	20	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, April 23, 1863, at Philadelphia.

## DIED.

## PRIVATES.

Auten, John R.	24	May 4, '61	Private	Drowned, Nov. 1, 1861, at Hatteras Inlet, N.C.
Bloxham, Richard	21	Aug. 21, '61	"	Promoted corporal, June 12, 1862; died of wounds received in action at Antietam.

## DIED.—COMPANY E.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Chrissman, Michael	20	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, date not stated; died of wounds received at Antietam.
Dillman, Adam	20	" "	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Dunn, John	19	Aug. 19, '61	"	Died of disease, Dec. 22, 1861, at Hatteras Inlet, N. C.
Glasser, Phillip	19	May 4, '61	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Golding, Thomas	23	" "	"	Drowned, Nov. 1, 1861, at Hatteras Inlet, N. C.
Hassen, Robert B.	21	" "	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Jackum, Nicholas	20	" "	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Judge, James	25	" "	"	Promoted corporal, date not stated; died of wounds received at Antietam.
Leonard, Augustus	22	" "	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Lockwood, Jabez C. F.	22	Aug. 15, '61	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
McDermott, Bernard	18	" 1, '61	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
McEntee, James	19	" 5, '61	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Smith, John	24	" 14, '61	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Sweetman, Henry	19	May 4, '61	"	Died of wounds received at Camden, N. C.
Van Syckle, William B.	25	" "	"	Died of wounds received at Roanoke Island, N. C.

## DESERTED.

Nolan, Michael	19	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Jan. 4, 1863, at hospital.
Smith, Edward	19	" "	Private	May 24, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.
Thornton, Beverly E.	19	" "	Private Co. F.	Transferred to this company, May 4, 1861; deserted, Aug. 30, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Winder, Ferdinand	21	" "	Private	June 4, 1861, at New York, N. Y.

## NOT ACCOUNTED FOR.

Scott, William	20	May 4, '61	Musician	No further record.
Harpell, Charles	23	" "	Private	No further record.
Freeman, Charles	20	" "	"	No further record.
Borstk, William	20	" "	"	No further record.

MUSTER-OUT ROLL of CAPT. WILLIAM H. HAMMIL'S COMPANY F,  
9TH REGIMENT, NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS.

Mustered out with the company, on the 20th day of May, 1863.

CAPTAIN.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Hammill, William H.	24	May 4, '61	Captain	Wounded in Action at Camden, N.C.

1st LIEUTENANT.

Graham, Matthew J.	23	May 4, '61	Sergeant Co. A.	Promoted 1st eergeant, Dec. 1, 1861; 2d lieutenant, May 25, 1862; wounded in action at Antietam; promoted 1st lieutenant, Company F, Jan. 29, 1863.
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2d LIEUTENANT.

Green, David J.	23	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Promoted 1st sergeant, Jan. 1, 1862; 2d lieutenant, Nov. 1, 1862.
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1st SERGEANT.

Martin, Peter J.	24	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Captured at Plymouth, N.C.; exchanged; promoted 1st sergeant, date not stated.
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SERGEANTS.

Armstrong, Robert W.	18	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, date not stated; sergeant, Jan. 1, 1863.
Denham, James B.	..	" 13, '61	"	Promoted sergeant, Oct. 1, 1861; wounded in action at Camden, N.C.
Ingersoll, William H.	22	" 4, '61	"	Promoted sergeant, Sept. 5, 1862.
Meinacke, Theodore	35	" "	"	Promoted sergeant, May 1, 1862.

CORPORALS.

Craft, George	21	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Jan. 1, 1863.
Dwire, David W.	21	" "	Private Co. I.	Transferred to this company, May 4, 1861; promoted corporal, June 1, 1861.
Fink, John	29	" "	Private	Promoted corporal, Oct. 1, 1861; wounded in action at Camden, N.C.
Hughes, John L.	20	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Jan. 1, 1862; wounded in action at Camden, N.C.
Wallenstein, Henry	21	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Aug. 27, 1862.



COMPANY F.—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## MUSICIANS.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Flockton, Thomas	28	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted chief bugler, May 4, 1861; transferred to Company D, date not stated; to Company F, Dec. 27, 1862.
Walsh, John F.	17	" "	Musician Co. H.	Transferred to this company, May 15, 1861.

## PRIVATES.

Berdan, William	20	May 4, '61	Private	
Busch, Frederick	23	" "	"	
Byrd, Frederick	19	" "	"	
Cochran, Thomas	18	" "	"	
Cole, Alfred E.	22	" "	"	
Coulman, Louis	23	" 16, '61	Private Co. E.	Transferred to this company, Aug. 21, 1861; wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Daley, William H.	21	" 4, '61	Private	
Denham, William	..	" 13, '61	"	
Donohue, Thomas A.	19	" 4, '61	"	
Duncan, William	28	" 13, '61	"	
England, Jacob	22	" 4, '61	"	
Fucet, Louis	28	" "	"	
Gray, John N.	22	" "	"	Captured at Plymouth, N. C.; prisoner of war from Sept. 23 to Dec. 23, 1862.
Gunther, Henry	21	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Hartenfels, William	24	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Hermans, William L.	21	" "	"	
Hoffman, George B.	20	" 15, '61	"	
Hollinswaihthe, John	21	" 4, '61	"	
Howard, Joseph D.	21	July 30, '61	"	Wounded in action at Rainbow Bluffs, N. C.
Hyne, Edwin E.	24	May 15, '61	"	
Kelly, John J.	..	" 13, '61	"	Wounded and captured at Camden, N. C.; exchanged and mustered out with company.
Larkin, John	19	Aug. 16, '61	"	
Leonhard, Jacob	18	May 4, '61	"	
Marshall, Samuel	21	" "	Private Co. I.	Transferred to this company, May 5, 1861.
Monk, Charles T.	18	" "	Private	
Moore, Francis J.	20	" "	"	
Munson, George W.	18	" "	"	
Parezo, Francis M.	28	" "	"	
Reed, William H.	23	" "	Corporal	

## COMPANY F.—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Richards, Joseph H.	20	May 4, '61	Private	
Riley, James	20	" "	"	
Ruff, Segmund	22	" "	"	
Schleth, Henry W.	19	" "	"	
Starr, Amos L.	21	" "	"	
Taylor, George	19	" "	"	
Thompson, George C.	19	" "	"	
Von Grieff, Max	18	" "	"	
Weiss, John P.	20	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N.C.
West, Theodore F.	..	" 15, '61	Private	Transferred to this company, May 15, 1861.
Westervelt, John H.	22	" 4, '61	Private	Transferred to this company, May 5, 1861.
White, Joseph E.	22	" "	Private	
Wiley, Charles H.	33	" "	Drum Major	Transferred to this company as a private
Wright, Clark	21	" "	Corporal	when band was discharged.

## DISCHARGED.

## SERGEANT.

Wilcox, George W.	23	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted sergeant, Jan. 1, 1862; wounded and captured at Camden, N. C.; exchanged; discharged for disability, Aug. 6, 1862, at Annapolis, Md.
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## CORPORAL.

McMillan, John	32	May 4, '61	Corporal	By promotion to captain 87th N. Y. Vol., Oct. 4, 1861.
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## PRIVATES.

Afflick, Stephen D.	18	May 4, '61	Private	For disability at Newport News, Va., June 17, 1861.
Brinkerhoff,	34	Aug. 12, '61	"	For disability at Newbern, N.C., Sept. 6, 1862.
Edward H.				
Bruce, Orsamus B.	21	May 4, '61	"	For disability at Hatteras Inlet, N.C., Oct. 7, 1861.
Carpenter, Jasper, G.	..	" 13, '61	"	For disability at Newport News, Va., Aug. 20, 1861.
Clinton, Joel C.	25	Aug. 17, '61	"	For disability, May 23, 1862.
Cosgrove, James	19	May 4, '61	"	For disability at Newport News, Va., Aug. 20, 1861.
Crookson,	..	June 4, '61	"	Taken prisoner at Camden, N. C.; discharged by promotion to captain 6th N.Y.
Absalom A.				H.A.
Cummins, George G.	23	Aug. 8, '61	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N.C.; discharged for disability, Aug. 8, 1862.
Elke, William H.	24	May 4, '61	"	For disability at Newport News, Va., Aug. 20, 1861.

## DISCHARGED.—COMPANY F.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Elke, Charles	20	May 4, '61	Private	For disability at Newport News, Va., Aug. 20, 1861.
Green, George L.	21	" 13, '61	"	For disability at Newport News, Va., Aug. 20, 1861.
Grogan, John	18	" 4, '61	"	For disability at Newport News, Va., Aug. 26, 1861.
Hodgkins, Augustus	25	" "	"	For disability at Riker's Island, N. Y., June 1, 1861.
Hughes, William H.	24	" "	"	For disability at Falmouth Sta., Va., Aug. 23, 1862.
Leaycraft, John C.	21	" "	"	For disability at Newport News, Va., Aug. 20, 1861.
Neiler, Benjamin F.	28	Aug. 6, '61	"	For disability at Newbern, N. C., Sept. 4, 1862.
Parmenter, Henry	19	May 4, '61	"	For disability at Newport News, Va., Aug. 20, 1861.
Plase, William	17	" "	"	For disability at Riker's Island, N. Y., May 15, 1861.
Read, Thomas	"	" 13, '61	"	For disability at Newport News, Va., Aug. 20, 1861.
Renner, Henry C.	24	May 4, '61	Corporal	For disability at Newbern, N. C., Sept. 6, 1862.
Waldron, Charles H.	20	Aug. 26, '61	Private	For disability at Hatteras Inlet, N. C., Dec. 23, 1861.
Wolf, Louis	23	" 1, '61	"	For disability at Hatteras Inlet, N. C., Nov. 18, 1861.

## TRANSFERRED

To 3D REGIMENT, N. Y. Volunteer Infantry, May 6, 1863.

## CORPORALS.

Bagwell, William E.	27	July 28, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, May 20, 1862.
Johnson, Stephen	27	" 30, '61	"	Promoted corporal, May 1, 1862.
Vallade, Francis	20	Aug. 5, '61	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.; promoted corporal, May 1, 1862.

## PRIVATES.

Beers, Henry A. M.	18	July 30, '61	Private	
Cornwell, Charles H.	18	Aug. 10, '61	"	
Denike, Alexander B.	22	" 3, '61	"	
Depew, William	21	July 30, '61	"	
Feistel, William	20	Aug. 1, '61	"	
Fish, John B.	26	" 20, '61	"	
Goodrich, Leonard	30	" 1, '61	"	
Howell, Francis	19	" 11, '61	"	
Hoyt, John	18	" 7, '61	"	
Johnson, John H.	29	" 11, '61	"	
McDonnell, James	18	" 6, '61	"	

TRANSFERRED.—COMPANY F.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Polhemus, Adelbert C.	20	July 30, '61	Private	
Reed, Samuel E.	22	" 23, '61	"	
Reid, George W.	18	Aug. 1, '61	"	
Smith, George W.	18	" 9, '61	"	
Spaulding, Allen D.	18	Nov. 12, '62	"	
Stewart, Charles H.	..	July 1, '61	"	
Stockholm, John C.	20	Aug. 6, '61	"	
Tate, Samuel	19	" 7, '61	"	
Tumey, John W.	22	" 9, '61	"	
Willis, Isaac N.	24	" 1, '61	"	

## DIED.

## PRIVATES.

Bennett, John H.	30	May 4, '61	Private	Of disease at Newport News, Va., July 26, 1861.
Byrd, John	22	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N.C.; killed in action at Antietam.
Dickson, William H.	18	Aug. 6, '61	"	Of disease at Hatteras Inlet, N.C., Jan. 3, 1862.
Garrison, Lossetter	26	" 7, '61	"	Of disease at Plymouth, N.C., Sept. 24, 1862.
Justice, Thomas	24	" 4, '61	"	Of disease at Hatteras Inlet, N.C., Oct. 13, 1861.
Sheppard, Herman	23	" "	"	Killed in action at Camden, N.C.
Van Houten, William	27	" 14, '61	"	Of disease at Hatteras Inlet, Jan. 13, 1862.
Von Grieff, Otto	21	May 4, '61	"	Promoted corporal, date not stated; killed in action at Camden, N.C.

## DESERTED.

## PRIVATES.

Bath, Theodore	20	May 4, '61	Private	At New York City, May 10, 1861.
Lockwood, David	25	" "	"	At New York City, May 10, 1861.
O'Hara, John	23	" "	"	At New York City, May 10, 1861.
Smith, Julian	22	" "	"	At New York City, May 20, 1861.

**MUSTER-OUT ROLL of CAPTAIN CHARLES CHILDS' COMPANY G,  
9TH REGIMENT, NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS.**

Mustered out with the company, on the 20th day of May, 1863.

**CAPTAIN.**

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Childs, Charles W.	21	May 4, '61	1st Lieut. Co. A	Promoted captain, and transferred to this company, March 15, 1862; wounded in action at Antietam.

**1st LIEUTENANT.**

Harrison, John S.	28	May 4, '61	1st Lieut.	
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**2d LIEUTENANT.**

Glasser, Charles W.	20	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Promoted 1st sergeant, Jan. 1, 1862; 2d lieutenant, Sept. 25, 1862.
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**1st SERGEANT.**

Cannon, Patrick	24	May 4, '61	Private	Wounded in action at Camden, N.C.; promoted 1st sergeant, Nov. 20, 1862.
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**SERGEANTS.**

Clark, Peter	23	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted sergeant, Nov. 26, 1862.
Knight, Frank	21	" "	"	Promoted sergeant, July 1, 1861.
Reisser, Charles	26	" "	"	Promoted sergeant, Aug. 1, 1862.
Riley, Edward	19	" "	"	Promoted sergeant, Jan. 22, 1862.

**CORPORALS.**

Fronapfel, Valentine	28	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Jan. 21, 1862; wounded in action at Camden, N.C.
Holland, Thomas	26	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Oct. 18, 1862.
Mannix, Patrick	20	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Oct. 7, 1862.
Quinn, Hugh	28	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Nov. 26, 1862.
Slaight, David M.	30	" "	"	Promoted corporal, July 1, 1861.

COMPANY G.—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## MUSICIAN.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Deary, James	21	Aug. 14, '62	Private	Mustered out as musician.

## PRIVATEES.

Ackerson, George	22	May 4, '61	Private	
Barrett, Andrew	35	Aug. 6, '61	"	
Brady, Michael	23	May 4, '61	"	
Cannon, Cornelius	19	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Collins, Thomas	22	" "	"	
Cornell, Alonzo	18	June 1, '61	"	
Cotter, Patrick	19	May 4, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Crowley, David	21	" "	"	
Drake, James	27	" "	"	
Drum, Edward	23	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Eadas, John	20	" "	"	
Farley, Thomas	23	" "	"	
Fields, William M.	23	June 1, '61	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Gaffney, John	19	July 31, '61	"	Mustered out at New York City, Aug. 1, 1863.
Gehing, Anthony	20	May 6, '61	"	
Hertling, Michael	21	" 4, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Hill, William	21	" "	"	
Keating, George H.	18	" "	"	
Kenna, Michael	30	" "	"	
King, James	20	June 1, '61	"	
McDonough, Michael	19	May 4, '61	"	
McMurray, William	18	" "	"	
McSorley, Hugh	24	" "	"	
O'Brien, Timothy	21	" "	"	
O'Donnell, Charles	21	" "	"	
Oesan, John	21	" "	"	
Patriok, Daniel	19	" 6, '61	"	Wounded and captured at Antietam; returned to duty, Nov. 28, 1862.
Shuart, Herman	20	" 4, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Spark, Charles J.	21	" "	"	
Toumey, John	21	" "	"	
Van Varick, Joseph	21	Sept. 26, '61	"	
Weaver, John C.	19	May 4, '61	"	

COMPANY G.—Continued.—Mustered out with the Company.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED,		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Weisohar, Antoine	19	May 4, '61	Private	Transferred to this company, May 8, 1861.
Wentz, Jacob	19	" "	Private Co. A.	
Williams, William	25	" "	Corporal	

## TRANSFERRED

TO 3D REGIMENT, N. Y. Volunteer Infantry, May 6, 1863.

## CORPORALS.

Dean, Gilbert E.	36	Aug. 20, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, date not stated.
Russell, John	23	" 16, '61	"	Promoted corporal, March 4, 1863.
Toms, Edgar A.	21	Sept. 1, '61	"	Promoted corporal, Nov. 26, 1862.

## PRIVATES.

Allison, James	19	Aug. 2, '61	Private	
Avent, George E.	24	" 16, '62	"	
Bogart, Cornelius	21	" 6, '61	"	
Brosman, Daniel	19	Sept. 13, '62	"	
Cohen, Leo	21	Aug. 28, '62	"	
Collins, William	22	" 26, '61	"	
Coulman, Charles	26	" 23, '62	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Conlman, Emil J.	20	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Cuthbert, Peter W.	22	" 28, '62	Private Co. D.	Transferred to this company, Oct. 25, 1862.
Dealy, John	22	Sept. 5, '62	Private Co. D.	Transferred to this company, Oct. 25, 1862.
Delmotte, George E.	18	Aug. 1, '61	Private	
Doyle, James	22	Oct. 20, '62	"	
Early, John	19	Aug. 17, '61	"	Wounded in action at Roanoke Island,
Johnson, Charles E.	20	" 27, '62	"	
Kelly, Patrick	23	" 6, '61	"	
Kennedy, John	18	" 19, '61	"	
Kimhark, Alexander	29	Aug. 20, '62	"	
Lounsberry, James S.	35	" 22, '62	"	
McDonough, Eugene	25	" 19, '61	"	

## TRANSFERRED.—COMPANY G.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
McElroy, Hugh	22	Aug. 9, '61	Private	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Mitchel, Robert	23	July 31, '61	"	
Mitchel, William	21	Aug. 30, '61	"	
Murph, John F.	21	Sept. 3, '62	"	
O'Brien, Michael	18	Aug. 14, '61	"	
Orr, James W.	21	" 30, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Parker, John W.	24	" 26, '61	"	
Rockwell, Thomas H.	23	Sept. 1, '62	"	
Taylor, Edward	28	Aug. 14, '62	"	
Teller, George	18	" 10, '61	"	
Thompson, David L.	25	" 13, '62	"	Wounded and captured at Antietam; paroled, Oct. 6, 1862; returned to company.
Tice, William H.	20	" 14, '62	"	
Todd, Benjamin D.	39	" 23, '62	"	
Toms, George B.	26	Sept. 3, '61	"	
Tyack, Solomon	23	" 4, '62	"	
Walsh, Michael	21	Nov. 13, '62	"	
Watson, John	21	Aug. 20, '62	"	

## DISCHARGED.

## 2d LIEUTENANTS.

Burdett, Richard A.	21	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Promoted 1st sergeant, date not stated; 2d lieutenant, Jan. 1, 1862; discharged by resignation, Jan. 30, 1863.
McElrath, Thomson P.	25	" "	2d Lieut.	Discharged to accept commission in 5th U. S. Artillery, June 23, 1861.

## CORPORALS.

Andrews, Stephen P.	18	May 4, '61	Corporal	At New York, May 29, 1861, as being under age.
Ebbis, William H.	20	Aug. 19, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Jan. 20, 1862; discharged for disability, Nov. 28, 1862, at Falmouth Station, Va.

## MUSICIAN.

Matie, William	19	May 4, '61	Musician	May, 1861, at New York, N. Y.
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## DISCHARGED.—COMPANY G.—Continued.

## PRIVATEES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Allison, Evander	20	May 4, '61	Private	For disability, at Hatteras Inlet, N. C., Dec. 5, 1861.
Allison, Garrett	18	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.; discharged for disability at Pleasant Valley, Md., Oct. 25, 1863.
Berthalf, Gilbert	33	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability at Philadelphia, Pa., Jan. 29, 1863.
Boulanger, Frederick	22	" "	"	For disability, at Newport News, Va., Aug. 19, 1861.
Brinkman, Frederick	33	" "	"	For disability, at New York, June 4, 1861.
Connelly, Thomas W.	25	Aug. 24, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability at Baltimore, Md., March 24, 1863.
Crook, Phillip	18	" 21, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged Nov. 11, 1862, by enlistment in Fifth U. S. Cavalry.
Daley, Dennis	30	May 4, '61	"	For disability, at Hatteras Inlet, N. C., Dec. 24, 1861.
Doherty, Daniel	22	" "	"	Captured on board the "Fanny," Oct. 1, 1861; discharged as paroled prisoner, May 21, 1862, at Washington, D. C.
Edsall, William H.	29	" "	"	Captured on board the "Fanny," Oct. 1, 1861; discharged as paroled prisoner, May 21, 1862, at Washington, D. C.
Edwards, Augustus A.	21	Aug. 7, '61	"	For disability, at Fortress Monroe, Va., Jan. 9, 1862.
Ellis, John	21	" 20, '61	"	For disability, at Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 19, 1862.
Everard, Gardner	26	May 4, '61	"	Captured on the "Fanny," Oct. 1, 1861; paroled, May 11, 1862; discharged as paroled prisoner, May 21, 1862.
Ferguson, Samuel H.	18	Aug. 23, '62	"	May 20, 1863; cause not stated.
Goodwin, William	29	" "	"	For disability, at Washington, D. C., Nov. 8, 1862.
Hass, Nicholas	26	May 4, '61	"	For disability, at Newport News, Va., Aug. 19, 1861.
Hawes, Benjamin F.	20	" "	"	For disability, at Newport News, Va., July 31, 1861.
Hawkey, George W.	21	" "	"	For disability, at Newport News, Va., Aug. 26, 1861.
Hodge, William M.	20	" "	"	For disability, at Newport News, Va., Aug. 19, 1861.
Judge, Francis	21	" "	"	For disability, at New York, May 13, 1861.
Kavanagh, Charles	30	" "	"	For disability, at Newport News, Va., Aug. 19, 1861.
Murdock, Andrew	32	Sept. 2, '61	"	Mustered to serve two years; mustered out Sept. 2, 1863.
McMurray, John G.	22	Aug. 19, '62	"	Mustered out June 13, 1865, at Baltimore, Md.
Meyers, Horace W.	20	June 1, '61	"	For disability, at Newport News, Va., Aug. 19, 1861.
Moran, William	18	Aug. 14, '61	"	Captured on board the "Fanny," Oct. 1, 1861; discharged as paroled prisoner, at Washington, D. C., May 21, 1862.
Murray, George E.	26	" 22, '62	"	For disability, at Newport News, Va., Dec. 23, 1862.
Negus, Addison G.	22	May 4, '61	"	For disability, at Newport News, Aug. 19, 1861.
Parker, William J.	28	Aug. 26, '61	"	For disability, at Fortress Monroe, Va., Jan. 10, 1862.
Reynolds, Jesse F.	27	May 4, '61	Private Co. A.	Transferred to this company, May 8, 1861; discharged for disability at Newport News, Va., Aug. 19, 1861.
Sorby, James	24	Aug. 20, '61	Private	For disability, at Pleasant Valley, Md., Oct. 25, 1862.
Spofford, Ira	39	May 4, '61	"	For disability, at New York, N. Y., June 3, 1861.
Sullivan, Jeremiah	21	" "	"	For disability, at New York, N. Y., June 4, 1861.

## MUSTER-OUT ROLL.

DISCHARGED.—COMPANY G.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Vischer, Henry	32	May 4, '61	Private	For disability, at Newport News, Va., Aug 19, 1861.
White, William	22	Aug. 7, '61	"	Wounded and captured, at Camden, N. C., discharged as paroled prisoner, at Washington, D. C., May 21, 1862.

## DIED.

## PRIVATES.

Campbell, John	22	May 4, '61	Private	Died of disease, at Hatteras Inlet, N. C., Oct. 15, 1861.
Conway, James	18	Aug. 20, '61	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
De Lavergne, George A.	25	" 7, '62	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Demorest, John W.	22	May 4, '61	"	Died of disease, at Fortress Monroe, Va., Dec. 18, 1861.
Devlin, John	26	Aug. 16, '62	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Flanigan, Patrick	24	July 31, '61	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Holland, Patrick	19	May 4, '61	"	Promoted sergeant, Jan. 20, 1862; killed in action at Antietam.
Hopper, Jacob H.	23	Aug. 18, '62	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Hubbard, Brainard	18	" 12, '61	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Knapp, William	18	May 4, '61	"	Promoted corporal, date not stated; died of disease at Hatteras Inlet, N. C., Oct. 23, 1861.
Negus, Allen W.	25	" "	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
O'Leary, William	22	Aug. 22, '61	"	Died of disease, at Washington, D.C., Feb. 26, 1863.*

## MISSING IN ACTION.

## PRIVATES.

Thompson, Alfred	19	May 4, '61	Private	Missing in action at Antietam.
McQuade, Henry	23	" "	"	Missing in action at Antietam.

## DESERTED.

## PRIVATES.

Carroll, John	19	May 4, '61	Private	Oct. 30, 1862, at hospital Washington, D.C.
Decker, William E.	19	" "	"	May, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.
Marshall, John	20	" "	"	May, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.

## DESERTED.—COMPANY G.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Muller, Simon	19	May 4, '61	Private	Feb. 25, 1862, while on furlough.
Murgor, John W.	22	" "	"	Promoted corporal, date not stated; deserted, at Washington, D. C., Oct. 30, 1862.
Scott, William	26	" "	"	Oct. 10, 1862, at hospital, Washington, D.C.
Van Name, Aaron	26	Aug. 14, '62	"	Nov. 12, 1862, while on sick furlough.

## NOT ACCOUNTED FOR.

## PRIVATE.

Kabele, John	24	May 4, '61	Private	No further record.
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MUSTER-OUT ROLL of CAPTAIN HENRY C. PERLEY'S COMPANY H,  
9TH REGIMENT, NEW YORK VOLUNTEER INFANTRY.

Mustered out with the company, May 20th, 1863.

CAPTAIN.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Perley, Henry C.	19	May 4, '61	1st Lieut. Co. F.	Promoted captain and transferred to this company, March 1, 1863.

1st LIEUTENANT.

McKechnie, Robert	25	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Promoted 1st sergeant, June 10, 1861; 2d lieutenant, Dec. 22, 1861; 1st lieutenant, March 5, 1862.
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2d LIEUTENANT.

Rankin, Thomas	26	May 4, '61	Corporal	Promoted sergeant, June 10, 1861; 1st sergeant, Dec. 22, 1861; 2d lieutenant, March 8, 1863.
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1st SERGEANT.

Johnston, Robert M.	23	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Promoted 1st sergeant, March 15, 1863.
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SERGEANTS.

Hodges, Thomas	29	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Wounded in action at Antietam.
McMahon, Hugh	31	" "	Private	Promoted corporal Oct. 1, 1861; wounded in action at Camden, N. C.; promoted sergeant, March 16, 1863.
Woolcot, William	23	" "	Corporal	Promoted sergeant, Dec. 22, 1861.

CORPORALS.

Bower, William	18	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, March 15, 1863.
Burns, William H.	21	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.; promoted corporal, Feb. 1, 1863.
Daney, Alexander	21	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Dec. 22, 1861; wounded and captured at Camden, N. C.; exchanged.
Matthews, William	21	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Oct. 1, 1861.
Newman, Henry	19	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Dec. 22, 1861.
Norris, William	20	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Feb. 1, 1863.

COMPANY H—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## MUSICIANS.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Curtis, Wilbur F.	33	May 4, '61	Private	Appointed bugler, May 17, 1861.
Kompe, Adolph	17	Jan. 1, '62	Private Co. G 103d N. Y.	Transferred to this regiment and company Jan. 15, 1863; mustered out as musician.

## PRIVATEES.

Barton, David	22	May 4, '61	Private	
Bradley, Robert	19	" "	"	
Burk, Thomas	28	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Carter, George B.	28	" 31, '61	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Cottrell, Elijah	30	" 4, '61	"	
Crosson, John	23	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Dewey, Robert J.	19	" "	"	
Genderman, John	21	" "	"	
Gillespie, John	19	" "	"	
Gurdrey, Timothy	25	" "	"	
Hamilton, Alexander F.	21	June 4, '61	"	
Hammer, Francis	..	....	Musician 103d N. Y.	Transferred to this company and regiment, Jan. 15, 1863.
Hartley, William	20	May 4, '61	Private	
Huber, John P.	18	" "	"	
Irwin, Henry	21	" "	"	
Jessup, Willam	28	" 18, '61	"	
Johnston, George W.	20	" 4, '61	"	
Kanth, Francis	19	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Krekel, William	20	" "	"	
Kruntz, John H.	21	" "	"	
Leslie, William	20	" "	"	
Lowe, George D.	18	" "	"	
Maxwell, Alexander	19	" "	"	
Mayer, Edward	24	" "	"	
McDermott, Peter	19	" "	"	
McGlinnis, James	21	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
McNamara, Francis	26	" "	"	
Murphy, Martin	21	" "	"	
Murtha, Patrick	24	Jan. 14, '62	"	Enlisted at Hatteras Inlet, N. C.
Naeber, Thomas A.	20	May 4, '61	"	
Nash, Patrick	19	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.

COMPANY H.—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTEERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Panlding, William	18	Aug. 22, '61	Private	
Twaddle, John	19	May 4, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Vaullnda, Samuel P.	17	Sept. 26, '62	"	Mustered out as musician.
Wallace, Thomas	20	May 4, '61	"	
Williams, Thomas	18	" "	"	
Wiseman, Charles	20	" "	"	
Witt, Francis	19	" "	"	
Wood, Dewitt	20	" "	Sergeant	
Wyman, Charles	18	" "	Private	

## TRANSFERRED

TO 3D REGIMENT, N. Y. VOLUNTEER INFANTRY, MAY 6, 1863.

## CORPORALS.

Preston, Patrick	19	July 31, '61	Private	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.; promoted corporal, date not stated. Promoted corporal, date not stated; wounded in action at Antietam.
Leslie, John R.	24	Aug. 8, '61	"	

## PRIVATES.

Blegen, Henry	19	Aug. 8, '61	Private	
Browning, John	20	" 30, '62	"	
Burhans, Jacob L.	21	" 20, '62	"	
Byrnes, James	18	Oct. 16, '62	"	
Carter, Willard	19	Aug. 13, '62	"	
Coyle, James	25	Sept. 25, '62	"	
Eckstein, Isaac	22	Oct. 24, '62	"	
Faddan, William H.	19	Sept. 16, '62	"	
Fallan, Peter	20	Aug. 8, '61	"	
Folwell, Cortland	19	" 28, '62	"	
Glock, Bernard	20	" 10, '61	"	
Hankinson, Thomas D.	20	" 29, '62	"	
Hickey, Dennis J.	19	" 5, '61	"	
Joyce, Patrick	31	Sept. 15, '62	"	
Kahn, Isaac	19	" 8, '61	"	

MUSTER-OUT ROLL.

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TRANSFERRED.—COMPANY H.—Continued.

PRIVATEs.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Kleiner, Alexander	19	Aug. 7, '61	Private	
Kratt, Christopher	20	" 10, '61	"	
Lawlor, Andrew	19	Oct. 16, '62	"	
Lynch, John	22	Aug 25, '62	"	
Martin, James J.	18	" 26, '62	"	
McClelland, John	18	" 2, '61	"	
McCormick, Patrick	20	" 8, '61	"	
McCormick, Patrick	21	Oct. 16, '62	"	
Naeber, John	22	Sept. 4, '61	"	
Netter, James	18	Oct. 20, '62	"	
Nolan, Henry J.	19	Aug. 5, '61	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
O'Hara, James	18	" 25, '62	"	
Owens, Bernard	19	Oct. 14, '62	"	
Patrick, James	19	Aug. 25, '62	"	
Reilly, Andrew	18	Oct. 6, '62	"	
Reilly, John	19	Aug. 9, '61	"	
Schneider, Charles E.	19	Sept. 3, '61	"	

DISCHARGED.

CAPTAIN.

Rodrigues, Joseph C.	30	May 4, '61	Captain	By resignation, Dec. 29, 1862.
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1st LIEUTENANT.

Rossell, William H.	24	May 27, '61	Private Co. I.	Promoted 1st lieutenant, May 31, 1861; transferred to this company, Feb. 3, 1862; discharged by resignation, Feb. 15, 1862.
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2d LIEUTENANT.

Lafon, Vincent F.	21	May 4, '61	2d Lieut.	Discharged to date May 17, 1861.
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SERGEANT.

Byrne, John	21	May 4, '61	Corporal	Promoted sergeant, June 10, 1861; wounded at Antietam; discharged for disability at Philadelphia, Pa., April 17, 1863.
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## DISCHARGED.—COMPANY H.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Benner, Francis	19	May 4, '61	Private	Wounded while on picket; discharged for disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Black, John	19	" "	"	At New York, May 7, 1861; no cause assigned.
Brady, John T.	18	" "	Corporal	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Dockstader, Crosby	26	" "	Private	May 21, 1861, at New York, N. Y.
Dockstader, Lancy	26	" "	"	For disability, Jan. 29, 1863, at Convalescent Camp, Va.
Fauth, Jacob A.	18	Aug. 9, '62	"	For disability, Jan. 29, 1863, at Washington, D. C.
Finch, Matthew M.	20	May 31, '61	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Lyons, James H.	19	" 4, '61	"	May 11, 1861, at New York, N. Y.
McCormick, John	19	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Moore, Lafayette	18	" "	"	For disability, May 4, 1861, at New York, N. Y.
Owens, John	19	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Feb. 25, 1863, at Philadelphia, Pa.
Reese, William	19	" 5, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Jan. 8, 1863, at Convalescent Camp, Va.
Simlg, Bernard	22	" 4 '61	"	For disability, April 1, 1863, at Baltimore, Md.
Simons, Harris	21	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Snyder, Samuel	20	" "	"	Wounded in action at Fredericksburg, Va.; discharged for disability, April 25, 1863, at New York, N. Y.
Thompson, Adam	18	Aug. 9, '61	Private Co. G.	Transferred to this company, Sept. 26, 1861; discharged for disability, May 26, 1862, at Roanoke Island, N. C.
Trotter, Frances	20	May 4, '61	Private	Captured on board the "Fanny," Oct. 1, 1861; mustered out as paroled prisoner, May 21, 1862, at Washington, D. C.
Wallace, John	21	Aug. 29, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Dec. 11, 1862, at Baltimore, Md.
Wood, William H.	21	July 31, '61	"	For disability, Dec. 27, 1861, at Fortress Monroe, Va.
Wyman, William	20	May 4, '61	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.

## DIED.

## CORPORALS.

Busam, Christian	22	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Oct. 1, 1861; killed in action at Antietam.
Patterson, William	19	" "	"	Promoted corporal, June 10, 1861; killed in action at Antietam (was in the color guard at that time.)

## PRIVATES.

Cavanagh, William D.	20	July 31, '61	Private	Killed in action at Camden, N. C.
Daly, Patrick	19	Aug. 30, '61	"	Killed in action at Camden, N. C.



## DIED.—COMPANY H.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Donohue, Francis	19	May 4, '61	Private	Killed in action at Antietam.
Eisley, John A.	24	" "	Private	Transferred to this company, Sept. 26, 1861; died of wound received at Camden, N. C.
Fleming, David	18	Aug. 5, '61	Private	Transferred to this company, Jan. 1, 1862; killed in action at Antietam.
Johnston, David	19	May 4, '61	Private	Transferred to this company, Jan. 1, 1862; killed in action at Antietam.
Johnston, John	29	July 31, '61	Private	Died of wounds received at Antietam.
Magne, George	24	May 4, '61	"	Killed in action at Camden, N. C.
O'Connell, John	18	Aug. 27, '61	Private	Transferred to this company, Sept. 26, 1861; died of wounds received in action at Antietam.
Pearson, Thomas	22	May 4, '61	Private	Died of wounds received at Antietam.
Stephenson, William R.	18	Aug. 2, '61	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Vanness, Samuel J.	19	May 4, '61	Drummer	Died of disease, Aug. 9, 1862, at Newport News, Va.
Walan, John	28	Aug. 12, '61	Private	Transferred to this company, Sept. 26, 1861; drowned off transport near Aquia Creek, Va., Aug. 13, 1862.

## DESERTED.

## PRIVATES.

Black, Robert	..	....	Private	In May, 1861.
Burns, John	23	May 4, '61	"	At New York, May 5, 1861.
Davis, David	27	" "	"	At New York, May 5, 1861.
Hart, Henry	18	" "	"	At Rockville, Md., Sept. 9, 1862.
Cole, Calvin	30	Aug. 22, '61	Private	Transferred to this company, Dec. 8, 1861
Mallett, Theodore	21	Sept. 1, '62	Private	deserted at Rockville, Md., Sept. 9, 1862.
McBride, Matthew	22	Aug. 26, '62	Private	Transferred to this company, Nov. 25, 1862; deserted at Falmouth, Va., Nov. 30, 1862.
McCaffy, Michael	24	Oct. 3, '62	"	At New York, May 1, 1863.
Orr, James	19	May 4, '61	"	At New York, May 15, 1861.
Rigby, Thomas	21	" "	"	At Riker's Island, May 21, 1861.
Schradin, Henry	20	" "	"	May 5, 1861, at New York, N. Y.
Skinner, John C.	32	" "	"	May 5, 1861, at New York, N. Y.
White, Samuel	20	Oct. 8, '62	"	Nov. 30, 1862, at Falmouth Sta., Va.

MUSTER-OUT ROLL of CAPTAIN LAWRENCE LEAHY'S COMPANY I,  
9TH REGIMENT, NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS.

Mustered out with the company, on the 20th day of May, 1863.

CAPTAIN.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Leahy, Lawrence	21	May 4, '61	1st Lieut.	Promoted captain, March 15, 1862.

1st LIEUTENANT.

Fleming James H.	26	May 4, '61	2d Lieut.	Promoted 1st lieutenant, Feb. 14, 1862.
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2d LIEUTENANT.

Andrews, William S.	20	May 4, '61	1st Sergeant Co G	Promoted 2d lieutenant, June 24, 1861; de- tailed signal officer at army headquarters.
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1st SERGEANT.

Paret, Charles H.	25	May 4, '61	Sergeant	Promoted 1st sergeant, Nov. 1, 1862.
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SERGEANTS.

Kervan, Edward H.	20	May 4, '61	Private Co. F.	Transferred to this company, May 5, 1861; promoted sergeant same date; wounded in action at Antietam.
McKinley, John	27	" "	Private	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.; pro- moted corporal, May 1, 1862; sergeant, Nov. 1, 1862.
Ross, John G.	21	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Oct. 1, 1861; sergeant, Nov. 1, 1861.
Rourke, Thomas	24	" "	Sergeant	

CORPORALS.

Boyd, Dewitt C.	19	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Oct. 23, 1862.
Brown, William	24	" "	"	Promoted corporal, March 7, 1863.
Davis, John S.	20	" "	Corporal	
Gough, James J.	21	" "	Private	Promoted corporal, Feb. 12, 1862.
Hill, Charles E.	26	" "	Corporal	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Severence, William	25	" "	Private	Promoted corporal, Nov. 1, 1862.

COMPANY I.—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## MUSICIAN.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Scott, William T.	19	May 4, '61	Musician	

## PRIVATEES.

Bartlett, Frederick E.	24	May 4, '61	Private	
Bell, Richard	20	" "	"	
Bliss, Joseph D.	19	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Bolger, Thomas	19	" "	"	
Cavanaugh, James	27	" "	"	
Cockefair, William	22	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Colton, Michael	22	" "	"	
Donavan, Timothy D.	20	" "	"	
Downey, Dennis	..	" 27, '61	"	
Driscoll, William	19	" 4, '61	"	
Eddie, Charles B.	21	" "	"	
Flanagan, William	22	" "	"	
Graham, Charles D.	19	" "	"	
Hagan, Daniel J.	21	" "	"	
Johnston, Charles F.	21	" "	"	Wounded in action at Camden, N. C.
Kirman, James	19	" "	"	
Kitz, Nicholas	22	" "	"	
Krohr, William	21	" "	"	
Lanagan, Edward	25	" "	"	
Luckmeyer, John	23	" "	"	
McCaffrey, Francis	20	" "	"	
Meyers, William	19	" "	"	
Milling, John	22	" "	"	
Moore, William	18	" "	"	
Platt, Lewis A.	29	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Schultz, James	19	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Schwartz, Jacob	21	" "	"	
Smythe, William H.	24	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Sweeney, Peter B.	18	" "	"	
Thain, Hamilton W.	18	" "	Private Co. F.	Transferred to this company, May 5, 1861; wounded in action at Antietam.
Turner, John	20	" "	Private	

COMPANY I.—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Warke, William	..	May, 15 '61	Private	
Watterson, Henry W.	19	" 4, '61	"	
Wareing, William H.	25	" 15, '61	"	

## TRANSFERRED

To 3D REGIMENT, N. Y. Volunteer Infantry, May 6, 1863.

## SERGEANT.

Thompson, Walter L.	24	Aug. 21, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Oct. 1, 1861; sergeant, Nov. 1, 1861.
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## CORPORALS.

Tooker, James R.	19	Aug. 22, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, date not stated.
Smith, John	23	Sept. 3, '61	"	Promoted corporal, Jan. 1, 1863.
Laughlin, George	22	Aug. 22, '61	"	Promoted corporal, Jan. 1, 1863.

## PRIVATES.

Benner, Nicholas	21	Aug. 21, '62	Private	
Berrlan, Mervin J.	22	" 23, '62	"	
Blanchard, James	19	" 22, '62	"	
Brooks, James	21	Oct. 21, '62	"	
Buckland, Charles	19	Aug. 3, '61	"	
Cuttle, George C.	21	Sept. 10, '62	"	
Dalton, Henry	24	Aug. 19, '62	"	To Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.
Daly, David N.	24	Sept. 24, '62	"	
Daly, John H.	22	" 29, '62	"	
Demott, Peter N.	21	Aug. 23, '62	"	
Dixon, Jeremiah	25	" 21, '62	"	To Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.
Dickinson, John W.	19	" 22, '62	"	
Driscoll, Jeremiah	18	" 20, '62	"	
England, John	25	Aug. 31, '61	"	
Feeley, Patrick	28	" 30, '61	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Fitzpatrick, John	22	" 21, '62	"	To Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.

## TRANSFERRED.—COMPANY I.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Freed, William T.	21	Aug. 23, '62	Private	
Gallagher, James	21	May 27, '61	"	
Hatfield, Leonard	20	Aug. 22, '61	"	
Heckler, Frank	19	Sept. 2, '61	"	Wounded and captured at Camden, N. C.; exchanged.
Hughes, John E.	20	Aug. 22, '62	"	
Kehoe, John	24	" 21, '62	"	
Keyser, John	21	" 28, '62	"	
Kippax, William H.	19	" 22, '61	"	
Lewis, Richard V.	21	Sept. 19, '62	"	
Madden, James	19	Aug. 22, '61	"	
Maher, Michael	19	Sept. 22, '62	"	Transferred to Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.
Marsh, Samuel H.	20	May 20, '61	"	
McCluskey, Hugh	25	Aug. 22, '62	"	
McCne, Edward J.	21	" 21, '62	"	Transferred to Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.
McGloin, William	21	" 20, '62	"	Transferred to Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.
McVey, Samuel	18	" 22, '61	"	
Mead, James	18	June 2, '61	Private	Transferred to this company, Nov. 16, 1861.
Reed, William H.	22	Nov. 7, '62	Co. B. Private	Transferred to Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.
Ryan, Stephen	19	Aug. 26, '62	"	
Smith, Henry J.	21	" 19, '62	"	
Smith, John B.	21	Oct. 7, '62	"	Transferred to Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.
Sweeney, Joseph	21	Aug. 9, '62	"	Transferred to Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.
Wheeler, Thomas	28	" 30, '62	"	Transferred to Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.
White, James	23	Sept. 30, '62	"	Transferred to Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.

## DISCHARGED.

## CAPTAINS.

Barnard, Leon	30	May 3, '61	1st Lieut. 1st. N. Y.	Commissioned captain in First New York Infantry; transferred to this regiment and company, July 31, 1861; discharged by resignation, March 15, 1862.
Copcutt, Henry W.	26	" 4, '61	Captain	By resignation, Aug. 12, 1861.

## 1st LIEUTENANT.

Burke, Timothy J.	25	May 4, '61	1st Lieut.	Discharged by resignation, May 26, 1861.
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## DISCHARGED.—COMPANY I.—Continued.

## CORPORAL.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Dennis, Edward	20	Aug. 22, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, date not stated; wounded in action at Antietam; discharged for disability, Jan. 13, 1863, at Frederick, Md.

## PRIVATEES.

Albright, Charles A.	18	Aug. 18, '62	Private	For disability, Nov. 19, 1862.
Beaton, Charles H.	19	May 4, '61	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Beaur, Albert	20	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Beith, James	19	" "	"	Captured on the "Fanny," Oct. 1, 1861; mustered out as paroled prisoner, May 21, 1862, at Washington, D. C.
Carson, John	20	" "	"	Captured on the "Fanny," Oct. 1, 1861; mustered out as paroled prisoner, May 21, 1862, at Washington, D. C.
Corsa, Lewis A.	..	June 19, '62	"	For disability, Feb. 16, 1863, at Convalescent Camp, Va.
Crosby, Robert	20	May 4, '61	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Curry, William	..	June 5, '61	"	For disability, Oct. 16, 1862, at Providence, R. I.
Dalton, Henry	20	May 10, '61	"	For disability, May 14, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.
Foley, Thomas	22	Sept. 29, 62	"	Wounded at Fredericksburg, Va.; discharged for disability, March 1, 1863, at Washington, D. C.
Fulton, David	..	May 27, '61	"	For disability, Dec. 5, 1861, at Hatteras Inlet, N. C.
Fulton, Theodore	19	" 4, '61	"	For disability, June 27, 1862, at Roanoke Island, N. C.
Griffin, Jacob M.	20	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Hamilton, David	20	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Hutton, William S.	20	Aug. 22, '61	"	For disability, June 30, 1862, at Roanoke Island, N. C.
McDevitt, Daniel	33	" 8, '61	"	Jan. 9, 1863, at Providence, R. I.
Smith, James	24	May 4, '61	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Thatcher, Charles B.	19	" "	"	For disability, May 10, 1861, at New York, N. Y.
Wood, William	19	Aug. 30, '61	"	Dishonorably, by sentence of G. C. M., to date, Aug. 30, 1863.

## DIED.

## SERGEANT.

McClinchy, John	22	May 4, '61	Corporal	Promoted sergeant prior to June 30, 1861; drowned at Hatteras Inlet, N. C., Nov. 11, 1861.
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## CORPORAL.

Adair, John	..	June 1, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Oct. 1, 1861; killed in action at Antietam.
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MUSTER-OUT ROLL.

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DIED—COMPANY I.—Continued.

PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Collins, Levi	19	May 4, '61	Private	Killed in action at Antietam.
Haltzmar, Charles	22	" "	"	Killed while on guard at Newport News, Va., Sept. 1, 1861.
Matzer, John	21	Aug. 15, '61	"	Died of disease, Dec. 15, 1862, at Alexandria, Va.
Murph, James	23	May 4, '61	"	Killed in action at Antietam.
Seward, William M.	20	" "	"	Promoted corporal, Sept. 1, 1861; killed in action at Camden, N. C.
Warren, Albert	25	" "	"	Drowned off transport in N. Y. harbor, June 5, 1861.

DESERTED.

PRIVATES.

Adams, Robert	22	May 4, '61	Corporal	July 1, 1861, at Fortress Monroe, Va.
Bodell, Charles	20	" "	Private	May 28, 1861, at New York, N. Y.
Cassidy, Charles	19	" "	"	May 15, 1861, at New York, N. Y.
Dalton, Charles	19	" "	"	Dec. 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va., face of the enemy.
Devers, Charles	22	Aug. 22, '61	"	Promoted corporal, date not stated; deserted Aug. 12, 1862, at Falmouth Station, Va.
Gallagher, Charles	..	May 27, '61	"	Sept. 14, 1862, at South Mountain, Md., face of the enemy.
Marand, Thomas	18	" 4, '61	"	June 5, 1861, at New York, N. Y.
Pettigrew, John	18	Aug. 20, '62	"	Sept. 14, 1862, at South Mountain, Md., face of the enemy.
Quaok, Charles	..	....	"	In May, 1861,
Shaw, William	22	May 4, '61	"	Dec. 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va., face of the enemy.
Sprontz, Nicholas	19	" "	"	June 5, 1861, at New York, N. Y.
Tralnor, Phillip	21	Oct. 21, '62	"	Feb. 6, 1863, at Aquia Creek, Va.
Von Ullen, William	19	Aug. 16, '61	"	Sept. 29, 1862, at Antietam Iron Works, Md.
Wallen, Franklin	22	May 4, '61	"	May 24, 1861, New York, N. Y.
Wheeler, Henry W.	20	" "	"	Dec. 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va., in face of the enemy.
Wilcox, Charles	21	" "	"	May 24, 1861, at New York, N. Y.
Zinch, Charles	20	" "	"	May 24, 1861, at New York, N. Y.

NO RECORD.

PRIVATE.

Flanigan, Richard	..	May 27, '61	Private	No further record.
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**MUSTER-OUT ROLL of CAPTAIN RICHARD H. MORRIS' COMPANY K,  
9TH REGIMENT, NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS.**

Mustered out with the company, on the 20th day of May, 1863.

**CAPTAIN.**

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Morris, Richard H.	21	May 4, '61	Sergeant Co. C	Promoted 2d lieutenant, Co. H, June 1, 1861; 1st lieutenant, Co. K, Dec. 25, 1861; captain, Sept. 30, 1862.

**1st LIEUTENANT.**

Donaldson, John L.	21	May 4, '61	1st Sergeant	Promoted 2d lieutenant, Feb. 15, 1862; 1st lieutenant, Aug. 10, 1862.
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**2d LIEUTENANT.**

Shields, John R.	19	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal in 1861; 1st sergeant, Dec. 1, 1862; 2d lieutenant, March 16, 1863.
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**1st SERGEANT.**

McLaughlin, Michael	25	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal June 18, 1861; sergeant, Oct. 1, 1861; 1st sergeant, March, 16, 1863.
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**SERGEANTS.**

Newber, Chales F.	19	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, date not stated; sergeant, March 1, 1863.
Starr, John H.	23	" "	Sergeant	
Uford, John L.	19	" "	Private	Promoted sergeant, Aug. 19, 1862.

**CORPORALS.**

Curley, Michael	20	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, Feb. 4, 1862.
Hopper, George	..	" 15, '61	"	Promoted corporal, Dec. 17, 1861.
Horne, James	20	" 4, '61	"	Promoted corporal, Feb. 1, 1862.
Kelly, Michael	21	" "	"	Promoted corporal, prior to Aug. 1862.
Scott, Edward	19	" "	"	Promoted corporal, March 5, 1863.



COMPANY K—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## MUSICIANS.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Hutchinson, William	20	May 4, '61	Musician	Transferred to this regiment and company, Jan. 13, 1863.
Ritter, Peter	16	Nov. 5, '61	Musician Co. K, 103d N. Y.	

## PRIVATES.

Alvord, Walter B.	19	May 4, '61	Private	
Anketel, William T.	19	" "	"	
Bamerick, Thomas	19	" "	"	
Blair, Thomas	19	" "	"	
Brodigan, Patrick	21	" "	"	
Clark, Bernard	21	" "	"	
Cole, Francis	23	" "	"	
Connelly, Patrick	..	" 29, '61	"	
Cook, Theodore	20	" 4, '61	"	
Corsini, Giovanni	28	" "	"	
Cunningham, Michael	19	" "	"	
Fanning, William	21	" "	"	
Farley, Thomas	19	" "	"	
Fleming, Howard	22	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Gaynor, Frederick	22	" "	"	
Henley, John	19	" "	"	
Hickey, Michael	23	" "	"	
Hogan, James	20	" "	"	Wounded in action at Antietam.
Hylar, William	20	" "	"	
Johnston, Robert	19	" "	"	
Kelly, Patrick	21	" "	"	
Kline, Peter	31	" "	"	
Knapp, William	20	" "	"	
Malone, John	20	" "	"	
Mansfield, Francis	27	" "	"	
Marks, Jonas	30	" "	"	
McGinnis, John	19	" 29, '61	"	
McMullin, William	19	" 4, '61	"	
McNellis, Patrick	21	" "	"	
Minay, Michael	19	" "	"	
Mulligan, Michael	21	" "	"	

COMPANY K.—Continued. Mustered out with the Company.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Nash, John	20	May 4, '61	Private	
Nicholas, George C.	22	" "	"	
Nolan, Walter	22	" 27, '61	"	
Presley, Benjamin	26	" 4, '61	"	
Prine, William	20	" "	"	
Ryan, John	20	" "	"	
Schaefer, John	21	" "	"	
Sheik, Edward	30	" "	"	
Stapleton, Thomas	21	" "	"	
Stevens, Daniel F.	21	" "	"	
Walker, Robert	23	" "	"	
Wandling, Charles	20	" "	"	
Wendell, Jacob	20	" "	"	
Wilkinson,	22	" "	"	
Wright, James	19	" "	"	

## TRANSFERRED

TO 3D REGIMENT, N. Y. Volunteer Infantry, May 6, 1863.

## 1st LIEUTENANT.

Silva, Francis A.	..	May 13, '61	1st Lieut.	Transferred to 1st Reg't N. Y. Inf'ty, July 31, 1861.
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## SERGEANTS.

O'Byrne, Michael C.	20	Aug. 20, '61	Private Co. B.	Transferred to this company, Aug. 31, 1862; promoted corporal, March 5, 1863; sergeant, date not stated.
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## CORPORALS.

Holt, Stephen J.	20	Sept. 2, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, May 1, 1862.
Singleton, John	24	Aug. 6, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, March 5, 1863.

## TRANSFERRED.—COMPANY K.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Anderson, Alfred	22	Aug. 13, '61	Private	
Bliss, Frank	18	" 12, '61	"	
Brady, Terance	22	" 30, '62	Private	Transferred to this company, Oct. 26, 1862; to Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.
Brower, Austin	18	" 19, '61	Co. I. Private	
Burke, Richard	20	" 7, '62	"	
Campbell, Thomas	19	" 26, '62	Private	Transferred to this company, Oct. 26, 1862; to Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.
Chambers, John	21	" 20, '62	Co. I. Private	
Close, James	18	" 9, '61	Co. I. Private	Transferred to this company, Oct. 26, 1862.
Cox, Albert	19	" 26, '61	"	
Demarest, John J.	24	Sept. 6, '62	"	
Dreyer, John H.	19	Aug. 19, '61	"	
Ferris, Charles W.	18	" 18, '62	Private	Transferred to this company, Oct. 26, 1862; to Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.
Finley, William N.	20	" 28, '62	Co. I. Private	
Folks, John P.	21	Sept. 4, '62	Co. I. Private	Transferred to this company, Oct. 26, 1862.
Gibbons, Edward W.	20	" 16, '62	"	Transferred to Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.
Hall, David	21	" 8, '62	"	
Hand, Joseph B.	28	Aug. 28, '61	Private	Transferred to this company, Jan. 10, 1862.
Hanson, David	19	" 7, '62	Co. G. Private	
Hazlett, James	19	Aug. 7, '62	"	
Hulse, Lewis H.	..	Oct. 8, '62	"	Transferred to Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.
Joost, John	23	Sept. 23, '62	"	
Kelly, John	28	Aug. 26, '62	"	To Morris' battery, May 3, 1863,
Lock, William A.	21	Sept. 30, '62	"	
Lockry, James	26	Aug. 21, '62	"	To Morris' battery, May 3, 1863.
Lockwood, Charles H.	24	" 18, '62	"	
Martin, William	18	" 19, '61	"	
Mathews, Joseph	21	" 7, '62	Private	Transferred to this company, Oct. 26, 1862.
McFadden, John	22	Sept. 2, '61	Co. D. Private	
McGinley, Robert Jr.	19	Aug. 29, '62	"	
Merritt, Isaac M.	18	" 22, '61	"	
Mulvihill, Michael	20	Sept. 2, '62	"	
Fendleton, Sylvester	18	Aug. 22, '61	"	
Purdy, James R.	25	" 18, '62	"	
Shields, Charles A.	19	" 23, '61	"	
Sutton, Edward	27	Sept. 10, '62	Private	Transferred to this company, Oct. 26, 1862; to Morris' battery May 3, 1863.
Wetteraw, George W.	20	Aug. 26, '62	Co. D. Private	
Wright, Andrew J.	82	" 8, '61	"	

## DISCHARGED.

## CAPTAINS.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Stiner, Joseph N.	28	May 4, '61	Captain	July 30, 1861, by resignation.
Anthon, John H.	..	....	....	Commissioned captain; not mustered; discharged July 31st, 1861.
Whiting, James B., Jr.	..	Sept. 3, '61	1st Lieut.	Promoted captain, Nov. 23, 1861; discharged by resignation, Sept. 30, 1862.

## LIEUTENANTS.

Foster, Frank T.	28	May 4, '61	1st Lieut.	Discharged by resignation, May 13, 1861.
Doughty, George T.	21	May 4, '61	2d Lieut.	Discharged by resignation, Aug. 26, 1861.
Eytinge, Harry	19	" "	Corporal	Promoted sergeant, Aug. 1, 1861; 2d lieutenant, Sept. 24, 1861; discharged by resignation, Dec. 6, 1861.

## SERGEANT.

Fish, Latham A.	19	Aug. 2, '61	Private Co. C.	Promoted corporal, Oct. 1, 1861; transferred to this company, Aug. 9, 1862; promoted sergeant, Aug. 19, 1862; discharged by promotion to 2d lieutenant 174th N. Y., Nov. 13, 1862.
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## CORPORAL.

Sullivan, William	22	May 4, '61	Private	Promoted corporal, May 20, 1861; sergeant, July 15, 1861; discharged for disability, June 2, 1862.
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## PRIVATES.

Acker, George	21	Sept. 13, '62	Private	For disability, Jan. 13, 1863,
Blanchard, Allan	19	May 4, '61	"	For disability, Nov. 10, 1862, at New York, N. Y.
Bowers, George	20	" "	"	For disability, July 3, 1862, at Roanoke Island, N. C.
Cox, Michael	20	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 14, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Flanigan, Christopher	26	" "	Sergeant	For disability, Aug. 14, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Hanna, Francis	22	" "	Corporal	For disability, June 1, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.
Hilderbrand, Basil	22	" "	Private	For disability, Aug. 14, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Karker, Lewis	25	" "	"	For disability, Nov. 18, 1861, at Hatteras Inlet, N. C.
Mahon, Michael	32	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 14, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
McCarthy, Thomas	30	Aug. 23, '61	"	For disability, Jan. 5, 1863, at Falmouth Station, Va.
McLaughlin, Alexander	22	May 4, '61	"	For disability, Aug. 14, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
McSorley, Lewis	21	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 14, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Monroe, Robert	19	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 14, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Morrison, Thomas	32	Aug. 9, '61	"	For disability, June 3, 1862, at Roanoke Island, N. C.
Ritchie, James	20	May 4, '61	"	For disability, Aug. 14, 1861, at Newport News, Va.

## DISCHARGED.—COMPANY K.—Continued.

## PRIVATES.

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		REMARKS.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Ross, Henry	18	May 4, '61	Private	May 29, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.
Schaffer, Valentine	30	" "	"	For disability, June 18, 1861.
Shannan, Sylvester	19	" "	"	June 1, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.
Sherwin, George J.	28	" "	Corporal	For disability, June 15, 1861.
Silva, Valentine M.	18	Aug. 9, '61	Private	Dec. 18, 1862, at Washington, D. C.
Skillery, Charles	19	May 4, '61	"	For disability, Aug. 14, 1861, at Newport News, Va.
Travis, William	18	" "	"	For disability, May 11, 1861.
Walsh, John	21	" "	"	Feb. 3, 1863, at Falmouth Station, Va., by sentence of a G. C. martial.
Yenny, Joseph	22	" "	"	For disability, Aug. 20, 1861, at Newport News, Va.

## DIED.

## PRIVATES.

Grunther, John	21	Aug. 18, '62	Private	Of disease, Dec. 24, 1862, at Point Lookout, Md.
Rose, Solomon	21	May 15, '61	Sergeant	Of disease, July 25, 1862, at New York, N. Y.
Scanlon, Richard	21	" "	Private	Of wounds received in action at Roanoke Island, N. C.

## DESERTED.

## PRIVATES.

Browning, John	21	May 4, '61	Private	June 1, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.
Deck, Francis	21	" "	"	June 3, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.
Heldorf, Anthony	34	" "	Sergeant	Reduced, date not stated; deserted, June 3, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.
McCnsker, Terence B.	21	Aug. 28, '62	Private Co. D.	Transferred to this company, Oct. 15, 1862; deserted at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 15, 1862, in face of the enemy; thought to be demented.
Patterson, Henry	18	May 4, '61	Private	June 1, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.
Peacock, Francis M.	..	" 14, '61	Private	Promoted sergeant-major, June 25, 1861 captured on board the "Fanny," of which he was in command, Oct. 1, 1861; reduced to the ranks; deserted to the enemy while a prisoner.
Starkey, Thomas	21	" 4, '61	"	June 1, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.
Terry, Edmund	19	" "	"	June 1, 1861, at Riker's Island, N. Y.

Names borne on the Adjutant General's record as Unassigned,  
with no further record than below.

**PRIVATEES.**

NAME.	AGE.	MUSTERED.		PLACE AND TERM OF ENLISTMENT.
		WHEN.	RANK.	
Allen, Henry	22	Sept. 25, '62	Private	At New York.
Baker, Edward	21	Oct. 15, '62	"	At New York.
Burdick, Charles D.	19	Nov. 13, '62	"	At New York, to serve nine months.
Burlingham, Horace	26	" 6, '62	"	At New York, to serve nine months.
Byrnes, William	21	" 18, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Church, Theodore	23	Sept. 20, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Clark, Lewis	25	Nov. 1, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Cooney, James	21	" 3, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Collins, Joseph	21	Oct. 23, '61	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Dunn, Stuart	21	Sept. 9, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Gardner, Charles W.	34	" 18, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Henesey, Patrick	20	Oct. 15, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Le Fort, Emil	25	" 18, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Meadows, Robert	26	Aug. 27, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Moore, Thomas	19	Oct. 31, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Mulligan, Patrick	24	Sept. 25, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Morton, John	23	Sept. 23, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Mullan, Arthur	21	Oct. 15, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Murphy, James C.	21	Sept. 11, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Murphy, John	21	" 9, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Murray, James	26	Oct. 21, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Pendergrast, John	25	Sept. 24, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Relley, Patrick	21	Nov. 3, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Ryan, Michael	21	" 3, '62	"	At New York, to serve three years.
Hanlon, George	..	....	"	Discharged in May, 1861.

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

BY COLONEL HAWKINS.

Page 38.—Colonel Hawkins was not in the service until 1848, after active hostilities between the armies had ceased.

Pages 170 and 171. — An expedition was organized for the purpose of destroying the locks of the Dismal Swamp Canal. It was originated by Captain Rowan of the Navy and Colonel Hawkins. After approval by General Burnside a plan of advance was agreed upon. Captain Rowan was to command the naval forces and Colonel Hawkins the land. The seventeenth of April the latter received the following letter :

NEWBERNE, April 16, 1862.

MY DEAR COLONEL:—I send you to-day the 51st Pennsylvania, a fine regiment; embark at once with at least 1,800 men, and be ready for an immediate move. Don't allow the slightest communication with the Banks.

Yours truly,

A. E. BURNSIDE.

I'll be up or send orders.

On the morning of the 18th, without a word of explanation, General Reno appeared with two regiments of his brigade and assumed command, and the original plan agreed upon was neither mentioned nor carried out.

Pages 225 and 226.—The news about the fall of Richmond came from a James River boat, decked out in flags, which reached Hampton Roads just as the Roanoke Island boat was leaving. The James River captain, while his boat was under way, answered the inquiry about his dis-

play of flags by saying, "Richmond has been captured." On board the Roanoke Island boat there was a Burnside staff officer, who, with the captain of that vessel, repeated the statement. For certain reasons, not to be mentioned, Colonel Hawkins deemed it best to write and hand to the staff officer what had been repeated, at the same time asking him to explain to General Burnside the facts as to its source. This he did not do, but handed the communication over without comment.

Page 480.—In sixth line from the top of page insert the words "one of" between "as" and "our."

Page 497.—Add the word "on" to "up" at the end of first line, fourth paragraph.

Page 505.—In eleventh line from top of page insert between the words "times" and "imperishable" the words "to conceive and bring forth those."

#### ERRATA.

Page 573.—Last line, "1872" should be "1862."

Page 574.—Column of "Rank" opposite George Haiselden should read "Private, Company I," and Edward Hopkins, "Private, Company A."

Page 586.—Martin Meyers, and all the others whose names follow his under "Mustered out with the company," were mustered in on May 4, instead of "August 12, 1861."













